

anarchist fortnightly

Freedom

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ON THE

LINE ➤

AFTER months of preparations, veiled warnings and false alarms the streets of Brixton became a battlefield once again. Ever since April 1981 the police, council and 'concerned' residents have plotted the destruction of the Front Line. In a community with 70 per cent unemployment in the 16 - 21 years black population and lacking even the most basic social amenities the Front Line clubs were a refuge from the police, both uniformed and social worker brands. With a culture based on the street, where the use of drugs, gambling and drinking was operated outside this society's norms, how could such a lifestyle be permitted by a society that returns from work to lock itself in a room with a box of electronics, for such is how normality is defined. The uncontrolled space that the Front Line represented was to be demolished.

The first task of the council was to win public approval for its aims. Pitt and Knight, leaders of the Tory and Labour factions, united and made a joint statement advocating the closure of the Front Line and the elimination of all squatters in the borough. The Front Line demolition was to be the first part of the Brixton redevelopment scheme. New houses, shops, parks, etc but first the clubs had to go. Next, divide and rule. Some of the clubs were offered new premises, strictly under council control though, but the majority were ignored. Having split the Frontliners on this issue (the ones offered new places didn't want any resistance that would jeopardise their new houses) the plan progressed. The police mounted a Swamp exercise using Drug Squad officers. For several months these plain-clothes officers stop-searched and generally harassed anyone in the Front Line

area. Then on Monday 1st November the final act.

4.00 am

BACKED up by over 400 police, Lambeth Council employees repossessed the houses used by the clubs. They also took 5 houses directly opposite to prevent the clubs moving there. Unopposed — everyone was asleep — the demolition and board-up squads moved in.

8.00 am

PEOPLE on their way to work see what is happening. The alarm is spread. Frontliners, local squatters and sightseers begin to gather. Anger and frustration. It is too late to stop the destruction, too many police.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4
together with a background article on squatting in Lambeth.

Open Season for Parliaments

GUY FAWKES is remembered at this time of year because 5 November is the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot by Catholic terrorists to blow up the King in Parliament in 1605, and because it is still a good excuse for a noisy celebration of the lengthening evenings between Hallowe'en and Christmas. He should also be remembered because this is the beginning of the open season for Parliaments not just in this country but in several others.

Every other year at the beginning of November, elections are held in the United States to decide whether Tweedledee or Tweedledum should be President or which Tweedles should get their hands on all the loot in the Federal Government and all the State Governments. This year the American elections didn't show much political result, except that people are increasingly worried about the worsening depression in the world economy but have no alternative to Reagan. A more interesting result was that candidates are spending money in enormous quantities — millions of dollars in some cases — to hold office in this declining situation. In a few years, it seems, there will be no economy except the arms industry and the election industry to serve it.

On this side of the Atlantic, elections are nowadays held every year in the Irish Republic to decide which of two virtually indistinguishable parties should spend a few months watching the Irish economy and society move more closely to those of Britain and the European Economic Community. Just at the right moment, the almost farcically unlucky government of Charles Haughey has fallen, presumably to be replaced by that of Garret Fitzgerald, which had previously been replaced by that of Charles Haughey, which — oh, never mind.

It is hard to know why the Republicans in the Northern counties think there would be any advantage in joining this circus, especially with the particularly bitter personal and criminal factors operating at the moment, except on the principle that they may be bastards but at least they are our bastards. Meanwhile, up in Northern Ireland an Assembly which has no power, officially as well as unofficially, has been elected. For the first time for many years the political wings of the terrorists on both sides made some impact, though it is still clear that terrorism is supported only by minorities of both communities.

On the Continent, the elections in Spain have brought the first left-wing Government since the Civil War and have given the Socialist Party its first clear majority in Parliament in its existence. (By contrast, it held only one-third of the seats in the Popular Front majority back in 1936.) The Socialist Party is the oldest

party in Spain and one of the oldest socialist parties in the world, having been formed more than a century ago, but, like all the others, it has changed with the times, and as recently as 1979 its present leader carried through its official abandonment of traditional socialist policies. So its high vote — 48 per cent — in a high poll — 79 per cent — is really not for socialism but for another version of the Popular Front. Felipe Gonzalez, like George Papandreu in Greece or Francois Mitterrand in France, is faced with an impossible task — elected by a surge not so much of left-wing as of anti-right-wing feeling into a position where he will be forced to carry out right-wing policies.

by the revived anarcho-syndicalist movement.

Back here in Britain, Parliament has returned for what is expected to be its last session before the General Election. Two by-elections — at Birmingham, Northfield and Southwark, Peckham — have shown that Margaret Thatcher is almost certain to win again unless she suffers an unexpected catastrophe. Since the Conservative Government was elected in 1979, unemployment has doubled to the largest figure since the worst days of the Great Depression, half a century ago, and much of industry and commerce are in ruins. But, as they say, There Is No Alternative. The Labour Party has collapsed as suddenly and completely as the Liberal Party did sixty years ago, the divisions between left and right and the weakness of its leadership being no worse than in, say, 1959, but the loss of its automatic electoral support being disastrous. The Liberal and Social Democrat Alliance is not strong enough to form a Government, but it is strong enough to stop Labour doing so. As things stand, it will split the left-wing vote and let the Tories in. The Tories will help by relaxing the economy for a few months, letting the so-called Wets dribble a little, and doing as little as possible until they are safely back again — though why they want to be is a mystery.

Yet the real winners of the by-elections were the abstainers — 45 per cent of the electorate in Northfield, and a clear majority of 62 per cent in Peckham. Harriet Harman, surely an ideal candidate in a London constituency — young, female, intelligent, left-wing — won the latter seat with votes from only 19 per cent of the electors! There has been much discussion of changing elections rules to stop cranks and idiots standing. One change would be to declare a seat vacant if fewer than half the voters vote, and to hold repeated elections until someone wins more than half the possible rather than actual votes.

In Britain today, it seems, parliamentary democracy has become a minority sport. Guy Fawkes wouldn't be arrested; he wouldn't be noticed. The reason, of course, is that real politics goes on outside Parliament, in the houses and streets, in the offices and on the floors of factories, in shops and hospitals, where people actually live and die. The difficulty is telling them what this means in practice — not just blowing up or forgetting about Parliament, but taking positive control of the whole of our existence. There we need more than Guy Fawkes. Perhaps some of what needs to be said and done will be said and done during the preparations for the next General Election. Conditions can seldom have been more favourable on the surface, whatever is happening underneath.



GUY FAWKES The only person to enter Parliament with honest intentions

The only good signs are that, unlike the situation in 1936, the Communists are falling rather than rising, and the extreme right-wing *golpistas* are playing a farce rather than a tragedy.

Spain, like Ireland and indeed Britain, is moving towards the rest of Europe, and the Government wants nothing better than to become an accepted member of the European Economic Community and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. There may be rude noises about Gibraltar, but Gonzalez is hardly likely to copy Galtieri and risk a British Armada following Francis Drake and Sandy Woodward and coming to singe his beard. However, after Spain joins the rest of us in NATO and the EEC, what next? That is when the real problems begin, of falling currencies and rising unemployment, as the world depression widens and deepens. What price socialism then? We look forward to seeing what part will be played

Reports

DAM

THE Direct Action Movement — International Workers Association held their final conference of 1982 in Leeds over the weekend of the 30th October. The conference, which was the best attended for a number of years, had delegates from Burnley, Manchester, Huddersfield, Hull, Middlesbrough, South London and Leeds DAM—IWA groups. There were also a number of comrades from the North East Anarchist Federation, Newcastle Anarchist Youth and the Doncaster Anarchist Group present.

The conference started off with a report from the secretary on the present state of membership, though there has not been any great increase in membership in the past four months there has been a marked increase in enquiries. The delegates then heard the local group reports, a number of which have been active during the Health Workers dispute. Other groups were also active in broadcasting on local underground radio stations and in the publication of local DAM papers.

The conference then went on to hear a report from the DAM delegates who attended the IWA conference in Kilpan, Sweden, in September. The DAM is now the British regional section of the IWA and the membership were informed that delegates from the IWA secretariat in Madrid would be attending the next conference which will be held in London in February. A number of organisational changes were made; the Leeds group will take over publication of the paper *Direct*

Action in the new year and the Huddersfield group are now in charge of publications. The proposal that there should be an industrial network set up within the organisation was also accepted.

A general discussion was held by the delegates and comrades present on how they saw the future role of the DAM—IWA, it was agreed that the organisation was not managing to put over a clear enough anarcho-syndicalist line and that the 'Aims and Principles' of the DAM should be rewritten to explain our position more clearly. The conference also agreed that there was a need for more Day Schools in the coming year, both local and national.

The DAM—IWA then went on to accept an invitation from the CNT to attend their congress in Barcelona in December, a London comrade was elected as a fraternal delegate.

FOR A WORLD WITHOUT FEAR AND TERROR!

Direct Action Movement —International Workers Association

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58 Wakefield Road
HUDDERSFIELD

NORTH WEST FEDERATION

A FOLLOW-UP meeting to the one held the month before in Manchester was held in Liverpool on Saturday, 23rd October. Present were groups and individuals from Liverpool, Crewe, Manchester, Chester, Cumbria and Newton-Le-Willows, as well as a couple of people involved with the North-East Anarchist Federation who

started the meeting off by telling us of their own experience in trying to get started, and the types of things the NEAF does.

It was agreed that the Liverpool group would produce on a provisional basis a regional bulletin, to be distributed to as many anarchists in the area as might be interested.

Much of the discussion that followed was on possible 'joint activities'. One idea was that we hold dayschools, which it was felt would help us individually to clarify our own views and hopefully that way overcome differences and lead to a broadening of outlook. It was generally agreed that this was a good idea and one which will be considered in more detail at the next meeting, by which time it is hoped that people other than those present at this meeting will have shown an interest. Another suggestion was that we have a regional bookstall which would be available to any interested persons for local activities, demos etc. Again Liverpool group agreed to take on responsibility for co-ordinating this, so if anyone has any old pamphlets or books they no longer need the address to send them to is:-

NWAF,
c/o 224 Garston Old Road,
Liverpool 19,
Merseyside.

Suggestions that we have an NWAF banner, and questions as to whether or not we as a federation have contact with anarchists abroad were felt to be a bit premature at this stage! Nonetheless an appeal regarding both will be made in the first bulletin.

The one person present on behalf of Manchester DAM agreed to their holding the next meeting, which will be on Saturday 27th November at 11am at:-

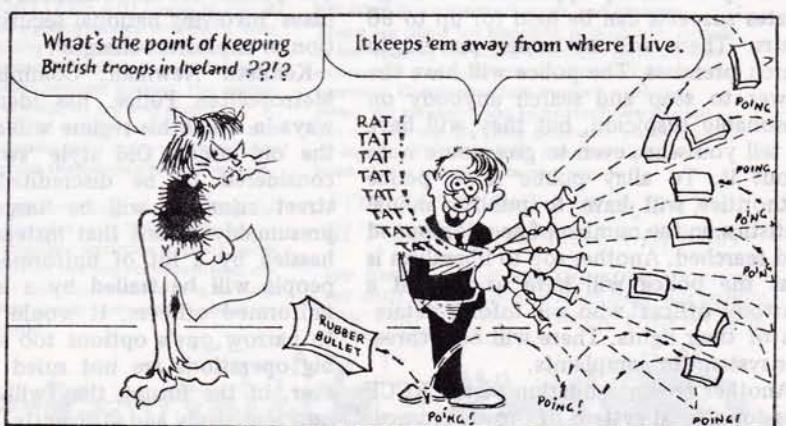
178 Oxford Road,
Manchester.

(Get any of the 40's from Piccadilly and get off the stop after Oxford Rd precinct.)

Any ideas/suggestions to be included in any agenda should be sent either via the bulletin address, or else to:-

DAM,
164/166 Corn Exchange Buildings,
Hanging Ditch,
Manchester M4 3BN.

WILDCAT



ON THE LINE

CONT FROM FRONT PAGE

1.30 pm

SOME 150 Frontliners, kids, rastas and squatters gather to march. Shouts and rage as we ignore the cops and set off down Railton. First to the Police Station. People shopping stop to look, some join us. Then to the Town Hall. Pitt comes out to plead with us for 'rational dialogue'. More police arrive in vans and coaches. We leave and return to the Front Line. More have gathered. We stand around, waiting, waiting. A police van is stoned and chased down Railton. Things calm down again and we wait. Railton Road is sealed off. Tension.

5.00 pm

DARKNESS is falling. Suddenly the police are gone, pulled out. No one stops to question why. Masked figures appear, barricades go up. Youth turn away cars. After a year of quiet Railton Road is a No Go zone again. The sky lights up, a house is burning. The workmen's huts on what is left of Mayall Road are torched. Gas cylinders explode as riot fills the air. We monitor the police wavebands. The entire Special Patrol Group is called in and told to wait just outside Brixton. This time the new Immediate Response Units are to be used. Formed after last years riots as a mobile backup for the SPG here is to be their baptism. They advance from the Atlantic Road end of Railton, beating their shields, shouting.

Some 300 cops in flame proof overalls and crash helmets like some weird alien insects. Dozens of vans with them. They attack. Pushing the crowd before them they meet molotovs, bricks and bottles; the crowd breaks and is swept up Railton Road. Stragglers are grabbed, beaten, kicked and punched. Sudden silence. Small groups appear out of side streets where they have sought refuge from the main onslaught. The police vans attack them. The groups break and run. The police radio passes the order to all vans to attack and disperse any groups they see. Running battles in the town centre, looting in Electric Avenue, but the police have the numbers and victory is theirs. Silence on Railton, save for the growl of police vans as they cruise in low gear, waiting, waiting. More news on the radio. We hear coaches of police reporting to Lambeth Support HQ. Each has 25 cops and we count over 30 of them.

9.00 pm

WE are under occupation. Only police move on the streets. No one goes out. A friend is busted whilst out walking a dog. Two people with him describe what happened. No reason for the bust, just being here is enough.

Tuesday

PAST dozens of cops to get the papers. 'White anarchists start riot'. As expected the Press know how to please their masters. People do not riot on their own, someone must force them to, must lead them. Chief Filth Marsh of the Brixton Nick speaks of '4 white anarchists, we know who they are but we don't have enough evidence to prosecute'. Will

there be raids? Who knows, but the allegations have served their purpose. 'It's in the papers it must be true.' 'Our blacks wouldn't riot unless nasty foreign extremists forced them to.' How reassuring for Mr and Mrs Average as they read the 'news' over breakfast. Comedy, Fran Eden, of the Revolutionary Communist Party, sees the opportunity of some publicity. And it works. The press love a radical, especially when they are no real threat.

IT'S now Sunday and the police continue to patrol Railton Road; in pairs every 50 yards. Stop searching as they go. They are in charge now. A man carrying a box of food is told as they search, 'we're looking for bombs'. This happens outside the Anarchist bookshop, a popular place for the filth to harass people now. The Frontliners have new clubs in Talma Road (just behind their old houses). The benefit of having a street culture is that any street will do, but they would prefer to choose which street themselves.

No CS gas or Plastic Bullets were used this time, but next time? For be sure, this is not the last riot or eviction in Lambeth. Even now the council is processing 400 evictions of squatters, 1800 evictions for rent arrears and others still to be revealed as their campaign to sanitized and redevelop Brixton goes on.

**THE COUNCIL ARE PREPARING FOR NEXT TIME
THE POLICE ARE PREPARING FOR NEXT TIME
SO ARE WE**

BRIQUE LEFLIC

tors, to replace the Director of Public Prosecutions. This has been felt to be inappropriate. A working party at the Home Office is examining how a national prosecuting system could be set up 'with an element of decentralisation'. There might be a job there, for example, as 'Director', or some other title which emphasised that this national system was different from the DPP's office. However, this possibility does not satisfy Thomas Hetherington, who obviously fears redundancy. He has leapt forward and staked out a claim for his continued existence in cases 'involving national security, corruption or explosives charges'.

Kenneth Newman, Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, has identified the ways in which his regime will differ from the old order. Old style 'swamping' is considered to be discredited. Instead, street criminals will be 'targeted'. This presumably means that instead of being hassled by a lot of uniformed officers, people will be trailed by a lot of non-uniformed officers. It would be unwise to narrow one's options too severely, so big operations are not ruled out. However, in the future, they will be carried out 'sensitively and efficiently'.

Meanwhile, David McNee, outgoing commissioner, has found a way of supplementing his pension (£24,000 index linked) when the proceeds from his serialised memoirs (£120,000) run out. Nothing so undignified as tyre selling. He is to be a 'non-executive' director of the Clydesdale Bank for £5,000 a year.

The first Police Auxiliaries have begun to volunteer in North Yorkshire. Their job is to 'play the good neighbour'. It is stressed that they are not to 'become snappers'. It is not their job to become our eyes and ears for minor offences. The uniformed members of the North Yorkshire have sterner things to deal with. It was they who had to mount the search for Barry Prudom. This cost £400,000. Half will be met by the local rate-payers. The Chief Constable has said that he is going to ask for body armour. An interesting innovation will be bullet-proof clipboards, which can be used as shields if a suspect turns nasty while being interviewed.

Police in the West Midlands are poisoning themselves with the lead they inhale from bullets. The Chief Constable is asking for £18,000 for a new ventilation system for the firing range.

POLICE news

THE Police Bill has appeared in the Queen's Speech, that is the programme for the new session of Parliament. It is in draft form and will probably be published next month. Basically it takes the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Criminal Procedure and toughens them up a bit. By application to magistrates 'suspects can be held for up to 96 hours. There will be wider powers to search premises. The police will have the power to stop and search anybody on reasonable suspicion, but they will have to tell you why, even to give you a note about it. To allay public fears, police authorities will have to publish annual statistics on the number of people stopped and searched. Another sop to liberalism is that the police will have to appoint a 'custody officer' who will inform detainees of their rights. There will be a three-tier system for complaints.

Another recommendation of the RCCP was for a local system of Crown Prosecu-



SQUATTING IN LAMBETH

HOW IT ALL BEGAN

Lambeth is a divided Borough, you can draw a line on the map, south of Brixton, and virtually every councillor elected North of that line is Labour, and every one South of it Conservative.

But political labels mean little, the real division is one of wealth and class. The south, Streatham, Norwood, Dulwich etc. is mostly owner occupied upper and middle class suburbs to the north is a sprawling delapidated area, mainly of bad housing, blocks of flats, decaying shopping centres and heavy through traffic. Brixton is the dividing line.

For more than 10 years Lambeth has had a Labour Council, who were to be sure, anti-squatting, and generally Labour are just party hacks, riding the gravy train, as bad as any politicians. But in this case their policy became one of not evicting squatters wholesale, and there grew up in Lambeth up to 1,000 squatted premises. More & more council flats and homes were left empty, both through council inefficiency and government cuts. In some areas whole streets were squatted, and at Villa Road, after a long campaign and the loss of ½ the houses through demolition, the squatters were allowed to stay. Other squatted streets are Vauxhall Grove, Bonnington Square, and St. Agnes Place in North Lambeth, Heath Rd & Pitcairn Street in Clapham, and the Berridge Road triangle of streets in Gipsy Hill.

THE SQUATTERS

Many people think of squatters as disaffected middle class youth. Indeed there are many of middle class origin in the squatted areas, but also many working, unemployed, foreign and student people. There are other kinds of squatters too, big groups of people who squat flats in the grim housing estates, who usually aren't interested in fighting to keep these places. When evicted they just leave the bills and take a new flat, there are 100s to choose from. After that there are the black squatters, many who will deny even to other squatters that they are squatting at all. This is partly due to racial divisions, which are encouraged by the Authorities and partly due to squatting still being seen as shameful to many black people. Most 'up front' of the black squatters are the Rastas, who have more solidarity among themselves than any of the white squatters. (A generalisation maybe?)

WHAT'S GOOD ABOUT SQUATTING

Squatting is done 1st through necessity, since the Council does not house single people. But that's only part of it, many squatters could legally rent flats and get the money from the DHSS. Many have chosen to squat, in the squatted areas there are communal houses, groups of women, men, mixed groups, black groups, gay groups etc. People choosing to live together, and try to see some alternative, in their own lifestyle, to this insane society and collapsing city. Squatters do co-operate, with cafes, food and housing co-ops etc but more than that they see their lives as being more FREE. Many if not all are unemployed, on the edge (and sometimes able to see outside) of the confines of the 'mass' society. Some are beaten down, despairing of change or hooked into escapist drugs. Most have contempt for the institutions, family, work sexism, nationalism, consumerism. Then there are the anarchists, who are working towards social revolution, against all authority and hierarchy, as well as the old aim to 'seize the means of production'.

The squatters have little to lose, are less easy to identify and control, and are more inclined to resist. They have been credited in the media, along with 'black youth', with the rioting in Brixton last year.



THE TORY'S ATTACK

In May this year there were local elections which resulted in a 'hung council' (no one had a majority) an excellent result for squatters. But due to the curious defection of the Labour Mayor (rumoured to have voted with which ever party could supply him with a 'Dolly Bird' for his sexist cravings), a Tory/SDP/Liberal coalition grabbed power, and therefore control of all the committees. These are basically a corrupt bunch of right wing gangsters, in nice clothes. Their policy is to eliminate the squatters altogether, sell off council houses and empty property to their friends, increase rents, decrease rates etc. Already we know of 250. Eviction notices handed out, most of these will take at least 3 months to get through the courts but since there is no possible defence some of the squatters have stopped repairing or even abandoned their squats. Most however will stay to the end, and then squat again. Some intend to squat in different areas, but in London now almost every Borough is heavily anti-squatters. The new factor is a spreading and growing movement of resistance among the squatters, which may grow even wider, as the Council has also attacked Housing Co-ops, and (thereby forcing them to back squatters) increased rents again.

RESISTANCE AND SELF ORGANISATION

BRIXTON SQUATTERS AID began in Feb 82, as a few squatters giving advice to others, two hours a week, using the premises of a local anarchist bookshop. When the Council changed, and the Tory plans became known, the group decided as a first step, to try and make a contact/alarm list, of as many squatters as possible. Everyone would get a copy of the list, and they could organise themselves from there, if they so wished.

The response was amazing, the new August/September list includes over 300 squats, prepared to stand together against evictions, with phone contacts in all the big communities, on Co-ops and even non squatters willing to help. The Squatters Aid group increased support and began to open daily.

As a second step BSA began a fortnightly newsletter, the Crowbar, distributed along the contact list / support network and in shops, and produced (in theory) by a different group of squatters each time. They distributed over 500 of the last issue. Meanwhile news came through that the entire squatters communities in Gipsy Hill and Heath Road areas were threatened with evictions. On August 7th a highly successful Street Festival was held in Heath Rd, followed by a street Party in Gipsy Hill on 30th August.

The squatters were awake, several action groups were set up, and the homes and cars of guilty councillors were spray painted with dire warnings (see The Crowbar - No 4). Some wits posted off Eviction Notices to the entire Council. The reaction of the councillors was panic and horror - suddenly they too were identified and vulnerable. Since then they have cancelled the demolition plans at St. Agnes Place and Gipsy Hill - but the eviction process goes ahead.

FIRST FLASH POINT

The first confrontation seems likely at the Barrier Block in Brixton, where 28 new flats have been squatted by desperate homeless, some of whom face imminent eviction, due to High Court actions. It remains to be seen how and where the squatters will resist. Certainly organization has improved immensely, the alarm list works better each time, and the squatters have more sense of anger and identity.

There are plans for benefits, pickets etc. as well as barricading (to make evictions difficult and expensive) and wild talk of riots and direct reprisals. Divide and rule doesn't work any more, we cannot hope to protect every squat but we can try. By their policy of 'eliminating all squatters' the Council may have grabbed a hold of the tail of a sleeping tiger!

YOU CAN EVICT THE SQUAT BUT THE SQUATTING GOES ON

we lose a place but the struggle goes on and we take another and we might lose that but the struggle goes on and a new squat begins.....



TAX



THE Conservative Government has kept its promises over tax reductions. This is not immediately apparent to most people. This is because they are unrealistic. The tax reductions are, quite understandably,

reserved for the Conservatives' friends. If other members of the population choose to raise their hopes and vote Tory, that is their concern.

Last year we carried a report that the total tax burden was weighted in favour of the better off. Now, new figures have emerged in response to a parliamentary question. The 'total tax burden' includes income tax, National Insurance and indirect taxes, such as VAT. For a 'typical family' (that is two adults and two children) on the national average wage (£154.50), this has increased by 14½% since this government took power. It now represents 41½% of their income. An unfortunate family on three-quarters of the average (£115.87) have had their tax burden increased by 17% to 38½% of their income. Meanwhile, those even more unfortunate are in the notorious 'poverty trap'. It is impossible for them to improve their lot, as any increase in income is balanced by a corresponding cut in benefits. The good Tory answer is, of course, to withdraw the benefits, give them some incentive. A new Treasury report estimates that some 5½ million people are in this position.

And what of those who receive rather more than the national average? Well, on twice the average their burden has only gone up by 9½%. Those who might be considered reasonably comfortable, on say, five times the average, bask with an actual reduction of 6½%. It is estimated that such people represent only one family in 200.

It is widely assumed that the Conservative Party intends more tax adjustments in the near future. It will be interesting to analyse these and to see if the proximity of an election makes any difference. Only the cynical would suggest that they might include a substantial cut in income tax together with a fall in the duty on drink etc. Beyond this, only the hopelessly disaffected would suggest that a slight readjustment of National Insurance and similar levies could cancel the lot in real terms.

It has been suggested that death and taxes are inevitable. This would seem to be part of the same pessimistic point of view that thinks that governments are as well. A more constructive outlook would realise that in the absence of *them*, the first would be greatly reduced and the second would disappear entirely.

HALLOWEEN at GREENHAM

THERE was a two day Halloween Festival at Greenham Common last weekend. A few tents, shelters, caravans and dormobiles among the trees and the perimeter fence less than a hundred yards away.

Campfires, dogs, babies, children and reunions after summer festivals made it a party rather than a demo and I doubt we caused the prisoners within the fence to lose a wink of sleep. So was it worthwhile? At first I thought not, but on reflection I think it was. We can't live in fear all the time, we must take our pleasures while we may and where we can — why not at Greenham Common!

It's lovely country — the trees were wet and wonderful — it was a pleasure to meet old friends again. In the evening round a big camp fire Continuum performed their japes and dramas, the faithful Planet Waves sang their green anthems and anarchist poets Pat Van Twent and Dennis Gould crouched in the firelight and fought with the smoke to bring us their visions and prophecies. There were workshops, literature stalls, an al fresco cafe — and an intrusive patrol of four uniformed policemen. Earlier we had a visit from the most transparently plain-clothed coppers I've ever seen and maybe there were some more amongst us who

actually looked the part.

The event was organised by Green CND and friends and I think one justification for it is the way that it is clearly binding together this particular group of people in friendship and solidarity. This must be beneficial and is bound to stand them in good stead in the trials to come — but why was I travelling seventy miles to be there? Surely the best thing for me to be doing was camping or partying on the doorstep of my local MOD installations?

I see the need for the set piece demonstrations of strength and determination, but wouldn't it be fine if every MOD site — regardless of housing missiles, it's all of a piece — had its own band of peacenik groupies bobbing up unexpectedly to decorate the fence, hold a party, block a gateway or whatever — anything to affirm life with a song rather than embrace death with a curse. This kind of action wouldn't hinge on large numbers of people or on a continuous presence and the more spontaneous the better. The irritant effect might provoke harsh reprisals from the powers-that-be but it would make defence a local issue, not just something that's going on down in Berkshire or where ever.

JEFF CLOVES



In brief

EX-PRESIDENT Richard Nixon has been providing philosophical musings on the nature of 'truth'. Presidents have, apparently, a special relationship with the concept. They are not always lying 'in an immoral sense' when they say something they do not believe. He also recognises that politics has its own demands. It may be necessary to 'dissemble' because you may need to use somebody in the future.

THE Turkish Government has found a neat way of gaining approval for its new constitution. (All power to the president, present incumbent stays in office, see several previous 'In Brief's.) A referendum. Voting is compulsory. Voting against is illegal.

JOE Pearce has been released from prison after serving his sentence for offences arising out of his editorship of *Bulldog*, the National Front's youth paper. He is now editor of *Nationalism Today*. He reports that he is greatly encouraged by the numbers of NF and British Movement members and sympathisers amongst both warders and inmates.

THE Chinese Government is to expand its birth control programme. Their recent census discovered an official population of 1.3 billion. They want to reduce this to below 1.2 billion by the end of the century. Particular emphasis will be on education for peasants, 'We must encourage them to combine the interests of the State with their own.'

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTER

CRITIC OF LANTY*

Dear FREEDOM,

I feel I must respond to Lanty's letter — but I'll try to be brief. I'd like to answer a couple of Lanty's points first: — I'm sorry to hear that Lanty has lost poultry to feral mink, but the mink were not those released by the ALF. The mink he has described killing ducks in his local river came from mink farms. But Lanty has mounted a pretty vitriolic attack on the ALF for releasing mink; is it too cruel to ask for evidence of Lanty's similar public attacks on those responsible for the feral mink in his area?

When I pointed to the poetic justice of eating wolves but not lambs I thought that it was obvious that my tongue was firmly in my cheek. I simply sought to point out that 'animals' is a false category which enables humans to butcher the gentle on the grounds that some animals are vicious.

I would now like to comment on Lanty's general themes. Lanty's comments on anthropomorphism and the cultural confidence trick of stories such as Wind in the Willows or Watership Down are quite correct. If he had taken the trouble to study ALF's ideas before attacking them he would know that most animal liberationists are of the same opinion. Animal liberation is not about anthropomorphism or sentimentality — it is about simple justice and consideration.

Of course that cuddly-cuddly sentimentiality is a con-trick. It is interesting to note that the IBA is worried about showing The Animals Film. It is not worried about screening the blood and guts, but about the actions and analysis of the ALF. It is the ALF scenes that the IBA wants cut. The IBA has even offered the director £2,000 to film a new summing-up to the film by Richard Adams, ex-RSPCA president and author of Watership Down. Are you starting to get the picture?

Furthermore animal rights activists have repeatedly denounced those anti-vivisection groups who constantly use cute and cuddly animals in their propaganda. Yes, Lanty, animal liberation is for crocodiles, rats and long eared bats too!

I hope this goes some way to explaining the hostility of the response to Lanty's attack on the ALF. It is very annoying to be openly attacked for alleged opinions which you do not hold and are, in fact, openly opposed to.

In the last part of his letter Lanty has been very frank about his views and it is here that we find the root of our disagreement. He states quite clearly that his motivation for human solidarity is self-interest; ie if I help them they will help me. The problem with that sort of self-interest is that it can be led almost any-

where. Such 'anarchism' is a sham for it fails to challenge the practice of treating people as commodities. Lanty already treats animals as commodities. He exploits those he finds useful and kills those that eat into his 'profits'. His attitude to humans is not very different. What he describes as 'solidarity' is really just a state of happy mutual robbery. If our only motive for helping others is the value of their skills to us we will have a society not very different from the one we have now. I think most anarchists hope for something more.

When Lanty comes to actual commodities he becomes strangely obtuse. The present system does involve neo-colonial exploitation and many other ills, but these are faults of capitalism, not distribution. Are we really expected to believe that Lanty can find no alternative means of distributing the good fruits of this world without capitalism and exploitation? If Lanty is happy wearing his homespun and munching his turnips then fine, but it is self-sufficiency of a very primitive kind. Personally I think it has more to do with parochialism than self-sufficiency.

In case the importance of these exchanges has escaped other readers let me briefly state the practical problems for anarchists. The security boom of the last twelve months has been in protecting laboratories and laboratory suppliers from attack. Last year raids ran at an average of one every six days. In my own part of the country fox hunting can only continue with the protection of the police and hired heavies. Many of the people involved in these actions are anarchists. They see the animal rights issue as being a logical extension of their anarchist views. These activists have shown a willingness to fight, get beaten up, go to prison and even risk life and limb to save animals. Does Lanty feel equally strongly about his right to kill animals? If he does, as anarchists, we have a problem — and it is not a problem that will go away when we smash the state. Solidarity,
EDWARD JOHNSON

JUDGE AND SWING

Dear FREEDOM,

We all thought that Paul Petard and Co had a very good idea in the leaflet 'distribution' they undertook in support of Simon Los — it's surprising they didn't get nicked!

As regards phoning Judge Mars-Jones, well I can assure everyone that 01 405 3632 is (or was) his number, I rang it about a month ago and got a woman whom I presume was his wife. It would appear that the Judge is now having his calls intercepted. At least a dozen people down here in Sussex gave him a tinkle in

the early hours of October 21st; a GPO person was answering the calls and refusing to connect callers, some people were told that the Judge didn't live at the number, unless he has moved within the last month this can not be true. I would imagine that some sort of code-word or nickname is needed to get hold of the Judge, for instance when I rang up the man at the other end didn't deny the Judge lived at the number, he kept saying 'That isn't what I've got written down here.' I suggest people try ringing again in a month, although I suppose he could get a new number. However readers can write to the Judge at his 'Inns of Court' (3 Grays Inn Square, London WC1). Paul wonders if Ludd & Swing is still in existence — YES it certainly is! Copies can be obtained via our over-educated comrades at Sussex University (see 'contacts' page under Brighton or Sussex).

Lastly, it may be of interest to readers that a very interesting and potentially heated debate is to take place at the Worthing Debating Society on November 25th (it's a Thursday, takes place in the basement of Worthing Library and starts at 8pm) The motion is, 'The SPG are violent thugs and should be disbanded'. The motion is being proposed by Ludd & Swing contributor, Chris Hare, and is being opposed by Brighton NF leader, Ted Budden. Admittedly the motion is somewhat reformist — but the debate should, to say the least, be lively!

CAPTAIN SWING
CHICHESTER SAS

DELIVERANCE

Dear Comrades,

The moving and, occasionally, heart-breaking lament for Jim Heather-Hayes by Fran Heather-Hayes has, so to speak, a richly worked out coda in a play by Jonathan Moore, Obstruct the Doors Cause Delay and be Dangerous, given recently at the ILEA's Cockpit Theatre. In it anarchists and anarchy are hymned as not only the leaven in an all too familiar evocation of a Warfare — 'Lawfare' State but as pointing the way to a deliverance that is virtually Christian in its rejection of the ethics and practices of our rulers and its seeming despair at the seductive appeal of doublethink and the unquestioned rituals of society as opposed to community. As an antidote to the dreary clichés of even the most radical of journalists and publicists Jonathan Moore's piece deserves the widest possible currency as well as being a dramatic parable in the illusrious traditions of Webster, Ford and the other heaven-storming poets of Jacobean/Carolean England.

DAVID SEDLEY
LONDON

* The above letter on the ALF has been included due to an appeal by the writer not to end correspondence on this issue. However, we reserve the right to close any further correspondence if we feel the issue is getting stale.

FREEDOM CONTACTS

national

ABERDEEN

Subversive Graffiti Collective, c/o 163 King St, Aberdeen (includes the ex-members of Aberdeen Solidarity). Activities include production of a local free news-sheet.

BASILDON

Are there any anarchists out there in Basildon, Essex area? Contact—Mark, 27 Little Lullaway, Basildon Essex.

BEDFORDSHIRE

Bedfordshire and isolated Anarchists, write John 81 F Bromham Rd, Bedford MK40 2AH

BELFAST

Anarchist Collective, Just Books, 7 Winetavern St, Belfast

BIRMINGHAM

Birmingham 'Angry', c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St
Birmingham DAM, c/o Peace Centre 18 Mare St, Ringway Birmingham

BRISTOL

Box 010, Full Marks Bookshop, 197 Cheltenham Road, Bristol 6

BURNLEY

BAG, c/o 2 Quarrybank.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Anarchists, c/o 186 East Rd, Cambridge
East Anglian Anarchist Federation c/o Grapevine, 186 East Road.

CANTERBURY

Alternative Research Group, Students Union, University of Kent, Canterbury

Canterbury Anarchist Group, Contact Address: Andrew Savage, 177 Old Dover Rd.

CARDIFF

c/o 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Rd, Cardiff 2
Whistle Blowers, Box 999, 108 Salisbury Rd.

CLEVELAND

25 Liverton Crescent, Thornaby,
Also produces 'Common Cause' local anarchist paper.

Box A, c/o 120 Victoria Road, Middlesbrough

COVENTRY

Anarchist Group, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL.

CRAWLEY

Libertarian Group, Ray Cowper, 1 Bluebell Close Crawley W Sussex.

CUMBRIA

2 Forestry Cottages, Millfield, Hutton Roof, Penrith

DERBY

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

DONCASTER

Doncaster Anarchist Centre 49a Doncaster Market Place

DUBLIN

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

ESSEX

DAM, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gdns, Saffron Walden, Essex
Oral Abortions, The Catskills, Maldon Rd, Gay Bowers, Danbury

EXETER

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

FORMBY

Floating Free, 58 Freshfield Rd, Formby, Merseyside L3 73HW

GLASGOW

'Practical Anarchy' (monthly free broadsheet, send large SAE) c/o Box 3 Calderwood 15/GPP pamphlets c/o Box V2

At Glasgow Bookshop Collective, 488 Gt Western Rd, G12. (Kelvinbridge Subway)

HUDDERSFIELD

Huddersfield Anarchist Group & DAM, Box DAM, c/o Peaceworks, 58 Wakefield Rd, Huddersfield

HULL

Hull @ Group, 23 Nott St, (moving in Sept to 24 Albany St)

Libertarian Collective, 70 Perth HU5 3NZ

KEELE

Keele University A Group, R Knight, c/o Students Union, The University, Keele, Staffs.

KEIGHLEY

Anarchists, c/o Simon Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove, Keighley, West Yorkshire BD21 2SL

LANCASTER

Tadeusz Szczepanski, 38 Bradshaw St, LA1 3BE.

LEAMINGTON AND WARWICK

Lemming and Yorick A's, c/o 23 Radford Rd, Leamington Spa, Warwicks CV31 INF.

LEEDS

Leeds Anarchist Group, Box LAP A, 59 Cookridge St, LS2 3AW
DAM + Federation of Leeds Anarchists, Box RU.

LEICESTER

Blackthorn Books, 70 High St, Libertarian Education, 6 Beaconsfield Rd, (tel 552085)

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

LIVERPOOL

Box LAG, 37 Bagot Street, Wavertree, Merseyside L15 2HA.
NWAF, c/o 224 Garston Old Rd, Liverpool 19, Merseyside.

LONDON

Anarchy Magazine, Box A 84b Whitechapel High St London E1
FREECOLLECTIVE, Angel Alley 84b Whitechapel High St, E1 (01-247 9249). Aldgate East tube, nr Whitechapel Art Gallery.

Greenpeace, 6 Endsleigh St, WC1, Meet Thursdays 7pm

London Workers Group, 11 Leyden St, E1.

121 Books/Anarchist Centre, 121 Raitton Rd, London SE24 Tel: 274 6655

Anarchist-Feminist Newsletter, c/o 121 Raitton Rd, SE24

Pigs for Slaughter+Anarchist Youth Federation, c/o 121 Raitton Rd

South London Anarchist Group (SLAG) c/o 121 Raitton Rd

South London DAM, c/o Raitton Rd SE24

South London Stress, c/o 121 Raitton Rd SE24

Squatters Defence Network, c/o 121 Raitton Rd SE24.

Toxic Graffiti, c/o 121 Raitton Rd, SE24.

Martin Nicholas, 186 Mount Pleasant Road, London N17

MAI.VERN
and Worcester area, Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall Storridge, Worcestershire.

MANCHESTER

'Wildcat' or 'Solidarity' at: Box 25, 164/5 Corn Exchange, Hanging Ditch, M4 3BN

DAM, Box 20, 164/166 Corn Exchange Bldgs, Hanging Ditch, M4.

MORECAMBE & LANCASTER

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

NORWICH

Norwich @ Group, c/o Box 6, FREE-WHEEL, 52-54 King St

NOTTINGHAM

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

OLDHAM

Nigel Broadbent, 14 Westminster Rd, Failsworth.

ORPINGTON

Rik Fuller, 60 Ramsden Rd, Orpington, Kent

OXFORD

Oxford Anarchists, 34 Cowley Rd

PLYMOUTH

Anarchists, 115 St Pancras Ave, Pennycross

PORTSMOUTH

area anarchist group, c/o Garry Richardson, 25 Beresford Close, Waterlooville, Hants

READING

Reading Anarchists, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17 Chatham St

RHONDDA

and Mid Glamorgan, Henning Anderson, 'Smiths Arms', Treherbert, Mid Glamorgan

SHEFFIELD

Anarchists, c/o 4 Havelock Square S10 2FQ

SOUTHAMPTON

c/o 78 Northumberland Road, St Mary's.

SOUTH WALES

DAM, c/o Smiths Arms, Baglan Rd, Treherbert. Write for anarchist contacts in Treherbert. Rhondda, Pontypridd, Penarth, Barry and Cardiff areas

SOUTHAMPTON

'Southern Stress' c/o 108 Cedar Rd, Portswood, Southampton

SURREY

Damp Squid Anarchists (North Surrey) Tel: 01-399 3197

SUSSEX

Brighton Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Falmer House, University of Sussex, Brighton East Sussex Hastings Anarchists + Poison Pen, 92 London Rd, St Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex Sussex Anarchist Society, c/o Hastings Anarchist Group

SWANSEA

Billy, 63 Clynnmaes Place, Blaenymaes, Swansea.

SWINDON

area, Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon

TAYSIDE

Josh Cowan, 3/R 17 Cheviot Crescent, Dundee, DD4 9QJ

TYNE & WEAR

Newcastle Anarchist Group, c/o 2 Priory Court, High St, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear, NE8 3JL

WAKEFIELD

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

literature

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THE NORTH-EAST ANARCHIST FEDERATION has just produced its first quarterly journal 'STATELESS'. This interesting review is available for a mere 30 pence + postage or SAE (envelope must be at least 26cms by 18cms).

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Karl Yundt and the spherical bomb



THE nineteenth century anarchist Karl Yundt is mentioned in few anarchist histories, yet over the years his influence on the public image of anarchism has been enormous.

Yundt's talk was full of violent images. Law he described as 'the pretty branding instrument invented by the overfed to protect themselves against the hungry. Red-hot applications to their vile skins - hey? Can't you smell and hear the thick hide of the people burn and sizzle?' Economic exploitation he characterized as 'cannibalistic. They are nourishing their greed on the quivering flesh and the warm blood of the people.' The revolutionary method he advocated was no less violent: 'I have always dreamed of a band of men absolute in their resolve to discard all scruples ... strong enough to give themselves frankly the name of destroyers ... No pity for anything on earth, including themselves, and death enlisted for good and all in the service of humanity'.

He first appeared seventy-five years ago, in September 1907, as a character in Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent*. Norman Sherry (Conrad's Western World, Cambridge UP 1971) thinks his bloodthirsty speeches caricature the writings of Johann Most.

His appearance is equally unattractive. We are told that 'an extraordinary expression of underhand malevolence survived in his extinguished eyes' and his arthritic movements 'suggested the effort of a moribund murderer summoning all his strength for a last stab.' Decrepit and senile, he affects the dress and manners of the flamboyant platform performer he had been in his youth. He stands to speak, 'the venomous spluttering of the old terrorist without teeth', legs and walking-stick shaking with passion, 'one wing of his faded greenish havelock thrown back cavalierly over his shoulder' (a havelock was a coat with a cape attached). As the meeting ends 'the old terrorist, raising an uncertain and clawlike hand, gave a swaggering tilt to the black felt sombrero shading the hollows and ridges of his wasted face'.

Within the novel he is a minor character: beyond the novel, his cultural impact has been out of all proportion. A new edition of *The Secret Agent* appeared in 1920, with a virulent attack on anarchism (addressed to those who had accused Conrad of making anarchist propaganda)





added as an author's foreword. There was a general revulsion against heroic war stories following World War One, and the writers of boys' fiction were looking for other things to write about. 'Anarchists' were the perfect antagonists for clean-limbed heroes; not the bumbling anarchists of *The Secret Agent*, but the terrifying 'anarchists' of Karl Yundt's vision, a band of remorseless, dedicated, obscurely motivated killers. Karl Yundt's unlovely features were an inspiration to the illustrators. Before 1930 the malignant old man with the big black hat and the caped overcoat was instantly recognized as an 'anarchist' by British cartoon fans. A useful comic symbol, he has since become known in other countries.

By 1930 he had acquired a 'bomb' which was interestingly spherical. A sphere is easy to draw, instantly recognizable to those who have seen it before, and so unlike the shape of any real bomb that it evokes no painful memories in the survivors of wars. Yundt himself, 'the terrorist as he called himself ... the veteran of dynamite wars ... had never in his life personally raised so much as his little finger against the social edifice'.

Yundt had a wispy white goatee on his chin, but until about 1960 the cartoon anarchist, in Britain at least, always had a mass of untidy, black whiskers. Beards, other than those on King George V, were considered subversive and foreign. Since they have returned to fashion, occasional cartoon 'anarchists' have been clean shaven.

The black-hatted bomber was called Serge Pantz in 'Laurie and Trailer' (*Chips*), Witzkoffski in 'Pip, Squeak and Wilfred' (*Daily Mirror*), 'Archy the Anarchist' in a strip of his own, and Funf in 'Tommy Handley' (*Radio Fun*). It is of no significance that Funf was described as a 'spy' rather than an 'anarchist'. All the comic paper anarchists became spies during the war, without interrupting their careers of pointless sabotage. The cartoon 'anarchist' is nothing at all like an anarchist.

Indeed, as we all know, he is a pestilential nuisance to anarchist endeavour. Those who know what anarchism means, whether they agree with it or not, are well outnumbered by those who can spot an 'anarchist' in a cartoon. Often, when one explains anarchism to someone, one must begin by getting rid of Karl Yundt and the spherical bomb.

1. Bill Tidy: Daily Mirror (included in *Another thousand laughs Wolfe* 1975)

2. Gert Seyfried: Anarchy Comics No 1
Last Gasp 1978

3. Unsigned (style of Roland Fiddy): She 1965

4. Saul Steinberg: New Yorker (included in *All in Line Duell, Sloan & Pearce* 1945)

Freud: The Man and the Cause by Ronald W Clark
Granada/Paladin, 1982. 652pp. £3.95.

RONALD Clark is the 'definitive' biographer of, amongst others, Einstein, Bertrand Russell, and now Freud. When the hardcover edition of *Freud* originally appeared in 1980, critics were enthusiastic. 'A masterly biography' (R D Laing), 'a notable success' (Anthony Storr); 'in terms of straight biography this one is by far the best' (Vincent Brome). And so on. If, as I do, you believe that all Clark has succeeded in doing is buggering up the Life of yet another great thinker, the question immediately arises: what should be the criteria by which one assesses the 'success' or failure of any biography of Great Men and Women? The reprinting in paperback of Clark's *Freud* is a welcome opportunity to raise this question, uncritically glossed over by his 'critics' to date.

Clearly, there are biographies and biographies, great men/women and great men/women. Moses and Cromwell (to take two of Freud's 'greats'), like Lenin, were great leaders, not thinkers. Conversely, as Brecht observed of Hitler, it's not necessary to be a great man (however defined) in order to cause great social upheavals (crimes).

good. But Clark implies (432) that Freud somehow only first became seriously acquainted with Groddeck's *It*-concept in 1921 – when, in fact, as correspondence from Groddeck to Freud reveals, Groddeck first expounded his theory of the *It* to Freud in May 1917, and regularly thereafter in correspondence. To add insult to injury, Clark (382-3) actually quotes from Groddeck's first May 1917 letter to Freud, and even (435) a 1923 letter from Freud referring to Freud's early 'acceptance' of Groddeck's '*It*'.

No less scandalous is Clark's total obscuring of the essential fact that, despite his formal acknowledgement of his indebtedness to Groddeck, Freud's concern in his 1923 book was to pre-empt and replace Groddeck's far 'wilder' *It*-theory by his very much tamer and more 'respectable' theory of the *Id*. Instead of clarifying the essential facts, Clark can only obscure them, waffling on about 'the cross-fertilization of ideas between them' – a rather quaint euphemism for describing Freud's plagiarism.

Then there is Clark's 'explanation' for Freud's use of bipolar causal schemas – *Eros/Death* instinct, masculine/feminine, Pleasure Principle/Reality Principle, Primary Process/Secondary Process, and so on. Endorsing Charles Rycroft, Clark postulates 'a Continental weakness [sic],

BUGGERING UP FREUD

Like Russell and Einstein, one can fairly argue that Freud, warts and all, had great moral qualities of courage, independence and integrity in his personal life, values and humanism. (Can one say this of Marx?) Yet while the private life and public times of an Einstein or Russell are central to any biography, equally essential is each ones greatness as a thinker.

Clark is a journalist. As such, he is adequate to the tasks of personal and intellectual gossip, filling in the 'times' and describing the causes of his chosen subjects. Anyone who wants a good read on the level of journalistic chit-chat about the 'life and times' of Clark's Great Men, will not come away disappointed – even if Clark's prose-style is pedestrian – dull and boring to a fault. Clark's problem in *Freud*, as in his earlier biographies of Einstein and Russell, is that he lacks the intellectual equipment needed to do justice to the distinctive ideas of his subject – in this case Freud.

Instead, he can only mystify, blur, obliterate and confuse. It's on the level of capturing Freud's distinctive greatness as a *thinker*, that Clark's biography of Freud is, I suggest, a radical failure. Let me justify this assertion with some gross examples, chosen virtually at random.

Clark, discussing Freud's mature thought, writes that Freud 'introduced the Life Instinct and the Death Instinct, Eros and Thanatos' (432). Freud certainly used the term *Eros*. But, despite his (grudgingly acknowledged) indebtedness to the prior 'death instinct' theories of Wilhelm Stekel and Sabina Spielrein, Freud in his writings never uses the term 'Thanatos' (Stekel's coinage). No doubt his strong hostility to Stekel played a part. Be this as it may, Clark makes a virtue of his ignorance, splashing 'the *Eros*-*Thanatos* dichotomy' about his text with gay abandon.

Or consider Clark's discussion of Freud's rather scandalous attempt to pre-empt and pinch Georg Groddeck's theory of the '*it*' by which we are lived, by his theory of the '*id*' in *The Ego and The Id* (1923). Groddeck, Clark correctly remarks, had started giving Freud the manuscript of his *Book of The It*, in letter-instalments, early in 1921. Freud proceeded to delay its publication until his own book (*The Ego and The Id*) was ready for publication, along with Groddeck's in the spring of 1923. So far so

illustrated by Hegel and Marx, for espousing dialectical theories' (433).

In the first place, the abstraction 'Continental weakness' is just that: a meaningless abstraction with no factual or explanatory content. One might as well attribute Bakunin's revolutionary passion for mass spontaneous action to a 'Slavic weakness' – not that I am into dialectical schemas by the way. In the second place, Clark and others are simply wrong to see Freud as a bipolar 'dialectical' theorist, couching all explanations in terms of pairs of causal opposites. On the contrary, if Freud is the theorist of anything, it is of an event's being the product of a multiplicity of sufficient causes ('over-determination', in Freud's phrase). More generally, none of Freud's most basic ideas – from the *Id/Ego/Superego* schema of the mind, the theory of instincts or bisexuality, the origins of guilt, the Oedipal complex, the sexual development of boys and girls, the theory of dreams – can be couched or explained in dualistic terms. In a letter to Fliess as early as 1899, discussing their shared bisexuality theory, Freud writes: 'Bisexuality! I am sure you are right about it. And I am accustomed to regarding every sexual act as an event between four individuals.'

I could go on, but there's no point. I have chosen these examples almost at random to show Clark's essential incompetence to do simple expository – let alone critical – justice to Freud's ideas. The same radical flaw vitiated his earlier biographies of Russell and Einstein. In answer to the objection that a discussion of Freud, 'the man and his cause' needn't be an intellectual biography as well, my reply is that Freud's ideas were essential to the man and his Cause: to understand and help heal the mental causes of human disease. My only dread is that Clark will next turn his hand to *Buggering Up Marx*.

None of this would matter – it would simply be a matter for serious students of Freud to moan about – were it not for two facts: (1) As in the case of Russell and Einstein, it will be via Clark's misrepresentations that newcomers will gain their (mis-)understandings of Freud et al (just as it is via secondary Marxologists that most 'Marxists' learn their 'Marx'). Few will read Freud (or Russell or Einstein ...) for

AS early autumn apples ripen in the orchards of Britain consider this strange fruit: a hippy singing songs of praise to Stalin and an ex-Stalinist writing an anti-CND article for *Readers Digest*.

The hippy is Robert Wyatt, ex-Soft Machine, Matching Mole and several solo albums including his latest *Nothing Can Stop Us* (Rough Trade). Issued at the beginning of the year it spent six months in *New Musical Express's* Alternative LP chart, and Wyatt and tracks from the LP have been cited by various pop celebs as their favourite songs/singer in *NME's* Portrait of The Artist as Consumer.

Wyatt is an extraordinary singer. His voice has pathos without sentimentality, deliberately singing with a 'nice boy' middle class English accent (like Colin Blumstone did with The Zombies and Paul Jones occasionally with Manfred Mann) at a time when most other singers used American intonation.

Two tracks on the LP – most of which were originally released as 45s – are outstanding: his interpretation of 'At Last I Am Free' and the haunting 'Strange Fruit' chronicling black lynching in the Deep South of the '30s.

But as for the rest ... 'Born Again Cretin' has inventive harmonies and arrangement but the lyrics! Whilst Nelson Mandela rots in prison you pricks are at liberty to read George Orwell (lyrics courtesy of Wyatt). Or try 'Stalin Wasn't Stalinn' for size! Talk about rewriting history! First done by the pinko San Francisco Golden Gate Quartet in the '40s it tells us how Stalin stood up to Hitler and called upon Britain and the US to give him a hand in crushing the fascist vermin. No mention of the 1939 Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact. Then to rub your noses really in it, black poet (and not a very good one) Peter Blackman concludes Side 2 by reciting his 'Stalingrad', a turgid litany to the battle of the same name, how the world waited with bated breath for the outcome, etc ... No mention of the fact that the rapid German advance into Russia and initial Soviet setbacks were down to Stalin's incompetence and paranoia; no mention of those returning Soviet troops in 1945 who disappeared into labour camps because they'd seen too much of the West; no mention of the fate of those White Russians forcibly repatriated, but told in Nikolai Tolstoy's *Victims of Yalta* (Corgi).

The only thing missing from the cover of the LP is an application form to join the British Communist Party and a free offer of an Uncle Joe Stalin poster in glorious Mos-colour to hang in your kitchen.

Wyatt is a member of the CP, or was 18 months ago when he was interviewed in *Melody Maker*, who's deputy editor Allan Jones praised the LP to the skies (a bit unexpected that, as most of his articles recount the amount of beer and vodka he's drunk at gigs, or tell of his exploits in trying to look up Carlene Carter's skirt).

What is fascinating about the LP is how Wyatt's commitment hasn't affected his artistry. Commitment usually means earnestness walks in and art walks out (if you've ever heard the truly appalling 'The H Bomb's Thunder' by the London Youth Choir circa 1962 you'll know what I'm talking about!). That his commitment includes something as perverse as praises of Stalin is frankly mind-boggling. Not an LP to buy, but definitely to listen to, if you get the chance. But here's the rub: someone's been buying it, thousands have been sold. Have Malcolm McLaren's punk anarchists thrown away their bondage trousers and bought boiler suits and joined the Spartacist League?

Frank Chapple used to wear a boiler suit early in his career as an electrician although he was never in the Spartacist League. No. He was a CPer in the days when the CP was a force to be reckoned with. (Recently released Cabinet Papers show Attlee and company seriously concerned about the possibility of massive Party directed industrial disruption in 1950 linked to their 'Peace' campaign over the Korean war.)

But Frank Chapple saw the Light of Day and went from being a left-wing conspirator to being a right-wing one. His

chance came when Frank Foulkes and others got caught out fiddling postal returns to secure Communist national officers within the electricians union, the ETU. When Les Cannon – who exposed Foulkes – died, Frank took over as ETU leader and has been firmly in the saddle since 1966. He's now 61 and plans to retire early because, the *Sunday Times* business section speculates, he saw 'Joe Gormley stay too long as head of the mineworkers, depriving a credible



right-wing successor from emerging, and so letting in the marxist Arthur Scargill.' It seems our Frank isn't going to make the same mistake. Besides being the next TUC president early retirement will perhaps also give him the time to write further articles for the *Readers Digest*.

I've mislaid his anti-CND article which *Readers Digest* have reprinted in leaflet form, but basically it boils down to a charge that the men from Moscow are helping to run the

anti-bomb movement. He claims that various people in executive authority are Communists and that they are conducting an orchestrated campaign that is pro-USSR and anti-USA. Similar charges were, of course, laid at the door of the anti-bomb campaign in the '50s and '60s.

Up to a point part of what he is saying is true in that there is an anti-USA tendency in the anti-bomb movement, and objectively the USSR can take comfort from and do use the anti-nuclear campaign for their own ends. I wouldn't be at all surprised if the USSR wasn't covertly funding various Western peace groups — without those groups realising it. The USSR would be daft not to. But Crying in The Chapple misses the point: the fact that unaware they might be partly funded by Moscow doesn't invalidate their argument, any more than I would dismiss what Frank fulminates against simply because I read it in the *Readers Digest*, which various brethren over the years have claimed is a CIA front. Two can play spot the bogeyman, Frank! Who cares if the *Readers Digest* is a CIA front? So what?

Of course there are CPers in CND, but I'd suggest to Frank that the anti-bomb movement is of a different character to its '50s counterpart. It's more suspicious and critical of the Labour Party and not half-wedded to it as it was in those days. It's prepared to be more critical of the USSR (though not critical enough) and to give its support to the few genuine peace groups that exist behind the Iron Curtain, such as East Germany. I would also say that the post-1968 politics of personal liberation has to some extent affected its character.

There are many anti-nuclear groups that work sometimes in tandem with CND, sometimes separately, but are not part of it, doing their own thing and not accepting the word of latterday Peggy Duffs and Canon Collapses, which is perhaps one reason why the equivalent of the Committee of 100 has not emerged. It doesn't need to. Whether to break the law or not in pursuit of Direct Action is for many people not the moral dilemma that it was for many in those days. This in itself is perhaps some small advance for the anarchist worldview. Authoritarianism and hierarchy just don't go down too well in 1982, whether it's from the offices of CND or King Street.

When directives from King Street ruled Frank Chapple's life the Party was, as I've indicated, a force to be reckoned with. Today it is in decline, as it is in France and Spain too. The end of obedience to Stalin heralded in the end of obedience to the Party itself. Kruschev unwittingly pulled the plug out with his famous 20th Party Congress speech in 1956 when he admitted to fellow Communists that Comrade Stalin had somewhat overdone it. Hungary followed closely on this revelation and the European Communist Parties were in a proper turmoil. Party members were no longer prepared to accept the Line and many resigned. Eventually individual Parties rebelled too, not being prepared to always accept the Tablets from Moscow.

Still, we shouldn't be too complacent. Chapple's right when he singles out the major threat to our freedom as coming from the Communist controlled countries, and, it has to be said, many folk who were involved in personal politics still somehow feel, when it's a toss up between the US and the USSR, that the latter is preferable and that Lenin was a good guy.

And fashions and feelings change. Who'd have predicted the Born Again Christian revival? Maybe Robert Wyatt is horribly on the ball. Maybe Stalin is next year's thing! His oriental counterpart, Mao — the world's biggest mass-murderer — happily co-existed in the minds of many of those post '68 dreamers. Strange fruit indeed. Me, I'd rather suck a banana than experience the rough end of a pineapple.



RESISTING THE NATION STATE

Resisting the Nation State: The Pacifist and Anarchist Tradition by Geoffrey Ostergaard. *Studies in Nonviolence* 11. Peace Pledge Union, 30p.

ANARCHO-PACIFISM is a troublesome political hybrid, like anarcho-syndicalism or anarcho-capitalism. Anarchism and pacifism in theory and the anarchist and pacifist movements in practice are similar but not the same, and for more than a century there has been a dialectical relationship between them involving both overlap and opposition. In some people and in some periods they seem to have almost nothing in common, but in others they seem to have almost everything in common. They come closest in individuals like Tolstoy and Alex Comfort and in crises like world wars, and they have remained close in the double circumstances of the threat of and resistance to nuclear war.

In this country there has been a continuous anarcho-pacifist tradition since the 1890s, which became strong during the anti-war movements of 1914 – 1918 and 1939 – 1945 and stronger during the nuclear disarmament movement of the late 1950s and the 1960s, which involved many individual anarchists and pacifists but not the formal anarchist and pacifist organisations. Yet in the late 1960s the pacifist movement came closer to anarchism than ever before, with both *Peace News* and the Peace Pledge Union becoming almost as much anti-state as anti-war. This tendency has been expressed in *Studies in Nonviolence*, an irregular periodical produced by the PPU since 1977. Each of the eleven issues published so far contains a few long essays (sometimes just one) on various aspects of non-violence, several of which have been anarchist as well as pacifist. (Thus Nicolas Walter's 1963 pamphlet *Nonviolent Resistance: Men Against War*, which was based on articles first printed in *Anarchy* in 1962, was reprinted in issues 2 and 5 with a new postscript.) The most recent issue, which appeared in August, contains a version of Geoffrey Ostergaard's contribution to *The Nation State*, an expensive academic symposium edited by Leonard Tivey, which was published by Martin Robertson in 1981 and has just been reprinted as a paperback (at £5.95).

Ostergaard is one of the very few anarchist academics in the country, being a senior lecturer in political science at Birmingham University, and a veteran member of both the anarchist and the pacifist movements. His most important work was as one of the authors of *The Gentle Anarchists* (1971), an ambitious study of the Gandhian Sarvodaya movement in India; an essay based on the same work appeared in *Anarchism Today* (1971), a cheap academic symposium edited by David Apter and James Joll, which is still available. But he is also a frequent contributor to anarchist and pacifist papers, including *FREEDOM*.

Resisting the Nation State is a short introduction to what Ostergaard calls 'the pacifist and anarchist tradition', though he discusses them separately before discussing them together. He distinguishes between pacifism, pacifism and anti-militarism, describes the history of pacifist theory and practice, and emphasises its strengths and weaknesses. Then he distinguishes between the varieties of anarchism, describes the history of anarchist theory and practice, discusses the anarchist attitudes to society and the state and to violence and non-violence. Finally he emphasises the contributions of Tolstoy and Gandhi, and concludes that anarcho-pacifism 'remains a potentially significant source of subversion'.

The result is a straightforward elementary guide to the background of anarcho-pacifism, after which interested readers should turn to some of the other material produced by the PPU and *Peace News*. It is perhaps a pity that Ostergaard doesn't say more about the most recent manifestations of anarcho-pacifism since the Second World War, and doesn't say more about its strengths and weaknesses, but in only 20 pages he does say all the basic things. It is also a pity that he doesn't provide a reading list, as he does in the book, but this could be added to any future edition. (So could the details of its original publication.)

M H

Righteous Gentile

Righteous Gentile by John Bierman. Penguin. £1.75
The Terrible Secret by Walter Laqueur. Penguin. £1.75

JOHN BIERMAN'S *Righteous Gentile* is an account of the achievement in Budapest in 1944 of Raoul Wallenberg, and his subsequent fate. He was sent to Budapest by the Swedish government, which was neutral in the 1939 - 45 war. He was given authority to issue Swedish passports to Jews in order to save them from the Final Solution that Eichmann was putting into effect in Budapest at that time. This seems a rather precarious way of saving lives, but it worked. It is clearly impossible to estimate with any accuracy how many Hungarian Jews were saved by Wallenberg's efforts but some 120,000 Jews survived in Budapest when the Red Army arrived. John Bierman describes this as the only substantial Jewish community left in Europe at that time, and his account of Wallenberg's work is inspiring reading. But this is only half of the astounding story of Raoul Wallenberg who disappeared into the prisons of the USSR in 1945. No word has reached the outside world from him since then, though it is believed by some that he is still alive and still in captivity in 1982, 37 years later.

The second half of this study presents the pieces of evidence that have been collected to support the belief that he survives still. Frankly some of this evidence seems to me to be hopeful rather than convincing, but that is not to deny the possibility that he survives to this day. It seems destined to remain an unsolved mystery. All approaches to the Russian authorities have been stonewalled with the statement that he died in 1947, as far as they are able to ascertain. But there does seem to be sufficient evidence to establish that he survived later than this, and that the Russian authorities have been at considerable pains to prevent information about him from getting out. They have been unsuccessful in this.

The story of Raoul Wallenberg is evidently of interest to students of recent history. It offers examples of great humanitarian achievements by an individual in the face of overwhelming difficulties and dangers. It is also a story of governmental and bureaucratic brutality and indifference

and of the impossibility of the methods of international politics and diplomacy to secure his freedom, or even to establish for certain what has happened to him. One man acting independently and with great personal courage was able to save the lives of thousands. Governments and statesmen have been unable to do anything for this man in the 37 years since he disappeared.

The government of USA recently made him an honorary American citizen. He and Churchill are the only people not born in America to be so honoured. The granting of this to Raoul Wallenberg seems to me to do more honour to Churchill than it does to him.

WALTER LAQUEUR'S study of the suppression and disregard of information about the slaughter of Jews in German occupied Europe in the years 1940 to 1942 is also of great interest. Plenty of detailed information reached the allied powers and their 'free' presses from a variety of reliable and substantiable sources. The information was brought out of Nazi occupied areas, usually at great risk to those bringing it. These reports were noted and put away in government files, effectively disregarded by the civil servants who saw them. Consequently all the dangers and difficulties endured and the risks taken to get the details out went for nothing. The extent of the slaughter of Jewish communities was known in plenty of time for counter measures to be taken and made effective. Nothing was done to this end because the allied governments had other pre-occupations. They were not to be deflected from these pre-occupations and used the pernicious arguments about priorities, which only ever mean 'we've decided what we're going to do and nothing will change our decisions'. These arguments, as so often before and since, were used to justify doing nothing in face of a clear moral duty.

These two studies are very useful additions to the material on the 1939 - 45 war. The general indications they give of the essential irresponsibility, powerlessness and indifference of governments and politicians will probably not be lost on anarchists.

PETER MILLER

BUGGERING UP FREUD

Continued from page 11

themselves. (2) What is the symptomatic significance (as Freud might say) of the fact that it is precisely supposed Freud scholars and 'experts' who have so uncritically praised this intellectual travesty? What does this fact tell us about the state of moral and intellectual health of (the so-called guardians of) our culture? The answer is all too depressingly clear. Jan Myrdal knew what he was talking about in his *Confessions of A Disloyal European* (1972), when he described most contemporary intellectuals as not 'the bearers of consciousness but the whores of reason'. The reception accorded Clark's book is not his fault. But the Buggering Up of Freud's ideas certainly is. If you want intellectual and ditty-bag gossip, Freud is fine. If you're interested in Freud's actual ideas, read our great psychologist himself.

PAT FLANAGAN



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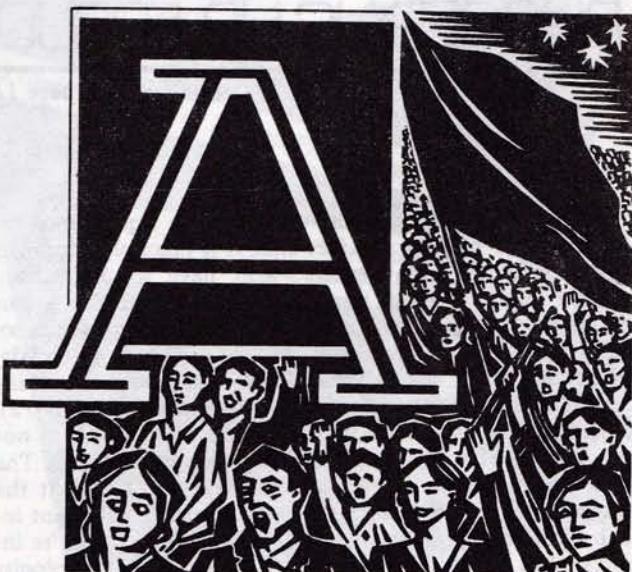
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