

The Case of Pauline Jones

BRICKS OF SHAME

ONE IS QUITE USED to the unashamed sentimentalism of the popular dailies, the slap it on with a trowel of the *Mirror*; the slap and tickle of the *Sun*; the wallowing of the *Sunday People*, but on looking through items from the *Guardian* on the Pauline Jones case one sees parallels. December 18: 'Weller Case Girl writes to her father'. December 21: 'Father says Pauline may have lost baby later'. December 22: 'Pauline Jones Check'. December 24: 'Maudling refuses to free Pauline'. We know of the gush put out at the time the child, Denise Weller, disappeared, indeed one of the papers resorted to the old standby of offering a reward.

Those same papers are now attempting to squeeze every ounce of sentiment out of the sad plight of Pauline Jones.

Already the case is notorious by what Lord Chief Justice Widgery, reducing Pauline Jones' sentence from three years to twenty-one months, said: 'If one sought to measure the punishment by the anguish which she caused to the child's parents one could not say that three years was excessive.' . . . 'But we have been moved by what has been said on this girl's behalf and now that matters have cooled down a little we might show a measure of mercy which the trial judge found it impossible to show.'

We are used to having to accept that policemen may in the heat of the moment lose their tempers. The public now have to consider (what anarchists have long known) that even-handed, reasoning, detached Justice, *British Justice* at that, can get just as biased, irrational and involved as the inferior articles purveyed in other countries to lesser breeds. Organised vengeance is another name for Justice.

Sentimentality is a dangerous emotion, the same human interest that bolsters waning circulations engendered the 'public opinion' that

Pauline Jones' judge gave way to. The same 'human interest' now leads the *Guardian* to crusade for 'Pauline' when six days before she was 'Weller Case Girl'. 'Sentimentality' is not a sentiment, it is not carried through, it is a failure to carry ideas to their logical conclusion. The sentiments of 'mercy, pity, peace and love' are necessary for the growth of a free society but the hogwash of the popular press has no such origin.

No one who has imagination, and sentimentality is a substitute for it, would send *anyone* to prison. André

Gide once wrote 'Every sentence is a life sentence'. What happens to one in prison, unless one has a special type of mind, destroys not only one's past but shatters (almost literally) one's future. One can recall comrades whose minds were destroyed by the simple fact of being in prison, not destroyed by guilt as others are, but destroyed by the sensitivities being blunted and scarred. One knows of those to whom madness and self-destruction came by reason of a spell in an English civil (and comparatively

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Double-Cross Island?

MUCH INDIGNATION is being worked up by the Press over Malta's decision to ask Britain to quit her Maltese bases by reason of the fact that Britain will no longer pay the rent demanded. It is always amazing when Tories and Tory-minded Pressmen who swear by a market economy are surprised by the facts of life, that when for example a man takes on a job he aims to get the best wage possible, they are as indignant when he puts in a higher wage claim as they are now that Mr. Mintoff is asking what he calls a 'fair rent'.

Ridiculous arguments are advanced, it isn't worth all that rent anyhow, we don't really need it, they really need us and they're making a mistake getting rid of us, their new tenants (Russians? Libyans?) are undesirable to us/profitless to them; besides, after all we did for them and our long-standing friendship it's sad that we should part like this. Anyhow comes the cold comfort, they must be bluffing or—we must be bluffing.

Britain like all ex-Empires is a bad loser, we have never found the knack of letting go gracefully; like a worn-out actress we storm on to the stage when the last act seems in sight, to receive a round of boos and Bronx cheers plus the occasional missile. We ham it up as ever until we finally make our reluctant egg-spattered bow and wait for applause which never comes. Nobody understands us.

We cannot even recognise that although our former colonies, empire, commonwealth partners, etc., make the most incredible and stupid errors on gaining statehood and 'independence', even those errors have the virtue of being all their own work. Errors conceived in freedom are all experience. What they then do with that experience is up to them. The

Maltese may be being double-crossed by Mintoff, by the Libyans, or by the Russians, but it's apparently better than being George-crossed by Britain.

The loss of Malta as an income-tax haven, a lottery source or a 'soft number' for military postings may be regretted by some but this was all at the expense of somebody. And who paid for it all? The Maltese and British subjects whose taxes and depressed standards of living all kept up this grand illusion of a nineteenth century garrison island that was forever England. In a world where islands like Malta and Gozo, indeed like Britain and Ireland could be wiped off the map by one, two or three hydrogen bombs the concept of George Cross island the bastion against the invaders is ridiculously out-of-date.

In any case Malta's stand in the Second World War was rather like the position of London. London could take it because she had very little option. Malta was in a much more exposed position. The citizens had to stand up to the onslaughts of the Luftwaffe; if they had capitulated they would have been bombed by the RAF and the USAAF. It was in fact nothing but a replaceable dock.

To expect gratitude from one state to another is naive. The economy of Malta seems crazy but then so is the economy of almost every other country. Surely it is not impossible to reconstruct the economy of a Mediterranean country without depending on naval bases. Even tourism is better than that!

One of the Defence Correspondents (David Divine of the *Sunday Times*), makes a case not only for Malta being useless as a naval base now but also doubts if it had any use in the Second World War. This is going rather far in vituperation but it is well-known that war departments are always planning for the previous war.

The true loss to Britain in Malta is a loss of face. Surely this should not worry our politicians. They are two-faced anyhow. R.J.



"Madame de Thatcher the Children are Demanding Milk."
"Du Roi Ted my Old Fleur Let the Bleeders Wait Till They're Old Enough to Drink Your Common Market Wine."

Censors at the BBC

NO ONE WHO is a regular viewer of British television can have failed to notice the sad decline of the standard of BBC reporting on the N. Ireland situation in recent months. The obtrusive political pressure on our State-controlled (in effect, if not in theory) TV service has resulted in a slide from the earlier position of a fairly conscientious, liberal-minded attempt at objectivity into a crude, white-washing, public relations exercise on behalf of the British Army. Commercial TV has the same latent pressures with the omnipotent capitalist gangsters who run parallel with and often overlap the Barons of Fleet Street.

Many would argue—with some justification—that the very nature of television, with its instantly accessible mass audience, lends itself to manipulation by the controlling elite. However, it must also be admitted that some of the best and socially effective journalism to appear in the last decade was, in fact, TV journalism.

The continuing row over the BBC's plan to produce a tribunal-style TV programme on the N. Ireland situation reveals that the politicians have not overlooked the potential of the medium for producing an air of public discussion which is, by its nature, subversive of authority. The programme was planned for transmission on Wednesday, January 5, but it is not known at the time of writing whether or not it will take place. Amongst those planned to appear in the programme were a representative of the Stormont Government, Ian Paisley, Bernadette Devlin, Gerry Fitt, Michael O'Kennedy presenting the Eire Government's view, and with Neil Blaney presenting his own more militant nationalist line. The various speakers were intended to appear individually as 'witnesses' before the 'tribunal' in an attempt to eliminate cross-argument between participants; it was not the intention to reach a 'verdict'. Whilst none of the participants could be expected to provide

anything approaching a libertarian solution to the Irish situation, it is clear that the programme would give a platform to speakers who would challenge the presence and role of the British Army in N. Ireland, and the corrupt and repressive nature of the Stormont Government. As FREEDOM has consistently argued, the withdrawal of the British Army and the self-organisation of all Irish workers on a non-sectarian and non-authoritarian basis are the only solutions to the tragedy of Ireland.

On December 28, after a storm created by Ulster Unionists and Conservatives at Westminster, the Stormont Government informed the BBC that they would not be prepared to participate, obviously in the hope that the whole embarrassing programme would collapse. The BBC's absurdly self-conscious desire to appear 'politically unbiased' gave, in effect, the Stormont Government the power to veto the programme merely by refusing to

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State Murder!

PINELLI MURDERED . . .

VALPREDA INNOCENT . . .

Demonstration outside Italian Embassy on Sunday, January 16.
March from Speakers' Corner at 2 p.m.
Help needed for Leafletting, Fly-Posting, Sticking.
Contact ORA, 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

The Robot Unredeemed

THE REDEMPTION OF THE ROBOT, *My Encounter with Education through Art*, by Herbert Read. Faber and Faber, £2.

HERBERT READ is one of those writers who have only produced one book. A. S. Neil is another. They rewrite it over and over again, with different titles and a slightly different emphasis each time. Not a bad thing necessarily. Often one has to repeat the truth over and over, and hammer it home, otherwise it makes no impression. But the trouble with Read was that his philosophy was so cloudy, and you cannot hammer things with a cloud.

For one thing he seems to base his ideas on such odd people, for a libertarian or anarchist that is. Plato, Rousseau, Freud, Jung and even Ardrey. What do all these people have in common? They were all authoritarians, most of them conservative or even reactionary ones at that. Plato planned a totalitarian state, Rousseau would 'force men to be free' and believed in a 'general will' to which all would be subject, Freud came to terms with the 'reality principle', Jung flirted with the Nazis but was most of the time an a-political conservative and Ardrey is a near-Fascist. Out of this collection of authoritarians, out of their ideas, somehow Herbert Read draws anarchist conclusions. How it is done is not quite clear. Reading the book is like some hippy's description of a 'trip'. One floats away into a dreamland.

One drifts across a misty, autumn landscape. One is accompanied by a gentlemanly scholar, who discourses interestingly, but sometimes obscurely, on Plato and Freud and art and education and the imaginative powers of the child. And it's all good and worthy but rarely comes down to anything practical.* Sometimes it touches contemporary reality by accident. (The author died in 1968 and the book was written two years before his death.) Plato wanted children and young men to learn military drill and wrestling. Out of date in the era of the H-Bomb,

*One of the few passages worthy of note in the book is one where he shows up the futility of UNESCO and the idea of producing culture by committees.

says Read. 'Not so,' retort the hippy papers, who never fail to publish articles on self-defence. 'Not so,' retort the French students and the Japanese students in their helmets and improvised armour. 'Not so,' retort the Hell's Angels. All of these groups have a form of military training which would have been perfectly familiar to Plato. Herbert Read would have been astounded.

I've read a number of Herbert Read's books and pamphlets. Some of them were published by Freedom Press. I have never been able to make head or tail of them. Oh yes, I understand what he is getting at in a general way, but I can't understand how all these authoritarian thinkers can be made into supporters of an anarchist creed, and Herbert Read did claim quite openly to be an anarchist.

If one can make St. Thomas Aquinas or Confucius into an anarchist thinker, well and good. Why not? But I have never been able to see how it is done in Herbert Read's books. As somebody said, rather unfairly, of the poems of William Morris, it is all 'mild, mystic, moony, melancholy, vapoury'. You drift on and on, what Plato thought, what Jung said in a letter to me, what Wordsworth thought, what Rousseau should have said but omitted to say. And it's the same book that Herbert Read has been writing over and over again since the late forties.

There is very little about the actual education of real flesh and blood children. The author does not want them to be knocked about, but he also believes in discipline, a discipline which is somehow to emerge from the art itself, but how exactly we are never told.

The book is a part of a series, 'The Credo Series', and at the end there is a brief piece by Ruth Nanda Anshen, which attempts to explain what the series is for. For it might have been written by Herbert Read himself. The same vagueness is there. One feels it is all so well-meaning, and is intended to help mankind. Meanwhile Bangla-Desh burns and Indian and Pakistani armies crash into each other. Northern Ireland returns to the conditions of the Early Iron Age, with the enthusiastic help of the British Army, while the British people look on in bored bewilderment. It all seems so irrelevant, this kind of writing.

I'll choose a simple example from the very end of the book.

'This anthropologist [sic], Robert Ardrey, believes in original sin, or the basic ugliness of human nature. So do I, but I also believe in original beauty, which is the antidote to sin or ugliness. I believe in original beauty, which is the constructive use of the libido, the life-wish. Art is the domestication of the instincts. . . . And so on, and so on.

This is one of the more comprehensible passages, but it is only playing with

from the 'Freedom' Files

WE BELIEVE each sane adult human being to possess an equal and indefeasible claim to direct his life from within by the light of his own consciousness, to the sole responsibility of guiding his own action as well as forming his own opinion. Further, we believe that the acknowledgement of this claim is a necessary preliminary to rational voluntary agreement, the only permanent basis of harmonious life in common. Therefore, we reject every method of forcing assent, as in itself a hindrance to effectual co-operation, and further, a direct incentive to anti-social feeling. We deprecate as a wrong to human nature, individually, and therefore collectively, all use of force for the purpose of coercing others; but we assert the social duty of each to defend, by force if need be, his dignity as a free human being, and the like dignity in others, from every form of insult and oppression.

We claim for each and all the personal right and social obligation to be free. We hold the complete social recognition and acknowledgement of such a claim to be the goal of human progress, as its growth has been the gauge of development of Society in the past, of the advance of man from the blind social impulse of the gregarious animal to the conscious social feeling of the free human being. . . .

(Extract from the editorial in the first issue of 'Freedom' published in October 1886.)

words. 'Original sin', 'original beauty' mean practically nothing at all. The 'basic ugliness of human nature' . . . well, what is human nature? The nature of paleolithic man, the nature of modern food-gatherers, the nature of peasants, the nature of people who have 'gone back to nature'? What does it all mean?

All one can say is that the writer, depressed by the surrounding brutality, is able to get consolation by visiting some work of art. That is all it can mean. Why not say so? Why invoke Ardrey, and, further on, Tolstoy? I suppose, if you put it so baldly, the statement sounds platitudinous. It hardly seems worth making. It has been said so often before.

Unless a book is absolutely poisonous rubbish, and abuses other people unfairly, I try to find something good to say about it. I think, 'Look, this man has put his heart and soul into this work. He is not a bad man. There must therefore be something good in it. And anyway, suppose you wrote a book, with much labour, only for it to be dis-

Book Reviews

missed with contempt, how would you feel? But all I can say is that this is the typical Herbert Read book. It is the same as all the others, and it gets you nowhere.

Years ago, in an attic, I discovered to my surprise a forgotten pamphlet by Herbert Read called 'In Retreat', or some such title. It described, very vividly, his horrifying experiences in the First World War. He and his men retreated to a trench, where they were told they could take refuge, and it wasn't there. The turves had been cut, outlining the future trench on the ground, but its actual depth was about an inch. Shells were coming down all round.

Well, it was vivid. Now if only he had stuck to that kind of writing. . . . And to call Ardrey an 'anthropologist' . . . ! I can say no more.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

PAULINE JONES

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civilized) prison.

One of the bitter sayings—and there were many—in prison was 'You're here for punishment, not for nourishment'. This in fact, is not strictly true, being in prison, the loss of freedom, is punishment in itself. Other punishments are added, humiliations, indifference, occasional brutalities; and the constant punishment of dependants by deprivation and scorn; and the final unending punishment of release with a record like a dog on a leash. All sentences are life sentences.

The case of Pauline Jones is not unique. If it were it would not be a tragedy, it would be a mistake. According to the *Sunday Times* (December 12), she was brought up in a Catholic household, nursed her dying mother for two years, her father remarried (to his deceased wife's sister). She had an affair with a man who, leaving her pregnant, jilted her. She had a miscarriage—alone in Chingford on July 11. On July 30 she took Denise Weller from her pram in Harlow. She looked after the baby, tried to have a reconciliation with her ex-fiancee telling him that the baby was his; this had no effect on him. She moved to Hull with the kidnapped baby. The *Sunday Times* says, 'There was no television in the house neither were there any newspapers so Pauline knew little of the nationwide hue and cry for Denise Weller'. She was eventually traced through an attempt to get a birth certificate for the child and eventually sentenced to three years.

Pauline Jones' life seems to have been a mess, the only way the State

seems to have thought of to end the mess was by sweeping Pauline Jones under the carpet. This only added to the mess and, burdened by guilt, Pauline Jones has attempted suicide twice. Such attempts, feeble as they may be, are signals for help. As usual the State ignores the signals. We are told that Pauline Jones has become short-sighted and increasingly deaf since entering prison. It is obvious that her desire not to see, not to hear, is symptomatic of this secondary prison within a prison she is building for herself. Many have done the same.

The lack of imagination of those who run gaols and governments is occasionally made up for by those they imprison. The nets of the law occasionally catch a man of vision and thus he is able to communicate to us the horror and desolation of prison life. One of these was Oscar Wilde, who wrote one of the greatest poems about prison life, 'The Ballad of Reading Gaol'. In it occur the lines:

*'I know not whether Laws be right,
Or whether Laws be wrong;
All that we know who lie in gaol
Is that the wall is strong;
And that each day is like a year,
A year whose days are long.
But this I know, that every Law
That men have made for Man,
Since first Man took his brother's
life,
And the sad world began,
But straws the wheat and saves the
chaff*

*With a most evil fan.
This too I know—and wise it were
If each could know the same
That every prison that men build
Is built with bricks of shame.*

The prison that holds Pauline Jones and many more is built with bricks of shame. The shame of the crude desire for vengeance. Bricks baked in the heat of 'public opinion' fanned into flame by the popular press. The shame is not only that of prisons but the shame of the public who, to lull their own guilts, allow such things to happen—not just in this case—but in every prison, every day. There must be an alternative to prison for the sickness of 'crime'.

JACK ROBINSON.

Power Blocks in Africa

AFRICA IN ECLIPSE, by Leonard Barnes (Gollancz, £3.00).

A GUEST OF HONOUR, by Nadine Gordimer (Cape, £2.50).

WITH TWO MAPS dated 1965 and 1970 Leonard Barnes shows how the former Arab and white fringes of Africa have advanced towards the centre. This is an analysis in terms of power blocs and spheres of influence with North and West Africa under Moslem ascendancy and an extended Southern Africa under white dominance (not always in the direct form, thus including the former Belgian colonies as well as South Africa's client states) with a few central countries still holding out. These particular developments are seen as a result largely of (respectively) the Nigerian and Congolese wars, which are analysed politically in some detail.

The main emphasis however is on the internal decay of all the countries which were granted independence, whether or not now in the areas of ascendancy or dominance (as above). The problem is of building new societies on an inherited alien framework and the results are shown as due to the insufficient dismantling of that framework: some of the conclusions are of relevance throughout the world (i.e. to us as rebuilders) and some refer only to the African context. Self-perpetuating elites are sustained by foreign 'aid' which also exploits resources without restructuring the countryside which is in turn further cut off from the towns which contain the elites who are now accompanied in some cases by an unemployed ex-rural urban population forced into crime. There has been virtually no development of any sort because the base was wrong, and things are made worse by the (mostly NATO) investing / aid-giving powers. Problems arising from African culture complicate things further: psychological patterns and views of the world (which we need to understand if we are thinking of a future world society).

The area where the author sees hope

is perhaps unexpected: the areas liberated by the anti-Portuguese guerrillas (see also *Anarchy* 112, June 1970) who are building a society from scratch on co-operative lines and who, on a Vietnam analogy, may be able to hold out when greater force is wielded against them and when things get worse elsewhere in Africa, waiting until America and therefore NATO and its countries start falling to pieces through over-extension and internal problems, causing the South African-Portuguese effort to weaken: a long-term effort by the liberationists in which they have nothing to lose (as they see it) and which might then spread throughout the continent in various forms establishing self-determined societies from the wreckage, and possibly being joined by conceivable survivors like Tanzania. (It is not clear whether the author envisages a simultaneous deterioration in the Soviet bloc. This is a major shortcoming of his predictions.)

There is much to be learnt from the book in a general sense and two specific messages as to what we can do, bearing in mind that the essence of solving the African problem is self-help: we can support from outside the anti-Portuguese freedom fighters, as also such countries as Tanzania; but, more significantly, we can continue in our efforts to dismantle capitalism and its agencies, which are oppressing us but are oppressing Africa far more terribly.

Nadine Gordimer's novel could be seen as an illustration of some aspects of the other book, though of course it is self-sufficient and should be read on its own terms. It tells of the first year after Independence of an imaginary African country somewhere in the Tanzania-Zambia area: it is set (rather oddly?) in the late '60s. The three main characters are the President, his ex-colleague and mentor who is excluded from the administration and wishes the country to follow a more socialist course independent of foreign control, and the friend of both and the central character from whose viewpoint the story is seen,

a white ex-District Officer who was expelled ten years before Independence for supporting the nationalists and has returned for the celebrations and stayed on semi-permanently to help with the education system. We see the initial euphoria and then the gradual build-up of the opposing forces. The political description and discussion is expertly handled, though not to the exclusion of a fully personal treatment of the main characters, these three and many others with which the central figure is involved: it is hard to be specific without telling too much of the story. The whole scene is brought to life, in the capital and in the provinces, public events and personal ones, the whole way of life. This is a rich and complex book and something of a masterpiece.

MICHAEL SKAIFE D'INGERTHORPE.


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Total: £76.00



Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
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ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

AFBIB—To all Groups.

Next issue of AFBIB will be run off in Birmingham. Send material to Secretary, Peter Le Mare. Also needs offers of help from Groups to bring out further issues.

The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

N.E. England: Mick Renwick, 34 Durham Road, Gateshead, Co. Durham.
Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)
Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.
Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, Flat D, 90 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9L.
Manchester: Mat Cunningham, 9 Briar Hill Avenue, Little Hulton, Worsley, Lancs.
Scotland: Secretary, Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee.
Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).
N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.
The American Federation of Anarchists: P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.
S. Ireland: 20 College Lane, Dublin, 2.
University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare.

Some Thoughts on Anarchism

THE STRENGTH and endurance of the ruling class, the establishment, or whatever you like to call the minority who control the political and economic power of this country, lies in their ability to absorb and smother ideals, which are then spewed out in a harmless form. This process is a continual one and is the distinguishing trait of the British ruling class.

We are all familiar with this absorption of talented working-class leaders who make their way through the trade union movement and end up as TUC knights. At shop-floor level we see the militant and able shop steward being tempted with a foreman's job, of the union official with the labour relations officer's job.

Ordinary workers will tell you that those who have risen up through the ranks are the worst sort. They know all the tricks and dodges from first-hand experience and that experience is then used against their own class for the advantage of their new masters.

THE 'BETRAYERS'

Recently *Ink* devoted an issue in which they examined examples of 'working class heroes' and listed some of the 'Betrayers' of that class. They asked the question: 'What is a class traitor?', and answered that it was not just someone who had improved himself financially and moved up the social ladder, but 'rather it's someone who, having risen above his "humble" class origins, actively harms and betrays the interests of the working class by collaborating with their rulers. There is a world of difference between active class treachery on the

one hand, and apathy and self-enrichment on the other, though of course they can overlap'.

Being anarchists we should not feel this sense of betrayal which is so prominent amongst workers. It is, after all, a basic tenet of our philosophy that giving power to individuals will automatically corrupt them. It is precisely because people continue to give power to others, for the vast majority would rather leave the decision making and responsibility to others, that they suffer this feeling of betrayal. To be responsible is hard work.

Unlike other political ideals, anarchism is both a collective and an individual thing. It is something that one is involved with for twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. It is about relationships between people and respect for the freedom of individuals.

We might be materialists, but we are not just concerned with material well-being. For anarchists want or, in my opinion, should want an anarchist society even if the material benefits in it could be less than in the present one. There is a point when one has to say no to a consumer society because it threatens not only our natural environment, but life itself. To fly to America by Concorde in a few hours is senseless, not only because of the vast waste of raw materials and manpower, but also because of the vast complex of roads, buildings and transport needed to maintain this form of travel for the minority.

QUESTIONING THE SYSTEM

Anarchism could mean less of this and

that, but at least no one would be deprived or hungry unless it was because of our own mismanagement or some natural disaster. People are questioning the capitalist consumer society and the power structure and authoritarian nature of our institutions. We are criticised because we supported those who wished to close Oxford Street (see letter in this issue). The same criticism of reformism came from the International Socialists when the Young Liberals asked for their support. It might be reform, but then so is squatting homeless families. These both have revolutionary implications of direct action, of people acting for themselves, of taking responsibility for their actions and risking arrest for their ideas.

It is these things that separate us from the groups who form and adhere to political parties and look to leaders. Perhaps these groups are afraid of the implications of supporting the closure of Oxford Street. Would people start to question their use of the car and what

would then happen if this meant that not so many car workers were needed?

Many people are bribed by the bread and circus of material things, the second-rate instant trash which is dished up as entertainment on the mass media. Anarchists want people to throw off the role of semi-slave. All political parties want this role to continue, while anarchists want free men and women who wish to preserve what liberties we have left and to extend them beyond the point where the ruling class can concede.

Anarchists do not want the crumbs from the cake, but the whole thing. People should have enough to satisfy their needs and to be able to make the decisions that affect their lives. Anarchists want people to collectively own and control the means of production, the land and the raw materials, rather than the minority who control these things today.

P.T.

An Open Letter

Dear Comrades,

David Mumford's reply to my open letter to the Young Liberals mentions that they 'look to a self-financing movement rather than one dependent either on the Liberal Party or on rich libertarians'. A self-financing libertarian movement need not exclude contributions by rich libertarians, it should simply insist that such assistance was without strings.

The Liberal Party is an organised movement with political ambitions that centre on attaining constitutional power and I don't think an anarchist can honestly associate himself with such a movement unless he is trying to break the control of the Liberal Party in every way. I am not fully conversant with the finances of the Young Liberals, however the appearance of Young Liberals on the Liberal Party platform speaks of an association with the Party which has its financial links.

David Mumford mentions 'lack of activity' by libertarian groups in Britain which reveals his narrow political view of what consists of 'activity'. Anarchists are active in many areas which are not measured in conventional political terms. I'll give you that anarchists are not so hot these days on the membership of an organisation in the UK, but in fields of education, the arts, civil liberty, race relations, women's liberation, sex and child rearing I believe anarchists are making their contribution and the publications *FREEDOM* and *Anarchy* are of such a quality and consistency that they might encourage emulation from Young Liberals. Indeed it has been Britain's contribution to international anarchism in the form of the written word that has made this country's role in modern anarchism so noteworthy.

J.W.

Music & Revolution

Dear Comrades,

I'm happy to tell you that I'm crazy about Beethoven and so is the Right Hon. Edward Heath. You raise an interesting point. It is a truism that our life is filled with recorded music of every conceivable kind. Soon we won't be able to go on a long train journey without inescapable piped muzak. Do you think muzak or any music for that matter is either necessary or appropriate accompaniment during long train journeys?

If you watch TV, you must have heard the same tunes riffled from the massive music and FX disc libraries again and again and again. Producers of BBC-TV arts programmes seem to

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Far be it from us to suggest that anyone should do anything so anti-social as to ring the number and leave the receiver off!

N.W.

A.

LETTERS

think their films would be lost without, e.g., Vaughan Williams Variations on a Theme by Thomas Tallis, Bruckner's Fourth, or Vivaldi's Guitar Concerto. I think their films would be better lost.

Whenever documentary film makers want background music for scenes of urban desolation, you may well hear a track from a stock disc of plaintive flute music. There are countless discs of specially concocted 'effects' music labelled 'fast and lively', 'slow and sad', etc., etc.

Directors treat all music in this way, filing it away in their memories as suitable background for such-and-such a type of scene. Often their imagination is asleep when they make their selection. Almost always their choice is circumscribed by the conventions of 'correct' musical accompaniment. The result is that a film or play or whatever which appears to be striving for a popular appeal, is backed by music which does not carry the same meaning.

The point is that their whole middle-brow conception is wrong. It is conventional and elitist. Recently A. L. Lloyd, the communist authority on folk music who only broadcasts on the Third programme or Radio 3 if you like, made a TV film on urban folk protest music. This is what he calls the music of the people. All his illustrations were from traditional folk music. None was from young people's music of now, which he contemptuously dismissed as 'pop music for fancy dreams'. Thus he chose to ignore all the great mass popular protest and subversive music of the past five years or so. Incredible! His means were totally at variance with his ends.

If you still don't get what I mean, go and see Stanley Kubrick's vile and nasty new film 'Clockwork Orange', which makes a dog's dinner out of Beethoven's Ninth.

Yours for music and revolution,
JULIUS.

Permanent Protest

Dear Editors,

John Brent's remarks on the 'permanent protest' of the Sydney Libertarians (*FREEDOM*, 25.12.71) require correction and comment.

(1) Max Nomad is one of the acknowledged influences on the Sydney Libertarians, but he is in no way a spokesman for them.

(2) The notion that the Sydney Libertarians' viewpoint 'is really a Christian one' is nonsensical. Those who believe in the saving grace of a social revolution that will bring heaven on earth are the true continuators of the Christian tradition, not those whose perspective is shaped by the prospect of permanent resistance to authority.

(3) I disagree with the Sydney Libertarians over several things, particularly their view of anarchist individualism, but I have yet to see a cogent refutation of their 'social pessimism'. Men certainly create institutions and attitudes, as John Brent says, but that is only to state the obvious. The point at issue is whether all, or a majority, of men, are both capable and desirous of creating a world from which authority has been permanently banished. In other words, is universal anarchy possible? When John Brent and his co-optimists can provide indisputable evidence that it is, then the 'permanent protesters' will have to shut up shop. Until then, they rest their case. London S. E. PARKER.

Murder of Pinelli

FOR US EVERYTHING is a farce, a stupid farce, in the exhumation of Pinelli, and it is viewed the same way by Licia Pinelli, who has refused to take part in the exhumation by 'recognising' this mess of bones found in the coffin and she has said: 'I consider it useless. After two years I don't understand what I am supposed to recognise.'

That after two years there could not be anything left to recognise, even they have understood: the magistrates, the assassins, the police lawyers. This is why, after having destroyed all the evidence, clothes included, and threatened who knows how many witnesses, they have given the 'go ahead' to the exhumation.

To prove our denunciation of them as accomplices of the assassins, one episode is enough: the destruction of the clothes before Amati's farcical inquiry could be completed, and after Pinelli's mother had been refused possession of them 'because they were needed as evidence'.

Pinelli was assassinated because alive he was a dangerous witness.

Pinelli was murdered. This is the only truth emerging from all the evidence about the bomb-attacks. The question is not 'Was he murdered?' but 'Why?'.

Pinelli had good intuition about political manoeuvres of groups, which he had acquired fighting as a partisan.

Milan central police station never lost

sight of him and especially more recently frequently 'questioned' him.

Who, on the night between December 14 and 15, 1969, decided that Pinelli must die? The truth about Pinelli's death would be the truth about the Milan slaughter.

We are certain that, put together with what the police must have said to him during 78 hours of continuous interrogation, Pinelli knew enough to understand what was happening: who had carried out the slaughter, and who had ordered it.

The decision to 'liquidate' him was an extremely serious one, taken in the absolute necessity of eliminating a witness dangerous to those who planted the bombs.

PINELLI ASSASSINATED BY THE STATE

When Pinelli was murdered all the petty officials of the State were aware of the menace that weighed over them if the truth should be known: the truth about Pinelli, the truth about the 16 dead of Piazza della Fontana, the truth about who ordered the killing.

The truth about the murder of Pinelli = the truth about the Milan slaughter by the State.

—From the Italian Anarchist Press.
Trans. S.M.

ANGRY BRIGADE Three out—Eight in Court

JUST AFTER our last report on the Prescott-Purdie case (December 25) went to press, Ian Purdie was given bail on a minor cheque fraud charge, despite continued police objections, in a total sum of £9,500, and with stringent conditions excluding him from contact with the other defendants and obliging him to report to the police twice a day. He spent nine months in custody before his release, and is likely to spend as long on bail before his trial; he has not yet been found guilty of a single offence. But at least he is out of prison for the time being.

Press comment on the case is continuing. The *Listener* on December 30 printed an article in its Views column by Alan Ryan, a liberal philosopher at Oxford, discussing the sentences on Jake Prescott and Pauline Jones, in which he made ironical fun of Melford Stevenson's psychopathic behaviour and then repeated the old call of liberal utopians for unemotional and impartial

judges. And *Private Eye* on December 31 printed a news item pointing out that Melford Stevenson was himself the victim of a bomb threat last January which the *Evening News* at the time attributed to the Angry Brigade—a peculiar qualification to be the judge in the Prescott-Purdie case, even in our non-liberal non-utopia.

Meanwhile, back in court, the committal proceedings against the ten people arrested between August and November began on January 3. Pauline Conroy and Christopher Allen, who both come from Notting Hill and who had been arrested late in the police hunt, were released because the Attorney-General stopped proceedings against them—presumably because there was no evidence against them—and were also awarded costs of £150 and £100 respectively. The prosecution began to outline its case, and we shall be giving full reports of what will probably be a long hearing.

N.W.

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POLAND—ONE YEAR AFTER

IT IS OVER a year now since the Lenin shipyard workers in Gdansk downed tools and marched out of the yard. But Poland is still very much the Sick Man of Europe, for all the changes that have occurred over the last fourteen months or so.

Poland was ripe for revolt. Working-class discontent had been building up for more than a year before 1970. The 'conservative' Stalinist politicians had already been forced to allow the 'progressive' economists to prepare limited reforms of the rigid centralised State economy, though few workers understood how they worked. During the summer of 1970, the United Workers' (i.e. Communist) Party leadership had received many confidential reports of food shortages. Then, on December 13, the government announced 46 items of food and fuel which were to be increased in price, together with 40 other items—all consumer durables—which were to be reduced in price. At a stroke, to use a phrase familiar to working-class housewives in this country, milk, fish, meat, coffee, sugar, coal and many other items were increased in price from between 8% and 92%. Wages were to be frozen from January 1 for one year.

Beginning in the Gdansk shipyards, and spreading rapidly to Gdynia and Sopot, and then on to Szczecin, all 'hell was let loose'. The workers of Poland had risen against their Communist—state—masters. That story, the background, and the events that led up to it, has been told in detail elsewhere.* The outcome by the beginning of March 1971 was a limited victory for the workers.

CONCESSIONS

On March 1, the government and the Politburo of the VWP reversed its price increases of food and fuel—and they were duly reduced to their pre-December levels. There were many changes in the leadership of the Trade Unions. Personal incomes would, said the 'experts', rise by at least 7%. And the government promised to freeze prices for another two years. Moreover, there was now considerable freedom of speech and expression—without the fear of imprisonment. But many problems still remain and, in some respects, are even more acute.

The housing problem remains a major one in Poland, as elsewhere. It was

*See my 'Class Struggles in Poland' in *Anarchy* No. 4 (second series).

almost top of the list of grievances submitted by workers in December 1970. Mr. Gierk, Poland's new Top Leader, has promised to increase housing construction by 25% over the 1971-1975 target. Polish workers will believe him if, or when, they actually move into new houses and apartments. Wealthy Poles, particularly in the capital, Warsaw, have no difficulty in finding accommodation—particularly, that is, if they can produce plenty of convertible, Western, currency as down payments!

THE PEASANTS

Life has not, however, changed much for the peasants.

Though over 8,000,000 people have left the land since 1945, the peasants are still the dominant economic factor in People's Poland. There are 6,000,000 peasants working on almost three million farms. Most, as I have documented elsewhere, are extremely small; a few are over 100 hectares (1 hectare = 2.471 acres). Most peasants are very poor. A Polish economist recently described their condition thus:

'Peasants often work a 16-hour day, are not insured, cannot avail themselves of the health service, do not get pensions or paid holidays, live only too often in old, damp, and inadequately-heated houses, and do not eat well. They cannot afford to give their children higher education. Peasants are poorly clothed, have no access to entertainment, and have no time for reading and self-improvement.'

After over 25 years of a 'workers' and peasants' government!

VWP CONGRESS

On December 6, the United Workers' Party's sixth congress opened in Warsaw, almost twelve months after Mr. Gierk had ousted Mr. Gomulka as Party first secretary.

Like all politicians, he promised improvements in the 'material welfare' of the workers.

The VWP announced a new ruling Politburo in which professionals, technocrats, and 'experienced managers', all loyal to Gierk, emerged as the dominant faction. The notorious General Moczar, the hard-line security chief who crushed the student demonstrations in 1968, was ousted. It was also reported to congress that the numerical strength of the Party had dropped by more than 50,000 and that the weeding-out of

another 100,000 had begun. Emphasis from now on will be to give more authority to qualified industrial managers, top engineers and technicians—as has been happening in Hungary for some years—and the down-grading of old-time

TORTURE IN BRAZIL

THE BERTRAND RUSSELL War Crimes Tribunal for the Investigation of the American War Crimes in Vietnam has now turned its attention to Brazil.

The current Brazilian dictator, Medici, has just paid a visit to the United States. Vladimir Dedijer, the Executive President of the Tribunal, has written the following letter to Jean Paul Sartre:

'Dear Sartre,

The news from Brazil confirms that tortures of political prisoners go on there at an ever increasing scale.

It seems to me that you are in the complete agreement that our Tribunal should intervene urgently and judge the crimes of the Brazilian dictatorship and their protectors.

Prima facie documentation points out that Brazil has been transformed into the key basis for the most aggressive US imperialistic venture in South America and the Caribbean and is already threatening the whole area.

The rapporteur and member of our Tribunal, Professor Lelio Basso, during his last visit to Latin America, has already opened preliminary investigation, gathering many proofs of the criminal behaviour of the Brazilian dictatorship. With comradely greetings,

Vladimir Dedijer.'

Just how much the Tribunal really achieved in Vietnam it is hard to say. The war rages on with unabated ferocity. Nevertheless I suppose it is better to do something than simply sit and moan. It will do no harm at any rate to call public attention in Europe to the plight of Latin America, an unreal, comic opera

Stalinist bureaucrats; but, of course, not the institution of bureaucracy itself!

Bureaucracy, centralisation (but not quite so much), government and state power, together with poverty and insecurity for the masses, and privilege and power for the few, will remain.

Twenty-five years of 'socialism' (read state capitalism) has not eliminated these. Only the conscious efforts of the Polish workers and peasants can achieve that.

PETER E. NEWELL.

continent, a transatlantic Ruritania to most Europeans.

May we also mention the plight of the Brazilian Indian, who is threatened with extermination? The invention of the light aeroplane has made his jungle sanctuary no longer a protection.

Brazil, South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia, Greece, the American CIA, a sort of pattern is emerging all around the world. At the moment the forces of greed, cruelty and repression are everywhere making the running. The forces opposing them are divided, confused, at each other's throats or even imitating the enemy. England, Scotland and Wales at the moment still enjoy a certain immunity, otherwise one could not have a Bertrand Russell Tribunal here at all, and how long is this immunity going to last?

Sweden until recently was always thought of as an exceptionally enlightened country, but recently in a student election in Lund a candidate won on the platform of 'no sexual intercourse between Swedes and foreigners'.* Possibly the influx of American hippies has strained Swedish tolerance. Meanwhile British troops in Northern Ireland are using techniques of torture taught to them by the American 'Green Berets', who got them from the French 'Paras', who got them from the Nazis, whose SA and SS were inspired by the Black and Tans originally! So the circle of violence is complete.

Our entire culture is plunging into darkness.

A.W.U.

*Letter in *Frendz*, 23.12.71.

PROVOCATEURS

THE 'VECCHIA TELPA' group notifies the unmasking and immediate boycott of Giorgio Rosario Mondì, police-agent.

The provocateur Mondì, jailed a little while ago, managed to contact, at San Vittorino in 1970 our friend and comrade Tito Pulsinelli, and with these credentials contacted the group. At the first specific political discussions he revealed himself as provocateur, suggesting on October 12, to some of us, a dynamite attack on 'Regina Coeli' jail to 'liberate Valpreda', and a kidnapping of the daughter of an industrialist. This was to be done with the aid of his collaborator from Parma, Aldo Briganti, nicknamed 'Emiliano'.

Censors at the BBC

Continued from page 1

participate. There then followed a period of confusion about the future of the programme. Telephone lines buzzed from on high and BBC producers hot-footed to and fro between London and Belfast in an attempt to find some compromise.

On the morning of December 29 there was a further development: a printed circular was circulated in the Television Centre and Lime Grove Studios, and posted to London newspapers. The anonymous circular alleged that producers, reporters and technicians 'are meeting increasing pressure to hold back or censor news and current items from N. Ireland. The integrity of journalists trying to do a difficult job is being openly challenged'. It also alleged that there was an 'unofficial' list of reporters and producers who were banned from working in N. Ireland because of the controversial nature of their previous work. The circular went on to call for a total ban on news staff visits to N. Ireland from January 10 if the BBC does not lift its 'censorship and pressures'. Perhaps not surprisingly, the circular was dismissed as nonsense by BBC men still working in Belfast!

Whether or not the programme appears and, if it does, whether it will help to illuminate the situation in N. Ireland remains to be seen. Anyway, the whole incident underlines the urgent need to extend the scope and effectiveness of the anarchist and alternative press to combat the omissions, distortions and downright lies of the State-controlled and capitalist-controlled news media.

TERRY PHILLIPS.

H.

VOLINE

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N. and E. London ORA meets regularly (weekly). Please contact via 68 Chingford Road, Walthamstow, E.17.

Revolutionary Workers Forum meets at 170a Deptford High Street, S.E.8, 7.30 p.m. every Monday.

Anarchist and Nihilist Group is being formed in Derby and anyone interested should contact: Gavin P. Lawrence, 63 Uttometer New Road, Derby, DE3 3NP.

Any Spare Furniture? Falls Road family squatting in Burrell House, London, E., now have electric stove and some bedding but still need items of furniture. Please write George Foulser, c/o Freedom Press.

Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme. CIRA membership covers use of lending library in Lausanne and biannual bulletin (annual subscription £1). First CIRA publication in English: Michael Bakunin's 'The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State' (15p post free, £1 for 10 copies). British representative: Nicolas Walter, 134 Northumberland Road, North Harrow, Middlesex, HA2 7RG (telephone: 01-866 9777).

Help! Stoke Newington 6 Fund. Comrades now on remand in Brixton and Holloway need financial aid urgently for meals, fruit, papers, books (which must be new) and cigarettes. Please send donations to the Stoke Newington 6 Fund. c/o Compendium Books, 240 Camden High Street, London, N.W.1. a.s.a.p.

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Proposed Group: Celia & Laurens Otter, 13 Albert Road Wellington Telford, Meet first and third Tuesday of the month, at other times phone Wellington 54728.

Proposed Group—Exeter Area. John and Jill Driver, 21 Dukes Orchard, Bradninch, Exeter. EX5 4RA.

Anyone interested in forming a Cambridge Anarchist Group contact John Jenkins, 75 York Street, Cambridge.

'GERMINAL' de-Anarchised

THE BBC is currently repeating David Turner's television adaptation of *Germinal*, Emile Zola's novel about coal-miners in North-Eastern France, which contained the first important fictional (and fictitious) portrayal of an anarchist in the character of Souvarine.

The location of the story has been transferred to North-Eastern England, with Geordie accents and all, but the main interest from our point of view is that, while Souvarine's political activities are faithfully represented, there is not a single indication that he is meant to be an anarchist—a fact which is made very clear in the book. What's the matter, is the BBC afraid of the Angry Brigade or something?

N.W.

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