

# POLAND AND THE CAPITALIST HEART OF COMMUNISM

FREEDOM has not had a good hard look at Poland for exactly one year. Our last front page headline on Poland (13th Sept 80), was: 'The Betrayal Begins'.

Well, surprise, surprise, the betrayal in September 1980, that seemed to begin, never really got off the ground. For the fact is that the real betrayal began in October 1917 when the bourgeois counter-revolution began with the Bolshevik seizure of power. Ever since then, the ability of the men in the Kremlin to react to a threat other than by an exhibition of naked power has seemed impossible.

The credibility of exhibitions of naked power can wear as thin as their ideological clothing, even allowing for the thickness of their skins. Discounting Afghanistan, which is really papering their walls to fool the enemy, whilst plugging holes in the buffer-states around their frontiers, the tired old men in the Kremlin can no longer muster the ideological strength even to pretend.

A state is as strong as its economy, and the Soviet economy can no longer even pretend to hold the one trump card that matters: the supply of food to its people.

The root of the Bolsheviks' failure lies in one factor above all others: the alienation of the peasants. And that was not just in Stalin's mad attempt at forced collectivisation in the thirties, followed by his even more mad annihilation of six million kulaks for their opposition to his centralist policies — it lies deep in the heart of the Marxist dogma which lays the entire responsibility for the historic revolutionary role upon the industrial proletariat — scorning the peasantry for their backwardness.

The Ukraine used to be referred to as the 'breadbasket of Europe'. Now oddly enough, year after year, there is crop failure after crop failure, while across the Atlantic, in spite of the fearful results of the dustbowls of the 30's, due to the erosion caused by overcropping, abundance follows abundance year after year. So Russia buys food from America, year after year.

There is of course a price to pay for that. It is Western investment in the Soviet economy — that other kind of erosion: the inroads of foreign investment that undermines the ability of a nation to be 'master in its own house'.

Stalin's megalomania enabled him to resist this. Better his people starved, he thought, than that they should find themselves in hock to the capitalists. And, by St Nicholas, they starved.

The present generation of Soviet leaders is not so tough. Deserted now by the Communist parties in the Western capitalist countries, where the 'proletariat' is hooked on consumerism but ideals are a luxury few want to afford, their support has dwindled to their satellite governments and the armed forces they can count on. Unknown quantities all.

Because Marxism is an intellectual religion, the fact that the bulk of those who have found the courage to be 'dissidents' in the Soviet Union are 'intellectuals' must loom large in the Kremlin's hagiography. Don't forget that *they* think in terms of leaders, so that a few Sholszenitzins or Zhacharovs might seem the tips of bigger icebergs than they really are. *Workers* trying to start independent trade unions in the USSR can be discounted easier, perhaps, because the

Soviet leaders obviously, for all their Marxist ideology, have contempt for the workers, just like capitalists have.

But what about these workers in Poland?

Somehow, without the party hierarchy realising it, subversive ideas have been spreading, steadily but firmly. Ten years of stability, apparent servility, can breed a smugness in a ruling class detached from the grass roots. (Compare our own ruling class, here, and the anger among the young!) And it is now very clear that the beginning of the present Solidarity movement was way back in 1970, when protesting workers were shot down in Gdansk. The heady brew has been fermenting ever since.

The brew was not so heady, however, that it led them into impulsive adventurism. We cannot but admire the consummate skill with which the Polish workers have waged their battle against their state. Suspicious as we must admit we were of the Catholic Lech Walensa and his leading role, we must admit now that he has guided the struggle in the workshops and the shipyards with a deft touch, laced with toughness that has always put the workers one step ahead of their bosses.

Our comrades who advocate violence in all circumstances could do well to consider the non-violent nature of the Polish workers' struggle. Never, at any time, has the state been given the slightest excuse to get tough itself. Indeed, on the one occasion when police moved in and beat up some workers occupying a factory, Solidarity's leadership was able to mount moral indignation (plus the threat of a

general strike!) to denounce it — and stop it.

At every stage Solidarity's actions have been strong, determined, *direct*, industrial action, and its success has stemmed from the apparently 100 per cent support of the Polish working class. Even Communist workers have joined the struggle against their own party hierarchy. Hardly a week has passed in the last year when there has not been a strike of one sort or another.

But the gains have not been economic, for all reports seem to say that the state of the economy and the living standards of the workers and the availability of food, for example, is *worse* than it was a year ago.

What has been gained is a new dimension of responsibility in social relationships. Solidarity is a network of industrial unions independent of the state, the party, and their servile trade union structure. Indeed, as far as we can understand, the union structure laid down by Solidarity is not on a *trade* basis, but upon an

*industrial* basis — all workers in a factory belonging to the same union, rather than being split into separate 'trades', as they are in Britain. Hence the special significance in the word 'Solidarity', as distinct from the 'demarcations' which are so important in the division of labour in this country.

None of this, however, could have prevented the ruthless crushing of this dissident movement if the Soviets had felt able to do so.

What held them back?

Well, first of all, the enormous national debt that Poland has got herself into — mostly with Western banks. If Russia had moved into Poland in 1980 to take over against Solidarity, she would also have had to take over debts amounting to £13,000 million, spread over 480 banks in the capitalist West.

Interest charges alone on these debts amount to £1,500 million a year.

You may ask 'Why couldn't Russia just move in and take control of Poland without accepting responsibility for these

Polish debts?' And the answer would be because Russia itself has trading relations with the West, which would obviously be shall we say 'prejudiced' if this happened. Like no wheat this year?

Not only Marx, but Stalin, too, must be spinning in their graves. Never could either the highly phoney social scientist or the highly megalomaniac psychopath have foreseen that capitalism itself would have provided the contradictions in the communist system that would have rendered it powerless against the strength of the working class!

FOOTNOTE:

As we go to press, we note that West Germany, Poland's largest creditor, is urging Poland to rejoin the International Monetary Fund (a 'specialised United Nations Agency'), to help solve its serious debt problems.

Poland left the IMF when it became a member of the Comecon—Soviet block economic group. Return to the IMF would encourage Western banks to extend new loans....!

## IN BRIEF

THE Chinese government is considering measures to make birth control legally enforceable. The present system relies on fines and 'material incentives'. This is now said to be inadequate. Says a newspaper article 'compulsion is not the same as coercion'.

CONTRACEPTION is also a contentious issue in Zimbabwe. The government is to take over the Family Planning Association, after trouble about the use of the birth control drug, Dep-provera. This drug is under investigation in Europe and the USA. There is widespread disquiet about side effects. It formed the basis for family planning in rural areas in Zimbabwe. More than 100,000 women were using it there before it was banned in June. Announcing the take over, the Health Minister described the FPA as having a 'militaristic and fascist' approach to child care.

ALSO in Zimbabwe, Prime Minister Mugabe has said that children without school places are to undergo military training.

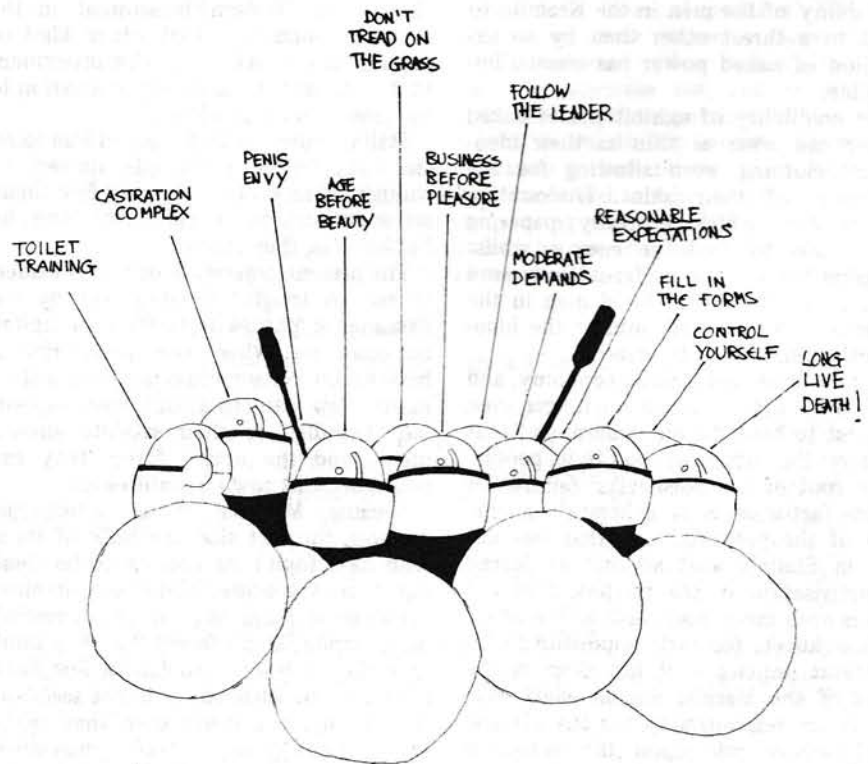


## ITALIAN ANARCHIST REFUSED ENTRY

AN Italian comrade, contributor to *Umanita Nova* has been refused entry to the UK as a visitor by immigration officials at Southampton because of (and here we quote the Refusal of Leave to Enter Document) 'information available to me about your recent political activities' It goes on 'I am sure that your exclusion is conducive to the public good!' Needless to say this 'information' is never revealed.

In addition the comrade was detained by officials for 25 hours and endured lengthy interrogations in which he was charged with having been involved in Northern Ireland, Liverpool and London disturbances and police took his photograph and fingerprints.

He writes that despite all this trouble, 'Nobody and nothing will prevent me from coming again to the UK even if the police have said to me: never!'



"Some never die, because they are already dead."

# 'SOLIDARITY' ABERDEEN

SOLIDARITY in Aberdeen have printed and distributed a leaflet on the Riots in Britain, the text of which is reproduced below:

All over Britain large numbers of people are confronting the police, are taking goods from shops without paying, are attacking property such as police stations and vehicles, shops, banks. What's happening is that many of us are no longer prepared to put up with harassment by the police, with poverty on the dole, with our lives being totally controlled by those in authority.

The government, police and the media try to make out the riots are just 'mindless violence and hooliganism'. But in the riots and other actions people are, on the whole, not hitting out indiscriminately but are acting against property belonging to businessmen and the government, and against the police, who defend with violence the privileges and power of big property owners and the state. We do not pretend that everything that is happening is positive. But anti-social acts such as attacks on innocent people, the stealing of working class people's possessions, the burning of houses have been the exception, not the rule.

## HARASSMENT

The police continually harass certain groups such as blacks and young people. Widespread harassment and intimidation of blacks by the police in Brixton was revealed by an inquiry into police-community relations mounted by the local Lambeth Council. A black girl in Liverpool describes the treatment she and her friends suffer regularly from the police, 'They stopped you and made you turn out your handbags for nothing, they hit people and called them black bastards.' (Guardian 17.7.81)

In addition to the major riots in places like Brixton, Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Leicester, there have been actions in dozens of cities and towns all over Britain. In Aberdeen on 15th July around 50 youths confronted the police in Union St. 4 who were arrested were fined £100

each. Another confrontation — mysteriously not reported in the local press — was in and around Byron Square, Northfield on the night of Friday 17th July. Police and young people clashed after police moved in to disperse and arrest youths who were gathering. The police arrested around 15 — 20 people. At least one person was beaten up in the police van after being nicked.

The police frequently harass young people in the area, ordering them to 'move on' when 2 or 3 people are doing nothing more than sitting about chatting. The police do the same elsewhere, for example outside The Other Record Shop in Union St. While people have not yet taken action on a major scale in Scotland, there have been several localised attacks on police vehicles, police stations, shops, etc, in Dundee, Glasgow, Paisley, Edinburgh, Perth and Blairgowrie over the past two weeks.

A major motivation in the riots has been people hitting back against police oppression. Apart from the Southall disturbances — when Fascist sympathisers invaded an Asian area — the riots have not involved any clashes between 'ordinary' whites and blacks. In Liverpool, Manchester, Brixton and elsewhere blacks and whites have fought together against the police. This fact is ignored by such as Powell. He is trying to whip up racist divisions with his 'send the blacks home' rubbish. He wants to see whites and blacks against each other, so that he and those like him can keep their privileges and wealth — divide and rule.

By looting shops people are quite rightly taking goods they need but are too poor to buy. Why should we put up with poverty and inequality in a world of potential plenty? Many have commented on the carnival-like atmosphere in areas where the police have been driven out. In taking such actions we gain a sense of our own power and a glimpse of how the world could be if all of us ran things, without any bosses, state or police.

Vicious repression has been the response to the revolt by the state and the

Tory government — backed by the Labour Party. Many of those arrested have been badly beaten up. Merseyside police fired high velocity CS Gas Carttridges from a 12-bore shotgun directly at the crowd during the Toxteth riots. This inflicted extremely serious injuries on 2 people, nearly killing one of them. Brixton police smashed up homes and possessions in a 2 am raid.

CS Gas, water cannon, plastic bullets are all now available to your friendly British bobby. First Northern Ireland, now mainland Britain. You can bet they'll be prepared to use these weapons not only against rioters but also against mass pickets of workers or anyone effectively opposing the system.

## RESISTANCE

But Brixton, Toxteth and Moss-Side show that if we have the numbers and the determination the authorities cannot control us. The riots are part of a struggle that's going on world-wide, in all aspects of society. During the past eighteen months there's been major clashes between people and police in the streets of Amsterdam, Berlin, Belfast, Brittany, Dublin, Miami, Vienna, Zurich (heavily armed riot police couldn't prevent these riots). Workers on strike are fighting in the same *class struggle* as the rioters — for more control over our lives, *against* this profit-based system which is trying to solve its economic crisis at our expense.

If the struggles on the streets and the struggles in the workplaces can join together, if we can see the need not only to destroy this society but create a new one based on all having an equal say and producing for human need .... then we can make the *whole world* a no-go area for *all* police governments, bosses, authorities and leaders.

This has attracted the attention of both the local papers, giving the leaflet useful publicity, and the police, who have detained one person for distributing it in the street.

## WILDCAT

Here, there's a story headlined  
**POLICE CHIEFS ATTACK ALDERSON.**



Blimey!! What did they attack him with, truncheons or fire extinguishers ????



Aw, what a swizz! They didn't attack him at all. They only talked about him.



# Enemy of the State

PHILIP KYRITSIS (sentence: 9 years), Sophia Kyritsis (sentence: 5 years), Yannis Scandalis (sentence: 5 years) and Kyriakos Miras (sentence: 5 years) — all of us have been condemned after a series of farce trials serving undisguised political purposes. For three years now, we have been in jail and we have been faced with inhuman and humiliating treatment which aims not only at our moral neutralisation as militants, but mainly at our psychosomatic extermination. The tortures we've suffered all these years, as well as those we shall suffer in the future, are an undeniable reality. Yet this reality is justified to the public by means of the characterisation the State attributes to us: as they say, we are fearful and blood-thirsty terrorists.

Naturally tortures, slanders, organised illegalities and violations of all human rights are not things we have only experienced in jail. From the first day of our arrest, the mass-media presented us as terrorists, monsters and scarecrows; thereby they attempted to exploit the reasonable worries of the people for the terrorist actions of the fascists. This fascist terrorism found fertile soil to grow because of the tolerance and silent acceptance shown by the Karamanlis state, a puppet-state manipulated by US imperialism. This fascist terrorism expressed itself with bomb explosions in cinemas and apartment buildings' entrances, with grenade throwing against bookshops, etc. By presenting us as terrorists from the first moment of our arrest, the mass media managed to conceal police inactivity towards fascist-terrorists and worked out a totally false and slanderous image of the revolutionary social movement with its militants as bloodthirsty monsters who should be guillotined at once. They presented us as cannibals who should be exterminated for the sake of society. Thus, they proposed to the public the need for a new law beyond constitutional limits, they worked out the need for a law against the cannibals. For the State these cannibals are all those who challenge its legalised terrorism. This 'anti-terrorist' law 774/78 recognises no human and constitutional rights for its victims because they are considered to be monsters with human faces.

The day of the discussion in the Greek Parliament on this law, the Security Police arrested two young anarchists, Philip and Sophia Kyritsis; since they had political books and magazines and many anarchist leaflets in their home, and were admittedly spreading revolutionary propaganda for a non-authoritarian society, they had been considered the best victims for this journalistic and

judicial frame-up. Sophia, 18 years old at that time, and Philip, 21 years old, had been presented by TV and radio as blood-thirsty terrorists who would have blown up half of Athens and would have in mind to burn the other half. Any proofs? Eight bottles filled with gasoline; these had been found in the commonly used basement of a house and the tenant of a ground-floor room had said to the police that these bottles had been transferred there by Philip and Sophia. On this ridiculous accusation, never accepted by the accused, and without any other evidence, Philip and Sophia — together with the tenant of the ground-floor room — had been brought to the court; there, without any of their lawyers present, without any witness of the state to speak against them and with the attorney of the tenant who spoke against them nominated by the court as their defender, Philip and Sophia were convicted, not for any explosions or arsons, not for any actions, but simply because the untrustworthy 'tenant' in whose basement the bottles had been found, had said that these had been brought to him by Philip and Sophia. Sentences? 9 years and 5 years respectively. Although their arrest had been hailed with headlines by the press, the large daily papers of Athens failed even to mention their conviction and the undisguised violation of the law.

The same court sentenced Yannis Scandalis to 5 years imprisonment. It was the first sentence given after the application of the 'anti-terrorist' law 774/78 which had been issued by the Parliament on the base of the barbarous frame-up of Philip and Sophia Kyritsis. Yannis Scandalis was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for only one reason: they needed to justify to the public the cold-blooded assassination by police of Scandalis' comrade, the well-known militant Vassilis Tsironis. Dr Tsironis' organisation, OEM (Neutral Greek Front) was presented as a 'terrorist' organisation although OEM's struggle was legal and known to everyone. (The papers dare to deny their participation in the distortion of truth about Tsironis' assassination and the political character of OEM, they attempted to prove it by republishing the two-page article of the *Ideodromio* magazine No 7, which although published was never distributed.) Accusation? Member of OEM. The day they assassinated Tsironis inside his home (10 July, 1978), Yannis Scandalis had been arrested and inhumanly tortured in Security Police Headquarters; he resisted torture, making a hunger strike. He stopped striking as soon as he was transferred to jail (before jail, he had been transferred to the Prisoners' Psychiatric Clinic where he had been chained in his



bed). Although these tortures had been mentioned during his trial, nothing had been published in the papers. The only thing they published was his conviction: 5 years imprisonment.

Some months after, the same papers published details about Yannis Serifis' trial, they defended his case and called enthusiastically for his acquittal. Thus, they attempted to excuse themselves for their role in the framing up of Kyritsis and Scandalis as well as in the assassination of Tsironis. Moreover, they advertised justice, covering up the previous frame-ups and recognising its right to make more of these frame-ups. And all this time Philip, Sophia and Scandalis were buried inside prisons; they repeatedly made hunger strikes demanding not to be transferred and tortured in the High Security Prison of Kerkyra. They were faced with totally inhuman treatment: total lack of communication, psychiatric extermination with compulsory use of drugs, special isolation cells, chaining in the basement of Prisoners' Psychiatric Clinic, beating even when they were chained, compulsory eating, hanging up to the cross, etc. Today, the papers are protesting against tortures in the Prisoners' Psychiatric Clinic. Three years ago, they covered up and obscured the whole question of the Scandalis and Kyritsis tortures — of the victims of the organised state crime. Today, these papers denounce the inhuman treatment of drug-addicts and mentally ill people while in the past they wrote nothing about the terrible crime against Sophia: she has slowly become addicted to drugs.

When a protest and solidarity movement was created (this movement organised a massive meeting of 6000 people:

21 March, 1979), the State replied by imprisoning some of the young students who participated in the movement. One of these students was Kyriakos Miras. Kyriakos had participated in the demonstration of Snt Barbara people against police brutality and had taken part in the resistance of the people when police had started to brutalise everyone there. He was arrested together with four young students (15 – 20 years old) and the anarchist Kyriakos Vassiliades, ex-editor of an anarchist journal. All of them were presented by the press as members of a terrorist band who had in mind to burn Athens. Any proofs? Posters, anarchist books, empty bottles, etc. 17 years old at that time, Kyriakos Miras was inhumanly tortured: hung up from a post with his hands tied behind his back, denied sleep, food and water, beaten, etc. Although these tortures were mentioned in detail during his trial, the papers failed to write anything about them. This farce trial, based on the 'anti-terrorist' law 774/78, took place at the building of the military court for security reasons. Decision of the court? 5 years imprisonment for the cannibal who, together with Kyriakos and Scandalis, had 'terrorised' ten million 'peaceful' Greeks, just because he was an anarchist and had taken part in a demonstration against police. In jail: new struggles, new tortures, hunger strikes, punishments for striking, beatings, etc. He had been treated in the same way Scandalis, Philip and Sophia Kyritsis had been previously treated. A 17 year old student? No! A bloodthirsty terrorist who should be incessantly tortured for his numerous crimes. The same with Sophia. She was not a young girl but a bloodthirsty terrorist who terrorised ten million innocent Greeks. And all these tortures are made in the presence of doctors, psychiatrists and nurses (for example: the well-known psychiatrist Maratos).

Three years of tortures. Three years of sacrificing our blood for the satisfaction of the greedy myth of terrorism. There is no need for the State to give any explanations to the public for our tortures: the reason is that even 'liberal' and 'progressive' Greeks consider our sufferings as something very usual. In the regime of Greek New Democracy we are tortured in the same way the Turkish militants are tortured under their military dictatorship; but all the respectful 'defenders of human rights' fail to ask the basic question: why are we treated not as human beings but as pigs? In any case, we are considered to be 'common law prisoners' — a term used by the daily paper *Ta Nea* of 16. 5. 81 in order to obscure the dirty game they are playing against us with their guilty silence.

**WE ARE NOT PIGS, WE ARE HUMAN BEINGS.** Although innocence is considered as a hideous crime and ideas of freedom and equality are punished with tortures and death, we are not going to

tolerate our tortures any more; we are not going to betray our ideas. We challenge all those who remain indifferent towards our tortures to answer us: why are we tortured? Just because a stool pigeon said that we took 8 bottles of gasoline to his place (Case of Philip and Sophia Kyritsis)? Just because we dared to defend our close co-operation with the uncompromising revolutionary Tsironis and our participation in OEM (Case of Yannis Scandalis)? Just because we took part in a demonstration against police brutalities and we didn't hesitate to declare in the court that we are anarchists (Case of Miras)? We ask all those who remain indifferent towards our tortures: what are they recommending to us? To regret that we are not fascists or junta people who are getting out of jail after a series of farce acquittals directed by the government?

**ENOUGH WITH OUR TORTURES.** For months now, we have been kept in the Prisoners' Hospital where we are repaired in order to be tortured again. We refuse to die in jail for the satisfaction of State sadism. We refuse to further support the myth of bloodthirsty terrorists. Those who accept this myth should better study our cases: they will find the truth. There are no terrorists.

Today, we are kept at the Prisoners' Hospital where we are treated indifferently although we recently made a 53-days hunger strike and terminated it after we were brutalised by the guards. Our health is totally destroyed. We refuse to be transferred again into the isolation cells for a new period of tortures. We are not going to permit the realisation of our extermination. In the case of Sophia this process of extermination is tending towards completion.

Since 25 May, 1981 we are on hunger strike demanding the end of tortures and the immediate release of Sophia Kyritsis who has already completed three years and two months in jail (she needs two more months to complete the 2/3 of her sentence). Her health is totally and irremediably destroyed. Her further stay in jail means that she is going to be assassinated.

**FREEDOM FOR SOPHIA KYRITSIS —  
FREEDOM FOR THE IMPRISONED  
REVOLUTIONARIES**

**PHILIP AND SOPHIA KYRITSIS**

This letter was posted on the 46th day of the hunger strike mentioned in the text.

For further information contact:  
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## TO HELL WITH CULTURE!

**FURTHER** proof — if any were needed — of the ineffectiveness of the International Whaling Commission regulations, has been provided by news of the mass slaughter of whales in the Faroe Islands.

In 1980 the Faroese killed 2,773 pilot whales, compared to 1,725 in 1979. It is estimated that the new wave of killings over the weekend of 30/31 August this year would provide each of the 44,000 islanders with 14lbs of whale meat each. Such was the extent of the bloodshed that one radio station broadcast an appeal for islanders to come and help themselves to the glut. Older stocks of whale flesh will simply be thrown out.

In addition, the Faroese government has declared that it will allow illegal killing of fin whales (the largest of the whales after the virtually extinct blue). There have been reports, too, of the murder of a number of bottlenose whales. This rare species, naturally curious and friendly, are lured towards fishing boats, guided to the shore and there suffocated; rags are stuffed in their blowholes to prevent them diving and escaping.

The genocide of the cetaceans thus continues not only to provide human beings with unnecessary flesh and cosmetics, but with a tool to assert national pride and identity. For one of the most pernicious arguments still advanced in justification of the murder (and one, incidentally, used by many conservationists) is that when it comes to a conflict between the killing of members of an endangered species, like the whale, and the preservation of an endangered human *culture* the latter's interests must be taken into consideration.

In this way the bowhead whale has, perhaps, already overshot the edge of extinction at the hands of eskimoes who insist on the preservation of their cultural right to kill them (though their survival does not depend on them) and the Faroese too, it is often argued, though some of them beg leave to disagree, have a right to their traditional sports and culture.

Such an argument is, of course, one of pure and unadulterated speciesism. Would we apply it today towards remnants of an Aztec-style race who persisted in mass ritual murder either of their own people or of others caught in battle; or would we apply it to some struggling tribe of cannibals who might appeal on cultural-survival grounds for a regular quota of human flesh?

Ultimately it is an argument between the exponents of the right of intelligent life, which may not happen to be human, to go on living, and the exponents of the right of human beings to *culture as culture*, whether or not it murders other intelligent life. If this is what the Faroese — and the eskimoes — stand for, then to hell with them!

GAIA

## UGLY PRAXIS

Comrades,

In reply to Martin Lowe's letter (FREEDOM 18th July, 1981): he is indeed wrong to think I quarrel with the principles of anarchist pacifism: for they are my own. I quarrel most intensely with the stupefyingly ugly praxis that is attempting to usurp these principles in this misbegotten rotten imperialist fag-end great Britain (it no brain). The utterly damnable collective inertia passivity immoral compromise and in a word the catastrophic habit of deadly cowardly obedience.

It is news to me that pacifists have been in the forefront of the struggle to get the Troops Out! On what front have they struggled for the last six years? Only Pat Arrowsmith that I hear — and her passionate activism has made her a leper for the passivistwiforppuetcPeacenoNews shower.

The trial of the fourteen is indeed some years back — most of us think it is now historical.

I repeat that Peace News to my certain knowledge censors its letters page about Ireland: BEWARE THE IRE OF ULSTER. DO YOU HEAR US NOW?

I gather it does the same about Torness and the anti-nuclear struggle. How does that help anyone?

I do not have to support the authoritarian violence or the machiavellian politicking of the Provos, but I do have to support their anti-imperialism. Similarly during the Vietnam war anarchist pacifists in the Miss United States struggled (and some went to prison) against Yankee imperialism: that did not make them supporters of the Stalinist Viet Cong.

What above all they did not do was to make the violence of the Viet Cong a pretext for doing nothing or for colluding with their own government in its imperialist crimes. We must take a leaf out of their book.

We are all slaves under this system: and some of our brothers and sisters have been left for years to stew in their own shit and are finally being forced to choose between lingering torturous deaths or the utter surrender of their human dignity. This is not suicide, this is BLOODY MURDER. THE CRIME FOR WHICH THEY ARE BEING PUNISHED IS REBELLION AGAINST THE STATE.

In solidarity,  
JAYBIRD.

PS 'Chastity without Charity is chained in Hell'. Piers Ploughman. The sincerely non-violent will do well to remember this. Watch out.

## JOHN CREAGHE

Dear FREEDOM,

I am writing to you in the hope that your readers can help me in some research I am doing on the life of Doctor John Creaghe.

John O'Dwyer Creaghe was born in Cork in about 1845 and qualified as a doctor in Dublin in 1869. He then emigrated to Argentina where he became an Anarchist. He returned to Britain in 1890 and engaged in polemics with Carpenter and Morris. He formed the Sheffield Group of Anarchist Communists and edited its paper *The Sheffield Anarchist*. In 1893 he returned to Argentina and in 1896 was founder and editor of the weekly *La Protesta Humana*, a role he continued when it became the daily *La Protesta* in 1904.

During the Mexican revolution he was first with Zapata; then with Magon. He was the doctor who attended Magon after his arrest in California in 1918 and was active in his defence. Creaghe died in Argentina in 1926.

I would be extremely grateful for any help anyone can give me in this matter as Doctor Creaghe was a figure worth rescuing from obscurity.

Yours,

ALAN O'TOOLE

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## DOUG AND IQ

Dear FREEDOM,

As a footnote to the debate on IQ, combined with recent letters about Doug Wakefield.

Doug had three IQ tests last winter, and his results were 148, 134 and 144 (on tests with a standard deviation of 23.6).

But an article in *The Times* said his IQ was only 105. Not that it would have made his treatment any less inhumane if he'd had a lower IQ, but the fact that the authorities chose to lie about it is interesting.

Anyway, the main point is that a difference of 11 points, or 14 points as in Doug's case, is pretty meaningless anyway. It can happen to anyone who happens to have an 'off day' — and how many of Doug's days are not 'off days'? But the difference between IQ 70 and IQ 170 is a bit more than 11 points — and until you can explain that sort of difference in environmental terms, or until you can explain what was so favourable about Doug's environment that it gave him an

IQ higher than that of 95% of the population, you haven't proved the environmental case or refuted the hereditarian one. As Pat Isiorho says, it's difficult to separate the effects of the two factors — and that in itself proves that both affect the results.

SHEILA BLANCHARD

Retford

PS I'm sure Pat knows that Burt's twin studies are not the only ones that have been done — and that the others also show that identical twins raised in different environments resemble each other more than non-identicals raised in the same environment. That, after all, is the whole point of twin studies.

## CONFUSING US

Dear FREEDOM,

'Syndicalist Peasant on Tour' is confusing us (and I think her/himself) by giving — by default — some credence to the protagonists of that most pseudo of positions, the 'libertarian right'.

Not having read Brian Crozier's *The Minimum State* puts me no doubt at something of a disadvantage. However the institutions mentioned — the military, the judiciary, the police etc form, in reality — the maximum state. They are the institutional (rather than the psychological) means by which we are controlled and used — and by which our liberty and our individualism are denied. The military suggests to me the ultimate in depersonalization.

The so-called 'Freedom Association', to be consistent in the view that individual liberties are denied when people are forced to join a trade union — would have to be against compulsory education, compulsory work and the compulsory family — which clearly it is not.

Messrs Crozier, McWhirter etc are nothing more than totalitarians masking as libertarians. Very successful they are too — after all they can afford it.

Regrettably many 'socialists' fall for this propaganda believing that individualism and freedom are products of private-enterprise capitalism — are 'bourgeois', to use a favourite word.

The institutions and bureaucracies of capitalism produce a pseudo form of individualism which I would call 'social atomization'. Social atomization is entirely related to ownership of property, possessions and self control, rather than ownership of self and self regulation. It is strewn with forms of false consciousness — religion, the nation-state, duty, compulsive morality etc, etc. It is the antithesis of real freedom, real individualism.

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

The individualist condemns all authority, not in a destructive way, but because s/he knows that authority and compulsion drain away all blood, all bone, all hope for life — and are the enemies of health, beauty, intellect, benevolence of soul — are against life itself.

To declare 'all authority is tyranny', must mean the authority of the State, the authority of the boss, the employer, the authority of the party, the authority of the police, the authority of the school, the authority of moralisers who exercise tyranny by means of disapproval and condemnation.

The ultimate goal must be a rational end to social atomization. A self-regulating character structure and a non-ownership, non-authoritarian 'society', which allows for full and total freedoms for artistic expression, free sexuality, free access to all forms of communication, a gently hedonistic life style — a society which recognizes us for what we are — unique individuals.

Mental institutions exist — they are called governments. The 'Yorkshire Ripper' (under the influence of his god) killed a dozen people — so he is put in gaol. Ronald Reagan threatens to kill millions and destroy the world — so he is elected. Hooray for free elections!

Reagan's (and Brezhnev's and Thatcher's) soldiers parade, what they wear is called uniform, what they conceal is uniform too — uniformity kills!

To rebel is a noble action — not to live a life of obedience and war. To let love towards life be love towards higher ideals, towards an end to conformity, mediocrity, labelling, moralizing, authority, atomization.

Neither the pseudo-libertarians of the war-obsessed, anti-life 'Right', nor the authoritarians of the left, the worshippers at the shrine of the divine T. Benn want that — do they?

Never be ashamed of true individualism — it is glorious!

J A BATESON

## JENSEN AND IQ AGAIN

Dear FREEDOM,

The passage Michael Duane quotes from Jensen is not 'Blacks are dimmer than whites'. At the risk of repeating myself, Jensen's hypothesis attempts to explain a difference in average IQ scores which cannot be disputed. He did not invent the difference.

A difference in averages does not mean that all blacks are dimmer than all whites. The very dimmest of both (if we must use such a crude phrase) are the ones suffering from brain damage, who are on the same level. The brightest blacks are on the same level as the brightest whites, so

they are very much brighter than the majority of whites. This is not disputed either.

It is the people who say 'Jensen said blacks are dimmer than whites' who provide fuel for racists, most of whom wouldn't understand Jensen if they tried to read him themselves. The tragedy is that it is most often the anti-racists who say it!

What we should be saying is that the worth of a human being does not depend on IQ. If society did not give disproportionate rewards to those who were capable of being more highly educated in a shorter time than the average, IQ would not matter. If miners had the same remuneration and working hours as university professors, they would be quite capable of educating themselves to a high standard if they wanted to, although it might not be in subjects which academics thought educational! Book-learning is not everything.

Using exaggerated arguments discredits us, but arguing about IQ at all ignores the main issues. Those who enjoy being educated, or who want knowledge for its own sake, should be able to go on learning as much and as long as they wish; but they should not be considered of higher worth, or rewarded more highly, than anyone else.

Yours sincerely,  
ANNE SCRIVE.

## PRISONERS OF WAR

Dear FREEDOM,  
Northern Ireland is in a state of controlled warfare.

The H-Block protestors, who are effectively prisoners of war, have made 5 basic demands for prison reform: restoration of full remission an increase in letters, parcels and visits the right to wear their own clothes the right to freer association amongst themselves the right not to undertake prison work, as currently defined.

The British government refuses these demands because they claim this would confer a special status on the Republican prisoners — yet they arrive in prison by a very special route: convictions in the so called Diplock courts are made without a jury, with hearsay evidence allowed on the say so of senior police officers or on the basis of 'confessions' obtained under pressure.

The British governments callous denial of these reasonable demands aggravates the war situation in Northern Ireland. Increasingly condemned by world opinion, the British government should

acced to these demands now — before any further lives are wasted.

It should be said that you do not have to be pro-Republican to recognise the British government's vicious intransigence: as libertarians we do not support the IRA, but there is no doubt that it is the British State which is the best armed terrorist organisation operating in Northern Ireland. (And all imprisonment is political.)

Troops out of everywhere!

We certainly want British troops out of Ireland. And we see armies and war machines everywhere as the means of State violence and oppression.

Libertarian socialism means dismantling all armies and state power and dispensing with politicians and governments. It means building a self-managed society with no order givers and no order takers. It means the abolition of power structures which are the enemies of peace.

TAYSIDE LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISTS  
c/o University Solidarity Society,  
Airlie Place,  
Dundee.

## NICE LITTLE HEADS

Dear FREEDOM,

It's all very well for Martyn Lowe to take up the idealist position that non-violence is an essential anarchist position (and don't get me wrong I used to take this position myself and very comfortable it felt too). However I can't help feeling that if you're in favour of overturning the present social order and are prepared to work towards these ends then at some stage those people who have a vested interest in the status quo are going to turn round and use all the power they have to resist this (and I think we can agree they have quite a lot of power to resist with). To that extent I cannot see nonviolence actually getting us anywhere. In the end we have to defend ourselves or get our nice little heads beaten in and I know which alternative I'd choose.

Yours with tainted idealism,  
GEORGE SHAW.

Bristol.

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#### QUEENSLAND

Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mount Gravatt, Central 4122.

Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay.

#### VICTORIA

La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRG, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083.

Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne.

Libertarian Workers for a Self Managed Society, PO Box 20, Parkville 3052.

Treason, Box 37, Brunswick East, Victoria, 3057.

Chummy Fleming Bookshop, 26 Regent Arcade, 210 Toorak Rd, South Yarra (Libertarian Workers shop).

#### WESTERN AUSTRALIA

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MISSOURI  
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MINNESOTA  
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Hertle, Grozerschippsee 28, 21  
Hamburg 90.  
Schwarzer Faden (Black Thread)  
Obere Wiebermarktstr 3, 741  
Reutlinge Libertad Verlag, 6br  
Schmuck, Postfach 153, 1000  
Berlin 44.

#### AUSTRIA

Liberte, Postfach 86, 1033 Wien.  
Monte Verita, Neustiftgasse 33,  
1070 Wien.

#### FRANCE

Federation anarchiste francaise,  
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Union Anarchiste, 9 rue de l'  
Ange, 63000 Clermont Ferrand.

#### ITALY

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Gruppo Hem Day, Giovanni Tra-  
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gen.  
Anarchistische Boekhandel Slager-  
zicht (Anarchist Bookshop), Folk-  
ingestraat 10, Groningen.

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Rainbow Anarchists of the Free  
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Christiana, 1407 Copenhagen.  
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Tel (01) - 12 26 82.

#### NORWAY

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As. (Publish 'Folkebladet' 4 times  
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41302 Gothenburg (tel 031  
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#### FINLAND

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## AUTONOMY CENTRE EVENTS

Thursday 17th: A Distribution  
7pm  
Saturday 19th: Film 'Stand  
up and be counted'  
about conscientious  
objection in the IWW  
and general strike  
7.30 pm  
Members £1, others £1.50  
Thursday 24th: A Distribution  
7pm  
Friday 25th: Debate on  
Feminism  
7.30pm  
Saturday 26th: Members meeting  
3pm

Autonomy Centre  
01 Warehouse  
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Tel 481 - 3537

KARL, a bilingual (French —  
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Quebec, open to all: pagan anar-  
chists, individualists, anarcho-  
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founded pacifists etc ... 1st issue  
in September. Any ideas — write,  
draw, etc ...

KRACH, (in French) journal de la  
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## DESIRES

Are there any anarchists in the  
Crystal Palace area? If so, please  
contact Leo, at 'Bangalore', Bed-  
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## FREEDOM NEEDS MORE SUPPORT!

JUST in case nobody has noticed both the Deficit Fund and the Premises Fund are far below their targets this year. This, along with the ever increasing costs involved in the production and distribution of the paper have put FREEDOM in a very precarious financial position. We urge all comrades to give whatever financial support they can, to take out a subscription rather than buy it in bookshops that take a considerable cut, and to all those taking bundles to pay as promptly as possible.

We have held the cover price down to 25p for almost two years now and will try to keep it there till the end of the year by which time we will be forced to raise it. Meanwhile we hope that the new printing and typesetting is appreciated, and look out for the new format next year.... if you've helped us to survive that long!

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Donations Received: August 14th - 26th Incl.

London N8. V P £2.00; London NW1. A A £2.00; Stirling. A R £0.50; M R A £4.00; Wolverhampton. J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; San Francisco. USA. S P £2.70; Geneva. Switzerland. S J R £1.00; NSW Australia. R M £4.75; London NW6. T M £1.00; Sheffield. M D £1.57; Yellowknife. Canada. D B £5.00; Isle of Arran. P G £1.00; NY. USA. A B £2.70; Wolverhampton. J L £1.50; J K W £0.50; San Francisco. USA. S and D P £3.00; Bristol. D D £1.00; Keighley. S S £2.00; In Shop. Anons. £1.15.

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# Strategy and Communication

## TOWARDS DEVELOPING A STRATEGY OF ACTION AND THE CREATION OF A COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAMME

(Taken in part from a paper originally published in  
Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review 4).

*'We are not anarchists to protest bitterly in an infinite  
wilderness, but to build and fight for a libertarian society.'*

NO ONE would deny that even the most highly organised of resistance movements will undoubtedly fail in its objectives unless it can already count upon the population for its support and that the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people is as important, if not more so, as the struggle against the State itself. The final stage of the revolution will come as an extension of what we do in preparation. However to accept this analysis, it should be stressed, does not necessarily mean that armed or direct action should be withheld until the moment is ripe, but that such actions are at least compatible with a longer term strategy. As crises occur more and more frequently the co-ordination of campaigns could prove not only impossible, but perhaps even undesirable. It is therefore imperative that alongside these autonomous activities we have a structure through which communications, internal and external, would be sustained.

Relating to this need for wider communication is an aspect which is integral to the development of our strategy. This aspect can be clearly identified if seen in terms of its bearing within the final stages of the struggle, that is when it is required we take an actively militarist role. During this stage it is essential that we have in existence, fully integrated within the social structure, a broadly sympathetic, alternative network of self-managed co-operatives to ensure that there is a reliable ground support available to act as backup and, at the same time, a buffer to the predictable calls for centralisation from the authoritarian and counter-revolutionary left. This network of co-operatives, to a large extent, is already an integral part of society. Over the last decade the growth in collectivisation and non-authoritarian communal lifestyles has noticeably continued and we must not mistakenly devalue this supportive resource. When the opportunity to create alternatives is thrust in our hands, the experiences and examples set by these co-operatives would be needed to help in a smooth but rapid changeover. It is significant, nevertheless, that despite the fact that many of the people involved in these co-operatives are broadly libertarian in attitude or who would perhaps see themselves as being part of the non-aligned Left, whilst at the same time sharing many of the values associated with anarchist thought, they still remain in many respects *outside* our area of communication.



Taken in a wider perspective, the perception of anarchism and anarchists by the Left and those on the fringe of the anarchist movement, is equally important, but if there is a lack of perception as to what we stand for and what our strategies are — and no one would deny this — we cannot blame anyone else for this but ourselves. On a more practical level our record is even worse. Over the last decade the governments of the day have been weakened on several occasions by attacks on their authority from various quarters — notably via the IRA, the INLA and on the industrial front, through the 1974 miners' strike. But what were we doing during these crises? What were the anarchists doing? Were we joining in on the attack to weaken the State by creating our own line of attack? Were we even contemplating joining in? More recently, were we at all prepared for the Bristol or Brixton uprisings, or were we, except for the occasional enterprising street-fighter, totally unprepared, as were the Left? Were we, we should at least ask, communicating amongst ourselves during these flash-points, or did we simply engage in fruitless post-mortems? We need no answers to these questions — for we all, sadly, know what they are. The old joke 'where were you daddy, or mummy, during the revolution' is no longer a joke.

If we were honest with ourselves, we would have to admit that over the last decade there has been a pitiable lack of foresight and imagination on our part, whilst our communication has been in the main totally insular. We have, in fact, no dialogue, for when all is said and done, our dialogue is with ourselves and ourselves alone. To retort that this is because of the monopoly of the Media or because there is not enough distribution of our own media is simply inadequate, although putting the latter right would obviously help. The problem is far greater than this and we must begin to look at it not just as individuals or as members of a group but as part of a movement.

begin to look at it not just as individuals or as members of a group but as part of a movement.

No one would deny that our presence as a movement must be felt and perceived not only by the disillusioned Left, who are our potential recruits, but by a wider audience, not least because such a perception is vital to a long term strategy. Our first priority should therefore be to strengthen our position, and at the same time, develop a communications programme together with a broad strategy of action, to which we could *all* contribute and on which we could all agree.

## Propositions: First

As an opener to such a communications programme, it is proposed that we examine the ways in which we can *collectively* create an interface with the non-aligned Left and with those on the broad Left who are particularly vulnerable to an attack on their ideology. To date, our attacks on the Left have been, in general, both localised and orientated towards particular contemporary issues and it is suggested that we change our tactics and adopt a more rigorous and concerted overall attack on everything the Left has to offer. For example we, as part of a movement — an international movement — should issue, in no uncertain terms, an open and public challenge to both the broad and far Left in this country to justify its alleged right to represent the interests of those who seek revolution and freedom, to justify their noticeable failure to counter oppression by the security forces in the north of Ireland, and finally to accept that their ideologies as a whole have not only failed but are seen to have failed. Such a challenge would need to be widely publicised and would need to be part of a series of concerted attacks creating as a result a dialogue with those who are as much outside the Left as it would with those within that spectrum.

Another example is the idea of public meetings — not uncommon in Spain during the 19th Century when the main aim of anarchists was to build up a strong mass movement. Such meetings, organised locally by collectives up and down the country, could be on all kinds of issues such as 'Why has the Left failed?'; 'The role of a citizens' militia'; 'The relevance of mutual aid to the unemployed', etc, and could help create a greater awareness of anarchism and what we have to offer.

## Second

To accomplish this change in direction and to sustain the level of commitment which this would require, brings us to the second area of preparation in the development of a long term strategy.

Firstly it should be accepted that if ever the need arose for us to act collectively, or if we are to develop a basic revolutionary perspective and be prepared fully for crises to come — whether these crises are work-centred (as at Grunwick) or political (as at Brixton and Bristol) — we *must* be ready to form our *own* lines of attack based upon our *own* strategies of action, instead of once again waiting in the wings for the 'right moment'. We cannot afford to be isolated any longer, whether this isolation is defined in terms of our relations with each other or in terms of our impact generally within a wider context. Secondly, it has to be further accepted that for most of us, like it or not, our degree of involvement in direct action is usually and solely determined by the level at which we co-operate and offer support to each other — whenever and wherever the

occasion demands.

It is proposed therefore, given all this, that whilst recognising that we, as individuals or as members of groups, will continue to play an essential part in the various political struggles with which we are involved — be they politics of lifestyle, local issues, energy politics, work politics, women's issues, sexuality, solidarity with prisoners, etc, not forgetting the more traditional anarchist activities such as expropriation, sabotage, attacks on property, subversion, etc — we should also, simultaneously, be creating a broad organisational perspective through which we could effectively review our tactics. This can only be achieved, however, if we create a framework through which *all* anarchists, whatever their involvement, could consolidate their ideas and resources, without necessarily detracting from or devaluing their own autonomous actions.

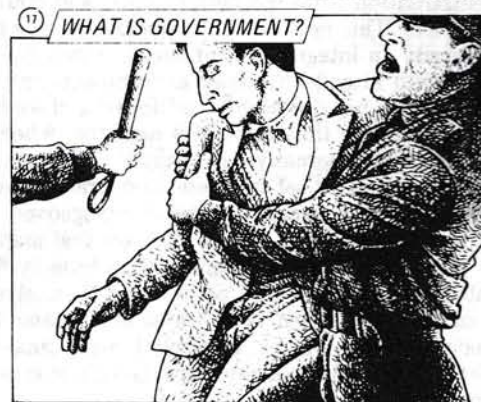
As we all know, attempts to establish a broad based framework, have been tried in the past, and failed mainly because of too much concern with organisational aspects and less with the issues and actions about which that organisation was about. Today there is arguably a greater need and thus a greater urgency for anarchists to commit themselves to a policy of action proportionate to that need. It would have to be accepted though, from the outset, that this proposed framework would not be a formal organisation, but would instead be a strictly ad hoc arrangement providing a forum through which strategies may be compared — thereby widening our range of options — and at the same time providing the opportunities for *testing* these strategies.

Unless we always wish to remain a small, fringe movement — misunderstood, eccentric and isolated — we must make this commitment to develop as a movement with realistic strategies of action *not* as just for the sake of having the usual endless discussions, but so that we can prepare and train ourselves with skills necessary to take action now. To acquire these skills and then test them out is something we should be equally concerned with, if we are to have any confidence in our own capabilities and the capabilities of those we associate with. Also, it is essential that we can depend upon each other in times of crisis.

It is proposed, for instance, that each affinity group devise a survival course, peculiar to its own needs and priorities, through which skills can be learned. Examples of such skills could include: 24 hour emergency squatting, basic first aid (an obvious one), simulations of crises and how we perform during conditions of stress, simple expropriations, interrogation resistance and many more. The list is endless — we just need to use our imagination.

What is important is that through the development of such skills we learn how to work together in small groups and feel confident enough to take things on when the going gets tough. This would be essential if we are to create a revolutionary perspective and if we are to realise fully the objectives we have set ourselves.

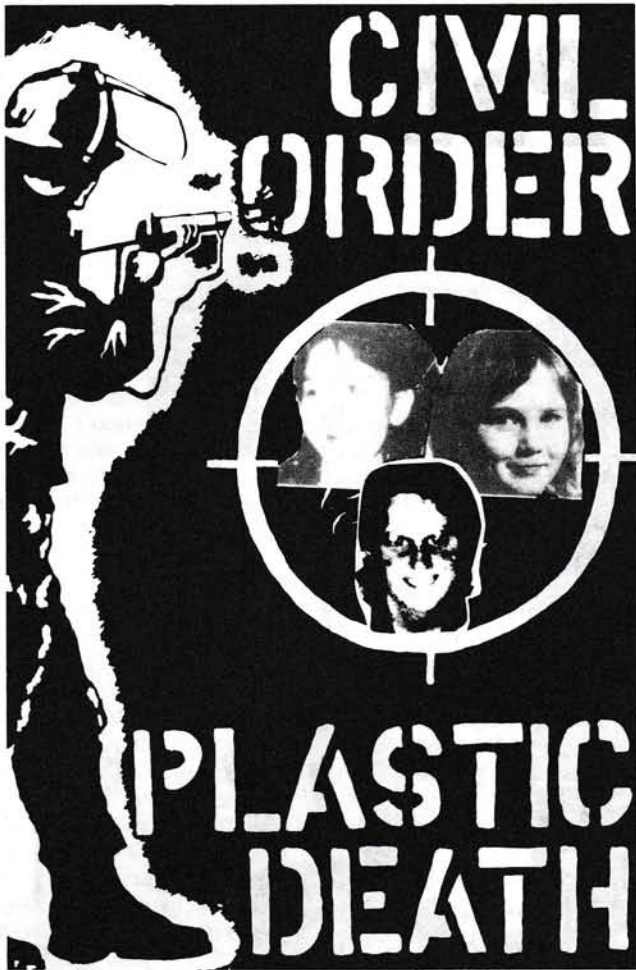
T.H./ 121



TO BE FINED, HARASSED, VILIFIED,

'ANARCHY COMIX' NOS  
Review

p14



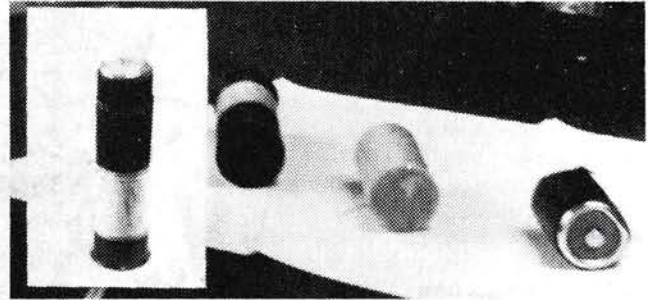
THE plastic bullet, or PVC baton round, is not, as its name suggests, a squashy pea-sized toy bullet, but a lethal piece of weaponry that is used to kill, increasingly, in 'non-riot situations' in Northern Ireland — who cares about that place or the people there anyway?

The 25 grain plastic — PVC Round currently in use is approximately 135 grms in weight, is 3½ inches long and 1½ inches in diameter. It is sometimes 'adapted' by the crude insertion of metal objects, to have a more devastating effect. According to instructions to British forces, plastic bullets are for direct aim (rubber bullets were supposed to be bounced); they are to be used in preference to CS gas; they should be fired at the lower part of the body; they should not be fired indiscriminately but at selected persons and in conjunction with arrest squads; authority for their use is delegated to the commander on the spot. 10 people have died, 7 since April this year, as a result of being shot by plastic bullets.

The range and accuracy of the plastic bullet enables troops and RUC to choose and fire at an individual to kill. This they are doing. Hence the many deaths and appalling injuries to the head. There have been many condemnations of their use, and calls for public enquiries. Of course, the British State does not care how safe plastic bullets are; only how safe the public think they are. The term itself, widely used, 'plastic bullet', makes the use of the Round easier to justify when juxtaposed with terms used to describe attack by demonstrators or rioters and they can contrast with weapons used by the IRA, and prop the old argument that their so-called 'human' nature will avoid the use of guns. All of which enables troops to kill indiscriminately and then use a toy-town word to describe the method used. But the result is the same and the use of plastic bullets to kill is on the increase. What is not emerging in most official news and information is how these bullets are being used to oppress the civilian catholic population in Northern Ireland. They are fired indiscriminately from army and RUC vehicles on the move, causing

deaths of young children and the deaths of, and severe injury to, people who are clearly non-riotous and who are doing nothing more than walking down a particular street at a particular time.

On the 20th of May, Kevin McLaughlin (14 years old) was struck by a plastic bullet fired from a Saracen at close range coming down the Whiterock Road, Belfast. Residents say that Kevin was close to them and well away from an incident taking place at the top of the road when 2 Saracens came down and fired plastic bullets. Lid top of PVC recovered. Hit on right side of head above the ear. He received serious head injuries and had a 4 hour operation in the neuro-surgical department of the Royal Victoria Hospital. Prognosis was that if he recovered he would be paralysed.



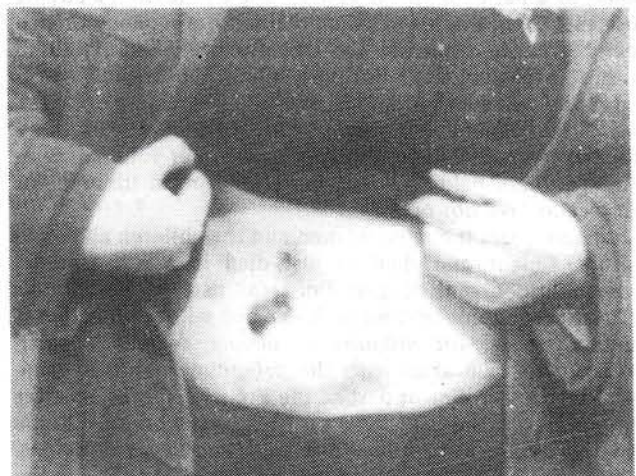
A VARIATION ON MURDER WEAPONS fired by the Marine Commandos in Ballymurphy. The picture shows cut down plastic bullet, and a battery, which were fired together in the accompanying cartridge case. Fortunately the battery embedded itself in a wooden house door, rather than in the head of the youth it was aimed at.

On the 12th of May, Julie Livingstone (also 14 years old) was struck on the head by a plastic bullet fired by a British soldier. She died on the 13th of May. At the time Julie was shot, the area was tense following the death of Francis Hughes. Julie was not taking part in any demonstration. She was walking home after school. In what way does a fourteen year old girl pose a threat to the British army?

It is clear that all this (and much more) is part of the repressive programme to intimidate people (catholics) off their streets and into a cowering passivity. Resistance to state repression is, and always has been, strong, and linked to a military support. The use of plastic bullets in the present indiscriminate and lethal way does nothing, in the long term, to break the circle of violence. It strengthens it.

ANN

Shows wound received by Margaret MacDonald from a plastic bullet. She had been involved in a bin lid protest. Passing RUC patrol hit her in the stomach at close range.



# Leo, Di and Pab



IN the early nineteen thirties when age was green upon the bough the State decreed that we the unemployed, 3,000,000 within these islands, or the Workshy to give us our press title, were allowed one free bath a week at the public wash house on production of our yellow unemployment card. We would walk through those institutionalised styled tiled corridors to the waiting room decorated in that pallid universal green and wait seated upon the wooden bench for the attendant to fill a bath with warm water for our free bath. And we would wait for we were the Outofworks and as each paying customer came in he would be called to a bath for the attendant knew that from a paying customer there was always the possibility of a penny or two penny gratuity while we the Outofworks sat and waited. Within a passing hour during a lull in the flushing warm water the attendant would stand in the dividing doorway and shout 'Your bath's ready Outofworks' and walk away from us with unconcealed disgust as with our yellow Unemployment card held up for viewing we cringed through for our weekly free hot bath.

For five years the men, women and the children all across Europe fought and died or just died in a war wherein bureaucratic organised genocide was part of the State's official programme and while it can and will be argued that human survival for millions of people decreed a harsh necessity to take arms with the defending rabbit, hygiene was never a war aim or part of the Four Freedoms, so after five years with the colours it was back to the bombed home and the public wash house but this time as a paying customer with all the deference that produced. And it was the

same attendant with his Dickensian office but money spoke man money spoke but no I did not make any cutting remark as I walked in for my paid-for hot bath. The great international economic policies of Britain and America may be the meat and gravy within the economists vomit as they demonstrate the meaning, the application and the grave yard humour of the Monetarist policy, but in human terms it means that public lavatories are closed to those with bursting bladders and that the public wash house is now a closed and empty building waiting to be sold off to the property developer. Old men and women now have to, literally, travel for miles by public transport every week of their shortening lives for a warm bath, for believe me all ye of little faith who 'did' Orwell for A Level Eng. Lit., there is in this hour of the neutron bomb a more primitive life for uncounted thousands of people, not in an era, not in an age but in less than those five years that can be counted upon the fingers of one hand raised to vote. I quote no sociological document, no statistical analysis of the conditions of the working class men, women and children in 1981 for I will not crawl to false pride or pander to the conscience of the protesting liberal who salves a conscience by protesting evil a 'plane ride away', for in the beginning I type from pure and selfish self interest in that at least once each week I travel four miles from the 'Bush' to the Marshall street baths by fashionable Carnaby Street to pay 30 pence for my hot bath, does not include soap or towel. And in this year of the Royal Wedding the old and the young, the working and those without a wage packet, white and black, hot bath or shower, wait and wonder if the local politicians

will succeed in closing the Marshall street hot baths in the Holy Name of middle class tax reductions, for in spite of the gossip at the bar table the working class do not destroy their own institutions, for that is the aim and function of every clown in office who believes that history has ordained him or her to balance the books and part of parcel of economic productivity is to bulldoze down the public shit house and the public hot bath. It is the nature of the beast that it should be so but we are now living within that part of history within these small islands when the newly created middle class of the last fifty years have succeeded in taking over not the pathetic ownership but the control and the administration of every aspect of our lives from our only and inalienable right, our right to survive, to our mass culture. Comrade I will define the middle class for you and it is not the pale pay clerk not coming out on strike or the overtime king of the factory floor — him with the semi-detached bungalow on the Spanish coast — but the hospital surgeon, the television index linked pension producer or the judge in the County Court, for I can do no more than to instance Richard Crossman, whose father was a judge and who had a 'nanny' (Crossman not the judge), yet who referred to himself as 'middleclass'. In death Cromwell has won his middle class revolution and his latter day Roundhead cavalry once more rode into action at Brixton and at Liverpool for the American prophesied Managerial Revolution made half a century ago has now produced its garden of late flowering weeds and only the working class can be its victims. True or false?

We assembled, 'we few' (King Henry Fifth, Scene III, The English Camp), within the National Portrait Gallery for the Official Unveiling of Lady Diana's portrait by Bryan Organ and I, as was my wont, merged into the prestigious mob, one clean cut shoulder supporting a supporting wall of the gallery and a slim white hand holding a glass of wine, official handout for the free loaders, and bore witness. But God forgive me the BBC hand of fate, pink and feminine, slipped through the P M followed by the voice whispering 'Will you comment on the painting please'. I am and hope I always will be a sucker for a pretty face and I commented and in the following week bathed in the glory of the praise and the abuse that came by word and by letter but what the hell apes moi le deluge and Kipling was right. This would all be a matter of little import, like the glory that was Rome, were it not that a week or more later I was again within the National Portrait Gallery to view and comment on the photographs of Norman Parkinson and I asked for a press day catalogue and was told, politely but firmly, no. I do not protest this for, like the wine, it is pure horse trading and better and lesser people than me were refused catalogues for they were only for the ultra and the VIP in the rat race, though I must record that I felt sorry for X who that week had been paid £30 for a magazine article praising a State art exhibition and was refused a catalogue and was too diffident to press the matter. Ah well, win a few, lose a few, as Hamlet said to Yorrick. But it was the one A Level mini minor male bureaucratic voice that threw me when it murmured to me sotto voce 'Why don't you go and review Lady Diana's painting' and for you my friend I will tell you why I hold that it is a bad sad portrait. Reproduction does two things. It enhances the third rate and denigrates the first rate. The comic and the pulp magazine covers reduced in size from the original and with all the crude brush strokes finding a single flat tonal value become easy and pleasing on the eye, but a Whistler or a Turner or a Rowlandson watercolour must inevitable lose in reproduction for a rose is a rose is a rose but not in photographic reproduction, even by Norm. What you see on the poster and in the coloured supplement is a figure literally life size reduced almost to the size of your palm. The left foot disappears out of the frame, giving the figure a crippled air, the painting of the right foot I hold has the careless air in the use of the brush and colour of a job

finished in haste. The right leg swings over the left leg, but the whole merges into a great mass of painted shadow and dark area giving the appearance now, and as it must more so in the future as the whole area of paint darkens, of an elephantine thigh, and that unfortunate illusion is strengthened by the three light lines at the Royal d'ernier, one pointing up to the right elbow. There is a sentimental and an avant garde school of painting that both use the same ploy that by holding the eye in a great sterile space an illusion of worth is created. In the sentimental paintings it is the lone figure on the grey horizon, the single crane against a flat grey sky, the moon in a dark sky on flat dark sea, a single street lamp or a single window shining high in a dark flat building and among the boys down Kasmin way it is the all white canvas with a single tiny red circle at the centre. In Lady Diana's portrait she is becalmed in a sea of enjoyable geometrical abstractions of flat wall, floor and door, but remove her as I have done and the painting becomes that much less impressive for like the guests at the Royal Wedding it is the backcloth that gives importance to the view and the view is Lady Diana. Finally; the face is well drawn yet in all honesty neither better nor worse than that by some of the young artists working on the stones outside the National Portrait Gallery, but the flesh tint has a sour air. In another room within the NPG is an exhibition of the English baroque painter, John Closterman, who went the way of all flesh in 1711 and I mention it to demonstrate that I am entirely without malice, only possessing wit and charm, but no catalogue, and in every painting Closterman used the painting gimmick of his period by over tinting the cheeks. And I would hold that the portrait of Lady Diana is not 'truth to nature' in the flesh colours, but an artistic ploy that is valid only when in that ol' final analysis the work of art is greater than the subject matter and on this occasion? Sorry lad.

There are three paintings on view in the NPG room. The second of the trinity is last year's one of Prince Charles by the same artist. Again a single figure overpowered by a huge green fence. It is sad and it is pathetic, for not only have the middle class taken over the administration and the direction of our daily lives but, and this is why it is sad, they have reduced the folk culture, the romance and the myth of history and of legend to their own drear social level. Heaven forfend that we should end up as poe faced puritans breaking the stained glass windows, banning the may pole or refusing ale and bawdy songs and that is why I find the painting of Prince Charles such a miserable manifesto for middle class values. Agincourt, Crecy, the Black Prince, Richard the Lion Heart, the banners on the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Robin Hood, Bruce and the Irish kings. Let no one preach to me the flaws and false values of those times but I will share the romantic dreams of the young and I think it is a sad judgement on our unromantic age when two people as brainwashed as the child picked to be the Dalai Lama are reduced to a suburban semi-detached. Annigoni is the third of the Trinity on display. A third rate painter but hire him and you buy imperial glory even though it's long done gone. You asked for it my A Level mini minor male bureaucrat and to do that you had to push out the Leonardo da Vinci and Picasso because you are the tail end of a class that know that the fifth rate is preferable in that in all things it is manipulable, but have no fears Leo and Pab the paper is in the typewriter.

ARTHUR MOYSE

**Subscribe**

# BELFAST: August 15th 1981

i feel sore/every part of me feels sore/from eyes to nose to all the way down the spine/along the skin that covers the spine and in pale fingernails that feel like dull bendy branches about to snap/throat dry/inflamed/smartering pain follows lights down the street/sees lights go past beyond the closed curtains/hears dogs dogs dogs traffic and dogs/sirens pierce the hum that's a siege silence/sirens/white windows of crumlin road must be even colder now in this damp evil sweat of a night when england sings about ian botham and the cricketer's tired beautiful face is flat on a television screen/century/century/how many years of crime/union jacks flutter in the crowd/all that aplomb can't stifle crowds going wild as he thwacks and thwacks and personifies excellence/whilst friends languish in jail/others languish in pain and silence and in bloody silence and letters skim out into nothing nothing even less than nothing as people move like ants in the memory/darting nervous dark shapes mistrustful paranoid mistrustful secretive building in dim secretive dusty rooms nothing but clandestine mistrust/talk about anarchism/anarchy's a rubber ball or instinct/talk/talk/purple fit talk purple fit stalk into incoherence anger mistrust ignorance prejudice/

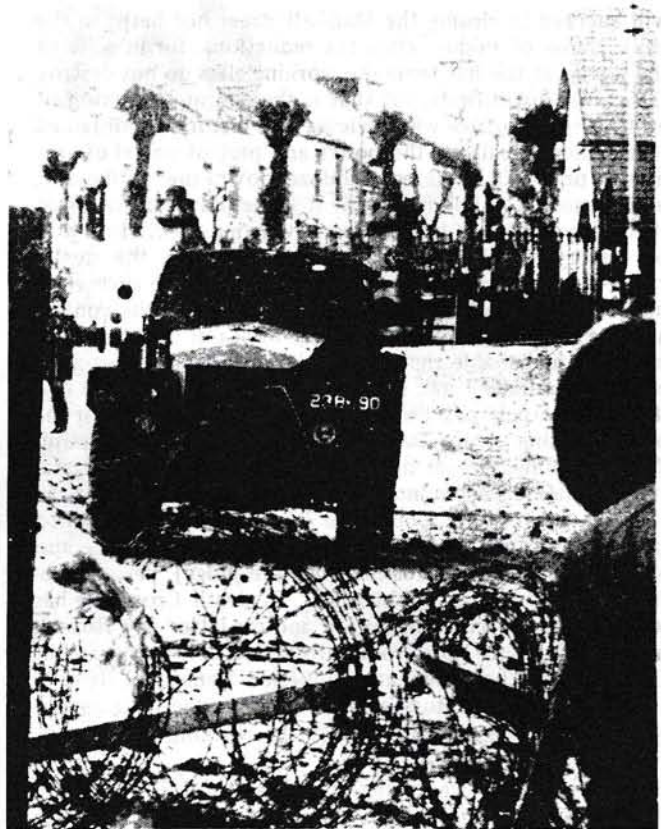
crack

crack crack crack crack crack crack

neck and spine are hit/instant death in the sweat and ash of a saturday night/instant death what's that/everlasting/

crack

his eyes crack his ginger hair crack his nineteen year old body a random victim of war/what's that/sectarian judicial words/just another northern bloody ireland statistic/we've enough of those to publish a series of tasteless pamphlets/sanitised/let's not upset the sponsors/look into mirrors/oh no/the thousands march the plastic bullets kill the live rounds kill the stress kills the hunger kills the hopelessness kills apathy kills and the cold and the blankets and the shit and the white maggots and the pain that never ends goes on on on on/from the mouths of governments policy treaties agreements betrayals feuds mistrust/crack/shatter blast sore sky anguished earth/rumble of incessant force into targetted areas/directives of power that thrust all humanity into shattered glass that peppers every breath we take/belfast/just a name in the papers/something political about it/lot of people making fame and fortune looking for truth to sell/truth is dead/my friend is dead/trust must live/love's a word in a song title/trust must live even though that



vehicle is slowing down outside even though news explodes every day even though even though you/reader/printer/editor/friend/spy/evil sweat informer state ear/will twist anything to any shape and call it a pretty name/blood on the streets/that's what fear brings/plastic bullets kill children/troops kill dogs/catholic dogs/dogs/police kill by/you know how/how long can this be compartmentalised or just pushed into columns of print and not reach into beginnings of peace/why/how long/why/because of the crack and the mask and the white belt and the clean hands of politicians that reach for finger bowls in greasy lies/why/because of factions and force and fear fantasising individualists/people subdued by overmedia sell in every way gassed and drugged by smart academic neat words that start with capital letters end with full stops and fit into tidy columns with no ragged edges/until form becomes less important than fact crack will blaze through this world/defiance in this soil will acid through pretence/words will be just patterns on glass/tell that to francis hughes/tell that in your dreams/if you have any left/unbrick the walls/take to the roads/refuse refuse refuse to leave the roads or the woods or hills or filthy streets until what you desire in the pit of your cold night/whilst the white windows of crumlin jail light the road/brings to life that which sparks in theory/don't stop/

ANN

## ANARCHY COMICS NO. 3

## A REVIEW

THE latest and perhaps the last issue of 'Anarchy Comix' is now available. With each issue this comik book has improved by leaps and bounds and with No 3 editor Jay Kinney brings us 48 pages of international anarchist art, uniting between its covers the work of 17 artists from 7 countries.

Issue 3 begins with an inspired cover by Dutchman Peter Pontiak (with colour by Guy Colwell) without question the best cover the magazine's had.

The first 8 pages are occupied by Kinney and Paul Mavrides strip 'No Exit', well up to their usual high standard and while not as artistically adventurous as their 'Kulture Documents' in No 2 it more than makes up for this with its coherent art and humour. Do I detect in this strip a certain dissatisfaction with current anarchists and

anarchism? Placing as they do an angry young punk person at the centre of their story they hang much faith on spontaneous revolt and I look forward to seeing where their perspective leads (Heh-heh).

Next is a 4-pager by the French pair Epistolier and Trublin depicting the 16th century revolt of the Rustauds in the Zorn valley region of Alsace. I'm not overfond of Trublin's drawing, finding it too open and light, especially for such a dynamic and robust subject — peasant rebellion and its subsequent repression.

This is followed by a single page from Donald Room, 'Wildcat', with which Freedom readers are familiar. One of the better examples of 'Wildcat', saying in a lively style, simply and concisely, what anarchism is and is not.

Then comes 2 pages by Albo Helm of Holland, a nice fable from the Garden of Eden, 'The Act of Creation according to Bakunin', like the previous page a simple little strip saying nothing profound nor demanding much from the reader. Next is my own 4-page 'What is Government'. What can I say? Easily my most cohesive and forthright work so far, using for a text Proudhon's well known definition of the state first uttered in 1848, and wedded to a series of 24 static images that attempt to describe common experience. Certainly one of the more powerful and unusual strips in the comik.

Page 20, 'Radical Reflections' is another of Jay Kinney's efforts, perfectly drawn and witty.

The next and I think the very best is 'Roman Spring', 6 pages by Spain. Set in 1977 during the Rome University occupations this strip's got everything, Spain at his finest. Confident line work, well constructed visual storytelling, continually shifting perspectives, close-ups, long-shots, moving with ease from 7 frames per page to whole page pictures, from 2 person conversations to street battles and always with great economy; Spain shows us how it's done. I notice that the story line is credited to Cornford and Kinney. For sure the tale is an improvement on Spain's 'Durruti' in 'Anarchy Comix' No 2, which he scripted himself. This is followed by 'Naked Avenger' by Lafler. I didn't think a lot of this one pager, the story didn't say much to me nor did the art.

By far the funniest work in the book is from Berlin, Gerd Seyfried's 'Walkie-Talkie'. These 2 pages are more cartoon than comic strip but what the fuck, the tale is a laugh and so's the drawing.

Next comes a weird one, 2 untitled pages by G. Panter. My favourite strip of all, it's difficult to describe what it says so I won't try, though it does say a great deal. Its interest lies in the way it says it, both language and line

being extremely crude and naive (seemingly) even the layout of its 30 frames displaying a certain haphazardness, including bits of sellotape. But it demands close attention, which pays off; one discovers that each individual frame has been dated and then re-arranged in random sequence and as with the writing of William Burroughs still maintaining a story line. The visual style is bleak and savage, reminiscent of the German satirist George Grosz. All in all the most exciting and intellectually demanding of the 17 strips.

After that 3 pages by San Franciscans Melinda Gebbie and Adam Cornford, a beautiful and lyrical rendering of the life and poetry of anarchist and surrealist Benjamin Peret. I'm one of Gebbie's biggest fans, admiring most of all her sensuality of line.

Then 4 pages from Sharon Rudahl 'The Treasure of Cabo Santiago', a really lovely comic strip, very well drawn and accomplished, but above all holding the attention with a good story told well.

Greg Irons comes next with 4 pages of 'Who's in Charge Here?'. Not really much about anarchism here but who cares? Irons' art is superb and powerful and he's got the best punch line in the entire comik which believe me is no mean feat.

Canadian Dave Lester follows on with a page of cartoons around the theme of men against sexism (yawn). Then 2 cartoons by Marian Lydbrooke and yet another trouser wetter by funnyman Kinney, 'New Age Politics' — how does he do it?

'Anarchy Comix' No 3 is wrapped up with 4 pages by Matt Feazell, 'Pest Control'. This is a good strip, about ants and cockroaches and Edgar and Madge and the way out from all their troubles together. Feazell, along with Kinney, Mavrides, Spain and Rudahl and Irons provide the comik's backbone, producing art that looks and reads like comic strips, with a beginning, a middle and an end. The language is real, the art works within the frame and the page, within the comik medium. By taking the time and effort these artists have liberated this popular and vital area from the dead minds and pens of the creators of Superman and Wonderwoman.

'Anarchy Comix', over its 3 years existence has reached a readership that in numbers outstrips that of the US and English anarchist press together, and what's more most of these readers are not already committed to anarchist or radical perspectives. So 'Anarchy Comix' must be seen as a major success in anarchist propaganda and in anarchist art. I believe the main reason for this success is that it is a visual form, relying not on endless words and dry theory

ON THE NEXT FEW MONTHS THE STRUGGLE INTENSIFIES....

Continued on page 16.



but rather on *pictures* (and humour). Those concerned with propagating anarchist ideas to the world outside our groups and outside our own heads should learn this lesson — learn to draw and support 'Anarchy Comix' and its artists.

Finally, a word about the back cover. From Pepe Moreno of Spain comes a clever pastiche of an ad for a bug spray — 'Fast acting relief from annoying pests!' — and guess which pests? That's right, governments! 'New! Improved! Anarchy — satisfaction or your oppression back.' Not a bad offer!

So there it is — 'Anarchy Comix' No 3 — the best one so far. Jay Kinney, the editor, says he's bored with organising this little masterpiece so this is maybe the last issue. Write to Jay telling him why it's his revolutionary duty to keep it going — where would we be if the Spanish proletariat had packed it in whenever they felt bored?

CLIFF HARPER

ANARCHY COMICS NUMBER 3,  
published by Last Gasp at 2 dollars,  
Available on order from Freedom Bookshop,  
84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.  
UK distributor Knockabout Comix,  
249-251 Kensal Rd, London W10.

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HIGH INTENSITY SUBVERSION, Ronin,  
(no price quoted)  
ANARCHISM, ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST,  
Albert Meltzer, 50p.  
both Cienfuegos Press.

THESE are recent products from Cienfuegos. *High Intensity Subversion* is an examination behind the military mind. A standard work on techniques for dealing with people like us is *Low Intensity Operations* by Frank Kitson. This has been analysed several times in a 'know your enemy' spirit. This booklet takes it a stage further to demonstrate that it is 'of the company of books written to acquire power — Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and Lenin's *What is to be done?*' Ronin looks a bit more closely at the wording to show that Kitson is offering advice to military leaders on how to penetrate local government and make yourself indispensable, or as the phrase has it; make an offer they can't refuse.

There is a chapter by chapter breakdown of Kitson's book, which is now a standard text. In a particularly illuminating section, Ronin transfers a 'scenario' of guerilla operations in Borneo to Yorkshire. It's convincing. Most of the book presents a good case. The style is very chatty. It is often engaging and occasionally irritating. It often assumes that a militant is necessarily male — a description of a raid: 'If he finds there one person, a girl say (you dog!), some sugar in the pantry.....The Conspiracy laws permit a jury to be led by inference, from bird to sugar to petrol to weed-killer to you and your big Left wing cake-ole, to a verdict of Guilty.'

A nice book for paranoids and realists.

We also have a reprint of *Arguments*. These have appeared before, as a series in *Black Flag* and in *Cienfuegos Review*. The new pamphlet has an introduction to Anarchism and discussions of justifications of Anarchism, class struggle, organisation, the role of an Anarchist in an authoritarian society and bringing about the new society. Then there is a discussion of the objections produced by Marxist-Leninists, Social-Democrats, Liberal-Democrats, Fascists and Average Persons. The pamphlet is nicely produced (unlike *High Intensity Subversion*, which is a bit tatty). It's nice to have in this handy form.

## Deficit Fund

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TOTAL = £39.37  
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Previously acknowledged = £298.33  
TOTAL TO DATE = £315.08

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