

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

25p

26th Sept 1981, Vol 42 No 19.



TALKING HEADS

MEDIA pundits refer to August as the 'Silly Season', a time when they are filled with trivia, banalities and gossip. This classification carries the comforting implication that for the rest of the year, they are concerned with objective reporting and meaningful analysis. Ten other months can be left to speak for themselves. However, even a generous observer has to include September.

This month sees the spectacles of representative democracy in full pantomimic swing. They are called conferences. Grouping after grouping goes through its tribal rituals of argument and affirmation. The meetings are packed with an assortment of misguided idealists, party machine hacks and blatant trimmers. Then the 'leaders' go away and do as they want.

First off is the Trades Union Congress. Here, full time officials bask in the rewards for their dedication. Delegations wave their nonsensical block votes (for this is an issue on which the Tories are

right). Everyone wallows in the 'solidarity', while showing precious little, in the 'brothers and sisters', the 'comrades'. And a number of motions are cobbled together into 'composites', so contradictory and so vague that the leaders go away and do as they want.

This has been followed by the Liberals. Oh, all the idealism of yesterday, where was it at Llandudno? One whiff of a bit of real, naked power and the whole conference spends its time cobbling together an alliance with a mish-mash of shop-soiled social democrats, centralist jellies and gravy-train hoppers. A motion was actually passed condemning Cruise missiles, but David Steele let us know that he wouldn't actually take any notice, not in practise. So the leaders go away and do as they want.

The Labour Party Conference is to come. This will, no doubt, pass a motion in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament. It has done so before. Michael Foot was a well-known unilateralist. Tempers

will be frayed over the election of the Deputy Leader. Denis Healey will represent the mixture as before, blustering, trying to smear Benn with Moscow gold. Silkin will dither in the middle, bleating about what a nice guy he is. If there are any preferences, Benn should win. That would give an opportunity for the whole 'left labour' myth to be discredited. As, of course, it has been by Foot or Bevan or..., but perhaps people might notice this time. So, the leaders, whoever they turn out to be, go away and do as they want.

Ah, and the Tories. No-one can say that they were deceived. The Tory leadership said what it was going to do, and, give them credit, they did most of it. In order to bring down the level of inflation and reduce the money supply, they have increased the level of unemployment to three million and reduced the real wages of everybody else. They told us that there

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Carl Harp Murdered

CARL HARP, a revolutionary anarchist prisoner, was murdered in his cell at the Washington State Penitentiary on 5th Sept. Three weeks previously, Harp was made aware of a contract out on his life by a member from a gang that refused the contract from their dope supplier — the guards. Another guard told Harp of the plot as well.

Harp made moves, distributing an open letter exposing the contract and checking into protective custody because he was too tired after all these years of fighting back, to adequately protect himself. A week after entering protective custody, Harp felt confident enough to be released back into the general prison population. He was found dead, with his wrists slashed and hung by a telephone wire. He was housed in the tier which houses inmates before they re-enter general population.

His reputation among prisoners who knew of him seemed solid: he never played games or ran scams against prisoners and often helped them out with their problems. But in prison, it doesn't take much at all to get killed with the State keeping conditions oppressive.

Harp was not beaten to death as in most prison killings, rather his death was executed to appear as suicide. There was even a suicide note supposedly written by Carl. Yet no one who knew Carl believed for an instant that his death was anything but murder.

Here are some of the facts evident so far:

- 1) The cause of death hasn't yet been assessed.
- 2) No explanation has been given as to how his wrists were slashed.
- 3) Both his close friend and wife who saw the suicide note declared it a fake.
- 4) All who knew Harp were aware of his remarkable ability to stay balanced, fight hard when he had strength, deflect assaults when weak and lay low to regenerate his energy when tired. He had a lust for life.
- 5) His wife and I who last visited Carl, August 28th after he had demanded to get transferred back to general population, saw a person who felt very satisfied about his moves and was anticipating the future. He was also looking forward to the next issue of a newsletter he was involved in, the *Anarchist Black Dragon*, a certain big victory in an upcoming suit against the guards for a brutal beating he received two years ago, an appeal on his rape conviction by one of Washington's best attorneys, projects on publishing some of his writing, and of course, more visits from his wife now that he was back in Washington from California's San Quentin.
- 6) Lastly, Carl died alone. He vowed that

if he ever would give it all up and commit suicide, he'd take a pig with him.

An autopsy will be done to determine the cause of his death, the FBI have been called in to investigate, some lawyers have come forward to help, and outside supporters are planning strategy to expose the complicity behind his murder, and the murder of hundreds of other inmates in the clutches of the State.

Biography

Born 1949 in Vancouver, Washington, Harp lived with his mother, who lived on welfare more often than not to survive. He went to prison for the first time at 15. By the time he was 23, he had been around the world three times, been in five more prisons in Mexico and Washington, spent time in Vietnam and had become a junky who kicked the habit.

At the age of 23, he was convicted and sentenced to four consecutive life terms for murder and rape. (The history of the trial and the proceedings clearly show he was railroaded by a State that needed a conviction, after blowing its case against the guilty party.) Harp, outraged at his convictions, decided to fight back.

He evolved through constant and often intense struggle with the State into a revolutionary Anarchist. He developed remarkable skills to not only sustain his strength in the fight, but also enhance his love of life. He was hated and feared by the State because of his effectiveness confronting authority and educating others.

While many inmates would try to do 'easy time', Carl never took life for granted. He did his time by churning out letters and articles to the outside, launching suits against the prison, helping other prisoners in their legal matters (and teaching some to read), being supportive and loving to friends, painting or drawing art, and reading and discussing political theory.

He put theory into action by helping found Men Against Sexism, a group established to help protect gay prisoners and educate others; participated in the intense strikes and rebellions Walla Walla prisoners waged against their captors; co-founded the *Anarchist Black Dragon* Collective — an underground political

group inside, and their publication which is still continuing, the *Anarchist Black Dragon*.

Two years ago, Harp and others seized the Classification Building and took ten staff hostages to force publicity and action on the dire lack of justice and human rights prisoners face. Harp refused to plead guilty, demanding a public political trial. The other two succumbed to the intense State pressure and pleaded guilty. Harp was then viciously beaten and raped with a riot baton by guards. After spending two weeks in a hospital, he was transferred against his will to San Quentin. He was told he would be killed there. News of his beating and transfer was publicised internationally by outside supporters, and Harp launched suits seeking damages and a return to Walla Walla.

What followed was a slow parade of victories. Last year, a previous civil suit Harp and others launched saw the judge declare Walla Walla 'cruel and unusual'. Wishing to avoid being put on trial again, the State dropped the hostage charges against Harp. Then he was awarded 7,000 dollars for being illegally kept in segregation for 14 months. He then won his transfer back to Walla Walla recently and was preparing to go further, when the pigs, I assume deciding they could endure no more, killed him.

Personally, I of course feel the despair of losing a wonderful friend and comrade — but just as strongly, I'm so damn happy to have known and worked with him. He showed me the potential of a revolutionary spirit-energy that can overcome forces much larger than you. He also showed the importance of outside solidarity and support towards the struggle on the inside, for no matter how strong the individual is, support from others is essential to be able to sustain the fight.

Presently, too little resistance is being mounted against the ruling class's attacks. Reagan and Trudeau's gangs plan many more prisons and more sadistic punishment. The meaning of Carl Harp's life is obvious, there's no benefit in doing 'easy time' — FIGHT BACK!

SCOTT WEINSTEIN

For more information:
Solidary Committee
C P 2, Succ La Cite
Montreal, Quebec,
Canada H2W 2M9
514 - 271327H
United Family & Friends of Prisoners
P O Box 22094
Seattle,
WA 98112 USA

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would be no 'u-turns', there was no alternative. So, they did it. Unfortunately, this doesn't seem to have done a lot of good for the level of inflation or the money supply. Muttering from the ranks has necessitated another show of firmness. So the leaders, slightly reshuffled, go away and do as they want.

Not forgetting the Chief Constables having a little get together in sunny Torquay (...of course my riots were bigger than yours....). One of the speakers will be Harriet Harmon of the NCCL, on

civil rights. So the leaders, still ignorant, will go away and do as they want.

Somewhere along the way there will be a conference by a mish-mash of shop-soiled social democrats, centralist jellies and gravy-train hoppers. As yet they have no policies. So the leaders....

This is no way to run a country. A better example might be provided in Poland, where Solidarity is based on industrial unions and on recallable delegates, mandated on specific issues. In the old days, say Spain in 1936, this was called anarcho-sindicalism. But don't tell the Russians.

attempting to make headway within the bounds of the state. As Patricia pointed out, an 'interest in anarchy' is not illegal; nevertheless, it provided the basis of the deportation order. The guilty verdict was for a minor offence reached on perjured evidence; but it was expedient in opening the way for a particularly severe sentence, almost certainly decided upon shortly after her arrest.

Predetermined as the verdict and sentence were, justice was seen to be done through civilised proceedings punctuated by courteous exchanges of learned friends and the patient hearing out (and prompt ignoring) of lengthy defence submissions. But nothing could conceal the magistrate's limitless capacity to adjudicate on the basis of exaggeration, innuendo and an obsession with the activity of outside agitators and international conspirators, with the police seizing every opportunity to prejudice the trial of Jean Weir by defaming her in open court.

There is little point in expressing surprise at all this, for anarchists never expected anything less than a double trial through both the courts and press. Is anything to be learned from it? Perhaps, in the light of bitter experience and in the wake of ever more repressive state measures, the time for open confrontation should be preceded by a more subtle advance where, in the words of another victim, we gauge and operate only within the limits of our effectiveness and choose the right ground on the right terms, from a position of strength.

R T

A Case for Protest

LAST week, at Old Street Court, the notorious Italian 'anarchist-link rioter', Patricia Giambi, was sentenced to 28 days imprisonment with a recommendation for deportation following her conviction for threatening behaviour at Brixton. However welcome the prospect of the massed forces of law and order, armed with batons, shields and helmets being threatened by Patricia, the circumstances of her conviction and sentence were only too predictable. The practised, fluent lies of police provocateurs and the continuing press campaign carefully orchestrated by the Special Branch combined to make result inevitable, and are inadequately countered by 'subdued booing from a small group in the public gallery' which, so far, has been the sole anarchist response.

In the event, far more serious than her conviction for threatening behaviour was the re-appearance for the passing of sentence of magistrate Nichols, widely believed to be 'heavily involved' in the maintenance of the status quo at all costs and to have 'close links' with Special Branch prosecutors, as witnessed by his silent but meaningful nods and winks throughout the proceedings with police lackey Sergeant Cork. The lengthy, well reasoned arguments put on Patricia's behalf proved all but useless in the face of a bigot who had already demonstrated the ability to view evidence entirely subjectively. As a 'worker' in this country,

Patricia was protected by the EEC regulations which allowed freedom of movement and prevented deportation except in the most serious circumstances.

However, it was only when the prosecutor rose that the scribblers at the back could record the rhetorical question they had anticipated for so long. 'You have got an interest in anarchy, have you?'. By showing that she had spent four months here before enrolling for a language course, he sought to show that Patricia's true purpose had not been to learn English, as she claimed, but, by implication, something more sinister. By this brief, irrelevant questioning the press were satisfied and Patricia's fate sealed.

After weighing up the arguments for three seconds or less, Nichols announced that imprisonment for 28 days would be the sentence for threatening behaviour and a recommendation for deportation be made on the basis that her presence here was 'to the country's potential detriment'.

Insofar as the effect on Patricia's immediate future is concerned, this predetermined decision is to be contested in every way possible and the system be exposed for what it is, a sham protected by the mask of mystery and respectability. But in the broader sense, the whole sequence of events is to be seen simply as confirmation of the irrelevance for anarchists of legality or illegality, innocence or guilt and a reminder of the futility of

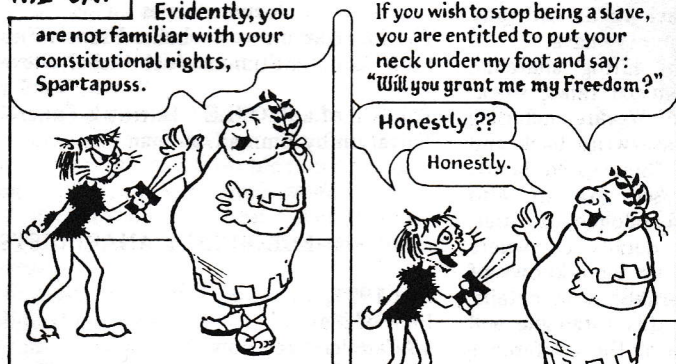
Latest news

On Monday 21st an application for bail pending appeal was rejected. The police objection was based on Patricia's political beliefs. The appeal will now be heard after she has finished the sentence. A campaign to publicise this case and the State's attempt to deport Patricia has been started. Help of any kind would be appreciated.

Contact:

Friends of Patricia Giambi
c/o 121 Books
121 Railton Road
Herne Hill
London SE24.

WILDCAT



REPORTS

from SCOTLAND

Glasgow

SOLIDARITY with the struggle of the H-Block prisoners in Northern Ireland for their five demands has been shown recently in Scotland, but you won't have read about it in the newspapers, who deliberately don't want you to hear about such things in case you take it into your head to do the same.

In Coatbridge a police station was petrol-bombed. In Priesthill and Blackhill in Glasgow youths barricaded the streets and threw stones and petrol bombs at police vehicles. This spontaneous action by local people exploded over the Irish issue, but, as with Brixton, it is the culmination of years of growing resentment against the aggressive practises of the police, and the run-down housing and lack of work in the area.

Other news from Glasgow: a territorial army building on the south side of the city was bombed soon after hunger-striker Bobby Sand's death. Again, the papers have kept this quiet.

The deaths and possible future deaths of hunger strikers in Northern Ireland should concern everyone living in Britain. The increasing totalitarian nature of the British state is combined in N Ireland with the decay of capitalism and archaism of Britain's past imperialism: slum housing, the highest unemployment in Europe, and the army's repression amount to a social, economic and military violence. The full might of the police state controls your life if you live in Northern Ireland: troops in the streets, raiding your house, harrasing and intimidating Catholics, often picking them up, giving them a beating and dumping them in a loyalist area to be given a further beating.

The H-Block prisoners were all arrested under special legislation, held and interrogated in special interrogation centres such as the notorious Castlereagh, where 'confessions' were extracted under torture. All were charged with politically-motivated 'offences' ('scheduled offences' in Newspeak) and remanded for up to two years before a political show-trial in the no-jury Diplock Courts.

For information about the Aberdeen Hunger-Strike Action Committee, contact Box 29, 167 King St, Aberdeen.

THE GRAFFITI'S VIEW ON THE CONFLICT IN N IRELAND:

VERY briefly: we support peoples' struggles against the state to fight for their needs — including the prisoners' struggle for better conditions. We oppose the British state and the brutal activities of its army. We oppose the IRA which aims to create a new Irish state in which they would be the new bosses. We oppose the Protestant paramilitary groups which uphold the present oppressive set-up. We aim to encourage unity between 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' workers in class struggle against the appalling working and social conditions in N Ireland.

Edinburgh

THE newly formed anarchist group in Edinburgh would like to hold a Scottish Libertarian Federation Conference. The dates under consideration are 31st Oct — 1st Nov or 8th — 9th Nov. We would like to have some feedback on this to decide on which date and to gauge how many to cater for.

So far the new group looks quite active. Many of the group would like to meet other Scottish anarchists and exchange ideas and to see how we can best co-operate to our mutual aid.

We would particularly like to get in touch with A M Anderson, who wrote in FREEDOM No 17, 22nd August, on 'Riots in Scotland' and find out if he/she would like to come along to one of our meetings.

We want the group to be structured according to what people feel needs to be discussed. We want to hear what you want to talk about eg if you want to prepare a talk or even a paper for circulation beforehand. Perhaps we could even get a programme together. Hopefully there'll be an open anarchist social/cultural event on the Saturday night with music and theatre. Please get back to us with any suggestions or ideas you may have.

We are thinking of hiring anarchist films as well as the usual talks, workshops, discussions etc. We are including a list of films so please write back and tell us which of the films listed below you'd most like to see. We are also trying to compile a catalogue of titles, directors and other details eg where available. Would anyone who knows of anarchist films, preferably with details, contact us and then this catalogue will hopefully be available at the conference and later on from us.

Greenock

LEE Jeans workers are occupying their Greenock factory to resist Vanity Fair Corporation's attempt to throw them all on the dole. They need other workers, such as dockers and lorry drivers, to black VF products world-wide. In Aberdeen, Peters Stores, Grand Canyon and Roxy are selling Lee Jeans. More info from/donations to: the Lee Jeans workers via Ellen Monaghan, 55 Cambridge Road, Greenock; Subversive Graffiti; Lee Jeans Sub-Committee, Trades Council, Adelphi, Aberdeen, who have collection forms for making regular weekly donations.

FILMS

Fiction films

Zero for Conduct Jean Vigo
Sacco and Vanzetti Giuliano Montaldo
Winter Wind Miklos Jancso
Rebellion in Patagonia Hector Olivera
La Cecilia Jean-Louis Camolli
1887 commune — Italian anarchists in Brazil.

Themroc Claude Faraldo
Factory worker rejects his job and other restrictions.

Bof Claude Faraldo
Disappearances of familial taboos
Children of Labour Richard Broadman
Finnish involvement in IWW

Blow for Blow Marin Karmitz
Women's occupation of French factory, direct action includes sabotage, strike, hostage taking!

The Wobblies Stewart Bird, Deborah Chaffer

Story of IWW
Winstanley Kevin Brownlow
Communal settlement by Diggers — English Civil War

Documentaries

The Libertarians Laino Escorel Filo
Freie Arbeiter Stimme Joel Suchel, Steve Fischler
The Will of a PEOPLE Durruti's Funeral
Narration by Emma Goldman

EDINBURGH ANARCHISTS

Box 1921,
First of May,
43 Candlemaker Row,
Edinburgh.

Kinsey

THE Kinsey Institute, famous for its reports on sexual behaviour, is to produce a new analysis of the origins of homosexuality. This is to be published in November. Many of its conclusions contradict accepted psychological theories. Amongst the controversial claims, it says that the family has little effect on the development of sexual preferences, in fact that homosexuality may be biological in origin. The reinforcement of the popular theories, such as those concerning the effect of a dominating mother and a passive father, in previous studies has been due to the subjects giving the therapists what they want to hear. So we go full circle. First, homosexuality was a perversion, an abomination, (or, at least, sodomy for men). Then, liberal opinion had it as environmental, but oh, so condescendingly. Now, we are back to biology and hormones. Wouldn't it be easier just to let people get on with what they feel like?

Donate

FREEDOM recently received a request for a sub to *Practical Self-Sufficiency* magazine on behalf of a prisoner in the Maze Prison. We always give free subs to prisoners to FREEDOM and one or two other of the less expensive radical journals that we stock. But PSS is quite glossy and comparatively expensive.

So I phoned PSS requesting a free sub on behalf of this prisoner to be told somewhat brusquely that they do not give free subs to prisoners, and that surely prisoners have money, relatives etc. Great Solidarity!

So we are sending the subscription from our own stock. The *nett* cost of the sub in question will be around £4.00 for six issues — would anyone who is not 'a friend or relation' care to make a donation?

New Bayou

HERE we are, in a new state and Bayou's 7th address. Are you beginning to believe me when I say we are a little foot loose? If you see us anywhere equipped with typewriter, files, books and other assortments of useful tools for the Bayou, do not be surprised!

We are sorry for the letters that have gone unanswered. The Bayou has lain idly in the back of a '57 Ford pick up for two months. There may be times when we are out of touch but everything sent to the Bayou is received (unless the state has intervened).

We wish to express our thanks to the publications we exchange with, all information at hand is of great help to us as a publication. Should this letter reach a

publication we do not exchange with presently, let us extend this desire.

The International Anarchist movement has begun to grow again in the past few years after a long period of repression. With the growth of this movement has come the growth of our press. It is through this press that comrades around the world are able to learn what other anarchists are doing. Even in its growth our press is usually slow and often unavailable. Also with the growth of our ideas, we, the propagandists, will be facing increased repression of our press.

It is for these reasons and others that I have taken upon myself to try and instigate the networking of the International Anarchist Press. Spontaneity always has been an important ingredient in anarchistic development. In the spirit of spontaneity, I volunteer to put out an information bulletin to see if we can unite in solidarity together into a non-bureaucratic, non-dogmatic network. For now I will call this the International Anarchist Press Syndicate. As to the structure, I see, maybe, committees or some sort of sub-groups. Example:

1. Papers and magazines
2. Printers
3. Publishers
4. Distributors
5. Miscellaneous
6. Artists
7. Translators
8. Other media....

If you have any interest in this idea and want to be a part of this network please write to us with your ideas and suggestions for the formation bulletin, or just let us know you want to be on the mailing list. Please do not make letters for the bulletin long or send money to cover the cost of your part. Also we urge you to send addresses of groups you may think want to be a part of the network.

If you want to help with the cost of the bulletin, make checks/money orders out to Arthur J Miller and send it to the Bayou.

Please note the new address and send all further mail in the name of Bayou La Rose:

Bayou La Rose
P O Box 9522
Hanahan
S Carolina 29410



The moment the Central Committee agreed to our unconditional demands, I knew we had dropped a clanger.

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

Census

Dear Friends,

With regard to the census form follow-up; I am writing to let you know that I too have had an official letter reminding me of my 'legal obligation' as to filling in the details, coupled with the threat of a fine if I do not comply.

Immediately after my initial refusal to complete the census form, five months ago, I was visited on two separate occasions by a couple of men who looked more like 'bouncers' than government officials. These 'gentlemen' explained they had come to persuade me to reconsider filling in the form, adding that a young man in a neighbouring block of flats who had refused at first had now seen the folly of his ways and done as they asked. To my explanation of why I would not complete the form they could only offer two arguments —

that it was futile to stand out in this way alone — it would be different if there were 'mass burnings of forms' (!)

and, that it was the law (the refuge of all tyrants). To the first of those arguments, I think Thoreau has already summed up the most effective reply — 'any man more right than his neighbour constitutes a majority of one already' and as for the second, it is too clearly the final argument of all oppressors who realise they have no moral right to their position at all. When the 'velvet glove' fails to deceive, the State all too soon brings out the iron fist in earnest.

I have replied to the latest correspondence from the census office explaining more fully my objections to the form and I await their response with interest.

I look forward to reading of any other comrade's experiences in FREEDOM.

love and solidarity,
PENELOPE CLARKE.

Grasmere
Cumbria

Armies

Dear FREEDOM,

I would be grateful if you would allow me the space to reply to some of the points raised in the article 'Poison Pen' on Ireland in FREEDOM No 17.

One of the major points of the article is the militarism of the IRA and the general assertion that anarchists can have nothing to do with it. Anyone considering such an assertion would do well to consider firstly that despite all our hopes and ideals the struggle for freedom invariably involves a violent confrontation between those who desire freedom and the reactionaries who don't, in which the deciding factors are

the armed and numerical strengths of the sides. Secondly when anarchists in the past have been in war situations such as the Makhnovists and the CNT-FAI the formation of an army has been a necessary evil. In such a situation and despite the libertarian spirit and organisation (eg Durruti Column) incidents which were contrary to all human values and ideals occurred often. It's the age old contradiction between means and ends, ideals and reality. While not wishing to defend the incident Steve referred to — the kneecapping of so-called anti-social elements who criticised the IRA — it is important if we are to pinprick the consciences of people with an example like this in reference to the Irish struggle, that we not be guilty of hypocrisy when the struggle for anarchy enters the same pitch of battle.

The article is unusual (sic) in that it states the classical anarchist analysis of the war in the 6 counties. It is a correct analysis — workers of both religious communities are being screwed and likewise they will be in a united Ireland. Yet the reality of a decisive libertarian movement that would fight with traditional anarchist ideals and slogans etc is far

away. There are neither the militants nor the time let alone the atmosphere to build such a movement, allied to the fact that religion and nationalism (the two linked as an ideology of struggle as in Poland) have strong historical roots in the people. The battle lines have long been drawn in the 6 counties, the anarchists can only hope to stay with the struggle, not decide it.

The basis of such a despairing reality should be a pointer to our attitude to the struggle as such. The Irish working class has been stifled and split by Ireland partitioned whilst the capitalists collect their ill-gotten goods. To smash capitalism in Ireland the nationalist/religious shackle must be removed from the Irish people so that they can move forward on a socialist/anarchist front. Anarchists must support a re-uniting of the Irish people first and this unfortunately means a tacit acceptance of the revolutionary heart and cannot and should not be supported for any illusions of socialist liberation. Aside from Irish unity and even that on bourgeois terms, the IRA will bring little else.

Yours,
KEVIN DOYLE.



LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LET

Compassion

Dear FREEDOM,

I want to object most strongly to the identification of Ronald Reagan with King Kong made by the cartoonist in your issue of 15th August.

Kong demonstrated an ability for compassion that Reagan clearly lacks — witness his affection for Fay Wray. Moreover Reagan is closely linked to the cruel capitalist system that Kong opposed. Kong merely attempted to fight back against a 'civilisation' that captured, degraded and ultimately destroyed him.

In this respect he ranks alongside Zapata, Sandino, Ferrer, Ulrike Meinhoff and countless others. Its wrong to downgrade Kong in the way your cartoonist did — he deserves much more sympathetic attention.

in solidarity,

MARTYN EVERETT.

Survivor

Dear FREEDOM,

I recently received your address as a possible contact for anti-political thought. I am a convict in the US prison system. I am a man with strong principles and convictions. Six years of conflict and reflection on bourgeois societal ills has enabled me to see much further than the bars of steel that have held me for so long. Less than a year and a half stands between me and thee.

I am anxious to establish contacts outside the USA. I am also seeking help in the creation of an anarchist library here at the Mo state prison. A donation of any book on apolitical thought would be greatly appreciated. Any information on the status quo in your area would also be helpful.

It seems too often people take relationships for granted. Friendship comes and goes easily for them. My associates are anti-political, my friends are anti-political, and my relationships (meaningful) can only be anti-political. I don't take anything or one for granted. Anyone or thing that is good must be enjoyed. Anything or one that imposes a negative condition should be destroyed. I mention all this to you in hope of an understanding, an understanding that will and can only develop through future contact.

I'm not a would-be terrorist, I am a survivor. I'm not a professional revolutionary, I am unprofessional. I would very much like a line of communication to open between us.

Truly mine,

R VAUGHN.

71881

Mo State Prison
USA

Dear FREEDOM,

I would like to answer Herbert Reader's letter in Vol 42 No 13. Apparently you never got my second letter or never printed it around the Libertarians where I confessed that the way I signed off in my first letter was a little joke on friends. The little joke didn't help so I apologise for it and hope herein I can clarify why I support allowing the Libertarians space in FREEDOM.

I won't go into what kind of Anarchist I am here because that will take up too much space and distract from what is more important to me at this time. Pardon the length of this reply and print it please for I feel the discussion is important.

'To suppress speech and press is not only a theoretic offence against liberty: it is a direct blow at the very foundations of the revolution.'

Alexander Berkman

'Let us believe that the whole truth can never do harm to the whole of virtue; and remember that in order to get the whole truth, you must allow every man and woman, right or wrong, freely to utter his/her conscience, and protect him/her in so doing. The community which dares not protect its humblest and most hated member in the free utterance of his/her opinions, no matter how false or hateful, is only a gang of slaves.'

Wendell Phillips

The issue is who shall and who shall not be allowed space in FREEDOM. Herbert Reader takes the position that the Libertarians should not be allowed space because in his opinion they are enemies. I take the position that they should be allowed space because in my opinion they are allies. As allies they have some rights and I would like to see FREEDOM respect those rights. I did not attack Anarchist Communism and I did not support Libertarianism. I attacked what I saw was an attempt to restrict freedom of opinion etc. Anyone or group who has something to say and/or ask should be allowed to say and/or ask it, especially and specifically if they are allies, with the understanding that readers may reply. If they cannot question, criticise, put forward an idea, a suggestion or an alternative, when will I, other anarchists, the people be silenced? I want to hear all truths so I can choose my truth.

If the libertarians are enemies they show a lack of intelligence when they 'advocate and support freedom for all, the right to bear arms, an end to the state and in many, many ways support Anarchists and other people struggling for change.

Carls Last Word

Herbert Reader makes a very bad mistake in the struggle for Freedom/Anarchism (a stateless, classless, free society) when he calls allies enemies and advocates treating them as such. What I get is the feeling that Herbert Reader is afraid of something. Many libertarians read FREEDOM and in its pages we have an opportunity to educate all who read FREEDOM via debate and discussion with the libertarians, via articles etc on and around them, where not from them.

Many libertarians have done more for Anarchism, the struggle for freedom, than most anarchists have. Many subscribe to and thus support FREEDOM and other anarchist publications plus books and pamphlets in their book stores. Many libertarian publications give space to anarchist literature, causes and individuals. Many publish anarchist literature and distribute it freely to prisoners. Many donate money and other stuff to anarchist causes, groups and individuals plus many support anarchists locked-down or otherwise being suppressed and repressed.

This is only some of what they have done and do for Anarchism and Anarchists. They have done and do more for other freedom seeking people, justice and peace etc. The least we anarchists can do especially with the right to reply that they respect is to give them space in our publications, yes? They are against the state and who they call statist capitalists and every gain there in that struggle for them is gain for us. To stand with them and them with us against the State etc is not to support Libertarianism. They stand with us against them, but we have in our ranks those who would have them do so silently in our publications and that is all bullshit! Even Herbert Reader says they have good things to say so why can't we hear them? I will not support what Herbert Reader advocates for it is not right and does not serve the best interests of the revolution. His position, if we accept it and put it into practice, plays into the hands of the enemy while mine serves the interests of the revolution, the people, the working class, all oppressed people and thus myself.

I will not shit on allies and if Herbert Reader wants to talk about being unable to spot class enemies let's do it now remembering all of the above. I know he meant well, but his problem is he ain't dealing with reality. We need all of the allies we can get and he is busy trying to fuck them off. I hope that I am understood now.....

Love and Rage
Carl L Harp

Washington State Penitentiary.

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Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosve-
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before 7 pm) Meets each Thurs-
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Anarcha United Mystics meet
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House Pub, opposite Camden
Town tube.

Autonomy Centre, 01 Warehouse,
Metropolitan Wharf, Wapping
Wall, E1.

Freedom Collective, Angel Alley,
84b Whitechapel High St, E1.
(01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube,
near Whitechapel Art Gallery.

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1.
Meet Thursdays 7 pm.
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark
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Tuesdays 8 pm at Metropolitan
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area anarchist group, c/o Garry
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and MidGlamorgan, Henning
Andersen, 'Smiths Arms', Treher-
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Libertarian Society, Post Office
Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.

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DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan
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area, Mike, Groundswell Farm,
Upper Stratton, Swindon.

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LATE ADDITION- NEW BRISTOL GROUP

Box 010, Full Marks Book-
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DESIRES

Has anyone got a copy of a
pamphlet by Marcus Graham,
published by Freedom Press in
1943, called 'The Issues in The
Present War'. Even if nobody
wants to sell their copy I would
like to make a photocopy of one
as it's a very short pamphlet.

Please contact:
Mark Nelson
1 Victoria Road
Hyde Park
Leeds 6
West Yorks

Are there any anarchists in the
Crystal Palace area? If so, please
contact Leo, at 'Bangalore', Bed-
wardine Rd, Upper Norwood,
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then be read as social history, or
new wisdom.
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Telephone: (716) 836-1815

APOLOGY

Dear comrades, I offer my sincere
apologies to all the people who
offered to help in the 'What
Wedding?' festival in July, as well
as to all the comrades who
couldn't turn up to the event on
account of how it didn't happen.
In the event the nearest I was
able to get to the disgusting
events was watching the fireworks
from my window in Brixton
prison. There's always next time.
a. non

YOUR DESIRE COULD BE HERE

AUTONOMY CENTRE EVENTS

EVENTS FOR SEPTEMBER

Friday 25th:	Debate on Feminism 7.30pm
Saturday 26th:	Members meeting 3pm

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Printed and typeset by Aldgate
Press, in Angel Alley, 84b White-
chapel High St, London E1.
Tel 247 3015

Distributed in Britain by A Dis-
tribution, 01 Warehouse, Metro-
politan Wharf, Wapping Wall,
London E1.

Anarchist Review **Freedom**

ALL OVER THE WORLD,
THE SCHOOL HAS AN
ANTI-EDUCATIONAL
EFFECT ON SOCIETY

Education for What?

An expanded version of a short talk given at the Elephant Fayre which took place at Port Eliot, St Germans, Cornwall, as part of The Great Rainbow Debate.

August 1981.

SKINNER'S VIEW OF HUMANITY

Some years ago Gray Walter made a mechanical tortoise out of a metal shell, a few cells, a battery, a motor, wheels, steering mechanism and a simple wiring layout. He designed *Machina Speculatrix*, as he called it, to respond to whistles by approaching the sound and, when the battery ran low, to 'abandon' the response to a whistle and 'search' for a light fixed near the floor, 'plug itself in' to the battery re-charger fixed there and, when recharged, 'unplug itself' and resume response to a whistle.

With more wiring MS would 'find its way' round cushions thrown in its path. Further additions, equivalent to half-a-dozen brain cells and their associated network of nerves, resulted in MS 'behaving' like a small animal 'exploring' the room, 'avoiding' obstacles, 'approaching' and 'withdrawing from' its image in a mirror as if in panic, and displaying simple 'purposive' behaviour.

From MS to NASA computer was but a matter of time, money and politics: from Skinner's pigeon in the box to *Walden Two* or the operant-conditioned world of *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* is for him but a matter of time and persuasion. We are all, in his view, but more sophisticated versions of MS. On Skinner's assumptions it is not outrageous to deny freedom or dignity to us or to see the main political tasks of today as the re-arrangement of the plug-in points set in our environmental skirting board, so that we do not destroy ourselves by developing ideas that transcend the limits set by our circuitry.

Skinner discovered — what pigeon fanciers had long known — that you can change pigeon behaviour by regularly and promptly rewarding them *after* they have done what you want them to do, viz. enter the pigeon loft immediately after the race. He rewarded them by making a peck on the right button release a pellet of food. After many experiments he concluded that 'positive reinforcement' or reward



is more effective and reliable than 'aversive stimuli' or punishment.

Using operant-conditioning techniques experimenters have alleviated some distressing conditions such as self-destructive behaviour, fear of mice, alcoholism, stammering, bed-wetting and compulsive gambling. Irene Kassorla broke with a group in America who used electric shocks to the feet of autistic children as aversive therapy, and when I saw her in a London hospital, confined herself to rewarding anything that could reasonably be interpreted as co-operation on the part of the patient. The man I observed had been unable to communicate for thirty years. After three weeks with Miss Kassorla he was using a few phrases and when I thanked him for allowing me to see him, shook my hand and smiled.

Skinner sees only two factors as determining human behaviour — genetic endowment and the environment; but as genetic control (re-wiring MS) is unpredictable he concentrates on manipulating the environment (changing the plug-in points for MS) in order to change behaviour. Other humans cannot change our behaviour, except as material objects, because Skinner denies that men can have purposes or responsibility. So when he writes, 'A scientific analysis of behaviour dispossesses autonomous man and turns the control he has been said to exert over to the environment' he fails to see that the environment, as man has become more and more civilised, is filled with local, national and international networks of culture — institutions, systems of communication, art forms — which saturate it with human intentions expressed through language and other media of communication. This failure to appreciate the central place of language in human activity is Skinner's blind spot, as Chomsky so devastatingly made clear in his review of *Verbal Behaviour*.

When hospitals, prisons, schools and parents punish or reward they do not pretend that the environment is changing the undesirable behaviour: they accept their own responsibility. Skinner avoids the question of final responsibility in *Walden Two*. When pressed on this point he finally replied in *Answer for my Critics*:

'The question of who is to control, and to what end, must be answered by still another process of selection — in the evolution of cultures. Now cultural practices are like mutations. A practice which contributes to the survival of those who practise it survives when they survive Breeding practices have changed contingencies for survival and have modified the evolution of various species.'

But *who* introduces new cultural practices? What causes cultures to evolve? Earthquakes or invasion may cause men to change the design of houses or weapons, but they make those changes to increase their chances of survival. The 'evolution of cultures' is an abstract generalisation for the cultural changes — the changes men make in what they do — over a period of time. To say that 'breeding practices have changed contingencies for survival' might be viewed as the 'pigeon's eye view', but is just a mealy-mouthed evasion of man's responsibility for directing and accelerating specific strands of evolution to suit his own purposes.

In side-stepping the place of responsibility he avoids the differences between autocratic and democratic forms of control, even at the level of organic systems where feedback control is essential to normal functioning. He does not realise that dialogue is a form of feedback control whereby people understand one another and whereby democratic governments adjust their policies to win the consent of the governed. He seems to be unaware of research dating back to the 1930s in which the resolution of psychic or internal stress is associated with altered brain waves; or that since democratic modes of interaction make for the release of tensions without violence they appear to be physiologically as well as psychologically better for people, as intuition suggests.

Skinner denies intending to 'use a scientific analysis of



KIDS OF BASH ST SCHOOL TEAR UP THEIR EXAM PAPERS.

behavior for purposes of prediction and control' yet his work is interpreted by fellow-workers and others as a plea for the application of his methods to the mass of the people to save them from self-destruction. He is illogical in protesting that he has no intention of advocating control of the masses. Why should he worry? They are machines; they are not free; they cannot have purposes, love or feel responsibility. Why should he feel squeamish about controlling machines? But why, indeed, did Skinner write his books?

He confuses training and education when he writes:

'Good government is as much a matter of control of human behaviour as bad, good incentive conditions as much as exploitation, good teaching as much as punitive drill'

an assertion that if not simply provocative is plain silly. Good teaching aims not to control the student but to extend to him the skills and powers already possessed by the teacher, as distinct from the trainer, does not condemn solutions proposed by the student, but encourages him to test them out in practice and, if they work, to add them to his repertoire. In effect, he enlarges the student's range of choice.

SKINNER AND CAPITALISM

It takes at least a generation for the major advances in technology to incorporate themselves into the forms of human institutions and into the ways in which we think about ourselves. In the pre-industrial era machines were made to work by men, later by animals, later still by the forces of nature, principally wind and water. For most ordinary purposes — building, farming, road-making, fighting — more power was supplied by having more men, so control by the architect, the farmer, the engineer or the general was essential to effective use of that power. Man was seen as a being with reason, located in his head, seeking to control a body often racked by unruly passions. The

'head' of the state was contrasted with the body of its citizens, and the function of the head or government was that of control over an untrustworthy rabble.

With the Industrial Revolution and the rapid replacement of manpower by machine power; with the widespread application of steam power to communications; with the discovery of electricity and the telephone; with the dispersal of trade and industry and the need for centralised control over long distances, the image of man became more mechanised. The brain became a telephone exchange; biological functions were compared to industrial processes controlled by the brain. Until midway into the 20th century this image has persisted in books for the young.

Even now, in the 80s, the notion of cybernetics or feedback control, first discussed in the early 40s, is not a matter of common parlance outside the ranks of academics or automation engineers. Its application to biology and, in particular, to the study of the human brain appears to offer the possibility of dramatically different models of functioning from those we have known. Stuck as we are at the moment with the old model of the rational head controlling the unruly body it is hardly surprising that Skinner's operant-conditioning is being eagerly grasped not only in prisons and hospitals to deal with disorders of behaviour that have already appeared, but now in schools and colleges of education in the hope that such disorders can be prevented. The current social upheaval is likely to intensify demands for more methods of controlling 'the mob' as ordinary citizens are called when they take action to demonstrate their discontents.

The 19th century and early 20th century picture of capitalism still persists and has saturated our language and, therefore, our thinking. It is one of the subdivisions of labour, the mechanisation of production and the standardisation of products. This is still what most people experience. Further, specialisation has extended to whole occupational groups. The function of ruling in a large industrial society is exercised not simply by those who own wealth and have got into positions of power. It is exercised by them jointly with the professions whose function is, through law, the armed forces, the universities, the civil service, the banks and the management of industry, to extend that power to increase that wealth and to consolidate the status quo.

The methods used to control and to consolidate range through reward (money and/or social prestige), punishment (prison, fines, deprivation or neglect to provide social amenities such as transport or education), persuasion (government propaganda and the media) and, above all, by access to education and the type and quality of education provided for different grades of society. The pre-revolutionary position we find ourselves in in the early 80s is seen by, for example, the dilemma facing the government over the riots that have taken place in Bristol, Brixton, Manchester and Liverpool: whether to respond by creating employment, improving amenities in those socially neglected areas and, in general, demonstrating that we are in practice a multiracial society. Or to take the short-term, cheaper way of simply getting tougher and using water cannon and armed riot squads — a solution that would make obvious the class basis of current policy. Skinnerian techniques in such political situations offer the possibility of more effective control from the top without the embarrassment of having to be seen to use force.

THE HUMAN BRAIN

Amongst students of the brain the old view of the telephone exchange has long given way to one of a dynamic complex of intercommunicating and self-regulating centres generating activity rather than passively waiting to be stimulated by impulses received through the senses. The old

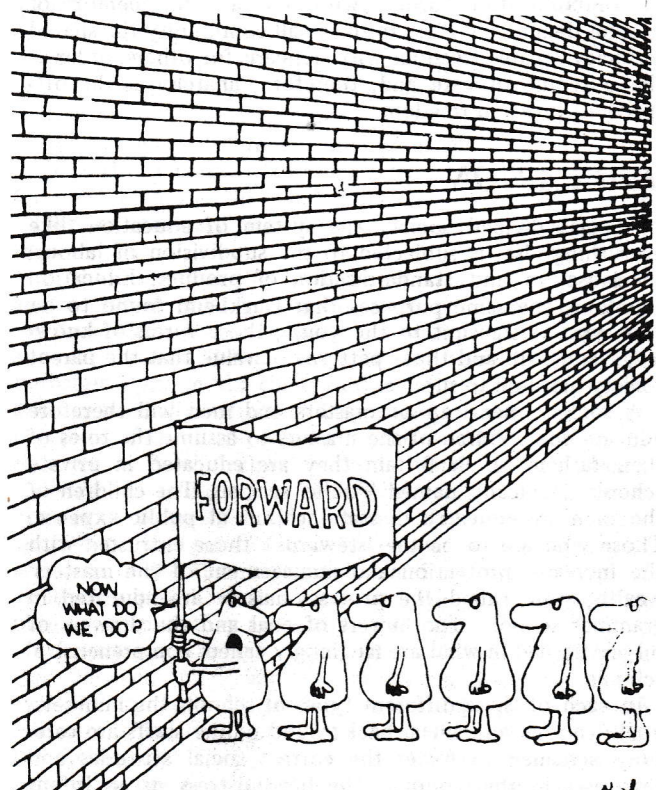
brain or sensorimotor cortex, through a vast network of nerves reaching to every point in the body maintains the whole organism in a state of homeostasis through systems of feedback control.

The neocortex or associative cortex, the later outgrowth built up on the ancient reptilian or mammalian core, associates sense data and thereby makes possible memory, learning and communication and so vastly increases the power to survive. In Suzanne Langer's words it is a 'fountain of symbols'. The associative cortex brings together sense data and feelings, sense data and memories, memories with other memories, sense data with other sense data — words, sounds, written marks So events become endowed with meaning; words conjure up past events, things, people or differences between current events and the memories of past events. Words alone are simply another form of sense data. Associated with the other sense data of experience words acquire the power to make change possible. Without experience words are meaningless.

So perception is no longer seen as the imprint by external events on a sensitive but relatively inactive screen: it is an active reaching out by the organism, an active search for meaning in terms of its own sensory capacities. Man imposes *his* patterns on the environment. He endows it with feelings and intentions: he creates gods and demons and thus places outside himself the forces within himself that he cannot reconcile.

The image of man now emerging from the study of the brain — an organism living in active balance with itself, pulsing with self-regulative energy even in repose and possessed of potentials which develop only in action with others — offers a vision of society for the future which had been foreshadowed by Marx in his original version of anarchism — the withering away of the state — and by William Morris in *The Factory as it Might Be*.

A society functioning like the human body would be a society in which every member would be cherished as fully as every other and would feel himself to be a necessary participating part, equal with all others but different. The more each developed his own nature and talents, the richer the society.



THE BASIS OF INDIVIDUALITY

It follows from what has been discovered about the brain that all experience is idiosyncratic. No two people, not even identical twins, can have the same experience from any single event because

- (a) they are separated in space and will hear and see from different angles or distances
- (b) their past experiences, however apparently close, will not have been identical
- (c) the feelings associated with past events will not have been identical
- (d) their genetic endowment, eg acuity of hearing, visual sensitivity, skeletal structure, etc will be different.

Further, communication with oneself or others can alter the impact of past experience: psychoanalysis relies on this fact for its efficacy. In the words of Edward Sapir, 'Language is a great force of socialisation, probably the greatest that exists'. So, together with genetic differences, the factors of geographical, climatic, regional, cultural and sub-cultural differences render it impossible for two people to have had identical experiences or to develop identical personalities.

Nevertheless there are enough common needs to bind all individuals into larger or smaller groups for the satisfaction of those needs. As infants we need food, bodily contact, care, security and the stimulation of human activity and speech to develop into human beings ourselves, and the recognition that we need others for our own satisfactions enables us willingly to accept the disciplines necessary for continued satisfaction and, as we grow, to participate in the common work so demanded.

This delicate balance between personal satisfaction and social responsibility can be fostered in small societies, but is threatened as societies become too large for continuous personal contacts and because the making of decisions gravitates to those with the energy, vision or power to recognise that old patterns are breaking down. What may at first be a matter of need then becomes a matter of habit: the germ of a ruling class has been born. The rupture of communication hardens with time and the memory of natural democracy dies. In the small community the shared intimacy creates freedom with concern for others, order as the outcome of care and, therefore, anarchy as the off-spring of love and freedom.

EDUCATION

In a class-divided society the system of education, like everything else, is subjected to the subdivision of labour, specialisation and standardisation of product. Education maintains the same purposes that Durkheim found to be true, viz. to transmit to the young those forms of knowledge and skill and those patterns of value that the parent society has used to survive.

A society made up of masters and men will therefore educate the children of the masters to assume the roles of their fathers; so in Britain they are educated in private schools, ironically named 'Public' schools. The children of the men are educated in state schools at public expense. Those who are to be the 'stewards', those entrusted with the increase, protection and management of the masters' wealth, now called the professionals — are educated in grammar schools. The hewers of coal and the drawers of oil are trained in what are laughingly called 'comprehensive' schools.

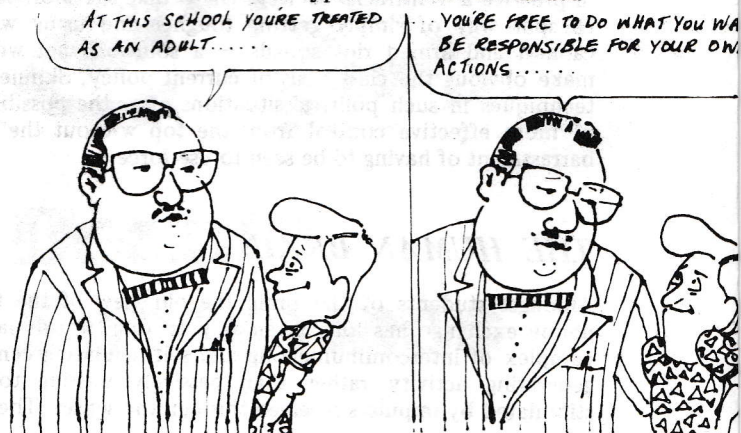
In each of these different types of schools the numbers, qualifications and social background of the staffs are carefully screened to foster the correct social attitudes and responses in their pupils. The headmistress of an Infant school in a working-class area scolded one of my students for introducing basins, buckets, pint and quart containers

to the classroom so that the children could experiment for themselves and find out their relative capacities. 'These children will have to spend their lives working not playing, and the sooner they realise that the better!' And one of Her Majesty's Inspectors condemned my efforts to introduce modern methods of teaching and more informal relationships between staff and children in a Secondary Modern school by saying, 'These methods may be all very well in private progressive schools but they are not suitable for working-class children.' In an Islington Grammar school the headmistress rebuked a group of girls for associating with their friends who lived in the same street but who attended a Comprehensive school.

In these state schools — the private schools can devote much more attention to developing slow talents because they have a much higher ratio of staff to pupils — the assessment of students is based, not on their personal and idiosyncratic gifts but on the application of standardised examinations and tests. From all this emerges the concept of 'normal', not as 'perfectly functioning according to its structure in its home environment' — a biological concept — but as 'average' or midway between two extremes — a mechanical or statistical concept. Out of this, in turn, comes the idea that anyone who is not normal/average must be abnormal/defective, since the better than average are rapidly pushed up through the educational system into higher streams leading to higher occupations and, eventually, if they are also seen to conform to the relevant social demands, to higher places in the social scale.

The most important difference between the Public schools and the Grammar schools on the one hand and the Comprehensive schools on the other is in the emphasis placed on skill in language use and comprehension and other forms of linguistic skill or symbolic skill in mathematics, science, foreign languages and the arts. This is quite logical, since the professional and managerial classes exercise their roles through such linguistic skills, whereas the manual working classes work in factories or industries where the layout of plant and materials, together with the breakdown of complicated crafts into simple and repetitive actions as a result of 'time and motion' study, eliminates the need for language and judgement in much of what they do. The inevitable development from such breakdown is the replacement of men by machines, not only to do the work but to organise that work. This is now happening at a rapid pace in the application of automation to many industries.

Some years ago I made a study of differences in the work set for home work in different types of school. In the subject known as Religious Education the work done in Modern and Comprehensive schools consisted in the main of the copying of maps, colouring in maps and pictures duplicated in outline, drawing imaginary scenes from the Old and the New Testaments. In the work of Grammar school pupils there was much more demand for written accounts of events or discussions of issues involved in biblical events. When comparing the marked results it was very clear that, even when both types of school demanded



written work, the Grammar school teachers paid much more attention to spelling, punctuation, vocabulary and syntax than their colleagues in other schools. It is a matter for concern that large numbers of young people leave school at sixteen unable to read; in the central areas of large cities it has been estimated to be as much as 20 per cent. Where once it was necessary for shop assistants to be able quickly to make out bills, this has now been made unnecessary with the introduction of automatic tills.

In colleges of education time once spent on training teachers how to teach literacy in ways interesting to children, has been eroded by studies of management, control and motivation. Even the jargon of business management — 'plant utilisation', 'flow charts', 'incentives' — enters into courses for teachers aspiring to be headteachers or deputy heads. Similarly the cognitive psychology of Piaget and the dynamic psychology of Freud has been replaced by Skinner's operant-conditioning.

How do you educate for a world of button-pushing? At one time the slogan in training colleges was 'Education for Work', then, as this was seen to be too narrow in a world of machines, it was replaced by 'Education for Life' and, soon after, by 'Education for Leisure' as permanent unemployment was seen to be with us. The long tradition of teaching football, cricket and hockey is seen to be inappropriate since lack of space makes spectators of most. Foreign languages for the mass is unnecessary as packet holidays, guides and international hotels make them superfluous.

In school today we seal off the learning/teaching activity from the general work and life of the community. Children are made to learn the abstracted residue of other generation's experience unsupported by the multisensual impact of real events. I remember showing to a group of boys on a Lowestoft school a quite good colour film on iron founding. Suddenly I remembered with nostalgia how as a young boy I used to spend hours watching the smith at work in an Irish village. I recalled the glow of the fire, the smell of the hot iron, the thump of the hammer on the bright iron, alternating with the ring as it hit the anvil. That memory is rich in sounds, smells, images of light and dark and of a powerful sweating man who would, when work was slack, teach me how to heat the iron and beat it into shape. The feel of the hammer and the difference in its impact on hot and cold iron, as well as the change in sound as the iron cooled — all form part of that memory. I had absorbed experience through eyes, ears, nose, skin and the tensions of bodily effort. The boys watching the film saw the two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional event and heard the many sounds of a foundry funnelled through a microphone and a loudspeaker, while their bodies remained passive. As a teacher I tried to expand this limited experience through language that sought to draw on any similar experiences they might have had. But without a pool of sensory experience the symbolic function of language is abused and becomes debased.



LANGUAGE AND LEARNING

All children learn their mother tongue within the first three years of life whether they are taught or not, and they do so simply by hearing what is said and seeing what is done. From the dense flood of sound they extract not only the correspondence between individual words and phrases and the things and events they signify, but they disentangle the whole system of grammar upon which the body of sound is formed. By any standard this is a stunning intellectual feat. Within my own experience Greek-speaking Cypriot children learned English much faster in the playground than in the classroom, even with the most experienced teachers.

The language they learn may not be the language desired by the teachers and their employers. It is, however, no less effective and sensitive for the expression of the child's home culture than that of the academic's children: it has, after all, been learned in the home and before they started school. Unfortunately for their self-confidence the language of working-class children is too often subjected to a sustained critical barrage from their teachers for the ensuing ten years or more. No wonder that in the presence of their 'superiors' ordinary workpeople find themselves tongue-tied.

Further, since in this society experience is not shared across classes, save at superficial levels, language comes to have different connotations according to occupation and social class, the language of the higher classes — in Bernstein's phrase 'the elaborated code' — being the socially and academically official and approved language, while the language of the lower classes — 'the restricted code' — is regarded as 'low', 'vulgar' or 'comic' and not to be taken seriously. In consequence the working class as a whole is not taken seriously. Their demands for consultation are ignored to the point when they have to take industrial action to make themselves heard, and are then accused of 'holding a pistol' to the head of society or the general public, of which they are in any case, a part.

So language, the gift that leaves a hitherto unbridged gap between man and his nearest neighbours in the evolutionary scale, is used to separate people from one another, is used to control, is used to inculcate some with the belief that they are inferior, is used to maintain a system of power and privilege for some and a form of slavery for most. Christians might ponder the implications of the phrase — 'in the beginning was the Word'.



EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

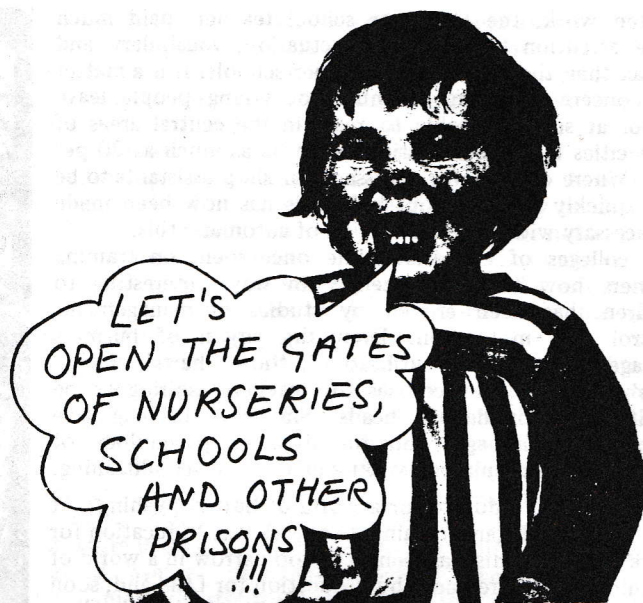
Disillusioned by the failure of other private or public education to educate the whole child, A S Neill and Dora Russell set up small private schools in which the attitude of the staff to the children was that of parents to children in a loving family. Neill had been a teacher in an ordinary Scottish village school where he had found it impossible to allow children to be free to learn in their own way and in their own time. Homer Lane's work in *The Little Commonwealth* confirmed his intuition and led him, eventually to set up Summerhill in the mid-twenties. Tolstoy had set up his own school for the children of the workers on his estate at Yasnaya Polyana. His own account of the daily life of the school and the relationships between the children and himself are astonishingly similar to my experience of Summerhill.

But state schools which have sought, like Dora Russell and Neill, to remove fear from learning and to respect the child's wishes, have either been closed or subjected to unremitting harassment with the object of compelling them to return to conventional methods and attitudes — at Risinghill, Braehead, Summerhill Academy in Aberdeen, Tyndale, Countesthorpe, Prestolee and many others. Only outside the state school has it been possible to run such schools for years: usually they are private progressive schools funded by trusts and parental fees, or, like the more recent Free Schools in deprived areas, living from hand to mouth on small grants made by charitable institutions or by big industries who combine charitable activities with tax economies.

The private progressive schools form a very small fraction indeed of the private section in education, itself a bare 9 per cent of the whole of secondary education. The number of Free Schools which survive for more than three or four years can be counted on the fingers of one hand. These figures suggest that the way to a more humane form of education for all our children does not lie in the attempts, however courageous or persistent, of individuals and small groups to sustain such schools. Where Free Schools have survived and been accepted by the local education authority it is because they are seen to be able to cope with the 'drop-outs', the truants whom the state schools have not been able to hold. By recognising the Free Schools and even giving them small grants on condition that they undertake to supervise those children and, if possible, to return them to the normal schools, the local authorities have absolved themselves of their responsibility under the law to provide for those children an education suited to their 'age, ability and aptitude'. They have *not* reacted by asking themselves how the Free Schools attract children whom they repel: they do *not* question the relevance of what is done in state schools to the needs of children or to the needs of a truly democratic society.

We cannot begin to answer the question 'Education for What?' unless we have tried to envisage the kind of society we would feel reasonably happy to live in. Society, inescapably, determines the forms and the objectives of education, not the other way round. Our task, therefore, is to start to create a society in which man's potential for love and growth can flourish. John Dewey once wrote: 'What the best and wisest parent wants for his child, that must the community want for all its children. Anything less is ignoble: acted upon it will destroy our democracy'. Perhaps the significance of his remark lies in the fact that he used the word 'community'.

MICHAEL DUANE



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Dennis Subscribes

NEW SOCIALIST

The *New Socialist* No 1 (60p)

Being a consistent reader of small type in left papers, and a connoisseur of lists, *New Socialist* No 1 was a joy to me. There was a list, printed on the inside back page, of the 1,000 and more 'launch subscribers' who between them had raised more than 7 times the amount the Labour Party itself could manage, to get their new theoretical journal on the road. Spotting the odd friend, the famous name etc, passed a pleasant 20 minutes. In the spirit of equality the names were in alphabetical order, with a sprinkling having M P written after theirs. Mostly men of course. Quickly checking the first 3 or 4 columns yielded 208 males to 51 females, a ratio exceeded by the contributors. Politics at this level is of course a man's game.

Indeed, it's an intellectual man's game. The adverts for those £6.95 paperbacks and £22 a year scholarly journals from the academic publishing houses reveal the intended audience. There were union ads too, but it's a little ridiculous to read 'Ucatt Midlands Region welcomes *New Socialist*'. I'd be astonished to come across a West Midlands brickie quietly reading *New Socialist* during the teabreak.

But let's not be too critical, some of the writing is good. An excellent article by Mery Kalder on disarmament, Dennis MacShane on Polish Solidarity, Michele Barrett on Feminism and the Labour Movement and Phillip Whitehead on 'the Wedding'. Our own anarchist Chomsky weighs in with El Salvador. These articles moved beyond the *New Society* mould. The main feature, an interview with the 3 candidates for Deputy-Leadership, was as tedious as could

be expected and there was a very poor attempt to equate the Social Democratic Party with the British Union of Fascists. (It would be easier to prove that the Labour Party itself will inevitably produce Roy Jenkins and John Stonehouses.)

For such a large party, the Labour Party has a miserable press, little read by its own membership. Its official paper *Labour Weekly* has a tiny circulation for such a number of members (not even mentioning voters) of Labour. *New Socialist* won't have helped their stable-mate by missing *Labour Weekly*'s name off their ad in this issue. *Tribune* is now 35p for 8 pages and excepting the book reviews is invariably dull. I'm not convinced that *New Socialist*, with a cover that could have graced the fortunately defunct *Now*, will succeed in translating into print the life and vitality which we as anarchists must recognise now exists within substantial numbers of constituency parties.

Despite our separate allegiances, there are many issues over which we can and should work with 'grassroots' Labour people. They choose the Labour Party — we don't. Nevertheless within our peace groups, housing action groups etc it is often Labour activists the anarchist shares more values with than the manipulative and sectarian far left. So I think it's a pity that the experience of *active campaigners* is missing from this journal as we should be encouraged by debate amongst activists in all areas of the body politic.

ROSS BRADSHAW

CHURCHILL 1900-1939

CHURCHILL: A STUDY IN FAILURE 1900-1939

By Robert Rhodes James.

Penguin. £2.25.

WHAT can one say about Sir Winston Churchill, 1874 - 1965, some time Prime Minister of this country and for over 60 years a professional politician and leading parliamentarian? Well for a start one can say that he came from a line of heroic and flawed men and that he was true to this heritage. He had a talent for belligerence and an unswerving loyalty to the existing social order, or more exactly to the social order of the late Victorian era, which was his spiritual age.

He was the enemy of social progress of all sorts, though attempts have been made to associate him with the Lloyd George reform programme of the 1906 - 12 years of the Liberal government. An instant that probably gives a truer picture of his political stance on socio-political matters is his request that his dissenting vote be recorded in the 1928 cabinet meeting which agreed to extend the vote to women on the same basis as it was held by men. For all his later reputation as a lover and defender of democracy and freedom it is more accurate to recall him as an opponent of democracy — he really yearned for a paternalistic society where the privileged should hold political office, and as hostile to other than particular forms of freedom, as his 1936 pro-Franco newspaper articles show.

In this study of Churchill before he became Britain's wartime leader Robert Rhodes James has struck a small but useful blow for balanced historical assessment. It is salutary to trace Churchill's attitude to fascism and the

fascist leaders in the 1920s and 30s even if it seems the more astonishing that a man with such a large measure of sympathy for the creed should have become the widely honoured leader of a country which went to war out of a deep hatred of the ideology and its policies and works. Of course Churchill's sympathy for fascism was based on its uncomprising hostility to communism. In some ways Churchill's hatred of communism was a key to his political stance after 1917. This volume does not deal with his attitude to the 1939 Nazi Soviet pact. The fact that it did not appear to lead him to ponder his own position can be variously interpreted. I take the view that it meant little more than that his political view was not intellectually based but rather a social occupation with no pretence to understand or analyse the world whose history he sought to influence.

Perhaps the time has come, a decade and a half after his death and a quarter of a century since he held high office, to re-assess his career in a rational manner. Frankly this task seems of a redoubtable difficulty in view of the present disinclination among the Tory hierarchy to re-assess anything, let alone their only major 20th century figure. But it should also be remembered that many Tories believe that the reason he clung to office for so long was not only to deny that office to the detested Eden for as long as he could, but also as a gesture of spite to a Conservative Party he always, at root, hated and despised. If a re-assessment of his life and his significance is to be made Mr James' book will be an aid in the process.

PETER MILLER



YOUR CHILDREN

THE WORKERS' PARADISE

"There are at the head of the party three or four thousand leaders; they are our superior officers. Then come from thirty to forty thousand members occupying medium posts: this is the body of our subaltern officers. At last, from a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand form the body of our sub-officers."

Stalin in a speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in March 1937.

"Admittedly there is in the U.S.S.R. of to-day no sign of the coming of identical, or even of substantially equal incomes for all workers by hand or by brain. On the contrary, the utmost use continues to be made of such forms of remuneration as piecework rates and payment according to social value (i.e., scarcity) or technical skill, not to mention also such devices for intensification of effort as socialist competition and Stakhanovite rationalism of industrial technique—all candidly justified by their demonstrated results in increasing production.

... The effect of those devices is to make the maximum divergence of individual incomes in the U.S.S.R., taking the extreme instances, probably as great as the corresponding divergence in income paid for actual participation in work, in Great Britain if not in the United States."

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, 'Soviet Communism'.

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