

FREEDOM CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next issue (No. 14) is Monday July 18. (Please note this date for entries in Contact Column, but if possible let us have them earlier.)

NEXT DESPATCHING date is Thursday 21 July. Come and help from 4 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday 4 - 8 pm for folding session and informal get together.

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH: Change of address. Mike Sheehan, Neuadd Caerleon, Victoria Terr., Aberystwyth, Dyfed.

BOLTON contact 6 Stockley Ave, Harwood, Bolton. (tel. 387516)

CAMBRIDGE. Ron Stephan, 41 York Street, Cambridge

CANTERBURY. Contact Dave Norman, 12 Claremont Place, Wincheap, Canterbury. Individuals/Groups wishing to form Kent Libertarian fed. please also contact.

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL

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

EXETER. Geoff Minshall, 129 Fore Street, Exeter. CORRECT tel. no. 33054

LEAMINGTON & Kenilworth c/o 42a Bath St. Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7

LEICESTER now c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester

MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028.

NEWCASTLE Anarchist Group, 91 Beaconsfield St. Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN

OXFORD. Martin Harper, Kible College

PORTSMOUTH, Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ALBANS, John Morton, 21 St. Peter's Road, St. Albans, Herts.

SHEFFIELD. Tikka, 4 Havelock Square.

STOKE Anarchists 52 Campbell Road, Stoke-on-Trent.

Thames Valley, Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974)

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist Groups: Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533)

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (tel. 359 5794—before 8 p.m.)

Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House, Tulse Hill SW2 (tel. 674 6402)

Clapham, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961)

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd. E.6 (tel. 552 3985)

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249)

Hackney Black & Red, 64 Brougham Rd. E.8. (tel. 249 7042)

Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Rd., Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey (tel. 549 2564)

South London College An.Gp. c/o Students Union, S. London Coll., Knights Hill, West Norwood SE 27 (tel. 674 7886).

Zero, phone 555 6287

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation: Aberdeen: Blake, c/o APP, 163 King St.

Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place.

Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union Street (557 1532)

Glasgow: Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow

G22 (tel. 336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

ABROAD

AUSTRALIA

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2809

Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists c/o SRC, La Trobe Univ., Bundoora, Vic. 3083.

Libertarian Soc. Fed of Aust. c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073 (branches other areas)

New South Wales: P. Stones, P.O. Box 26, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney Fed. of Australian Anarchists, Box 92, Broadway, 2007 Australia

Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst 2010.

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted via: P.O. Box 2042 AUCKLAND

P.O. Box 22-607 CHRISTCHURCH

International Books, 123 Willis St. Wellington

Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin

U. S. A.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, G.P.O. New York 10001

S.R.A.F. Freespace/Alternate U, 339 Lafayette St. New York City NY 10012

MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 380, Columbia, Mo. 65201.

GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden: ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabisch Hall, Germany

MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028.

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Glasgow: Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow

DESIRES

ANARCHIST BAND. Electric bassist and drummer wanted for amateur anarchist band. Phone 555 6287.

PEOPLE with DISABILITIES liberation group. Enquiries c/o 5 Caledonian Rd. London N.1

Anarchist of substantially Tolstoyan mind seeks like minds in London. Also London anarchists of ANY tendency whose objection to the nudity principle is not merely a matter of cold principle but—burning resentment. Please reply in writing only (SAE would oblige) to Desmond Hunter, 4 Swinton St. London WC1 (or contact at the "Love v. Power mtg." every Sunday 3-5 pm at Speakers' Corner.

PRISONERS

Mike Murphy (C01039) HM Prison, Ashwell, Oakham, Leics.

John Nightingale (336645) HM Prison Parkhurst nr. Newport, Isle of Wight.

DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre

Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY (life sentences). Defence Groups: London c/o 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. Dublin: 155 Church Rd. Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire.

KIDS

KIRKDALE is a Neill-inspired parent c-operative dayschool in Sydenham, South London.

Parents interested in libertarian education should ring 778 0149. We have room for children aged 3 - 11 years. 186 Kirkdale, S.E.25.

PUBLICATIONS

Si January 1977 the "Anarchistische Bund" (Anarchist Association) Berlin have published a monthly magazine Anarchistische Texte

(Libertad Verlag, Postlagernd, 1000 Berlin 44)

MURRAY Defence Group new postcards and stickers now available from London Defence Group, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (donation).

PRESS FUND

16 - 30 JUNE 1977

LONDON NW9: A.L.S. 50p; GLENROTHES: D.McL.: 55p; LONDON SW18: A.H. 35p;

LONDON, Ontario: D.B. £ 2.89; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 20p; J.L. £ 2; VAN- COUVER: J.D.: 89p; FLOURTOWN, Pa.: W.C.H. £ 2.85; BOISE, Idaho: C.B. £ 1.20;

LONDON SE18: R.A.S. 50p; GLASGOW: A.J. 46p; BELFAST: P.S. £ 3; STAMFORD

Lincs: C.W. 50p; BLACKBURN: H.R. 50p; In shop: D.H. 50p; C.M. 50p; T.C. 57p;

Anon 55p.

Total: £ 18.51

Previously acknowledged: £ 682.71

TOTAL to DATE: £ 701.22

stop press

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP. Anarchist Presence at Cambridge Folk Festival. 29-31 July. Look for bookstall, black flags!

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

JULY 9 '77

VOLUME 39 No 13

FIFTEEN PENCE

Cambodia p3

The White Lion p9

THE GRUNWICK CLICHE



IT HAS been said, as it was said in these columns on Aldermaston, that Grunwick was the radical left's Asct. Like Grosvenor Square and St Crispin's Day at Agincourt it is, and was, something to recount to your grandchildren and use as an illustration to a revolutionary or military thesis. It, like Aldermaston, Grosvenor Square and Agincourt, is fast becoming a cliché.

A cliché is (or most appropriately, was) a block of metal type; its usage was transferred to block expressions which might well have been cast in type considering their constant use; for example "reactionary employers", "the Grunwick circus", "brutal police methods", "expression of democratic rights", "sweat-shop conditions", "importation of revolutionary agitators", "mob rule", "exploited immigrant workers", "trade union oligarchical menace to freedom", "obstruction of the right to work", "policemen exposed to dangerous confrontation", "the right to picket", "Tory fascist groups and their supporters." Such are the stock responses and conditioned reflexes of both left and right to such hoary clichés that they are invariably still used and one hazards that computerised type setting (replacing the actual cliché) has been programmed to produce these phrases automatically and feed them into the appropriate article.

The left-wing scenario is that the reactionary employer of migrant cheap labour is opposing unionism in his factory. Some victimisation has succeeded in terrorising the remaining workers into staying in the factory. The radical left have rallied round the strikers who, with the backing of their progressive union, have continued their strike and picket, despite the brutal tactics of the police who, as usual, are on the employers' side. In their campaign they are aided by the boycott tactics of the postal union. Along with the police, right-wing elements of the Tory party are naturally giving the employer their full support.

The right-wing scenario is that it is all a plot by revolutionary agitators using the trade unions' ambitions to impose on all industry a closed shop to further revolutionary ambitions. In doing this they are defying the natural patience of the police and using so-called democratic rights of picketing to deny others. In this situation mob rule has taken over and the ugly confrontation can be laid at the door of the agitators.

These scenarios are both a mish-mash of wishful thinking, paranoid fears and too-ready assumptions. The situation has become complica-

ated not only because of the intervention of too many actors in this "street-theatre" but because they're often working from different scripts.

¶

In the first place, to start at a beginning, Mr George Ward, the managing director, is, as far as British capitalism is concerned, an outsider, a nonentity. He is Anglo-Indian and a newly-arrived entrepreneur in an outstandingly minor industry (processing holiday 'snaps'). He is between two worlds and accordingly over-acts and over-reacts. Even *The Sunday Times* (26.6.77), with a sympathetic bias, can only say of him "By the ordinary standards of British management, he is an eccentric." *The Spectator* (or normally right-wing) had a most unfavourable article about him and his factories and *The Guardian* has exposed some of his company's financial eccentricities including, as a public company, failure to submit accounts. By capitalist standards Grunwick is expendable since they compete for custom with giants like Boots and Kodak and have only maintained their commendation in which? by reason of their cost and speed, gained presumably at the expense of smooth industrial relations.

Mr Ward, considering his background, could hardly be accused of being racist, and some of both strikers and non-strikers are of immigrant origin (hence the absence of NF from both sides!) With such a seasonal flow of work (the present is obviously the busiest period) Grunwicks obviously depend a great deal upon casual workers and a steady turnover of labour. As to whether the works - and there are two - are sweat-shops is a matter of opinion; all works, particularly seasonal rush-jobs, must of necessity be sweat-shops.

Manifestly Mr Ward is both non and anti-union, but APEX itself is hardly a militant union (as to how the victimised workers joined such a union - could it be that it came first in

alphabetical order?). It is even reported that Mr Prior, the Conservative industrial spokesman, is a member of Apex. Be that as it may, Apex was quite ready to concur with Mr Ward's delaying tactics on their negotiations through ACAS. Considering the nature of Mr Ward's business it was obvious that a postponement from January (a slack time) to later was needle.

In fact one must face up to the proposition that all trade unions are conservative by nature. They are interested in stability and prosperity with they themselves doing the negotiating.

Cont page 4 ->

THE Windscale festival is taking place from 14-24 July, concurrent with the public enquiry. Its organisers say that "it will have many different parts but the main purpose of the event will be to examine the nuclear energy issue in a free and open environment." As many of the basic factors of the enquiry could be swamped by a mass of technicalities and administrative detail, they say, the festival framework will try to explore the nuclear issue in an understandable way. They also hope to set up workshops with people forming small discussion groups, and to provide information on and exhibitions of alternative energy systems - solar, wind, methane etc. There will also be rock (and other) music, theatre, films and poetry.

The Festival Committee wants as many people as possible to come from the Windscale area, while moderate expenses may be available to pay participants coming from further afield. The Committee urgently needs volunteer workers, money and material. If you want to help please contact Windscale Festival Committee, c/o Waterloo Place, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13 (tel: 061-273-5111 ext.56) Cheques payable to the Windscale Festival Fund.

CANTERBURY LIBERTARIANS :

a statement of beliefs

THE CANTERBURY Libertarian Group, newly-formed, wishes to publicise its views in the following statement of beliefs.

We feel the need for an effectively co-ordinated libertarian movement. We do not feel that such a movement need consist solely of explicitly libertarian organisations. We can have an "informal" movement including organizations of libertarian tendencies. Such a movement could have the following components: libertarian groups; radical pressure groups; trade unions. We feel there is a need for international organization to publicise the vicissitudes of libertarians in various countries and to work to undermine and destroy the state organization of all societies now existing.

Libertarian groups, in our opinion, lack effective organization in campaigning. The formation of a federation of all libertarian groups in the country to aid in concentrating our human and other resources seems to us a primary necessity. We are conscious of a lack of publicity material. We need posters, badges and stickers and every effort should be made to sell libertarian journals in city centres to advertise ourselves. We suggest all libertarian households signify themselves as such by large signs on their houses. Meetings advertised in local and national newspapers would help and not just in libertarian publications. We recommend that the centre page of FREEDOM and other libertarian journals be a poster with adverts only on the back. At the moment we feel that libertarians have all the ostentation of ghosts. Why not conduct an anti-election campaign at election times? We could picket polling stations and hand out leaflets. We should also deliver leaflets. We should also deliver leaflets to people's homes periodically.

There are a number of radical pressure groups through which we can work to attain our ends without compromise of principle. Friends of the Earth contains many people whose attitudes are implicitly if not explicitly libertarian. The tendency towards direct action in this organization can be encouraged by a more active libertarian presence within it. The same is true of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. NCCL is perhaps a more 'liberal' organization than the other two but possibilities exist for campaigning under its auspices. There are many other national and local pressure groups that libertarians could campaign within.

However, perhaps an even more fertile ground for libertarians is the trade union movement. We suggest that a libertarian trade union organization be formed to co-ordinate libertarian activity within trade unions. A libertarian trade union organization should draw up a set of broad aims by which to advertise itself in leaflets. At a time when trade unions are being consistently betrayed by their leaders and by the political party which they choose to support, there may well be an opportunity for new ideas to be popularised. Too often libertarian commentary on trade union issues is from the outside - we lack an effective presence within the trade union movement. If we wish our views to be heard, we cannot afford to neglect participation in unions.

We think that there are benefits to be gained from an International Libertarian Federation. We need a network of libertarian contacts in every country. Such an organization should undertake to smuggle libertarian literature into countries where such literature is 'unavailable.'

This organization could also help to co-ordinate international campaigns against things like nuclear energy, the arms trade and general repression by governments. But fundamentally, this organization should help to foster libertarian revolution.

In conclusion, the following is an outline of the principles of our group:

The basis of progress to any notion of a libertarian society must be a belief in taking power and thus legitimacy from the organs of the state. We believe in the need for two kinds of action to achieve the decentralized society we desire: one, defensive actions to respond to people's immediate suffering at the hands of the state; two, and more important, offensive actions such that the state is forced to respond to our initiatives. We are not content with the prevailing practice of libertarians in engaging chiefly in defensive actions. If the libertarian movement is to make significant advances then more offensive actions are essential.

All people should be entitled to an equal quantity of the world's resources. A system of entitlements obviates the need for a money economy and makes the concept of buying and selling redundant. The use of resources to produce our necessities and luxuries must be done with regard to the environmental costs of our activities in this sphere.

All industry, primary, manufacturing and service, should be under the direct control of workers within their workplaces. We want an end to the excessive specialisation of labour which produces alienation from industry in all its aspects. The distinctions between industry, agriculture and education must be attacked in order that an individual's experience of the world is not confined to a limited sphere. Industry and the care of the environment are inseparable. The concept of ownership is a reflection of an acquisitive, materialistic society; the land and all it can offer us should be as free to us as the air we breathe. Implicit in high technology is a high degree of specialisation. The extraordinary naivete of state socialists with their primitive attitudes to the issues of high technology and the environment seems strange to us because the concentration of knowledge implicit in high technology is a form of inequality and produces alienation. Technology must be comprehensible and controllable in a libertarian society. Self-sufficiency is desirable as it is the key to the liberation of the individual within the setting of a community.

Violence is a form of coercion, therefore we think it is inconsistent with libertarian ideas. A libertarian society, a society without oppression must be established and maintained without violence. We believe that violent means lead directly and inevitably to violent ends.

The liberation of all oppressed people can only occur with the removal of the present society. We have very little in common with those state socialists who advocate centralization of decision-making as a solution to the problems of existing social forms. We have no sympathy whatsoever with those who talk about the individual but defend capitalist society. As libertarians we believe that the fulfilment of our aims provides the only way to create a balance between the individual and the community in which the individual lives such that the individual can control their immediate environment.

STEVE DAWK and DAVE NORMAN

Dearfriends of Freedom,

We were pleased that you reported the London Greenpeace Group's "Mutants' March" in your last issue, and we'd like to explain a bit more about the background to the group's work.

GREENPEACE

As you say, the Greenpeace Group here is smaller than the better-known Greenpeace Foundation in Vancouver—but we'd disagree that we're intentionally less militant. On the contrary, people in some of the smaller Greenpeace groups in London and elsewhere rather take the view that the fact that the Vancouver Foundation has received large funds, and has become hierarchical and structured, has taken it a long way from the more overtly political libertarian ethos that we always thought united Greenpeace groups. This is rather typified by the way they currently aren't involved in any anti-militarist work, but go in for "cosier" animal campaigns with big media budgets. This is not for a moment to decry the good and bold work they're doing in that field, of course—but it's not our priority.

Perhaps it's indicative of the way things are that the Vancouver Foundation opened a London branch a few months ago. The people who'd come over here wouldn't take up our offer of their joining the existing Greenpeace Group (although they'd then have had as much say in the direction of the group as any of us) precisely because they wanted to retain their links (including financial ones) with the Vancouver HQ.

The open, libertarian way we work grew naturally out of the origins of our group. It was a coming together of nonviolent activists, libertarians, and environmental campaigners, aware (or who grew aware) of the common basis of these attitudes. We've always worked as an autonomous group, but we often act closely with groups in other parts of the world over specific campaigns. So, you see, there's no such thing as "Greenpeace", but rather various groups using the name in different places—despite the way the Board of Directors in Vancouver are into registering names as their own possessions.

This all leads to perhaps the main point—as you say in your report, fundamental environmental issues are intensely political. And, it seems to us, one reason why, as you note, the so-called revolutionary left takes little note of these issues is because the political implications are in line with our own decentralised, participatory world-view.

Could we end by urging readers of FREEDOM who want to discuss, and act on, environmental issues in a more politically-aware way to join with us in our work? Our next meetings at 6 Endsleigh Street, London WC1 at 7 pm are Thursdays July 21 and August 4. Some of the areas we're currently working on are anti-nuclear power actions (largely through the Nuclear Information Network that we set up earlier this year), and research into nuclear corporations. (And in the long term we're wanting to get back to opposing the ravages of the environment by militarism.)

Yours for lifes not half-lives,
Martin Lowe
for Greenpeace (London).

6 Endsleigh St,
London WC1

Cambodia —

two years after

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY

THE problems which the new government faced after April 1975 were enormous, first because the country had been heavily bombed by the US during the war, and secondly because the fall of Phnom Penh meant that three million extra people had to be fed. Thus, the most important task was to increase food production. The aim of the government was a total transformation of the traditional agricultural cycle: by storing water during the wet season and releasing it during the dry season two and even three crops a year would be possible, and to achieve this the people were made to build dykes and dams, reservoirs and ponds, canals and ditches all over the country.

According to Radio Phnom Penh Cambodia today is one great workshop where everybody is working together in harmony to benefit the people. A typical broadcast on March 11 1976, says for instance: "Wherever you look there is a workshop. The people, young and old, men and women, from all the co-operatives, are building dikes for the rice fields with enthusiasm. At Chikreng in the province of Siemreap, close to 20,000 persons have joined in an offensive struggle to raise dykes in an active way and with a constant revolutionary dynamic. Today the workshop for building dikes is the battlefield where the people struggle with ardour, where the peasants from our co-operatives struggle with energy, without respite, day and night, to make a great leap forward in order to control the water resources for the next rainy season." The people are working, says a March 24 1976 broadcast, "with an extraordinary revolutionary courage of a very high level ... Even if the earth is hard as stone, and even when the sun is burning, nothing can stop their ardent war for production ... Every day passes in an atmosphere of joy and everywhere you hear people singing songs, and cries of joy." (4)

The refugees, however, paint a quite different picture. They tell of backbreaking manual labour, of insufficient rations, of widespread hunger and rampant disease, of executions and terror. "We are forced to work like slaves, like animals, without thought for the loss of human life!" is one of the most frequently heard complaints. Almost every refugee has lost one or several members of his family, who have either fallen ill or succumbed to the strenuous work. "Eight days after our installation at Chak Chha", a refugee recounts, "a 50-year-old man who had joined us died from marsh fever. On June 6 1975 my mother died after five days of illness. On July 19 one of my nephews died having been ill for three days. Later my brother was taken ill too. We had to work very hard in his place so that he could rest a bit. And there was reason to be terrified. Every day several people in our village died; whole families have died, victims of serious marsh fever. Those who fall ill do not live very long, three or four days at the most, then comes their final liberation." Since there are hardly any tractors (and no fuel) and very few oxen, people often have to drag the agricultural machinery themselves. Sometimes even these are lacking and the peasants are forced to work the fields and build dykes with their bare hands. (5)

A most revealing item of information that can be elicited from refugees is the ratio of Khmer Rouge to civilians, and several accounts tend to confirm that the Khmer Rouge do not constitute more than one per cent of the population - that is, less than 100,000. The Khmer Rouge are hated, the refugees claim, but the reason the people do not rise up and overturn their government is that everyone is too frightened to try. And though few in number the Khmer Rouge have developed a subtle form of organisational control. The population is divided into groups of about ten families, who have to appoint two of their members as leaders. The leaders are responsible for the good behaviour of the group and their lives are forfeit to their neighbours' obedience. Naturally this provides considerable disincentive to protest. Another refugee mentions that one day a customs officer fled with his family. "Being followed, he hid in a tree in the forest. But the Khmer Rouge caught his wife and children and brought them back to the village where they executed them in front of the populace so as to make an example of it." (6)

Obviously the refugees are a hostile source and their evidence should be considered with caution, but when several witnesses independent of each other give essentially the same facts there is reason to believe them. Presumably we shall never know how many people lost their lives following the victory of April 1975. In an interview in the May 8 1977 issue of the German magazine Der Spiegel vice-premier Ieng Sary said that

cont p.6.

CAMBODIA became a French protectorate in 1864. After the Second World War king Norodom Sihanouk, whom the French had placed on the throne in 1941, waged a campaign for complete independence, which was achieved in 1953. While in Moscow in March 1970 head of state Sihanouk was ousted in a coup by marshal Lon Nol, who was backed by the USA. Soon afterwards Sihanouk left for Peking and on May 5 1970 he announced the formation of the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea with himself as head of state. (Kampuchea is the Khmer language name for the country). Meanwhile, the struggle inside Cambodia was led by guerrilla forces dominated by the Khmer Rouge, the Cambodian Communist Party. On April 17 the Lon Nol government fell as the liberation forces finally captured the capital of Phnom Penh after five years of bloody civil war.

THE EVACUATION OF PHNOM PENH

People cheered as the Khmer Rouge entered Phnom Penh, but the joy soon evaporated as the soldiers ordered the total and immediate evacuation of the city's population, which had swelled to three million people with the massive influx of peasants fleeing the US bombing. Even the hospitals were emptied and the sick and disabled forced to join the compulsory march to the countryside. (1) At the same time all foreigners were rounded up and after a two-week confinement within the French embassy they were deported to Thailand. Since then Cambodia's borders have been closed to reporters and almost all other foreign visitors, and the only sources of news are the broadcasts of the official government radio station and the reports of refugees who have made their way into Thailand or Vietnam.

The forced evacuation of Cambodia's cities caused most of the Western press to denounce the new government in violent terms. Thus, the New York Times' columnist William Safire wrote on May 12 that this was "no Cambodian aberration but the path always taken by new Communist parties when they take power". It proved, he said, that "Communism is by its nature anti-city, anti-civilisation, anti-freedom". And the Christian Science Monitor in a June 26 editorial compared the situation in Cambodia to that under the Nazis.

Western observers have offered various explanations for the decision to evacuate. New York Times correspondent Sidney H. Schenberg said that the new rulers "appear to be remaking Cambodian society in the peasant image, casting aside everything that belonged to the old system which was generally dominated by the cities and towns and by the elite and merchants who loved there". Jon Swain of the London Sunday Times shared this view and added that the decision reflected "the brutalisation of a people by a long and savage war".

At the time the Cambodian government had little or nothing to say about its reasons for ordering the evacuation. But later, in August 1975, vice-premier Ieng Sary explained at the Lima conference of non-aligned countries that the evacuation was necessary because the army did not have the means to import tons of food to the city as the Americans had done. And if food could not be brought to the people, then the people had to go to the countryside to obtain it and to produce it. (2)

It is true that the infrastructure of the country had been seriously damaged by the American bombing; it is also true, as observers sympathetic to the new government have pointed out, that a large part of the population in Phnom Penh were peasant refugees who had fled to the city, and that these peasants had no reason to remain in Phnom Penh once the war had stopped. Furthermore, there was great danger of the outbreak of an epidemic, fostered by a combination of insanitary conditions, overcrowding and general malnutrition under the Lon Nol government. And as for the emptying of the hospitals it was necessary because they were extremely crowded, poorly equipped, insanitary and understaffed. (3)

Thus, there was every reason to evacuate Phnom Penh. But still, this would not explain why the evacuation was ordered in such a summary way on the very day of the victory, or why it was undertaken at such a high cost in human suffering. Why was it not explained to the populace? Why were they not given more time? And why were they handled like enemies? Certainly, there is much truth in Jon Swain's contention that the decision to evacuate reflected "the brutalisation of a people by a long and savage war". But the fundamental reason seems to be that there was no other way in which the Khmer Rouge could administer and control the city.

SPAIN

c.n.t. festival

IN VIEW of the progress that the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo) is now making in Spain, the CNT Catalanian Committee, in co-operation with other related associations, plans to organise a libertarian festival between 22-25 July with the participation of all the different tendencies within the world's anarchist movement. We hope that such a festive meeting will permit the various currents and tendencies in our movement to come together.

The events planned aim to combine theatre, music, bookstalls, revues and so on, in one continuous festival in a park in Barcelona, with cinema, meetings, cultural discussions, etc. in different areas of Barcelona. We should like to promote a discussion about subjects of general interest on which there is disagreement and which consequently, in our opinion, impede collaboration with all libertarian groups in the world.

We are interested in positive discussion on anarcho-syndicalism, methods of analysis, ecology, general culture ... Thus we are calling on all persons and groups related to the CNT in Spain as well as in all other countries.

We believe it will be possible to obtain the co-operation of all tendencies and different points of view in our international movement, and ask you to extend our invitation to all

libertarian organizations in your country, in order to achieve the greatest possible participation and publicity for our event.

Salud!

For more information please contact:
C.N.T.

Sindicat de Espectacles
(Comite pro- jornadas libertarias)
Paseo de la Paz, 8 principal
Barcelona 2 Tel: 318.62.95

In order to arrange hospitality, the Committee asks for answers as quickly as possible, indicating who would need lodging. They also ask participants to bring information, material, papers etc. giving news, views and ideas concerning activities.

and some who will not be there

FROM BARCELONA comes the news that Carlos Jaen Jimenez, the last of more than 40 people arrested at a meeting of the FAI and CNT on January 30 this year (see FREEDOM Feb. 19 and subsequent) was released only on 20 June. But in early February, five others from Murcia were arrested and charged with armed robbery

of printing equipment, their names having been revealed under torture by one of those arrested on Jan. 30 (see this also in our earlier reports). They are Roque Cano Perez, Jose Garcia Nieto, Joaquin Gambin Hernandez, Jose Antonio Caravaca Martinez and Antonio Marfil Arando (secretary at the time of the local CNT). Later in February Alfonso Garcia Garcia was arrested on a charge of possessing arms. This charge also relates to the raid on the FAI/CNT meeting of Jan. 30, after which allegations were made that explosives had been found.

The demonstration in Barcelona on 2 March to commemorate the garroting of Salvador Puig Antich, which was broken up by the police, resulted in two further arrests, that of Jose Jimenez Maluquer and Carlos Egido Clamarro (the latter arrested the following day at his home, having been identified on a police photograph. Both are held on charges of resisting the police. And finally, at the (unauthorised) May Day demonstration in Barcelona Jose Mario Caballero Martinez and Jose Palau Linford were arrested, also on charges of resisting the police.

All are in the Model Prison, Barcelona, awaiting trial, and have, at the time of writing (June 25) been on hunger strike since

June 15 and kept in

special punishment cells.

They have laid a complaint of bad treatment against the prison governor. It would give them heart (and perhaps the prison authorities pause, and the judicial authorities some alacrity) if they were to receive postcards from overseas. Address to them by name at Carcel Modelo de Barcelona, Spain.



CNT Occupation

IN Madrid recently the CNT took over the offices of the old Falangist Sindicatos in the Avenida de America. Between 200 and 300 CNT workers made a symbolic and peaceful occupation of the now dismantled Sindicato offices on the ground that all their own premises and property had been confiscated by Franco.

But beneath the charade and the razamatazz still pervades the calm dignified endurance of the original pickets standing for what they believe to be right and just - not for what is politically expedient and trendy.

And the decision of Tony Jimenez (64), a non-striking worker at Grunwick who decided on June 27 to quit his job "after wrestling with his conscience." Of such a conscience is true industrial action made.

JACK ROBINSON

W.GERMANY

ON 17 January 1977 the murder trial opened in the Federal Republic of Germany of the Cologne doctor Karl-Heinz Roth and Roland Otto. The following has been translated into English and condensed for reasons of space from a report sent us by comrades in Germany who believe the trial to be of interest and importance for the German left, for anarchists and for all who oppose the growing repression against political dissidents. Brackets show where minor details have been added for clarification.

§ § § §

THE TRIAL of Karl-Heinz Roth and Roland Otto (which is still in progress in Cologne) was described by the presiding judge, Dr Draber as a "completely normal murder trial." This is disputed by the circumstances under which the trial opened and by the exceptional security measures taken against members of the public wishing to attend. Mounted police guarded the courthouse, and there were others with machine guns. No-one could enter without a body check and all identity passes were photocopied. Even a bourgeois paper in Germany has commented that such measures were hardly suited to a normal murder trial. But above all Dr Draber's comment must be disputed by the fact that these two defendants stand before the court on charges both of murder and attempted murder despite it having already been proved that they murdered no-one. Then how has this happened?

On 9 May 1975 a road check was being carried out at a car-park in Koln-Gremberg, a suburb of Cologne, by several policemen. It was here that a shoot-out took place involving the occupants of a car and some of the police. Phillip Werner Sauber (the driver of the car) and a policeman were shot dead. Karl-Heinz Roth and the policeman Grunert were both seriously wounded. Roland Otto was arrested. The next day, although police and justice authorities had clamped down on release of all information about what had happened, a country-wide defamation campaign was launched by the press. While the Kolner Rundschau, a particularly reactionary paper, wrote "terrorists murder Cologne policeman", the Springer newspaper Hamburger Abendblatt went so far as to write of the "bloody marks left by anarchist terrorists under the masks of Samaritans." The press versions were all different from each other. The only thing they agreed on was that it was the "terrorists" who had opened fire on the policemen. Each day the papers carried more details on their lives, their revolutionary ideas, the illegal existence Otto and Sauber had been leading as hunted men, men who had made indiscriminate use of their weapons in "anarchist acts of violence." But who were they?

Karl-Heinz Roth was born in 1942 in Wertheim, Main. In 1961 he became interested in politics after being called up for military service. In 1962 he began medical studies in Wurzburg, three years later moving to Cologne University where he was involved with the German socialist student group, the SDS at a time when the German universities were growing increasingly political.

In 1967 he went to Hamburg where he continued with his studies and where he was first arrested for taking part in "unauthorised" demonstrations. After completing his studies he took a job as a doctor in a hospital in the port of Hamburg, later in the casualty ward of a Cologne hospital. He had already become known for his writings on students' and workers' movements in the FRG and had published through Trikont Verlag a book

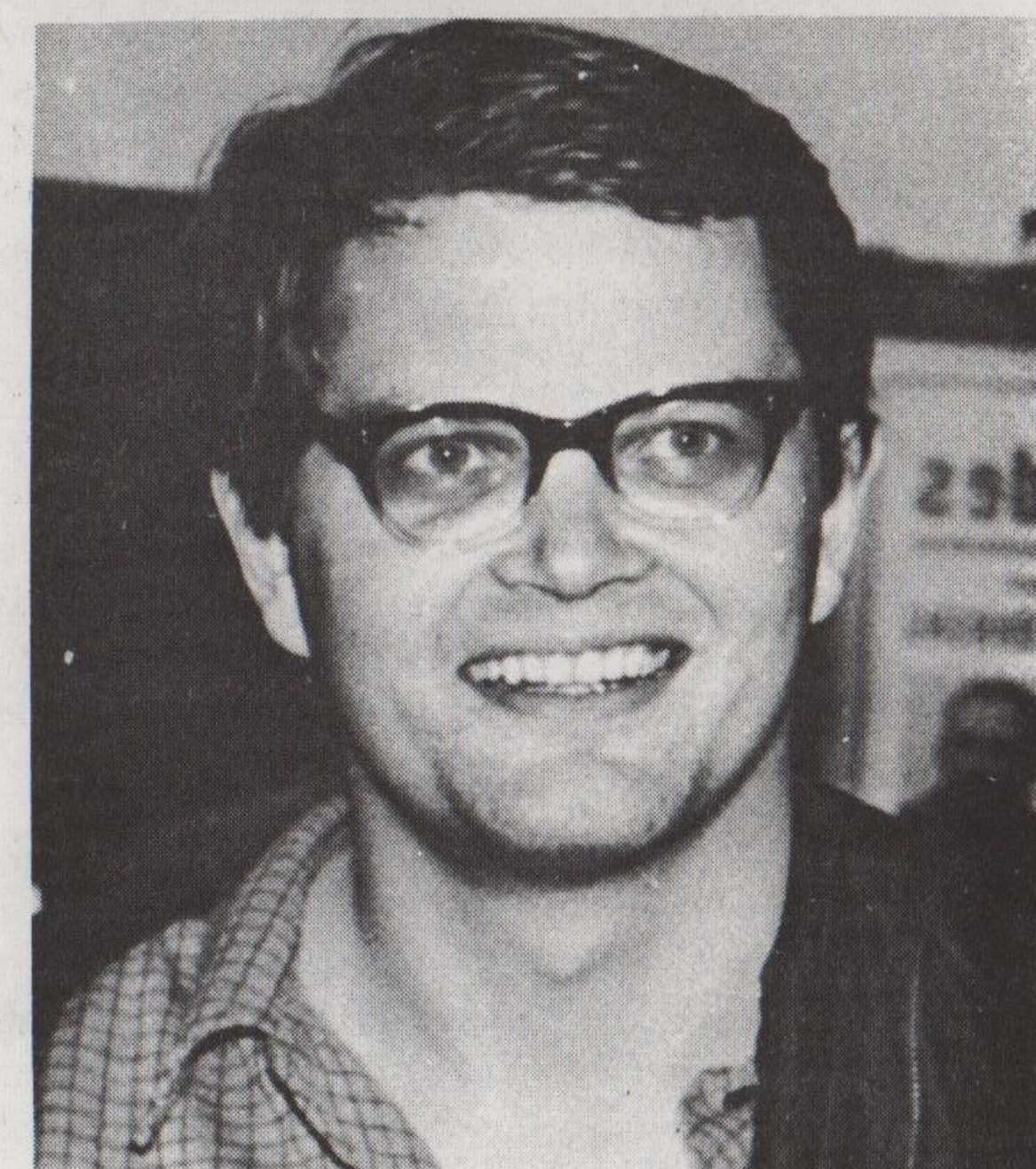
entitled Die andere Arbeiterbewegung (The other workers' movement). During this time he worked with a people's ambulance, run by a socialist self-help group, the SSK.

Roland Otto was also born in Wertheim, and became militant in the school-student movement there. He later got a job as a transport worker in Munich, attending an evening course in political science at the Hochschule. At the same time he was connected with the establishment of a school workshop which ran into financial difficulties and led to Otto's participation in a bank robbery for which he received a 4 year 4 months' sentence. The third time he was on leave from the prison he did not return, and went into hiding.

Phillip Werner Sauber was born in Switzerland in 1947. He too had taken part in the anti-authoritarian movement in 1967/8. He was expelled with 18 others from a Berlin film academy where he had been studying, as the result of a student occupation and also became involved in the school student movement and contributed to the anti-authoritarian Berlin paper 883. Comrades lost touch with him in 1971 after he had withdrawn from the movement and gone underground. But he tried to combine this with a "legal" existence by taking a job in a Cologne tractor factory under a false name. He was on the wanted list of members of the 2nd June group (following the kidnapping of the CDU leader Peter Lorenz in 1975).

As a result of the Cologne shoot-out in which Sauber died, Karl-Heinz Roth sustained extremely severe injuries to his lungs and stomach. His bowels were partially destroyed and this, combined with other ailments, brought him close to death. He was nevertheless kept in total isolation and under continuous police surveillance. Only after a few months was he allowed to receive letters or newspapers. Only many months later was he transferred to Bochum prison hospital where he underwent an emergency operation and where police armed with machine guns escorted him literally everywhere. Today, two years after the events of 9 May 1975, his health remains severely impaired. He was still very ill when the trial opened in Cologne, where he was transported each day from Bochum (by helicopter to begin with and in handcuffs). The justice administration and prison doctors seem to have done everything possible to prevent his recovery. It is largely through his own will to live and ability as a doctor to diagnose his illness that he is still alive. He was allowed a visit by a bowel specialist of his own choice only after a court decision once the trial had begun.

Regarding the actual trial both judges and prosecution have tried systematically to intimidate the defence and to suppress facts concerning the 9 May events. Vital defence evidence has been ruled inadmissible, including a collection of pictures of the scene taken by a press photographer and showing that where Karl-Heinz Roth lay no weapon could be seen. In addition a medical testimony maintained that Werner Sauber had been shot three times at point blank range when already lying severely injured on the ground. Apart from this it emerged from the trial that it was the police who had drawn first. They have constantly contradicted themselves during the trial, although they had prepared their testimony in great detail and with great care with their superiors. The prosecution know that circumstances were such that neither



Karl-Heinz Roth

Roth nor Otto could have used their guns. However they have constructed the facts in a way which suggests that all three were engaged in a "silent conspiracy" while at the same time it is asserted that Sauber opened fire on a policeman suddenly and without warning. The prosecution also claims that Roth tried to open fire even though he was lying on the ground with near fatal injuries (and the pictures taken on the spot show no sign of a gun beside him). It is true that he was armed, and Roth has explained the reason at his trial (while denying the charge of murder and attempted murder). During his work with the people's ambulance service he tended Turkish guest workers and supplied Turkish women with methods of contraception. For this he lived under continual threat from fascist Turkish organisations in Germany.

So, who are the real murderers? The Federal Republic of Germany is the leading country of the European Economic Community. As such, and as a socialist-democratic government it is taking huge strides towards a new and particularly subtle fascism. The systematic liquidation of revolutionaries which began on 2 June 1967 with the murder of Benno Ohnesorg (at a peaceful demonstration against the regime in Iran) has continued with the death of Georg von Rauch, Thomas Weissbecker, Petra Schelm, Holger Meins and Ulrike Meinhof. And it effects us all. The total supervision of prisoners extends to us in the form of telephone bugging, open and hidden surveillance and arrests. The reinforcement of the police laws, the exclusion of the defense in trials of political content, the violent attacks on demonstrators, including the opponents of nuclear power - all this is part of the Federal Republic's export drive, together with butter and steel and other good things. The FRG is using its dominant economic position to try to get their methods used in other European countries, to their mutual benefit. Anarchists, socialists and communists who may still work relatively freely in these countries could find themselves in our position if there is any real opposition to political conditions in the Federal Republic and to the export of its fascist tendencies. Those who will not defend themselves live under an illusion.

- From a report by GUNTRUM HUD

GRUNWICK

They are not interested in strikes; a strike is a failure of negotiation. They are attracted by the idea of the closed shop since it means an extension of their power. And today power is what trade unionism is about.

It is not even true that Conservatives dislike trade unionism. Even their extremists, e.g. Harry Welton in The Unnecessary Conflict - after denouncing Ken Weller - writes "No employer should resent trade unionism in the proper sense of the term. Indeed the union leaders who drive a hard but fair bargain are in the best position to beat off the incessant attacks of unofficial elements." Mr Prior has also given it out that he is not opposed to the closed shop.

With the unions' continued interest in prosperity it is not unknown for union and employers to collaborate in order to plunder the consumer.

It would appear to be true, as it is of all major strikes and 'demos' that the more militant leftists have used the occasion to peddle their particular brand of socialism and industrial action. At Grunwick's Mr Dromey of the Brentford Trades Council, strike organiser, has asked International Socialist to desist from issuing strike bulletins. It is quite obvious that such groups eventually lose interest, as is the nature of 'issue-politics', and move on to fresh woods and pastures new. One may ask where do pickets go after the workers go in? And, more importantly, where were these Johnny-come-latelies during the last ten months?

As regards picketing I believe it was said by

3,000 persons died during the evacuation of Phnom Penh and a few thousands in the rice fields. Certainly this figure is too low. Francois Ponchaud, who spent the years 1965-75 in Cambodia and who, since then, has interviewed some one hundred refugees in Thailand, Vietnam and France, places the figure closer to one million (7). And incidentally, this estimate was confirmed in August last year when, at the meeting of the non-aligned countries in Colombo, chief of state Khieu Samphan told the Italian weekly *Famiglia Cristiana* that "more than one million Cambodians died during the five years of war. The population of Cambodia is five million today. Before the war it was seven million." When the interviewer asked what had happened to the last million Khieu answered, "It is incredible how you people in the West worry about war criminals." (8)

However, in spite of much, and needless, suffering there is no doubt that the economic reconstruction of the country is getting under way. And although no exact statistics are available it seems that both industry and agriculture are now increasing production. Food rations which in 1975 were only 125 gr. of rice per person per day, were in 1976 250 gr. Furthermore, there was a noticeable drop in the number of refugees crossing into Thailand, and those who came complained less of executions and more of hard work. (9)

But this economic improvement does not imply any change in the political life of the country. According to the new constitution adopted in January 1976 the people elects a 250-member representative assembly every five years. The assembly in turn elects an administration to implement its laws and decisions. In reality, however, all power is concentrated in the hands of the Communist Party which calls itself "the revolutionary organisation", *Angkar*. Interestingly, *Angkar* is not even mentioned in the constitution. (10)

General elections were held on March 20 1976 with a reported 98 per cent turn out among the 3.6 million voters. But refugees have said that in some villages only those who took part in the liberation struggle could vote, the rest being considered as prisoners of war with no civil rights. And elsewhere only a part of the population left work to vote for a candidate whose name was completely unknown to them. Anyway, the results were announced within the incredible time of 24 hours, and in a country where the infrastructure is still being rebuilt this seems just too good to be true. Consequently it was no surprise when the elected representatives confirmed the sole power of *Angkar*, and even Radio Phnom Penh makes no secret of this. Frequently the workers and peasants are said to be "determined to fulfill all obligations decided by *Angkar*" and to declare their gratitude towards the organisation; "To thank *Angkar* for the honour of being able to elect our representatives we are all determined to develop production to the highest possible maximum." (11) What *Angkar* seems to want is nothing but blind and naive devotion.

FOREIGN POLICY

THE new government has pursued a highly nationalistic policy which stresses the independence and sovereignty of the country above anything else. Cambodia "does not allow any foreign country to establish military bases in Cambodia and resolutely opposes all forms of outside subversion and aggression", Khieu Samphan declared in April last year.

Isolating itself from the outside world, Cambodia has relied on its one and only close ally, China. Chinese aircraft were observed in the airport of Phnom Penh already on April 24 1975, and until September 1976 China's airline was the only link with the outside world. More importantly, China has sent out some 2,000 technicians and in August 1975 offered an interest free loan of one billion US dollars. Finally China is said to have helped Cambodia establish relations with its neighbour, Thailand, and when, at the end of 1976, Cambodia took cautious steps towards opening trade relations with the non-Communist world, China also gave a helping hand. (The problem is that Cambodia wants to buy and does not have very much to sell. But for the moment China is footing the bill).

Although *Angkar* strongly condemns imperialism and calls itself a revolutionary organisation, it has scrupulously avoided talking about "socialism" or "communism" and it was only in September 1976, in connection with the memorial meeting for Mao Tse Tung in Phnom Penh that it admitted its ideological affinity with China. Radio Phnom Penh mentioned that one poster had read "May brilliant Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse Tung thought shine eternally." Premier Pol Pot described Mao as "an outstanding teacher of the international proletariat" and "the most eminent teacher since Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." And for the first time he said that both China and Cambodia "resolutely adhere to Marxism-Leninism."

However the new government does not follow China in all matters. For instance, Cambodia has not recognised Chile and on a tour to Malaysia and Singapore in March this year Ieng Sary pointed out that his

country had no intention of supporting revolution in other countries. Finally it should be added that there is no personality cult in Cambodia - *Angkar* is a very anonymous body.

By contrast, relations with its neighbours, Thailand and Vietnam, have not been quite so warm. Ieng Sary visited Bangkok in October 1975 and since then there have only been minor problems. Significantly Cambodia did not comment on the anti-Communist coup in Thailand in October 1976, which was strongly denounced by both Hanoi and Vientiane. It seems that Cambodia does not want to provoke a major conflict.

Relations with Vietnam have also been somewhat strained. In June 1975 the two countries clashed over the Wai islands in the Gulf of Thailand, which caused party secretary Le Duan to visit Phnom Penh the following month. Since then relations have improved. In June 1976 a Vietnamese delegation of journalists visited Cambodia and in September a Cambodian women's delegation visited Vietnam on their way home from Albania and North Korea. This month also saw the opening by Air Vietnam of a fortnightly service between Hanoi and Phnom Penh. But the Cambodian trade delegation to Albania, Yugoslavia and North Korea last year did not visit Vietnam, and recently Ieng Sary is said to have turned down a Vietnamese suggestion to join in a "family of four", consisting of the three Indochinese countries and North Korea. This means that there are still signs that Cambodia, in its desire to remain independent, has distanced itself from Vietnam. Officials from this country, in their turn, have several times intimated that they "do not understand" some of the Khmer Rouge policies, but have so far refrained from any public criticism.

Thus the general picture that emerges is that Cambodia, after many months of isolation, is now moving slowly out into the open to establish more diplomatic and foreign trade relations with the rest of the world. (12)

THE ATTITUDE OF THE WESTERN LEFT

CONSIDERING the warm friendship between Cambodia and China it is hardly surprising that Western Maoists strongly support the new government in Phnom Penh. In the May 21 1975 issue of the American weekly, the *Guardian*, Wilfred Burchett claims that "99 per cent of the fantastic stories circulating about Cambodia since liberation are pure invention and the remainder is wild exaggeration ... There has not been a single verified case of arrest, reprisals or executions." As for the evacuation of Phnom Penh he quotes a Cambodian spokesman in Paris, saying that "we have no knowledge whatsoever of any forced evacuation of Phnom Penh", and on this basis feels able to conclude that "if one sifts fact from fiction and studies the accounts of some experienced journalists on the spot there is no hard evidence of any 'forced' wholesale evacuation" (1) In the April 21 1976 issue of the same magazine he reiterated this position. While admitting that "we know little in detail what goes on in Cambodia" he contends that Khmer Rouge is building "an original, revolutionary society and in keeping with Cambodian traditions, history and culture." Meanwhile, evidence against the new government continues to pile up, and some of this has been quoted above ... Perhaps it is significant that Burchett has not written more on Cambodia since then?

Last year also saw the publication of George Hildebrand's and Gareth Porter's book *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, which is a warm defence of the Cambodian revolution. The two authors deal primarily with the economic development since April 1975 and claim that the people's standard of living is improving. This is quite plausible; most observers now agree on this point. However, their extremely well founded economic analysis does not tell us who rules in Cambodia, and on this point Hildebrand and Porter do not say very much. They contend that "for the first time the people are masters of their country." But their only evidence for this is a statement from the government itself, and this can hardly be considered valid proof. It would seem that the undeniable economic progress in Cambodia has led them to adopt too uncritical an attitude to the broadcasts from Radio Phnom Penh.

Recently, the well known English expert on Asia, Malcolm Caldwell, has also rallied to the defence of Cambodia. In his review of the book by Hildebrand and Porter he says for instance, "On the alleged mass slaughter in Kampuchea much might be written, but at this stage let it suffice to dismiss the most horrendous 'guesstimates' habitually trotted out in the press. Western sources give a 1969 population figure for Cambodia of 6,700,000 with a growth rate of 2.1 per cent per annum. In March last year (1976), in connection with the elections, it was announced by the new revolutionary government that the population of the country was over 7,700,000. An estimated 800,000 were killed as a result of American aggression in the five years following the CIA coup of 1970. Simple arithmetic rules out of court the wildest morbid fantasies of the reactionary media." (13)

Now the first, and immediate, objection to this argument is that the
Cont p.7.

government's own claim that the country had a population of 7.7 million in March 1976 can hardly be considered sufficient evidence that no Cambodians have "disappeared" since the take-over in April 1975. But the second and more important objection is that this figure is quite impossible, and surely Caldwell would have found that out had he looked more closely at his own figures. With a 1969 population of 6.7 million and a yearly growth rate of 2.1 per cent there would have been 7,750,000 inhabitants in 1976. From this figure we deduct around one million killed in war and we are left with only 6,750,000, which means that even if the Khmer Rouge had not executed a single person Cambodia could not possibly have had a population of 7.7 million in 1976.

By contrast the Trotskyists, who initially hailed the victory of April 17, soon began to doubt some of the policies of the Khmer Rouge. "Revolutionary Marxists are duty bound to voice their concern over the program that is being followed in Cambodia. It is not a Communist program", Joseph Hansen writes in the May 19 1975 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. In the June 10 1976 issue of *Inprecor*, the organ of the Fourth International, Pierre Rousset claims that "a democratic organisation of the masses does not exist, and *Angkar* seems to have developed the theory of 'the leading party' further than any other Indochinese movement." And in *Intercontinental Press* from June 6 of this year he states that "the 'Cambodian road' cannot serve as a model for the development of the Third World countries."

Finally it should be added that recently Jean Lacouture, a longstanding supporter of the Khmer Rouge, came out with a strong denunciation of the new regime. In his review of Francois Ponchaud's book, which was published in March this year, he says that "we are now seeing the suicide of a people in the name of revolution; worse, in the name of socialism ... A group of modern intellectuals, formed by Western thought, primarily Marxist thought, claim to seek to return to a rustic Golden Age, to an ideal rural and national civilisation. And proclaiming these ideals, they are systematically massacring, isolating and starving city and village populations." Lacouture concludes his review by saying that "when men who talk of Marxism are able to say, as one quoted by Ponchaud (on page 97) does, that only 1.5 or 2 million young Cambodians out of 6 million will be enough to rebuild a pure society, one can no longer simply speak of barbarism. What barbarians have acted in this way? Here is only madness." (14)

Later Noam Chomsky, who has written with sympathy of the Spanish anarchists, pointed out some errors of citation in Lacouture's review, and in the May 26 issue of the *New York Review of Books* Lacouture comments on these corrections. For instance, Lacouture had wrongly identified the newspaper *Prachachat* as "a government paper", while it is a Thai paper which on June 10 1976 carried an interview with a Khmer Rouge official who said, as Ponchaud writes on page 73, that he found the revolutionary method of the Vietnamese "very slow", requiring "a lot of time to separate the good people from the counter-revolutionaries." And it was the Thai reporter of the paper who drew the conclusion Lacouture quoted that the Khmers have "overturned the basket and with it all the fruit it contained, and will, from now on, choose only the fruit that suits them perfectly."

However, this is only a minor detail and the fundamental argument still remains valid. "Is it of crucial historical importance", Lacouture asks, "to know whether the victims of Dachau numbered 100,000 or 500,000? Or if Stalin had 1,000 or 10,000 Poles shot at Katyn?" It is perfectly clear that criticism of the Cambodian revolution may have the effect of serving the interests of reactionary, imperialist circles. However, as Lacouture points out, because denunciations of Stalinism pleased senator McCarthy, would that have been a good reason for remaining silent about Gulag?

Today there cannot be much doubt that the Khmer Rouge have much blood on their hands; and by their refusal to let independent observers visit the country to make a thorough investigation of what has happened, the Khmer Rouge inevitably give grounds to suspect their motives.

An authoritarian government may impose force on a people - even for many years. It may raise the people's standard of living considerably, but you cannot, for that reason, talk about a free and democratic country. And if socialism has got anything to do with freedom and democracy - which it should have - then the realities of Cambodia have nothing to do with socialism. In Lacouture's words: There is a time, when a great crime is taking place, when it is better to speak out, in whatever company, than to remain silent.

June 21, 1977

TORBEN RETBØLL

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(1) See the eyewitness accounts by Sidney H. Schanberg, *New York Times*, May 9; by Jon Swain, *Sunday Times*, May 11; and by Patrice de Beer, *Le Monde*, May 8, 9, 10, 1975

- (2) *Newsweek*, September 8 1975.
- (3) George Hildebrand & Gareth Porter, *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, New York 1976, pp. 42-56.
- (4) Quoted in Francois Ponchaud, *Cambodge annee zero*, Paris 1977, pp. 122-23.
- (5) *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 87.
- (6) *Far Eastern Economic Review*, January 2, 1976; Ponchaud, op. cit. p. 221.
- (7) Op. cit., p. 97.
- (8) Quoted in the Copenhagen newspaper *Information*, May 12, 1977.
- (9) See Hildebrand & Porter, op. cit., pp. 57-94; Ponchaud, op. cit., pp. 83-85; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 29, 1976.
- (10) The constitution can be found in French in an appendix to Ponchaud's book and in English in *Tricontinental*, no. 101, 1976.
- (11) Ponchaud, op. cit., pp. 135, 146.
- (12) See *Asia 1976 Yearbook*, Hong Kong 1976; *Asia 1977 Yearbook*, Hong Kong 1977; *Far Eastern Economic Review*, October 29, December 10, 1976, April 29, 1977, Ponchaud op. cit. pp. 98-112.
- (13) *Class and Race*, vol. 18, no. 4, spring 1977, p. 426.
- (14) *New York Review of Books*, March 31, 1977.

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CORRECTION(S)

IN OUR Editorial "At It Again" of 25 June, we inadvertently referred to Tariq Ali and his Trotskyist friends as a "horror circle"; it should have read "narrow circle". (Upon reflection, though, "horror" may not have been so wide of the mark.)

We do regret, however, the absence of proof-reading that allowed this to stand, and also changed "readers" into "leaders". The earlier sentence in the same para should read "He hopes...that his new *Socialist Challenge* "with the help of its readers, will break out of the narrow circle of far left politics".

EDITORS.

It would do well for Albon to get across the truthful parts of what he has to say if he could refrain from all sorts of pseudo-scientific crap (e.g. 'The Unitary Theory of Disease'). Personally I believe that the medical monopoly is, on the whole, a detrimental thing. Yet is ama-

Sorry to be argumentative, but I believe that Albon has a lot to say, and shouldn't go around hurting his credibility by spouting obvious non-

Also in the same issue of FREEDOM there was an article on "Centralisation and Dependancy" which had quite a lot of relevance to the issues raised in my own article. An understanding of the detailed mechanics of, say, hybridisation, does not necessarily result in the wisest of such knowledge. A broad look at the whole relationship of man with his environment must restrain the worst excesses of our experts.

young women are not human beings. As we have said, we are like animals to them - hunted in the jungle, the men killed, the children sold... We know... the situation at a place called Arroyo Mandilí - which is a sort of military garrison. There the soldiers had about 150 Ache-Guayaki girls, many only 7 and 8 years old, constantly raped and otherwise sexually abused. Until 1977 the town of San Juan Nepomuceno was the center of a slave trade - an Ache community there sold their own people as slaves to the army. The army took the slaves to the barracks in ASPESMINE towns, 70-75% to be recruited by Magic Inc.

9 July '77

...BUT
NOT
TOO
POOR

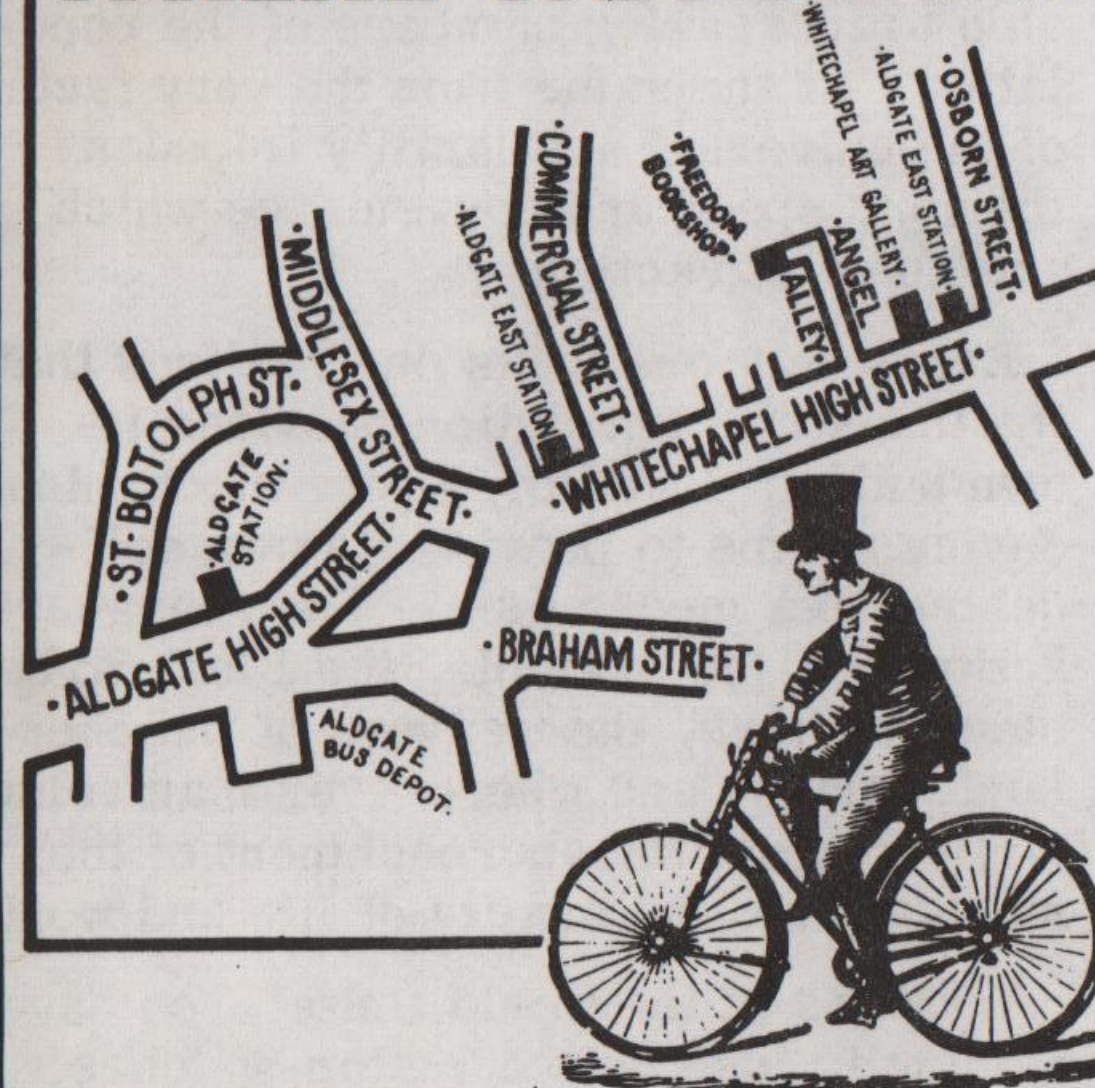


"Otherwise" could be a useful category for all concerned if it didn't seem to distress education authorities, who go out of

The premises are leased from Islington Borough Council for a nominal rent. The house, a 200-year-old listed historic building, was in a dilapidated condition but hard work has made the interior at least bright and cheerful. It is certainly a better building than those enjoyed by most free schools; for example Leeds had an old, extremely tatty church. It has four floors and a large basement. Extensive renovation, alteration and decoration have been carried out. A local firm has allowed free use of an open area behind the house, used for sports, etc. Animals have been kept there. For three months a more than life-size papier mache white lion was draped over the rather imposing stone portico, but the district surveyor finally condemned it as a fire risk.

BOOKSHOP NOTES

WHERE WE ARE....



Items marked * are published in USA.

I guess I spoke too soon last week about the Croxley Script - still having 'feeding' problems. But that is nothing in comparison to the problems of the Ache-Guayaki in Paraguay. "There are many legends about the Ache-Guayaki," says a man named Corneo Ferreira. He is famous in Paraguay and well-thought-of by the government, a national hero. As recently as 1959 he was merely an Indian hunter who had so many children that he could not support them all. He started a business selling skins and furs. In 1960 he was hit by malaria and died. His wife took over his business. Four years later she died. Her son, Antonio Ferreira, was left alone at the age of 17. He has no other relatives. He is now married with the algaeski script.

The staff originally came from the planning group, but there has since been considerable turnover. At present there are eight "workers" plus a number of part timers. Everybody shares all chores, organisation etc., although the adults do insist on a daily cleaning session without the children. They think that a specialisation into "teachers", "cleaners", "secretaries" and so on is both unhelpful and wasteful. Each has their own teaching specialities, for example Phelan has created an art room, Geoff teachers "number", but they are also involved in all other aspects of school life. Others visit to do pottery, photography, drama, biology and many other subjects.

ORGANISATION AND STRUCTURE

Decisions are made informally and on an individual basis. Soon after opening it was decided that each child should be allocated (with, of course, their full approval) to an adult, who is responsible for following the child's progress, particularly in the basic skills of reading, writing and numbering, for close contact with the family, for day to day organisation of the child's programme and for keeping records of his or her progress. Decisions are made at meetings. The most important one is on Wednesday afternoons, which is for all children, parents and other workers. In addition, special meetings can be called by any ten people. Usually discussion continues until there is agreement, although votes have sometimes been taken.

The school fills a number of functions, as well as being a "school." It also runs a nursery for pre-school children and remains open as much as possible as a community centre. This principle of staying open as much as possible has sometimes caused problems, for example at holiday times, but it has been kept to as far as possible. As for the schooling aspects, each full time worker is based in a particular room. Those who have school age children allocated to them spend each morning in their rooms, working on basic skills. The expectation is that all children will "do some work" in the mornings, and it is reported that the children see this as compulsory. In fact this is not how it is intended. The only sanction used is verbal "nagging" and a lot of time is spent in discussing how much of this is reasonable, whether it is counter-productive, etc. The afternoons have a wide variety of alternatives; the workers recognise that only by having these does "freedom" become meaningful, otherwise it would be a purely negative concept. Evenings are similar except that parents are included. The use of evenings has meant that there is no difficulty in reaching the 400 "session" attendance required by law.

Many outside trips go on. For example this morning (Monday) the school was quiet, as many children were at the zoo and most of the rest were on holiday in Cornwall. This has become an annual event. There has been an exchange trip with a free school in Denmark, which was a great success. Often after an organised trip the children will make return visits unaccompanied.

FINANCE

Until now the school has been supported in a variety of ways. A number of trusts have made contributions, in particular the Wates Foundation, which gave a three year grant of £8,000, in fact extended beyond this but now finished. Islington Borough Council provide some money, technically for the nursery and social worker-type activities. They consider that these are the equivalent of a full time community, and provide a salary accordingly. The Inner London Education Authority gives some help, for instance in providing free school meals for those who would be entitled to them in a state school. In addition much money is raised by the activities of the participants, e.g. from speaking and media fees, pamphlet sales, etc. Finance has always been a major problem for projects like this. The volunteers exhaust themselves over a period of time, managing on a shoe string. In some ways White Lion St has been luckier than others.

CRISIS

The current crisis is, of course, financial at base. There has been no doubt over the standards attained in education or community work. The school has had several visits from Her Majesty's Inspectorate, especially at the beginning when it was first "registered" (this is the minimal status - prestige independent schools are "recognised"). They found it difficult to elicit any criticisms and the inspectors seemed impressed

with progress. Constructive advice was given about complying with health and safety standards. Now the school is widely recognised to provide a useful service (at least!) They have continued visits from teachers from the ILEA and from abroad. The work of the school has been praised by Peter Newsam, chief education officer for ILEA. Yet it must close. Why?

The grants have run out. There are a number of provisional donations but these are dependent on some funding from ILEA. This has been refused, finally, at a meeting of the schools sub-committee last Thursday (23 June) by seven votes to six. Official reasons are not very forthcoming, but in conversations with officials various remarks have emerged such as "if they gave money to us, they wouldn't be able to fund other projects", "they can't fund an independent school as the Tories would use it as a stick to beat them with, when they want to fund independent fee-paying schools" (as if White Lion St was comparable to Eton or Winchester!), "funding you would be an insult to those people doing such a fine job in London comprehensives" (presumably the same people who come to White Lion St to try to get some hints on how to cope with the problems they all face) and even "schools in North London already get more money than those in South London, so we can't fund you on top of this."

So what is the school asking? Nothing extortionate. They want to have "capitation" equivalent to state schools. In other words, they want ILEA to produce the same amount of money as they would spend if the children could be kept in ILEA schools. This has been calculated at approximately £20,000 for the next year. ILEA say that if those children who could be fitted into the state system are removed, they will provide funds to run the project as a form of truancy centre for the rest. In theory this means that the pupils (inmates) would ultimately be fed back into the conventional system, although in practice, at many such centres this is just lip service. However, White Lion St refuses this, rightly. Again this point of view is recognised and appreciated by everybody concerned. White Lion St is a school and a community centre, not a dumping ground for the system's misfits. The fact that many of the children do represent this to the authority is irrelevant. They came to White Lion St voluntarily. What will happen to them if the school closes? Everybody (including ILEA) agrees that most of them cannot be fitted back into the system.

The only possible explanation for official intransigence is para-political. The Labour majority of the ILEA is just too stuck in bureaucratic blindness. The policies against funding independent schools are locally decided, not by national law. Even with these there are several categories under which funds could be provided. So once again individual freedom is forbidden, as it will not fit conveniently into bureaucratic pigeon holes (and because they are frightened of giving political capital to the Tories?) The minority Tory group on the committee have forced another meeting to take place on 19 July, but nobody at the school is very hopeful about the outcome. It looks as if the school will close at the end of term, on 22 July and 50 children will be abandoned. Some will be forced back into the straitjacket of the state system, some will end up at ILEA's own truancy centres. (Ironically there is now a White Lion Youth Centre directly across the road, although there has been little evidence of any youths. With that building - an old school - and some money, what couldn't the Free School have achieved?) Some parents have said on the radio that they will keep their children at home rather than send them to state schools. And all that is needed by capitation, the money that ILEA will spend on these children in their schools, with of course the savings made by not needing truancy officers, social workers and the like. And even the ILEA's own officials agree. What better illustration could we ask of the stupidity of bureaucracy?

Publications from White Lion St. Free School, 57 White Lion St, London N.1., (all plus postage).

"How to set up a Free School", pamphlet, 50p. Bulletin 2 (covers formation and first year), 30p; Bulletin 3 (development up to summer 1975), 40p; Bulletin 4 (summer 1975 to autumn 1976), 25p.

The school have always added "and more if you can afford it." I presume this still applies; even if they close they will, in the nature of things, have a pile of debts.

DAVID PEERS

aims of a free school

For us learning is defined as the development of the capacity for choice and control. It is an expansion of the learner's own scope for action. It is not something which can be taken out of the hands of the learner, but can only take place when the learner is taking the initiative himself. Defined in this way learning is not compatible with a situation in which the choice of subject-matter and teaching method is made by the teacher. It requires a certain essential degree of freedom within which the learner's own needs can be identified and met. However, this freedom is not a simple thing. It is not, contrary to the stereotype which the words 'free school' have come to suggest, merely a negative freedom. It is not simply a matter of lifting the constraints of mass schooling, though that is an essential condition. Of course we must get away from factory models of education, from generalised pre-packed curricula, from petty rules, corporal punishment, rigid hierarchical structures etc etc. But freedom must have positive dimensions too. It must be more than the freedom not to have to spend 21% of the school day being 'supervised' or 'organised for work' (The Teacher's Day, Hilsum and Cane, National Foundation for Educational Research). It must be the freedom to make significant choices between positive activities: writing a poem, learning how to strip a Land Rover engine, compiling a dossier on re-development in your area etc etc.

If such choices, in great variety and closely geared to the children's own experiences of life were not available, 'freedom' we believe would be a meaningless - perhaps destructive - gift.

This view of learning is, of course, not new. It is in many ways identical with a simple statement of the 'child-centred' theory to which much progressive, especially primary, school practice is ostensibly geared today.

We feel, however, that if it is to be applied seriously, new school structures are required: that its final implications are not realisable within existing state school structures. Much is written today about a crisis in the school system in this and all other 'developed' countries. The symptoms of the alleged crisis: truancy, violence, poor and possibly falling levels of literacy etc etc, indicate the failure of an old-established school structure to meet the changing needs of our present society.

But while an analysis of the apparent crisis is a valuable exercise, we feel that our role is to make positive suggestions and to try to find genuine routes out of the present muddle. In general we have decided that we will be much less effective in this if we devote our energies to a 'demolition' job which could alienate the very people whom we hope to influence and help: that is teachers and administrators who at present feel responsible for the 'failures' of existing schools.

Unlike the negative concept of 'freedom from', the positive concept of 'freedom to do' does not at all undermine the role of adults in the school. Their role is vital. They are learners themselves, and then interpreters, and then tentative stage managers or directors of the children's learning.

A learner will clearly only take initiatives in areas which he finds interest him. But he - and the younger he is the more this will be so - may not be aware in an objective way of more than a few of his potential interests. It is the teacher's task to identify them for him, and offer him scope for learning about them.

Our concept of the teacher's task is one for which we feel there are few, if any, precedents in practice. It is infinitely delicate and we feel we still have a great deal to learn about it. In attempting to identify a child's interests we believe that the teacher must never overstep the boundaries of the child's autonomy; must never force-feed but offer only an appropriate menu carefully selected after much reflection on each child's likes and dislikes, talents and stumbling blocks.

We think that to force a child to do something is to remove the very autonomy which is essential for learning.....

..... The less schooling a child has had, the less it seems to us that he shies away from difficulty. In fact difficulty is quite often relished - perhaps because it is a sign of having taken hold of something new. The same is true of persistence over a period of time. Only a shallow view of childhood, as a period of mindless irresponsibility, has led to the opposite belief.

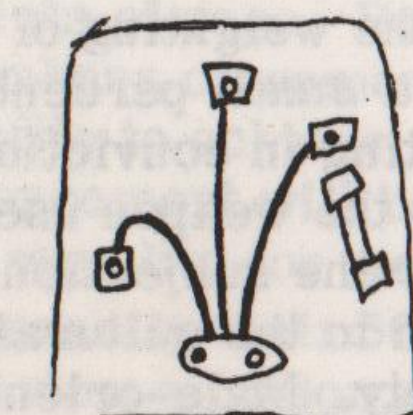
This is not to say that the child does not need guidance and encouragement. He may be looking for challenges (most children are) but identifying them is something he most certainly needs help with. It is because the teacher's role here is so vital that we have set up an allocation system (described in the section on organisation and structure), in which every child is the particular responsibility of one particular adult.

Learning, as we define it, is not something divorced from the child's experience of life but a way of extending and consolidating that experience. We do not, therefore, try to adopt different approaches to learning and to the child's general behaviour as though the two were separable. So we believe that a sense of autonomy is an important aspect of the child's whole experience of life in the school. The power to make decisions for yourself and to act on them - self discipline - must, we think be learnt by real experience, not taught.

The experience of autonomy is, of course, only possible in the school if children have real scope to make decisions. We therefore try to keep our interference in the children's behaviour to an absolute minimum - to cases where they are seriously threatening each other or school property. There are very few general rules: they have arisen from discussion at the general weekly school meeting.

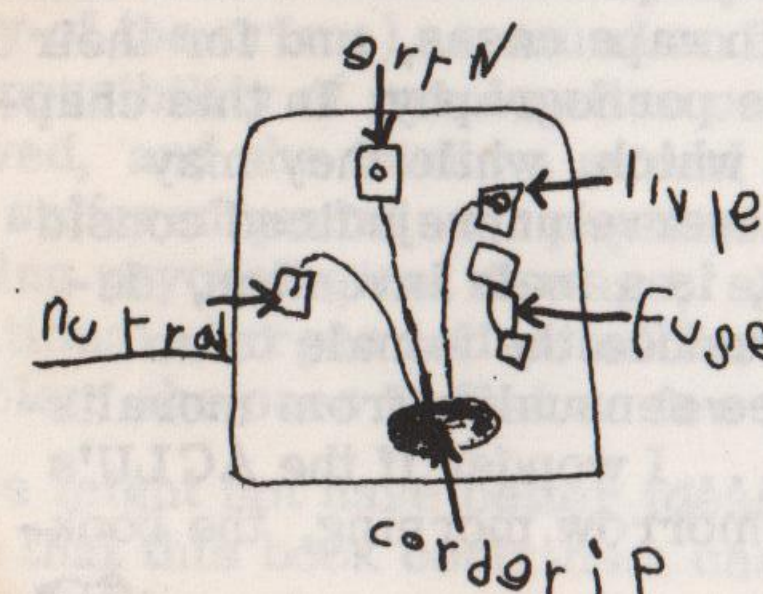
An important ingredient of an environment which encourages autonomy is, in our view, the visible autonomy of the adults. They too must be able to make decisions without fear (for example,

(cont on page 13)

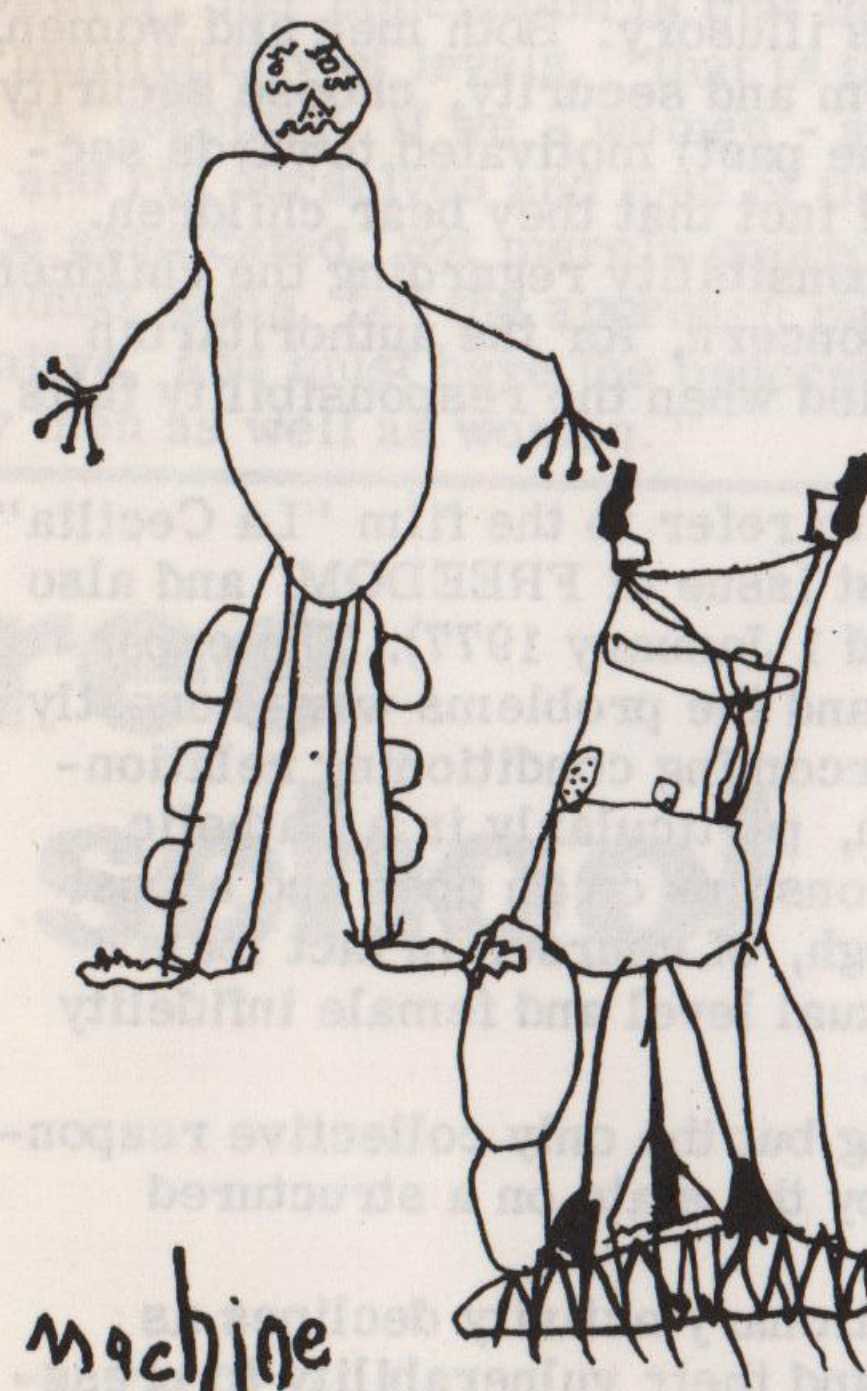


at wiring

13 amp Fused plug



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THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

AGAINST OUR WILL, Men, Women and Rape, by Susan Brownmiller (Penguin, 472pp. 95p).

THAT RAPE IS "... a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" is the thesis Susan Brownmiller seeks to substantiate in her book about men, women and rape, *Against Our Will*. A challenging gauntlet thrown down, and she has armed herself with about five years of footslogging through courts and police stations and a brain taxing journey through nearly the whole history of the human race to present day case histories (attested to in forty pages of source notes, thoughtfully arranged to relate to their chapters, and a twenty-five page index) to defend the hypothesis against any challengers who might appear on the field from religious, nationalist, political or civil liberties quarters. (She has a special barb for the last named).

The author reveals that her mind was changed between the time of her first, sceptical, article on rape in 1968 and her involvement in the women's movement and the progress of the research. This may be why she needed to attempt a definitive study tracing the anthropological, theological, geographical and historical origins of the crime of rape committed in the cities of her own country today. Whether or not the social needs of ancient Hebrews and the survival needs of primitive tribes have direct relevance to coping with this particular crime of civilisation today, she demonstrates the universality of rape in these references and in specific instances of ancient and modern marital and property laws, of ancient and modern wars, imperialist and revolutionary, and of many nations, including North American Indians.

VACUUM POLITICS

MANY revolutionary groups of the left talk and act as though the politics of human society is in a vacuum. It is the politics of control, the politics of an élite. The capitalist system (including state capitalism) does not rule by force alone but by ideology and conditioning on a social level.

It is necessary to challenge the very basis of our social relationships, to de-condition ourselves and encourage others to do the same, so that the revolution is not aborted at its moment of triumph by the fears and inhibitions of the past. The authoritarian state requires the nuclear family, the nuclear family requires a nuclear technology because its social relationships are competitive, irrational and wasteful to sustain.

The relationship of family, property and the state was well understood by early socialists as the power of the Victorian patriarchal family was evident and understood. Now different authorities dominate - technocrats, mediocrats, bureaucrats. The family to some extent is even more nuclear, as it is now welded to individual property-owning community which penetrates the whole of western society. Formerly families were more extended. Society has become more fragmented and families smaller with more safety valves in divorce, contraception and permissiveness within a financial autocracy that still reinforces the fear of freedom.

Our new contemporary Zero, in its editorial "Anarchism/Feminism", recognises that anarchist thought must permeate the whole scope of human relationships. "Of all oppression the most fundamental is that of patriarchy, the domination of men over women." However, with regard to the feminist movement outside the anarchist movement one must, if one recognises the essential equality of men and women, see that women in a power-structured society are equally capable of authoritarianism.

The fact of legal equality can become the reality of equal slavery harnessed in a double trace of mortgages, alienation and consumerism.

The horror, terror and shame during and after suffering rape are made real in accounts by living victims. The author was surprised by the number of occasions of rape and attempted rape that are not reported to the police (estimated by the FBI as 4 out of 5), then shocked and cured of her surprise by the cynical and amused reaction of the police from whom she sought information (the raped woman being she who changed her mind afterwards), and angered at the weighting of the law in the accused's favour, which ends in a small percentage of cases actually brought to trial resulting in conviction. The basis of her premise being that rape is the weapon used or threatened by the whole race of men for the subjection of the whole race of women, attention is given to the cultural mores and psychological attitudes of our society. Male-oriented Freudian psychology is blamed as fostering a totally inaccurate popular conception of rape, and the Freudians are criticised for never having written a major volume on rape and for rigid refusal to make a moral condemnation of "deviant sexual behaviour." The American Civil Liberties Union comes under attack as the representative of the liberal establishment for having been pressurised into withdrawing opposition to changes in the law that would eradicate the requirement of corroborative evidence against the accused in rape cases, and for their defence of the right to disseminate pornography. In this chapter she makes some telling points which, while they may align her with Mrs Whitehouse, deserve unprejudiced consideration. "Pornography, like rape, is a male invention, designed to dehumanise women, to reduce the female to an object of sexual access, not to free sensuality from moralistic or parental inhibition." And "... I wonder if the ACLU's position might change if, come tomorrow morning, the book-

I am not at all sure that the statement in the same editorial "To be a feminist is to be a revolutionary, because to live freely necessitates revolution" is necessarily true, for modern capitalist society is becoming more and more technocratic and equal opportunities for women to enter into the technocracy will not necessarily be conducive to revolutionary thought.

Much of the family set-up has to do with security. Even if the sort of security secured is illusory. Both men and women, when choosing between freedom and security, choose security. Women are (and more so in the past) motivated towards security because of the biological fact that they bear children. The concept of collective responsibility regarding the children has always been a matter of concern, for the authoritarian pressures can always be applied when the responsibility falls on isolated individuals.

In this respect I would like to refer to the film "La Cecilia" (see Claude's notice in the last issue of FREEDOM, and also issues of 6 November 1976 and 1 January 1977). The experiences were close to my own and the problems were honestly posed. The difficulties of overcoming conditioning relationships between men and women, particularly in a Catholic country where extended relationships on an open and honest level are discouraged. Although, of course, in fact male infidelity is tolerated on a sexual level and female infidelity is not.

These attitudes are changing but the only collective responsibility for children is taken by the state on a structured basis.

It is no accident that revolutionary activity declines as people embark on family life and their vulnerability to pressure increases.

Revolutionary collective responsibility is something to be considered as a means of developing a free consciousness in personal relationships, and with the practicalities of mutual aid.

AA

stores and movie theatres lining Forty-second Street in New York City were devoted not to the humiliation of women by rape and torture, as they currently are, but to a systematised, commercially successful propaganda machine depicting the sadistic pleasures of gassing Jews or lynching blacks "

How are women to be protected against rape I do not know the answer. Susan Brownmiller's specific remedies are: continued propaganda to release women from inhibitions of embarrassment and shame so that they report all cases of or attempts at rape. This sounds curious in view of her earlier experience of the unwillingness of the police to listen to complaints of rape. But she would remedy this by increasing the numbers of women in the police force. "I am convinced that the battle to achieve parity with men in the critical area of law enforcement will be the ultimate testing ground on which full equality for women will be won at last." By parity she means exactly that: 50-50. Secondly, "I am one of those people who view a prison sentence as a just and lawful societal solution to the problem of criminal activity, the best solution

we have at this time, as civilised retribution and as a deterrent against the commission of future crimes. Whether or not a jail is 'rehabilitative' matters less, I think, than whether or not a guilty offender is given the penalty his crime deserves." She regards the current American approach of sentencing (from six months to twenty years, depending on the severity of the crime) as sound and even generous, considering the possibility of parole after one third of a sentence has been served, and she thinks a sexual assault in which the victim has suffered permanent physical damage or disfigurement, or lasting psychological damage, should subject the offender to additional charges and penalties for aggravated assault. The problem she sees is that so few rapists go to jail.

We might not have better ideas, but it strikes a curious note that this book contains a chapter on homosexual rape in prisons, by prisoners and by prison wardens, which is at least equally as horrific as any of the accounts of rape of women by men. And there is also a short chapter on rape offences by policemen. In the final pages she "admitted" that her researches for this book included a three-month training programme in jujitsu and karate. She and other women in the class discovered that they had a strong inhibition against hitting which proved a greater hindrance to becoming fighting women than their pathetic underdeveloped muscles. And yet, they discovered in wonderment that as they learned to place their kicks and jabs with precision they were actually able to inspire fear in the men.

However, her conclusion is that the fighting back must be on a multiplicity of levels, "that is the activity we must engage in, together, if we - women - are to redress the imbalance and rid ourselves and men of the ideology of rape. Rape can be eradicated, not merely controlled or avoided on an individual basis, but the approach must be long-range and co-operative, and must have the understanding and good will of many men as well as women."

free school

fear of a head's authority), and to have the freedom of access to facts which affect their choice (eg. the true condition of the school's finances).

It is sometimes supposed that a new method of deriving areas for study implies that the areas themselves must be new. But although the result often cuts across traditional subject areas, it can be most often described in terms of them: a study of aspects of our bodies (where the food goes, blood and circulation, reproduction) for example; the wiring of the school building; food and nutrition, including identifying different constituents of food; an investigation of the Islington labour market involving use of statistics, averages, percentages etc. and as a by-product, always the use of reading, writing, library and telephone skills and so on. However, where society's requirements become closely specified - in terms of exam qualifications - it may be necessary for us to explain their relevance to the children. Our attitude to exams is that while they may yield very useful passports they are unlikely to bear much relation to any child's specific interests. Nor are they a valid measure of any aspect of a child's potential except perhaps his willingness, for one reason or another, to undertake a laborious task designed by someone else. But given their value as passports we are anxious that any child at the school who understands this, and who will not feel judged by exams should have every help in passing as many as possible. In fact it seems that some of our fourteen and fifteen-year-olds are now seriously considering attempting some exams in this way. The present staff of the school cannot of course teach the whole range of exam subjects. In this, as in the general running of the school, we have always planned to rely on our growing register of specialists and number of other educational establishments (further education colleges, adult institutes etc) to take subjects we ourselves are not qualified or equipped to teach.

- From White Lion Free School Bulletin No. 2



Susan Brownmiller's books seems to acknowledge this in the chapters giving the most numerous examples of rape, or of widespread rape, which occur in wars. In oppressed classes there is always at the bottom of the pile the female of the oppressed class, and in this sense the process of intimidation could be said to be of all men upon all women.

A slogan has been added in the past couple of weeks to the "ideology" of rape by the judge who, in substituting a suspended for an actual prison sentence for attempted rape, took into consideration that the victim wouldn't have got so badly injured if she hadn't struggled. This is the kind of thing that rightly brings women up fighting. And yet, despite the apparent increase in rape and sexual assaults in our towns and cities, rape is not the normal basis of relations between men and women, not even in the property relationship of marriage, and certainly not a conscious process of intimidation by all men to keep all women in a state of fear. I think it possible that in all societies rape is a crime that is likely to occur on occasion, as is murder. But the ideology of rape will not be more successfully eradicated by more and longer prison sentences and by the vigorous kick in the most sensitive area than is war by states maintaining a balance of terror.

M.C.

ROBERTO ROSSELLINI 1906-1977

THE RECENT death of the Italian film director Roberto Rossellini has taken from the world one of the pioneers of neo-realist cinema, an influence in style and technique that burst forth immediately after World War 2, and which has remained a potent power in film ever since. Libertarian cinema in particular has cause to acknowledge Rossellini's contributions, for not only did he exploit neo-realism with powerful effect, but he also created one particular film that was responsible for the erosion of the strict censorship system that over many decades had emasculated and weakened American productions.

"Open City" (1945) which dealt with the war experiences of the people of Rome, was (for its time) a brutal record of the horrors and miseries of war and a brutal regime, and brought home to audiences outside of Central Europe an awareness of the full impact of the cruelty, barbarism and senseless waste of World War 2, and a realisation that it is always the people who suffer when pathological governments play their power games.

But perhaps the film that Rossellini should be most gratefully remembered for was "The Miracle" (1948), for, not only was it, in my opinion, a small masterpiece (it ran for less than an hour) but it drew much needed attention to the powerful and repressive censorship of films that existed all around the world.

Featuring Anna Magnani (whom Rossellini had employed in "Open City") it told of a shepherd girl whose mind was completely intoxicated by the Christian religion. A passing tramp whom she believes to be St Francis, takes advantage of her credulity to have sexual intercourse with her, and when she finds herself subsequently to be pregnant, she is further elated because she is convinced that she has been chosen by God to bear a holy infant on earth. Despite the derision of her fellow Christians, and the stern reprimands of her priests, she persists in her belief, and, driven finally from her village, she makes her way to the hills for refuge. Determined that when she gives birth it must take place on consecrated ground, she resolves to reach a secluded mountain monastery, but when finally she gets to it, and as her labour begins, she finds it deserted, and is forced to give birth on its porch before its locked door and shuttered windows.

LUDDITES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

When in the beginning of the 19th century, the introduction of 'labour-saving' machinery set off a wave of machine-wrecking, arson and sabotage, it was held by progressives (in retrospect) that this movement was crude, ignorant and useless. In view of the assumed fact that such machinery was inevitable in the advance of technology, that it would reduce human labour, improve living conditions and lead (under socialism, naturally) to the leisure-state, opposition to the introduction of machinery was felt to be 'feudal' even 'atavistic'.

After the sentencings at York Assizes by the Special Commission it was thought that this was the end of the matter and the progressive left have accepted the supposed inevitability, necessity and beneficent effects of mass-production machinery. But evidence is not lacking that Luddites are still at work today, and there is evidence that the views of the Luddites were not as ideologically incorrect as claimed.

In the blue print for the industrial revolution one distinctly remembers

that the set-up was programmed for mass-production to produce plenty in a short time, thereby leading to an increase of leisure with a subsequent wider development of culture in which peace would be a by-product. On looking over the end-product with a pair of sterilized tweezers, first having gone over it with a geiger-counter, it seems that there has been some flaw somewhere. Rather than feel that the blue-print was wrong it is usually felt that there must be some saboteurs at work - flinging the sabot of capital and profit into the machine.

The machine has, up to now succeeded in producing vast quantities of everything a man could desire except food, clothing and shelter. It is not that the machine system is incapable of producing these things. During 1914-18 and 1939-45 (with a severely limited manpower) it produced vast quantities of food, clothing and shelter - which were given away free! During these periods it produced vast quantities of ingenious technical apparatus, most of which was deposited - free of charge - upon the territory of those designated 'the enemy'.

In 1952 "The Miracle" was banned by the New York City licensing authority on the grounds of "blasphemy", but fortunately this verdict was reversed by the New York Court of Appeal who further ruled that films were not just "articles of commerce" but recognised the fact that they could on occasion also be deemed to be works of art, and thus protected from petty censorship harassment by the US Constitution. It was an important step forward in the struggle to free American cinemas from the tyranny of one of the most restrictive and paternalistic censorship systems known, and with the later Supreme Court decision regarding the film "491", film censorship for adults has virtually been abolished in the USA.

In Britain the British Board of Film Censors refused to pass "The Miracle" (even though in those days it was a well known fact that foreign language films rarely, if ever, got shown outside of London's small "art house" circuit). By contrast however, the London County Council not only passed the film, but at the same time assigned it a category that allowed children to see it if accompanied by an adult. It was shown at the Academy Cinema (who, through a quirk on the part of the LCC, were not allowed to use posters based on wood-cut designs which was their tradition), and to my knowledge not one word of objection or complaint was raised against it.

A much misunderstood film (but since it has not been very widely shown in this country, opinion may be lop-sided), I still regard "The Miracle" as one of the most genuinely subversive films ever made, and quite rightly did reactionary opinion view it as a full frontal attack on their most sacred institutions and the whole evil charade that is known as "religious faith." When the philistines are powerful enough to start burning works of art "The Miracle" will not escape the blaze, and had Rossellini never made any other film of merit, then this particular contribution to the ongoing struggle to free the human mind from superstition and its attendant evils, should merit the respect of all of us who value (and similarly struggle for) freedom.

DAVE GODIN

They, in turn, deposited the products of their ingenuity upon us, thus was a system of barter devised (called 'war') We succeeded in devising the apparatus that would produce the maximum number of enemy deaths. This was fantastically expensive and succeeded in bringing the war to an end. Production of food, clothing and shelter for free distribution ceased but the production of ingenious destructive devices goes on - aided by sci-fi dreamlike projects of reaching out into space. Some fiendish Luddite must have sabotaged the machine for it goes on producing while elephants like Concorde, and armaments which apparently nobody wants and cannot produce nourishing food, durable clothing and a modicum of shelter which everyone wants.

There has also been a failure to produce leisure—except in the unacceptable form of unemployment with reduced pay. Although labour-saving devices have been produced in quantity, more working-wives are necessary to pay for them. Also, the fact that the complex machine

EEB

MAKHNO AND HIS ENEMIES

I WOULD LIKE to draw attention to a new Canadian journal, *Meta*, which is edited by a group of Ukrainian emigrants in Toronto. The journal describes itself as "a forum for left wing analysis and discussion on the Ukrainian question, Eastern Europe and related international issues."

Of special interest to anarchists will be an article by Michael Malet on Nestor Makhno, the anarchist leader of a partisan army which fought both the Reds and the Whites during the civil war in Russia, 1918-20. The literature on Makhno is very scarce (a good survey, written by Paul Avrich, can be found in *FREEDOM*, 12 April 1975) and therefore many problems remain unsolved. The author has taken only one aspect, that of Makhno's relationship with his enemies.

Malet has long been studying the Makhno movement (he wrote a bibliographical survey in *CIRA* bulletin, no. 21, 1970) and he has traced much primary (and very rare) material. However, his article is not easy to read because his approach to the subject is analytical rather than chronological. Naturally this is quite legitimate but it means that the reader who is unacquainted with all the details of the movement may have difficulty following it. A short chronological introduction would have been very useful here. One of the problems is that so many different groups were struggling against each other in the Ukraine at that time. Besides Makhno there were:

1. The Reds, that is the Moscow Communists
2. The Whites, the Tsarist generals and the foreign interventionists
3. The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist movement
4. Ukrainian socialists, the Borotbisty
5. The Austro-German intervention, during 1918, and
6. Other partisan bands led by Grigoriev, Zeleny and others.

As Malet points out, Makhno never cooperated with the Whites, but he did - at different times - enter into alliances with the Ukrainian nationalists and the Bolsheviks. However, these agreements were always short-lived, since the political aims of the participants were too different for any alliance to last. "It is certainly true," Malet concludes, "that the Bolsheviks used the Makhnovists when convenient and turned on them once the Whites were out of the way. Therein, certainly, lies a measure of Bolshevik cynicism and Makhnovist naivete."

This judgement may be true. However, there is also reason to believe that the Makhnovists had no alternative when they made their agreements with the Bolsheviks. Certainly they knew that the Bolsheviks were their enemies and that an alliance was dangerous - but the political and especially the military situation hardly left them any choice.

exists and has to be paid for makes it necessary to maximise production to cover the cost—"the machine must pay for itself". This only leads to another problem, how to dispose of the surplus product and create a demand for it; this means that salesmen, advertising men, distributive trades employees, packers, accountants etc. must be employed to advertise, sell and distribute the product. Much of the labour saved on production (in some cases, all) is expended on distribution. Sabotage also takes place by the sales-resistance and failures to consume of the Luddites of this world.

Such leisure as has been won by the machine is filled by what was designed as cultural dissemination but somewhere along the assembly line some Luddite changed the product at its birth, and the grotesque banalities of press, radio, cinema and television take the place of

the cultural vistas opened up as possibilities with the technically wonderful inventions of the rotary press, television and telstar.

It is claimed by Luddite theoreticians that the mass-media machine is a King Midas in reverse, as it were—everything it touches turns to excreta.

The production of leisure has made large gaps in human consciousness where boredom and apathy would creep in but for the production of new sensations (literally and metaphorically) to fill these gaps.

One of the sensations produced by the machine is speed, primarily through the internal combustion engine. One of the by-products of speed is an appreciable quantity of death and injuries. The Luddites point out that such speeds inevitably produce these deaths and that mass production makes such instruments of



In his discussion of Makhno's relationship with the Bolsheviks Malet misses one interesting point. This is the information from Victor Serge that Lenin and Trotsky had toyed with the idea of recognising an autonomous region for the anarchist peasants of the Ukraine. "That arrangement would have been both just and diplomatic" Serge writes, "and perhaps an outlook as generous as this would have spared the revolution from the tragedy toward which we were drifting" (see *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, London 1963, 119). As we know, nothing came of this, but was it true? And if it was, why was it not tried out? Was it simply because the Bolsheviks could not allow an independent revolution to compete with their own - just as they had to crush the Hungarian and the Czechoslovak uprisings 50 years later, or is there any other reason? Be that as it may - it is good to see that research on the Makhno movement is in progress.

TORBEN RETBØLL

Eds' note We hope to reprint Michael Malet's article soon in *FREEDOM*

destruction (akin to armaments) available to increasing numbers of the population. At the same time the very fact of the universal availability impedes the very speed and convenience which are their attraction.

Every way one looks one realises that the industrial revolution provided its own built-in Luddite. Every mechanical device seems to provide its own self-destructive mechanism. The rearguard actions of, for example, the Fleet Street block-makers, the weavers of the Shetlands Islands and where-ever man voluntarily resists the encroachment of the machine into the quality of life and work.

Luddites of the world Unite! You have nothing to lose but your stop-watches!

Jack Robinson.