

'I DON'T UNDERSTAND MONEY'

EVERY NOW and then from the audible wallpaper of the radio emerges a pattern which seems to say something about the Stock Exchange being brighter, gilts easing and industrials being firm. There is the hardy perennial of the pound bearing up and the share index rising and falling. In the same way that the sports pages are an un-

known country to some, the financial pages with takeovers and bids are just a blur to pass over; it is even rumoured that there is a pink paper and a hefty weekly which deal with **nothing else** but money-making and losing.

But every now and again the figures become flesh. Those mysterious fractions and numerals spell

disaster, poverty, unemployment and disgrace. But it is still impossible to understand why a finance minister in Washington, a ticker-tape in Basle, a chalked board in Tokyo, should pronounce doom in the whim of minister, the variation of a fraction, the raising of a bid. At their signal, blastfurnaces die out, production lines clatter to a halt, hulks rust on their stocks.

Still it is impossible to understand; the desire for goods, the need for food, clothing and shelter does not disappear at a signal from Washington, Basle or Tokyo. The need to go to work to get the money to keep up our strength to go to work does not vanish at the whim of a finance minister, a figure on a tape or the tic-tac of a Stock Exchange clerk.

Glib spokesmen appear to explain in polysyllabic terms, not what has happened to our security, our jobs, our food, clothing and shelter, but what has happened to sterling, the dollar, or industrials. We are told that there is 'reflation', 'inflation', 'disinflation', 'devaluation', 'revaluation', bringing messages of hope, assurances that all is well, conveyed by the financial benediction, sanctification and ultimate transmogrification and transubstantiation from the sordid material world of jobs and security into the rarefied atmosphere of financial stability, guaranteed investments and a firm pound.

We are just going through such a period and everywhere the cry goes up, 'I don't understand money'. The failure to believe that the disaster, the redundancy, the homelessness and the poverty spring from the mere manipulation of (in them-



Tell us, Skipper Ted, would you buy a secondhand yacht from that man?

selves) meaningless symbols is fertile ground for reactionary politics. Calls are made to the population for self-discipline and for sacrifices. The time has come to quote Richard Nixon addressing American war veterans last week, 'For some of you, to forgo a pay raise you deserve; for others, to wait a little longer for dividends your invested dollar has earned.' Suspicions are cast abroad. 'Foreign speculators' are denounced by Nixon and the 'gnomes of Zurich' were once singled out by—was it Mr. Wilson? The stab in the back

is a good alibi for self-inflicted wounds.

Karl Marx once said, 'Anti-semitism is the Socialism of the stupid man,' and the rise of Adolf Hitler from the wreck of the Deutschmark testifies to the power of the lie. Whilst finance is wreathed in the mists of mumbo-jumbo, leaders will maintain themselves and rise to power by picking out scapegoats for the failure of the monetary system, when the fault is in its existence, not in its functioning.

JACK ROBINSON.

Clydeside: Tragi-Comedy

BY ALL ACCOUNTS upwards of 60,000 working men and women stopped work last Wednesday and marched through the city of Glasgow demanding the 'right to work'. This massive demonstration ended up on Glasgow Green where it was addressed by an assortment of Trade Union worthies most of whom have spent the last ten years selling the idea of 'productivity deals' which have played a not inconsiderable part in creating the present unemployment figure of 904,000.

The message going from this great gathering is not a wail of anguish from supplicants on their bended knees, said Mr. Feather of the TUC. 'It is a demand that men and women who are able to work and willing to work shall have the right to work.'

Now the 'right to work' means, under present conditions, the 'right' to be exploited, to sell one's labour to a capitalist who will live off the fruits of that labour. When these gentlemen can't see a profit in employing labour, they put men on the dole—which is what they are doing now every day and in every industry. It follows, therefore, that demanding a 'right to work' must either be a demand to end the system whereby labour is exploited for the benefit of the profit-makers or, whatever Mr. Feather says, it is a cry of anguish by wage-slaves anxious to maintain their slavery.

In Mr. Feather's case it certainly is a cry of anguish since he never once mentioned the idea that men can work and live happily without employers and exploiters of any kind. Mr. Feather and the TUC believe in capitalism. They are there to uphold it. They would like it to be more 'humane', to pay better wages and, if possible, to keep everybody employed. For them any solution to the workers' problems that go beyond this are 'revolutionary' and not to be tolerated at any price. Workers are workers, in the eyes of the TUC, men and women fit only to toil at the bequest of the captains of industry.

COMMUNIST CAPERS

The immediate cause of the Glasgow demonstration was, of course, the struggle to prevent the closure of Upper Clyde Shipbuilders which employs 7,500 men, a large proportion of whom now face the dole queues. From the outset the struggle has been led and directed by the Communist Party and, as we have written in **FREEDOM** many times over the past few weeks, this fact could be fatal to a successful outcome of the struggle for a decent life on Clydeside.

The Communists, right at the start, declared this Clydeside struggle to be nothing but a fight for the 'right to work'. They denounced as 'ultra-lefts' those of us who suggested that the closure of UCS and the bold reaction of the workers was an opportunity to make an end of the capitalist rat-race in this important industrial area. We suggested that the views of the workers be sought for the setting-up of a West

of Scotland Workers' Council to manage the economy of the area without profit-making, without private greed and with the needs of the people as the sole criterion for production.

The Communists spurned the idea—they were 'realists', we were 'dreamers'. Well, having rejected the revolutionary road, they have been driven ever faster down the road of 'anguished supplicants'.

First they sent delegations to the Government asking for nationalisation and on this road they were joined by all the rest of the political tribe, including Harold Wilson and Wedgwood Benn. When that failed they urged the workers to be 'disciplined' and show 'dignity' while they tried other methods—like the big token stoppage last Wednesday at which Mr. Feather appeared. All to no avail until, at the eleventh hour, salvation appeared in the shape of a Mr. Archibald Kelly who is a Scottish millionaire industrialist.

Mr. James Reid and other Communist shop stewards at UCS promptly flew out to Mr. Kelly's holiday island to urge him to buy up the yards and keep the men at work, i.e. exploit them. Mr. Kelly said he was impressed by the 'good intentions' of the delegation and promised that he *might*, if the terms were right, do the Communists a favour and come to Glasgow to make money out of the labour of the UCS workers.

So, like Mr. Feather, the rich plutocrat and the Communists agree that the workers' 'right to work' depends on the willingness of an employer to make money out of employing them. In other words, the workers' 'right to work' becomes the employer's 'right to live off the backs of his employees'.

What a disgusting business it all is. If it weren't tragic it would be a comedy. Lord Robens recently announced that he was no longer a socialist. Most people never knew he had ever been one! When, we must ask, is the Communist Party going to announce that it no longer believes in communism? Such a declaration is now long overdue.

THE RIGHT TO LIFE!

It now looks as though the Clydeside struggle is finished—for the time being. But there will be others.

The 'right to work' is a wretched slogan and the sooner it is replaced with the 'right to life' the better. The right to a life without exploiters, without greed as the ideal of society, where mutual aid will replace the rat race, where all will have the necessities of life and none will have senseless luxuries, where men will work only because without work there can be no life, but where work will be a pleasure because it will be part of life, where all men will be craftsmen, farmers, artists and musicians and where no one shall spend his life in senseless toil while a few lead lives of luxurious boredom.

This is the anarchist message—let us propagate it.

JOHN LAWRENCE.

'A Man's Job' in Ireland

THE DECISION to hold an independent inquiry into the brutal treatment of detainees by the British Army has been welcomed by liberal opinion in this country. When the allegations started to be made, there was some reluctance to recognise that these had any basis in fact. However, as they mounted and were taken up by 'respectable' sections of the Irish community, it was realised that an inquiry was necessary.

'Respectable' liberal opinion has also been shocked by the fact that Catholics holding public office in Londonderry have resigned and others have refused to continue to serve in the Ulster Defence Regiment. The arrest of the 'civil rights' MPs has also shaken those who believe that all social injustice can be alleviated by parliamentary reforms. The picture of the British Army shooting a Catholic priest and a deaf-mute has horrified and shocked people and made an inquiry a political necessity.

There seems no doubt that the British troops have committed acts of extreme violence on detainees. They have not just brutally handled people in the heat of the moment, but have deliberately organised this brutality. They have forced detainees to run the gauntlet of batons and chased them over 'broken glass, tree stumps and rough ground in bare feet', or put them 'into a helicopter as if to be taken up and thrown out'.

TRAINED IN VIOLENCE

Anarchists are not shocked by this treatment for people in the Army are trained to be violent. It is this very training that brutalises their personalities and warps their judgment and, because

of this, it is hardly surprising that they react in a brutal and violent manner. The patriotic way in which people defend the British soldiers is illogical. They say that such acts of brutality are only perpetrated by others, and yet any ex-soldier, if he is truthful, will tell you of unnecessary acts of violence in which they were involved.

Internment has been enacted in order to stamp out the gunmen, but all it has done is to unite Catholics against Westminster and make them look to a national solution to their problems. If Catholics seek such a solution, the Protestant majority in the North will provoke a 'Protestant backlash'. There are plenty of armed Protestants ready and it only needs a spark to make them attack Catholic areas. Craig and Paisley will not hesitate to play on the very real fears that Protestants have of being dominated by the Catholic South. The Heath Government's decision on internment has brought the possibility of civil war nearer.

Situations in which people face discrimination because of their religious views are intolerable. But those who seek to remedy this by giving Catholics an equal place in the administration of the North are only patching up the system and substituting a class rule for one of religion. In any state it is the ordinary people who are discriminated against, whether they are Protestants, Catholics or Seventh Day Adventists. It is the working people who suffer poor housing, low wages and unemployment.

British troops are in Northern Ireland because the reforms necessary to give the impression that Catholics are now shar-

ing power with the Protestants are not being seen to work. Mr. Faulkner's Government is being supported by an armed occupation force because, from their point of view, there is no other alternative.

ARMY OR THE DOLE

However the British troops are there to serve the interests of a minority whose power and privilege rest on the exploitation of people's labour for profit. All religious groupings uphold this exploitation and only seek its alleviation in some fictional hereafter. Teenagers are led to believe that they are doing a 'man's job' by joining the Army and for many the only other alternative is the dole. With the ever increasing number of unemployed, Army Recruitment Centres must be busier than they have been for a very long time. Yet there are reports that, on signing up, some are saying that they do not want to serve in Northern Ireland and others, who have been posted there, have deserted and are now on the run. The British soldier who kills in Northern Ireland is in fact killing people of his own class, many of whom are unemployed as he might have been if he had not signed on.

British troops are upholding the class interests of those who wish to maintain economic power over people. Their loyalties should not be to a uniform and the State, but to people like themselves. The real solution in Ireland, as in every nation state, is for people to rise up against the real oppressors, the State and the economic power which it defends and protects.

P.T.

TRUST THE PEOPLE

IT IS A SAD FACT that many opponents of capitalism are still held back from joining the struggle for referendums by capitalist lies and distortions on the issue. The fight for grass roots democracy has always been an integral part of the struggle for the total liberation of mankind. The argument that the capitalists and their lackeys use is, well if you have referendums the reactionary masses will want to bring back hanging, flogging and Mrs. Whitehouse for Prime Minister.

The argument that the masses cannot be trusted is an old one. It was used to try and defeat the 1832 Reform Bill by people like the Duke of Newcastle who simply asked: 'Why can't I do what I like with my own (i.e., with the workers)?'

It was used by the liberal leader, Robert Lowe, in 1867, when he declared, 'Venality, ignorance and drunkenness are the main characteristics of the working class'.

It is used by so-called left-wingers now who claim that only through the new leadership can we all be saved. This to my mind is akin to the Catholic church who proclaim that man if left to himself would fall into wickedness and sin.

Historically the revolutionary movement has fought for the increase in direct power from below. Indeed, the communards were returned as a direct result of the municipal vote of March 28, 1871.

The demands of the Kronstadt Rebellion of 1921 included the following: (1) Re-election of all soviets by secret ballot and without pressure from above. (2) Freedom of speech and press for all working people and all left-wing socialist parties, including anarchists. (3) An end to Communist Party monopoly of propaganda and agitation.

Was the Soviet Union any freer for rejecting these demands? Indeed, the ones who led the assault on Kronstadt

and the suppression of democracy died at Stalin's hands. These included Trotsky and Marshal Tushachevsky (executed by Stalin 1937).

IN AMERICA

In California in 1911, after years of agitation, the amendment providing for the initiative and referendum became part of that state's constitution. The results of the different referenda taken since are surprising. In a land where we are told the masses are tied hook, line and sinker to the capitalist chariot, they defeated any attempt to prohibit picketing or abolish the closed shop.

As recently as 1942, a referendum to abolish income tax was only defeated by 907,000 to 763,000. Of course there are ups and downs. In 1920, for example, a referendum demanded the tightening of the laws covering aliens' ownership of land. But in 1956, by a two to one majority, a referendum decided to end all such restrictions.

NOT A CURE-ALL

Of course, a referendum, or any system we care to devise, can be used by power centrists against the people. Hitler did use the plebiscite of 1933 to confirm his power when he first destroyed all opposition. But we are not living under Hitler. We have a people who have struggled for democratic rights for hundreds of years. We have a labour movement to whom fascism is abhorrent. When we take up the fight for referendums it is in a situation where the balance of power is moving away from the centrists. When people are willing and eager to have a say in the things that affect them.

For example almost forty per cent of British people believe there should be a referendum on the Common Market. Can't we fight for this, and at the same time raise the question of referendums on all major national and local issues? It gives the anarchists an unparalleled

opportunity to raise all of the problems of centralised power. It can be a mass education of people and break forever the false myth of leadership. Because we know that we don't stand simply for the right of people to vote on that or that issue, however important that may be. There is an alternative programme that people can be won for if we can gain their attention. An end to this system of profit and robbery. Its replacement by equality of socially necessary labour. The abolition of the wages system. For rank and file control of the unions. For the old commune slogan, self-governing localities in which the needs of the people come before motorway extensions.

All the political parties are opposed to referendums now. They weren't always so. Various Tories, including Churchill, were in favour of them in the past. They are against them now because, in the words of the *Spectator*, the people are not united behind government policy. We have the right to pay taxes, to work or be unemployed. To slave away, morning, noon and night. To be poisoned by pollution, to be shot in stupid wars. But we haven't the right to make a single decision that affects our lives. Is this what we want, or will we unite to smash it?

'Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learnt how to swim. If men are to wait for freedom till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever' (Macaulay).

Are we going to in and get our feet wet? Or are we to stand shivering on the bank until the tide runs out leaving us stranded like fossils?

BRIAN BEHAN.

How Dickie Lost his Marbles

Are you floating comfortably? Then I'll begin. . .

ONCE UPON A DIME there was a boy called Dickie whose Uncle Sam had given him lots and lots of nice things to play with. He could play cops and robbers, or reds under beds (he used to play that a lot) or war games—at which he was not very good but he tried and tried again. In fact he was going to make friends with a boy called Mao (isn't that a funny name, let's say it again—Miaou). Miaou and Dickie had not always been such good friends but Dickie had got tired of war games and he had broken so many toys that his Uncle was getting very cross with him so he thought he ought to do something which would make his Uncle like him.

He had had another friend called Nippon (isn't that a funny name, let's say it again—Nip-pon), and because Dickie was now friends with Miaou, Nippon didn't like it. But Dickie used to swap lots of marbles with Nippon and with Johnny Bull and with another boy called Froggie. They used to give him lots of things for his marbles like catapults, biscuits and frogs and Dickie was very popular because he had lots and lots of marbles and would let other boys have them in exchange for promises of help.

Nippon got too many marbles and

kept asking Dickie for help and kept letting him have things like parts of radio sets and motor bicycles. Dickie thought he had too much stuff but not enough marbles.

He said to Nippon, and to Johnny Bull, and to Froggie and all the others that he wasn't going to play with marbles any more and he was going to work harder and his Uncle would be proud of him—and the others might bring things to him but he wouldn't do swaps quite as much as he didn't have many marbles.

Nippon was very cross because he liked marbles very much and he had lots and lots of things he thought Dickie would like. Johnny Bull went off in his boat because he was joining a new Secret Society called the Secret Six and although he didn't know what they'd do for him he knew they had sworn some dreadful oaths against Dickie; Froggie had told Johnny that if he was still friends with Dickie he couldn't come in their den. Johnny had said he wasn't, and now Dickie had seen that Johnny was joining Froggie's den he was looking for other friends. So he told them all to go and float themselves. Wasn't that a rude thing to say?

. . . Is this getting too hard for you to understand?

Oh dear, they've all gone to sleep!

JACQUELINE SPRATT.

Charisma

SOME ARE BORN GREAT, some achieve greatness, others have greatness thrust upon them. As are some born to power, some achieve it, and others have power thrust upon them. The catch-phrases flash easily—no man is fit to be another man's master, all power corrupts, absolute power corrupts absolutely. Anarchists oppose power because the phrases have meaning for them; being strong themselves, they reject leadership of themselves, and are rationally able to feel that, since being led is by nature barred to them, it must, in fairness, be forbidden to the rest of the world. It isn't surprising that anarchists can be disconcerted by the unfortunate fact that a great many people in the world not only desire to lead, but desire to be led.

Acceptance of individual responsibility in the world is never easy: for all too many, the acceptance of delegation and of being told what to do is a very comfortable escape from the duties which are inherent in being born into mankind, with a mind and a spirit which are capable of original thought—backed by emotional reactions which pressurise action after ideas. Because anarchists accept these duties, it is fatally easy for them to find themselves thrust into positions of power. Whenever we influence another person, we have power—and the spread of anarchist thought must always be hampered by frequent realisation of the fact that, in seeking to influence others, we are wielding the power we dread in ourselves, resent in others. Conscience doth make cowards of us all. . .

Power worshippers point to certain leaders in the world, seeking to demonstrate that power is not in itself bad, and that it can be used for good, and for the benefit of mankind. These charismatic leaders—what are they? The dictators whose power is based on the worship of the masses, and who guide states towards material well-being, often towards greater freedom than these peoples have ever known. Probably they are those on whom leadership is thrust—for the men who seek power are the weak men who invariably wield it for ill. In times of turmoil and difficulty, men do turn to the strong individual who knows some of the answers—and it is not easy for any person to reject that cry for help and guidance, however distasteful the concomitant power may be personally. So—the responsibilities for life and death are accepted, and another idol is born. For a lifetime a state will be exempted from the responsibility of individual thought and action: the benevolent despot will be the all-wise and all-powerful protective father-figure. From an anarchist view, there is one comfort in charismatic leadership: it can only endure for the lifetime of the god, and a small section of the world's people may be left, after that lifetime, in an improved material position, freer to think, with rather wider knowledge of the world's wisdom than their fathers. But—if the idols had rejected the power that was thrust on them, freedom and fullness of life might have arrived a generation earlier.

PROBY KING.

Kropotkinskaya

THE INTOURIST GUIDE was very young, and all she could tell me was that 'Kropotkin had been a Russian Communist writer', and that was all. . .

It took an awful lot of determination, having only three days in Moscow, to get to the Kropotkinskaya, but I set off one morning with a Canadian Marxist on one side and an Italian Maoist on the other. The Kropotkinskaya is only a quarter of a mile from the Kremlin walls. First, we called at the Pushkin Museum and then Tolstoy's house a little further down.

The party was getting very weary by then, but I 'flogged' them having asked the little Tolstoy Museum lady* in rather dotty Russian where Kropotkin's house

was. She explained that the Museum is closed, but the house was in the Kropotkin Perude, the road intersecting the main one. Eventually, we came upon it—a long, one-storey house with a verandah, and a beautifully large plaque with Kropotkin's picture on and the dates.

My Marxist and Maoist friends thought it hugely amusing that it was now a kindergarten, with little swings, slides and a sand pit in the garden, but I found this rather touching—I am sure Kropotkin would have approved!

—From a Correspondent.

Note by P.E.N.: This house, in Moscow's aristocratic quarter, was Kropotkin's birthplace. After his death in 1921, it was turned over to his wife and friends

VOLUME

The Unknown Revolution

(Kronstadt 1921: Ukraine 1918-21)

We have had a great many enquiries for this title since it went out of print. We recently made the kind of search of the shelves which we have completed and found (hardcover, revised).

A few pages have damp-stained margins.

This makes a very limited edition, and with a view to helping our own finances and making sure that people who have been asking for it get first chance, we are offering it at the price of £2.00 plus postage (inland 16p, abroad 15p). ONLY TO READERS OF FREEDOM ORDERING DIRECT FROM US, up to October 31, 1971.

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LETTERS

Common Market

Dear Comrades,

How can Bill Dwyer justify supporting Britain's entry to the Common Market in an anarchist publication? (FREEDOM, 17.7.71.) An anarchist must, by definition, be against any form of authority and should therefore be opposed to any scheme which would assist the centralisation of authority.

The long-term aims of the EEC are not only economic but political so that although we may benefit economically in the short term, and this is by no means certain, this would be offset in the long term by the horrors of a super-efficient United States of Europe. What a legacy to hand down to our prosperous offspring!

London, N.10

G. HILL.

Ireland

Dear Comrades,

How different is the English mind from the Irish. Bew. Smyth castigates me for saying 'How long before Westminster Leinster House and Stormont get together and talk sense?' I did NOT say TALK I said talk SENSE.

Any Irish person would at once have tumbled to the innuendo, the double entendre, call it what you like. The sarcastic play on words.

Truly we speak a different language.

Fraternally,

H.

for a Museum. Supervised by Dr. Atkinson, it was maintained by contributions from all over the world. During Stalin's rise to power and subsequent Great Purges, many of the Museum's helpers and supporters disappeared. In 1938, Kropotkin's widow died; and this gave the Stalinist authorities an excuse to close the Museum. Let us hope that the garden retains its swings, slides and sand pit—and that, one day, the house once again becomes the Kropotkin Museum.

*Possibly Tolstoy's granddaughter.

afib

Secretary:
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

ANARCHIST
FEDERATION
of BRITAIN

Address all letters to AFBIB at above address. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is available for urgent information. Please inform AFBIB of new or changed addresses of groups and federations. New enquirers should write direct to the Regional addresses listed below or AFBIB office in Birmingham.

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MANCHESTER ANARCHIST/SYND. c/o D. Collingwood, 12 Browndale Road, Hollis Estate, Oldham.
CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. 682 Mitcham Road, Croydon, Surrey CR9 3AB.
ESSEX & EAST HERTS. Peter Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester, Essex.
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BELGIUM. Groupe du Journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivienne, Liège.
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AMERICAN FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. P.O. Box 9885, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55440, USA.

Please notify us if entries in these columns need amending.

Socialism and the World's Greatest Cause

A SHORT HISTORY OF SOCIALISM, by George Lichtheim (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £3.25).

SELF-MANAGEMENT IN YUGOSLAVIA, by Roy Moore (Fabian Society, 25p).

EMPLOYERS, WORKERS AND TRADE UNIONS, by D. N. Pritt (Lawrence & Wishart, £2).

GLORIOUS HISTORY OF KOHINOOR, by N. B. Sen (New Book Society of India, 75p).

LICHTHEIM, in the introduction to his book, announces that his purpose is 'to set up a number of signposts for the benefit of readers who may wish at a later stage to inquire into the details of a particular period or set of problems' and to provide 'background for the study of those texts to which undergraduates are exposed by the normal operation of the academic treadmill'. The book is a perfect textbook, despite the reference to the 'academic treadmill', the kind of book which might have been consciously designed to divert the radical impulses of young people into harmless channels, causing them to end up like the author himself: attaching themselves to the sympathetic word 'socialism' (political titles have their own romanticism; the only thing most anarchists have in common is that they like the sound of the word), while enjoying their own soft jobs and sneering at poor people.

No socialist force worth mentioning has ever emerged from the lower depths of society. In backward pre-industrial countries the rural unemployed constitute an important reservoir for movements which may as easily be led in a fascist as in an anarchist or communist direction; but that is a different issue altogether. When one speaks of Socialism and of Communism in the West, one speaks of movements sustained by the 'aristocracy of labor'—just as Syndicalism in

its heyday was the faith of an elite of skilled craftsmen (shades of Hans Sachs), not of a stum proletarian... the records of classical antiquity show with sufficient clarity that there has never been such a thing as a successful slave revolt.

And there has been a successful revolution imposed from above, or from any other direction? Lichtheim himself specifically denies it. He is not naive enough to consider nationalization or the welfare state as constituting socialism. Where his anti-revolutionary bias reveals itself is not in reformist aims, but in a pessimistic and scabious view of the prospects for socialism.

I'm sure that the book wasn't actually written as part of a plot to turn young radicals into hypocrites; the author just happens to have that kind of mind. He is an academic, capable of speaking of the metaphysical splendours of Hegel. Typically academic is the book's indigestible surfeit of facts—too much of it consists of sentences like:

Three major currents are still dimly visible through the mist of time: Mazzinian nationalism and Freemasonry, Anglo-French positivism, and German socialism, the latter represented at first by Marx alone, although he had some working-class associates (veterans of the German Communist League) whose presence in London enabled him to build up a small 'Marxist' faction on the General Council.

You see in this sentence another, more harmful, academic trait: the notion that ideas are important. It's all isms and famous letters of great men. He duly discusses, by way of background, Adam Smith, Locke, Bentham, Mill, Malthus, Rousseau, and that lot. At the beginning of his last section, 'Contemporary Problems of Socialism', he thinks fit to discuss the connection between socialist thinking and religion or humanism, and produces a page and a half of sober sententiousness about something that doesn't matter at all.

On the mundane level, an example of what he considers to have been a 'crucially important theoretical point' is the following terrible dilemma faced by the early Fabians (who must rank with the early Christians as the most repulsive people since the world began):

... they were bound to surrender the labor theory of value if they could no longer accept its classical Ricardian formulation. On the other hand, they had to hold on to some doctrine of 'surplus value' if they were to show that capitalism was a system of exploitation. Hence they could not accept the marginal utility doctrine. ... For marginal utility implied that under certain assumed conditions, 'capital' and 'labor' were being remunerated in proportion to the respective contributions they made to the production of wealth.

Actually it's easy to show that capitalism is a system of exploitation, in either the technical or the popular sense; you just need to turn round in a circle and point. But try telling that to a Fabian, or to some doomed undergraduate whose mind is supposedly being trained by this sort of book.

From out of the barrage of ideas, one of Lichtheim's own stands out. This is that the industrial revolution produced socialism, and that before it there were no classes 'in the Marxian sense'.

... in the *Manifesto* Marx read a particular notion of class conflict back into earlier situations to which it was not really applicable. He corrected this mistake in his later writings, but his mature analysis was too subtle for his followers [note the view of Marx as holy writ: inconceivable that his followers might have disagreed with him, rather than found him too subtle] ... they never quite grasped that the phenomenon of class ... was closely linked to the market economy and its social counterpart bourgeois society. The *Manifesto* made far too sweeping a claim when it asserted that 'the his-

tory of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles' ... Before the industrial revolution, people's way of life was based upon the economic independence of small farmers and urban craftsmen.

According to Pritt, the 'Ordinance of Labourers, 1349' provided:

... that wages should be held down to the levels prevailing before the Black Death; that all men and women under sixty 'without income from property or merchandise' must work for any master who wanted their services, and that servants leaving their employment before the end of their agreed term—normally one year—without permission or reasonable cause should be punished by imprisonment.

But never mind: there were no classes in the Marxian sense. In Lichtheim's description of these early days, he comes close to saying that everyone knew his place and was content, but then remembers that he's an intellectual and speaks instead of 'estates' and 'hereditary status'.

At the same time he displays the obligatory contempt for mediaevalism, and dislikes anarchists because they 'reject the modern world'; that is, the industrial revolution, which we're supposed to admire because its evils gave rise to socialism.

Of course, there's no such thing as socialism; anarchy is the only alternative to capitalism. 'Socialist' regimes practise capitalism and socialist theorists preach anarchy-plus-nationalizations.

Regarding the practices of socialist states even the expression 'state capitalism' should be avoided, because the shadow of the term 'socialism' which it replaces, remains in people's minds and misleads them. Where you have capital accumulation, minority control of the means of production, and wages, you don't have state capitalism, or a mixed economy, you just have capitalism. It doesn't matter how the bosses choose to distribute themselves.

Regarding the theories, the traditional ultimate aims of socialism are similar to those of anarchy. But people who call themselves socialists have always cheerfully relegated these aims to the remote future. Only among anarchists do they remain living ideals. One communist said to me: 'The trouble with anarchists is that they want to accomplish everything overnight.' By overnight, he meant sometime rather than never. Thus, Lichtheim comfortably concludes his book:

'If a socialist society is defined as one in which the wage relation has been abolished, the producers placed in control of their tools, and the cleavage between physical and mental labor overcome through an all-round development of the human personality, we are still far from the attainment of such goals.

... the preconditions of a socialist order do not at present exist anywhere. ... Socialists will find plenty to occupy them during the coming decades. ... But if they are honest they will not pretend that the kind of society they would like to see is im-

scribed in the logic of the immediate future.'

Note, he says, the logic of the immediate future. Not only is it unlikely that socialism will soon be achieved, but, barring a miracle, it's impossible.

Many excuses are offered by socialists for their 'revolution, but not just yet' attitude. With Lichtheim, the main one is 'the inherent conflict between two quite different and possibly irreconcilable goals: economic growth and social equality'. Why are they irreconcilable? Because, while the former may [his emphasis] occur under capitalism or socialism alike ... a socialized economy devoted to the aim of keeping up with the fastest growth rates achieved in the capitalist world must give preference to economic rationality at the expense of other considerations. This is the Wickedness-of-Foreign-Bankers excuse, the financial equivalent of 'It's not me that minds, it's the neighbours', which can be offered in support of anything.

It crops up in Moore's economical, boring pamphlet, where we learn that, on the one hand, international trade considerations stimulated the 1965 economic reforms; while on the other hand, in some enterprises—an enterprise is a Yugoslav economic unit, like a company—there are limitations placed on the degree of self management within the factory by the introduction of foreign capital and management. Yugoslavs [which Yugoslavs?] are prepared to 'streamline' their self management structures within enterprises so as not to hamper the development of technological progress or wider trade policies; and finally, the question arises again as to the impossibility of reconciling foreign investment and entrepreneurship with self management.

Pritt, also, says that indebtedness to bankers, British as well as foreign, deprived the late Labour government of control over its own economic policies, and thus led to the Prices and Incomes Act and the White Paper—but this isn't his own blind spot, for he points out that, having 'inherited a rather strained and fragile capitalist economy in a state of standing crisis', the Labour party could still have saved the situation without incurring indebtedness, by reducing military expenditure profits and executive salaries.

What he doesn't see, being a Marxist, is why the Labour government rejected this alternative. He simply denounces them for it as if they could have been expected to do better. The answer is that government ministers are necessarily against the working class, not being of it. Pritt, who is very clearheaded (much more so than Lichtheim), and whose book—the first of a four-volume series called *Law, Class and Society*—vividly exposes the law as a reflection and perpetuator of class power, describes himself as a Marxist Socialist, not as an anarchist. So he presumably believes that governments must and should be put up with during a transitional period of 'socialism'. The only qualifying requirement would be that the government

Continued on page 6

THE EGO AND HIS OWN by Max Stirner. Edited by John Carroll (Cape, £2.95).

THE NIHILISTIC EGOIST: MAX STIRNER by R. W. K. Paterson (Oxford University Press for the University of Hull, £3.50).

MAX STIRNER—the pseudonym of Johann Caspar Schmidt (1806-1856)—was perhaps the most remarkable figure to emerge from the so-called Young Hegelians in mid-nineteenth-century Germany. His masterpiece of philosophical egoism, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, was published in 1844 (though dated 1845) and it enjoyed a brief period of fame, but soon fell into oblivion. Fifty years later it was rescued by the perfunctory Scottish writer, John Henry Mackay, who hailed it as the gospel of individualism, and Stirner was introduced into the pantheon of anarchism as the classic exponent of one of its extreme tendencies. Ten years after that some of the manuscript was published of *The German Ideology*, which Marx and Engels had written in 1845-1846 and which contained an enormous attack on *Der Einzige*, and Stirner was introduced into the demonology of Marxism.

Eventually he was introduced to the English-speaking world. Steven T. Byington's laboured translation of *Der Einzige* was first published by Benjamin Tucker in 1907 in the United States, where the most recent edition of it appeared in 1963. About half of this translation has now been republished (with some revisions) in the 'Roots of the Right' series by John Carroll (of Pembroke College, Cambridge), together with a few passages from Stirner's minor writings. As it happens, R. W. K. Paterson (of the University of Hull) has at the same time produced what is, as he says, the first full-scale presentation of Stirner's philosophy in English. So we have the ridiculous spectacle of Carroll saying on one side that in spite of the widespread influence Stirner has raised since 1844 there is still nothing that measures up to a definitive interpretation of his philosophy and its significance, and of Paterson saying on the other side that 'few English readers can be expected to have a direct acquaintance with the contents of his book'. But though the statement of each is cancelled

STIRNER

out by the work of the other, their contributions are by no means equal.

What Carroll has produced is basically a popular abridgement of *Der Einzige*, with some footnotes, a useful bibliography, and an elementary introduction. This spends a lot of time trying to justify Stirner's place in a series devoted to such writers as Arthur de Gobineau, Charles Maurras, and Alfred Rosenberg. Carroll admits that 'the case for including Stirner in the "Roots of the Right" is not watertight', but he suggests that, in attempting to discard all conventional politics, 'Stirner has by default Rightist tendencies', and then points to the undeniable fact that he was admired by Mussolini and also by Dietrich Eckhart, Hitler's guru. It is certainly easy to read fascist ideas into *Der Einzige*; indeed it is easier than Carroll seems to realise—when he says that 'there is no suggestion of racism' in it, he forgets the extraordinary account of the Negro, Mongoloid, and Caucasian phases of human development which is Stirner's version of the dialectic of history. But it is going too far to call Stirner 'an important contributor to the growth of European fascism', and in fact the case for including him in a 'Roots of the Left' series would hold at least as much water. (Here it is worth mentioning that the 1963 edition of Byington's translation of *Der Einzige*, unequivocally presented as a classic text of anarchism by James J. Martin, is complete and is still available through the Freedom Bookshop at £3.50; and that it will soon be reissued as a paperback by Dover Publications of New York.)

It is really better to approach Stirner from neither right nor left, or rather to avoid approaching him from a political position at all, and this is what Paterson has done. His main thesis is 'that nearly all of the earlier literature on Stirner has been in large measure vitiated by a basic misunderstanding of his place in the history of philosophy, and that only with the rise of existentialist philosophies in Europe during the last forty years has it been possible to undertake an illuminating appraisal of his true

contribution to the development of European thought'.

He begins by describing Stirner's career, emphasising his strange role as a writer who began as one of a group of left-wing Hegelians called *die Freien* ('the free') by revising Hegel, and ended by rejecting not just Hegel but all his fellow Hegelians as well. It Marx (another left-wing Hegelian) turned Hegel upside down, Stirner may be said to have turned him inside out. *Der Einzige* amounts to a refutation of Hegel's whole philosophy expressed in a parody of Hegel's style which is so skilfully based on the peculiarities of the German language as to be virtually untranslatable. But Stirner's relationship with Hegelianism is historically less significant than that with Marxism. Paterson argues that Marx's violent refutation of Stirner in *The German Ideology* represents a stage in the development of Marxism itself—Marx characteristically defined his own position through his dialectical critique of all other Hegelian positions, especially that of the most anti-Hegelian Hegelian of all—and that in the process Marx actually absorbed more of Stirner's ideas than he admitted, or perhaps even realised. Indeed Paterson sees Marx's reading of *Der Einzige* as 'a major, and perhaps culminating, factor' in this development, and Stirner as a crucial, though unconscious, contributor to the Marxist ideology.

By contrast Paterson deprecates the identification of Stirner as an anarchist writer, but here he soon gets out of his depth. It is quite irrelevant that Stirner was either unknown to or would have been repudiated by such figures as Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, or Tolstoy; many people in the same position—or in the reverse position of being unaware of or repudiating these and other anarchist thinkers—have been perfectly genuine anarchists. Stirnerism does represent a definite strain in anarchist thought, and when Paterson tries to deny this and to show that it is based on a misunderstanding of Stirner he only shows his own misunderstanding of anarchism—thus his categorical statement that Stirner 'has no philosophical disciples among anarchists' will be rapidly refuted by reviews of his book in the papers of the many Stirnerite groups which have been active in the anarchist movement of several Western countries for eighty years. What-

ever logical discrepancies there may be between the philosophy of *Der Einzige* and the ideal type of anarchism, there have been plenty of real people who have been both Stirnerites and anarchists, from Mackay and Benjamin Tucker in the 1890's, through Armand and Martucci in the early twentieth century, right down to many of our own comrades today; and even non-Stirnerites find much that is fruitful in Stirner.

Incidentally, Paterson rashly states that 'there is no reason to believe that Kropotkin ... had any close acquaintance with *Der Einzige* and the egoistic system of its author, or that he would have felt any regard for them if he had'. On the contrary, anyone who has the slightest acquaintance with Kropotkin is well aware that he knew Stirner's work, discussing it respectfully if not very sympathetically in *My Own Science and Socialism* and in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on anarchism; these important discussions are also overlooked by Carroll, who seems to be ignorant of most anarchist discussion of Stirner. So neither of these two books will be much use to anarchists who are interested in this particular form of anarchism.

Paterson then examines Stirner's affinities with Nietzsche (showing that though there are remarkable similarities between the two, there is no evidence that Nietzsche ever read Stirner, let alone that he was influenced by him) and with existentialism (suggesting that atheist existentialism was foreshadowed by Stirner rather than Christian existentialism

was foreshadowed by Kierkegaard, with whom there are again remarkable similarities as well as obvious dissimilarities). He points out the strange fact that the English translation of *L'Homme révolté* omits Camus's important discussion of Stirner—just as the first English edition of *The German Ideology* omitted the crucial section on Stirner. He concludes that Stirner is to be seen above all as an existentialist philosopher, anticipating the Heidegger of *Being and Time* and the Sartre of *Being and Nothingness* but going far beyond them—a pioneering explorer of the unmapped path beyond the territory of metaphysical concepts which leads to total atheism and total nihilism (and total anarchism, I would add).

Most of Paterson's discussion will appeal only to professional philosophers, just as most of Carroll's much more superficial discussion will appeal only to students of political thought. Lay readers of Stirner—and there are more than either seems to realise—do not see him as a thinker to be placed in either philosophical or political terms, let alone as a prophet of angst or concentration camps; they see him as a wonderful corrective to the habit of looking at men not only as things but as ideas, as a beautiful example of what Paterson calls 'philosophy at play', as a delightful demolition of all kinds of nonsense from God and the State down to solemn books by university teachers (and solemn reviews of them): a useful reminder that in the end the only thing is oneself.

NICHOLAS WALTER.

A Text Book of Anarchism

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF ANARCHISM by April Carter (Routledge and Kegan Paul, £1.50).

THIS IS AN EXCELLENT textbook on anarchist theory. The author is sympathetic, though critical, and does not think that an anarchist society is likely to appear in the foreseeable future. She considers anarchist ideas may be partially realised by popular movements, and this is their value. The anarchist movement is the least doctrinaire of all political and social movements, and its ideas therefore the most apt for general diffusion.

She divides the book into four sections: The Political Theory of Anarchism, Anarchism and the State, Anarchism and Society, and Anarchism and the Individual. These sections are in their turn subdivided: State and Government, The Social Contract, The Law, War and the State, Class Rule and Elites, and so on and so on. By this means she covers all the aspects of anarchist thought, with frequent quotations from anarchist writers, and from those who are close to anarchism in their attitudes. The effect of this system, however, is that we tend to jump about in time, from Proudhon to Paul Goodman, to Max Stirner, to Herbert Read, to Colin Ward, to William Godwin, but I don't think this is a matter for criticism. Rather it stresses something which I have believed for a long time, that anarchism is a timeless creed. If it only appears in a 'recognisable modern form' with William Godwin it certainly would have been equally true in the ancient world, and is likely to be true also in the interplanetary world of the future.

As an introduction to anarchism for someone who knows nothing of the meaning of the word this book is cer-

tainly as good as the old George Woodcock introduction to anarchism *Anarchy or Chaos*, now out of print in all probability forever. The Woodcock book made me an anarchist, and I think that if I came to April Carter's book as I came to Woodcock's it would have the same effect, although Miss Carter is not an anarchist, and Woodcock was. She introduces her work as follows:

'This book was conceived and written as a brief study in political theory, primarily for students of politics. Its main aim is to explore anarchist ideas in relation to a number of important themes in political thought. The book assumes no prior knowledge of anarchist history and philosophy, and will therefore cover ground familiar to those already versed in the literature on anarchism. On the other hand it does assume some knowledge of general political theory, although the specific connections between anarchist and other theorists are spelt out as clearly as possible. It also explores the relevance of anarchist ideas to contemporary politics and political discourse.'

Anarchism in the 1950s still meant conspirators with clocks and tall hats and bombs, in the sixties it came to mean youths with long hair, guitars and blanket rolls, in the seventies it is being discussed as an idea of serious relevance to modern politics. Maybe in the eighties it will begin to be practised.

Miss Carter is careful to give everyone a fair hearing, and scarcely draws any conclusions of her own, so that one can hardly disagree with her on any point. I wonder though whether it is true to say that the anarchists 'lack any outstanding theoretical exponent of anarchism'. There are important, interesting and attractive anarchist writers, but none comparable as social theorists with, for

example, Marx, Net Gandhi, Stirner, Kropotkin? I would have thought that those writers deemed 'outstanding' by society are judged to be so because their ideas, however revolutionary, are still within terms of reference that society can easily understand. People can grasp what Marx was on about, even though few read him, while they are baffled by, say, Stirner. Anarchist writers are dismissed as 'impractical', while Marx is accepted by all, even those who hate him, as realistic, and vast tyrannical empires have been established in his name. Whether this has benefited anyone or not does not matter. Success in getting something concrete established is the only criterion.

In fact Miss Carter does make the point that the anarchists have failed to establish an anarchist society anywhere, and this is another reason why anarchism as a doctrine is neglected. If an anarchist society existed in some country, even though it had completely declined from its anarchist ideals and was really only a state under another name, nevertheless the mere fact of its existence, and its power (even though it was no more powerful than Cuba or Israel), would be sufficient, and anarchist theorists, now regarded as attractive second-raters, would suddenly move to the top of the charts, and political textbooks would discuss Kropotkin, whose theories would be taken as seriously as those of more orthodox thinkers.

The above is my opinion. I hasten to add, not that of the author. I am cynical about mankind and the severance it pays to some and not to others.

However that is not important. This is a very good book, and I hope it will be popular and widely read.

A.W.U.

For the Good of the Cause

STORIES AND PROSE POEMS, by Alexander Solzhenitsyn (Bodley Head, 1971, £1.75).

THIS IS A COLLECTION of six short stories and nearly 20 prose poems. Some of the stories appear in other translations (available at present) and some like 'Matryona's House' and 'For the Good of the Cause' are well known. In this edition only one of the pieces is dated and most therefore cannot be placed in relation to 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich' published in 1963. Nor is any clue given as to the publishing history of these stories, though the dust jacket says that two of the stories have been published in Russia.

To take the prose poems first. These are not, as translated anyway, prose poems. They are ruminations, jottings, freestyle pieces to be read aloud at night on subjects like having the freedom to breathe the open air, not to be able to wander freely in a forest protected by 'barbed wire and woe of the peasants' rockstack.

Like extracts from letters to a friend they say a great deal about the writer but they are in themselves without form and seem unsuited to print. They seem more like a fill-up here. The subjects are simple and down to earth and only in one piece does the dehumanized man of the 20th century creep in. In 'At the Start of the Day' the writer watches an open air gymnastic exercise and comments on the ritual. 'In this age no one is surprised if people cherish their bodies patiently and attentively every day of their lives. But they would be jeered at if they paid the same attention to their souls.'

Solzhenitsyn is moved by what he thinks destroys the man in man. He thinks it is not socialism, but socialist man. Is socialist man Shostakovitch then, tortured, sensitive, almost religious? Is he a Hero of the Soviet Union? Or an ordinary man and woman who just happens to have been lucky enough to survive the most violent century ever? No, no, socialist man is the man of duty.

In the story 'An Accident at Kretschovka Station', Lieutenant Zotov is a railway despatcher who against his will works in a marshalling yard miles behind the front lines. The progress of the war worries him, everything seems so uncertain and he constantly repeats the words of a soldier-poet to himself: 'If Lenin's great cause should now be lost / What is there left for us to live for?' If he is not allowed to fight at least he must concentrate all his mental energy on the national effort.

He puts his spare time to use reading *Das Kapital*, which he finds obscure and difficult. He gets through it by reading it twice and making notes only after the second reading.

But all the time, he is distracted by the provocatively heaving bosom of a female lodger. Had he noticed that she never locked her bedroom door, she asks? When she finally takes another lover, he is still interrupted by their sighs and groans, as he sits in the next room.

He now lives in another house, very uncomfortable, but quite safe from seduction. But a girl at work is asking him to live with her. He feels bound to his wife and to a platonic friend in the village. But how he wishes she would persuade him a little harder! Then he'd give in!

In this state of personal confusion he is glad to meet a man with whom he feels able to talk freely. A soldier, an actor from Moscow, turns up with the yarn that his unit has left him behind and he is trying to catch them up. There is no possibility it seems of checking his story, these are confused times and soldiers in transit are going without food for days. So Zotov while helping the man get a train, makes the best of his company. He tells the older man how he wanted to fight in Spain and how frustrated he feels stuck here while the war is raging. The older man says he is an actor who volunteered. He seems to have a breadth of experience rarely found and Zotov allows himself to be charmed. But when the man does not know where Stalingrad is—'Was it possible?' A Soviet citizen and didn't know Stalingrad?—Zotov takes the man to the food store and there has him arrested. Funny thing, for months after he rings up the NKVD to find out what happened and all they will say is 'Don't worry comrade, case 1234 is being dealt with'.

Other stories show Solzhenitsyn has rather negative feelings about young people. They think they are the future, but really they know nothing. They throw stones at God ('The Easter Procession') but strangely, it is him they want to follow as the procession of a handful of Christians leave the church.

How hopeful youth is! They are persuaded (in 'For the Good of the Cause') by their elders to build with their own hands a much-needed extension to their technical college. It is built and the students arrive for the new term expecting to move in. But they are told that more needs to be done to the building before they can take it over. In fact, they do not own it and an important committee has already

decided to give it to a scientific research institute. A delegation to see if this is right depends on the college. All are party people responsible for education in the region and they troop around picking meat out of their gums and asking what is the use of that.

The college principal finds out their decision almost in passing and before he knows what has happened to him they have gone. He fights as well as he can but he does not know clearly where this decision was made. A survivor of the war, a man who can only write his signature by licking one hand with the other, he enlists the help of a friend—also a survivor. They go and see the local party boss. In a terrifying interview conflict meets immovable power and power gives a little. A compromise is reached. But as the principal gets back to the college he sees the villain of the piece strutting about putting stakes in college land for his institute. Even a compromise for the good of the cause is a personal defeat.

All the stories are heavy with the grip of suffering and for that reason they will last. Thanks to a Soviet cancer clinic a man has come out 'on the other side' and not in a bemused state either. Solzhenitsyn's triumph is to have lived and survived. How many writers like him would exist now but for the war and the camps? Secondly, he has survived in a condition able to write. And although his spirit is religious, he is a fighter. He is not remembering a terrible past—not just recent Russian history—like a war-weary hero. Not at all. He is a writer. He wanted to be a writer. Against death and the censorship he struggled and he has had a lot of success. But he is not a successful writer. He is still a writer, living in the middle of his times and forgetting nothing. He owes nothing to art. And everything to Russia.

R.S.

Another 4-page leaflet. Two articles from **FREEDOM: The relevance of Anarchism today and Anarchism and Nationalism**. Available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p a hundred including postage.

Socialism

Continued from page 3 and its laws be operated by the right people. But that's impossible.

To a person with a transitional view, the long-range class struggle justifies callousness towards individuals here and now. Thus, when discussing cases where unions were fighting individual members, and judgments were given against the unions, Prid regards the judgments as anti-working-class and regrettable. Most people would be upset by the spectacle of a union pressuring an employer into firing an individual worker. To a Marxist it's quite in order. True, the judges very likely decided the cases out of their own class bias, not out of sympathy for the individual workers; true also that the judgments set precedents which could be used against unions in other cases than those affecting individual members. But in their immediate effects, the judgments were good.

To return to the foreign-capital argument against equality. If people can produce as efficiently without as with bosses, they are obviously in as strong a position as before regarding real trade. The exchange of goods between places with different natural resources, while the paper tigers of balance of payments and exchange rates are best dealt with by an international approach to revolution.

But that's a big 'if' to a socialist like Lichstein, who assumes that, even within the domestic economy, prosperity and equality don't go together.

Genuine equality—and distribution of the 'national dividend' according to criteria of need alone—cannot be attempted if the result is likely to be a significant decline in economic efficiency.

... progress in the direction of socialism has been slower than was originally expected (because of) continuing economic scarcity, with the resulting pressure to place rational economic calculations (my emphasis) first; and the reluctance of the electorate (including a majority of the industrial working class) to press on more rapidly toward greater social equality.

(The reason the electorate does not favour socialism is, according to him, that they quite sensibly want to maintain their living standards—no social visionaries there, he tells us in tones of hearty democracy.)

No reason is given for the assumption that equality makes prosperity impossible. It's simply presented as a fact of life. Industrialization by itself tends to bring about new social alignments, notably the emergence of a technical-intelligence which will rebel against enforced equality and the imposition of standards proper to a primitive peasantry. Tends to bring about is an evasive, doubtless unconscious. It's like saying that the nearness of a pocketbook to an open wallet tends to bring about theft. Together with the self-contradicting notion of 'enforced equality' the phrase reveals a personality to whom equality is too dirty a word, too disturbing a prospect, to be given careful thought.

Even some anarchists will readily confess their belief that 'in an anarchist society' well worth it though it will be, the roof will always be leaking, one coat sleeve will be longer than the other and it will take three weeks to get from London to Manchester. They may even suspect, very deep down, that in an anarchist society they might not get credit enough to eat. This merely reflects lack of confidence and the power of brainwashing.

The fact is that however much efficiency you have, if the system whatever it's called, remains capitalist, the majority won't be better off. Theoretically, in 'socialist' countries like Yugoslavia, production is supposed to create a surplus, leading to increased prosperity, leisure and distribution on the basis of need. But in practice when a surplus is achieved, it's usually used to fund the production system. Once more, we are told to wait. We must all work hard now, but some day it will pay off.

Technological development is considered all-important in Yugoslavia. They recognize technocracy as a problem. Peasants are regarded as obstructive lurchers because they don't want to fit into an industrial system, however progressive. (What kind of revolution is it that destroys the wisdom of so many people?) But sometimes technology leads to redundancy or the threat of it. What do they do in Yugoslavia, when this happens? Rather than sustain the catastrophe of increased leisure for everyone, or a less 'national' but

book reviews

planner organization of work, they create more jobs leaving the same type of management-labour setup as before. (Needless to say all management within enterprise exists in only the most primitive, parliamentarianist sense, although an encouraging feature is the fact that workers are aware of this and are steadily pushing for greater equality.)

In one case for example, 'All employees adversely affected [understandably] were absorbed into a new working unit called "Lubaga" which provides delivery, retailing, road maintenance and contract labour services, and also runs market gardening, horticultural and carpentry activities. Latest reports show that Lubaga is currently experiencing a shortage of transport and is seeking additional labour.'

Jobs produce jobs produce more jobs. The author of the pamphlet concludes it wonderful. (He is unhappy with the pervasiveness of the prior mechanism in Yugoslavia, that is capitalism. But the other problems he mentions are equally so.)

In the same way, Lichstein notes with approval that

'When accused of wanting to set the unemployed to work digging holes and filling them up again, he [Kornel] pointed out correctly that even if they were paid for doing nothing else, they would spend their wages on food and other necessities, thereby increasing the sum of real incomes.'

Another Keynes note the Yugoslav leaders can hear to see the obvious that the same result would be achieved by paying people and not asking them to dig holes and fill them up again. Perhaps they believe that work is the highest form of human creativity.

Welfare in Yugoslavia has been considered in economic considerations 'an industrial rather than a consumer based allocation of funds (in such) as the most likely provider of growth and technological development'.

The Yugoslavs are thus intent on inserting market forces into health, social insurance and education and the process has already been taken far enough to '10% for education' to speak of 'the price of a page' and for doctors to refer to 'the cost of a patient' as determining productivity standards in their respective spheres. You cannot ever have distribution on the basis of need in a society where not merely efficiency but constantly increasing efficiency to the maximum benefit of those running the system is all that a society must do and then there are those more charitable than their predecessors, to share how they are, but they can have no real use or love for the 'right ones with nothing to sell'.

A feature which sometimes affects us is that of taking some extremely trivial grievance, such as the unnecessary use of exclamation marks in writing addresses and blowing it up into the World's Greatest Cause by means of whatever epithets and rhetoric I can muster. Now here's the book about the book 'New dawned. It was dug up in India centuries ago and was published by the British in 1899. Mr. See is concerned to point out that Gandhi and Nehru in their otherwise admirable campaign for Indian independence, neglected to include the chairman's approval on their agenda. Not only was it not at the top of the agenda it wasn't even mentioned. There's a picture of it, it's over such a great big sheet of paper. The Chairman really ought to give it back, if only because the Indian government might be able to sell it to some donor for a couple of dollars, or weeks. Would anyone like to help organize a search on the subject from you-know-where to you-know-where?'

R.S.

Just off the Press!

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Tenants take Control

ALL OVER THE country tenants of a Local Authority and New Town Development Corporation houses face massive rent increases as a result of the Government's so-called 'fair rents' scheme.

In a rotten society where the basic human need for shelter—like all other needs—is subordinated to the profit motive, this comes as no surprise. This is why luxury flats stand empty whilst thousands are homeless; why those who are not prepared to see their families homeless and, thus, turn to squatting, face the viciousness of the Law—the protector of the rich and powerful. Whether we rent our homes or mortgage our souls for 25 years or so, we are subject to the same exploitation: someone somewhere is making a fat profit out of our needs. An economic and political system which denies a man a home in which to raise his family in security and freedom has no right to

survive.

Of course, the political power-seekers like the Labour Party and Communist Party will raise their voices in righteous indignation at the rent increases: they see our struggle as potential votes or more power for them. The anarchists say 'Do it for yourselves!' We must fight for ourselves instead of trusting the politicians to do it for us. We must fight the rent increases now with the tactics of direct action: demonstrations, sit-ins, rent strikes, occupations of Council offices, etc. The important thing is that we should decide for ourselves what action to take and we should put it into effect for ourselves.

But we must do more than this: we must go on to create a movement for tenants' control which will take control of our housing estates out of the hands of capitalists, politicians and bureaucrats. Similarly, at work we must build a movement based on voluntary co-

operation and mutual aid to seize the means of production and create a society where work is not geared to the production of articles for profit (however useless or socially harmful those products may be), but rather to the satisfaction of real human needs and the individual's need for creative work.

We will take control of our own environment and keep it healthy and free from the deadly pollution of those industrial processes which are slowly killing our planet but which have been accepted in the interest of profit. We

will work together on the anarchist principles of voluntary co-operation and mutual aid to build homes for the homeless, repair our homes and roads, keep tidy our estates, etc.

We will all be involved in the decision-making. We will not have politicians 'representing' us and indulging their lust for power. We will not have their Councils dictating our lives. Wherever possible decisions will be made at community meetings, but where this is not practical then we will have to elect delegates from our streets, estates, etc., to represent us. However, if they misrepresent us they will be subject to instant recall: they will not be allowed to form a bureaucracy with power over us. Someday we will. Why not today?

TERRY PHILLIPS.

Sex & Capitalism

PERHAPS IT MAY seem absurd that we are about to give a discourse on Sex, at a moment when we are faced with pressing problems deriving from the progressive degradation of the working class in capitalist society.

We propose to examine whether there is a sexual exploitation as well as the economic one, whether it is true that privilege has also a sexual nature.

It seems clear that capitalism is not a fragmented system of exploitation, but involves the whole man with all his faculties. It is based on the sick sexuality of the privileged and the lack of sexual satisfaction of the working masses, and the exploitation and repression of woman's sexuality.

In this bosses' society, woman is the chief target and victim. She is reduced to an object and to private property. This dehumanisation is effected by those institutions, which according to bourgeois hypocrisy should be governed by 'love': the father's suppression of a daughter in the name of 'honour' and 'maturity', the husband's privileges in the name of male rights.

Sexual and economic submission of the woman has always been accompanied by sexual frustration of the man. The woman compelled by clerico-bourgeois education to consider sex as something foul may certainly be an unsatisfying

sexual comrade. All this sexual repression of man and woman appears to be part of the mechanism of exploitation.

The sexual division between privileged male and submissive female corresponds to the division in the factories between directors and subordinates. With the suppressed masses the employers can do as they like because the state of sex frustration generates the masses' apathy and submission. The obstacles opposed to sexual rapports produce a continual dissatisfaction, and this lack of joy in the individual enables the bosses to direct him towards the artificial stimuli of the consumer society. The more the worker is rendered incapable of natural enjoyment, the more he is made into a bourgeois and seeks the interests of the bosses.

The more the worker is incapable of experiencing joy with his whole body, the more he submits to the slavery of the production line. This is how the fight for the reduction of working hours and against the bestial speed of production, against profit and capital, is not just an economic problem, but is tied to the possibility of sexual enjoyment of our bodies and our sexual faculty.

tr. S.M. from 'Linee per una Rivoluzione Libertaria' Forlì Gruppo 'Volin' Bologna.

Free Valpreda!

DURING THE International Congress in Paris at the beginning of August, one evening's discussion was devoted to the situation in Italy.

Two years ago a plot was hatched to prepare Italy for a 'Greek-style' CIA-Ordine Nuovo (neo-fascists)-Military coup.

Bombs were planted in public places which killed dozens and wounded hundreds of people. They were the excuse for the arrest of many anarchist and libertarian socialist militants. During these 'investigations' Giuseppe Pinelli 'fell' from the 4th floor of the Milanese Questura.

Today, two years later, many of those arrested are still in prison, as yet without trial.

The fascist nature of the plot has been confirmed by the mass of evidence accumulated. However, the comrades of

the FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation) are not content to rely upon the 'justice' of the Italian bourgeoisie. An international campaign is being organised to publicise the facts, and, in particular, to focus support on the forthcoming trial of Valpreda—expected in October.

It was agreed in Paris to try and co-ordinate the publicity material and the dates of demonstrations.

Help is needed: — firstly, money for the defence of Valpreda and other comrades;

— secondly, money for leaflets, posters, etc.

(Please mark donations clearly for one or the other.)

And, your involvement is needed to make the largest possible impact in Britain. Please get in touch with the ORA, c/o 138 Pennymead, Harlow, Essex. (N.B.—The FAI emphasise that acts against Italian State property will aid only the prosecution.)

A Million by Winter

THE CONTINUING RISE in the number of people who are unemployed is baffling the economic pundits. Usually with unemployment of such high proportions prices become stable, but we now have a situation where, by the winter, there is likely to be a million unemployed, including many of this year's summer school leavers, coupled with inflation.

Recent credit relaxations will not create sufficient demand to place more people in jobs, nor will the present international monetary crisis encourage investment in new productive capacity. Mr. Heath's Government may shortly be forced to launch an emergency programme of public works, which is very necessary, especially in housing. Industrial countries are caught up in

a vicious circle. Most of them are suffering from high unemployment with inflation. Previously, capitalism was prepared to solve its problems by creating mass unemployment, but this now seems to be self-defeating. At the other end of the scale there are also problems apparent in an over-productive capacity, for this does not bring in high profits. Increased growth is fast using up the raw materials of this planet and it would be suicidal to seek an economic solution in war.

The contradictions within capitalism abound. It stumbles from one crisis to another, creating misery and hardship for those who are exploited by it. All we have to do is overthrow it!

P.T.

News from Germany

THEY SAY we Germans are very violent people. Well, having a look around I must state that the employment of violence against the fellow man is not limited to the Germans only. But, I agree, we have a strange relation to violence.

A couple of days ago a girl aged about 22 was shot by a police officer in Hamburg. She allegedly used her gun first. She is said to have been a member of the so-called Baader-Meinhoff gang, a group of 'terrorists', 'criminals' and, above all, anarchists, if you believe our papers. Indeed, another fine opportunity for the ruling class to connect anarchism with violence, although no member of the said group has ever declared himself to be an anarchist. Some of them have been instructed by the Fehdajin in Palestine for guerilla-warfare.

This man called Baader, a member of the above group, had tried to set a store on fire (at night, when nobody was endangered). He was caught and his friends successfully tried to set him free from prison in Berlin. His intention was to protest against the war in Vietnam by his 'propaganda by action'. Well, I can understand him so far. I can even understand his friends getting him out of prison. What I really cannot support is that they (his friends) nearly killed a subordinated, unarmed civil servant when they freed Baader. I don't go in for violence at all.

There are certainly situations when the employment of violence is the only possible solution for the exploited people to change their condition of life (Brazil, Spain, Greece and so on). But in such industrialised countries as Germany, Britain and Sweden, with a more or less highly educated population, violence against other people doesn't help much and there is a wide range of other possibilities for us to change society. Fair enough, I think having made it clear to you what my ideas about violence are.

But coming back to the so-called Baader-Meinhoff gang. What has happened? This group was declared to be 'Public Enemy No. 1' by our liberal (?) Minister for the Interior, Mr. Genscher. Nearly every day our capitalist press has published 'crimes' committed by this group without having any proof. The readers were urged to keep their eyes open and to assist the police. In some towns police raids were carried out by officers armed to the teeth, as if a revolution would be just around the corner. In this atmosphere it was only a question of time. This gunfire in Hamburg must happen. As you may guess, the police officer concerned got his clearance from the attorney-general immediately. It's always the same: The representatives of the state have investigated their own attitude. Why has this killing in Hamburg not been researched by independent organs? This girl is dead now, who of this group will be the next?

INCREASED FARES

And more violence. Our local authorities in Hamburg have decided to increase the fares for the buses and the

underground. Several demonstrations, attended by some thousand people, took place, supported by the communists, the 'Jusos' (youth organisation of our ruling party, the 'Sozialdemokraten'), student organisations, some shop stewards.

Anarchists were not involved in this affair. I do not consider those youngsters waving red and black banners and shouting silly slogans to be anarchists. When will these 'comrades' learn that showing our flags on the streets is nothing without the work on the basis, i.e. in the factories, offices, schools, on the shop-floor, everywhere where people are coming together. It takes much more courage to agitate within a factory than to wave black banners in a demonstration protected by the police. But may I come back to the question of violence. The day after the fares increase came into force several attempts were made to derail our underground. In spite of our capitalist press I sincerely hope that no anarchists were involved. Anyway, I simply cannot understand how society can be changed by endangering the lives of workers, housewives, children, pupils and so on.

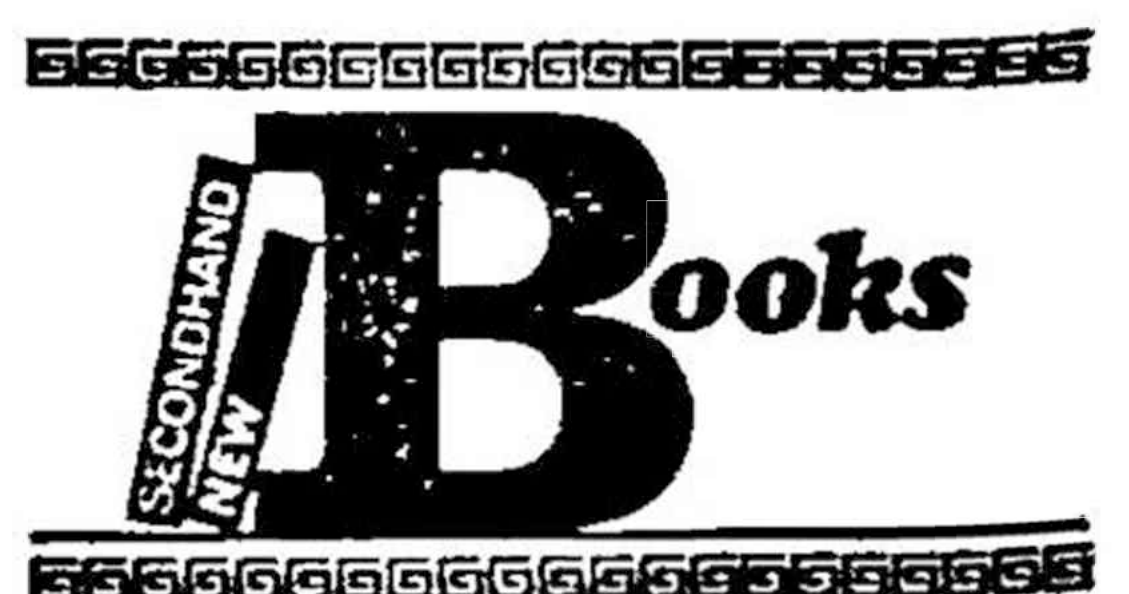
MUNICH BANK RAID

And more violence. During a bank raid in Munich a girl was shot. She was used as a hostage by the two raiders. Although the police had promised to do nothing in order to protect the lives of this girl and other hostages they opened fire when one of the gangsters tried to leave the bank together with the girl. Up to now it is not quite clear who killed her. Of course an investigation took place, carried out by the police. It is a funny thing: The investigation was carried out by the very same people who could perhaps be accused of having killed the girl. They all conspire together—the government, the police and the attorney-general of Munich, who ordered the officers to shoot. Well, this is the nature of the ruling class. But what is the opinion of the people? 'Hail to the police, at last they have acted decidedly.' Sometimes it is better for you to keep your mouth shut if you don't want to get into trouble. Is there any spot on earth where I can say what I think and what I want?

Continued on page 6

FINE TUBES PICKET

FINE TUBES—next National Day of Picketing Friday, September 17, 1971, at the main gate, Fine Tubes, Estover, Plymouth. Will all comrades come down and support us. Barclay must keep the factory going, we must stop him. Go to your factories, bring your workmates with you. This struggle is for survival. R.G.



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Stuart Christie

THE ARREST of Stuart Christie illustrates the desperation of the police to get somebody in their witch-hunt of the Angry Brigade. I have met Stuart fairly regularly over the course of the last few months and I am confident in asserting that it is most unlikely that he has, as he insists himself, anything to do with the charges being preferred against him. In fact, Stuart's interest has been centred on the Anarchist Black Cross and its publication the *Black Flag*.

Anarchists with their absence of dogma naturally pursue their objectives—ultimately the establishment of a free society but, here and now, the achievement of as much freedom in their everyday lives as is possible—in a variety of ways which may appear conflicting. In some matters many of us have had our differences with Stuart. But now that he is in need it is our duty to assist him in every possible way. The march on Brixton Prison, assembly point being Clapham Common tube at 12 noon on Saturday, September 4, affords an opportunity not only to demonstrate our solidarity but should also be the occasion of discussion and planning ways and means in which the accused may be best assisted. In the meantime I should be happy to assist in co-ordinating such efforts. Letters from those interested will be replied to promptly and a meeting of all those interested will be held as soon as possible.

Anarchists

Meet every Sunday in London in the Marquis of Granby pub, Cambridge Circus from 7 p.m. Quite apart from the fact that this is one of the few opportunities to meet your fellow anarchists regularly the present pressure from the authorities suggests that we should have urgent talks on how to combat them. All petty rivalries—which have unfortunately plagued our movement—should now be set aside and in a spirit of traditional anarchist generosity and mutual aid we must hasten to the assistance of our comrades in distress. I have no doubt that our cause will flourish and grow from our present trials providing we stand together.

Oz counterattack

Our friends in the Underground are also learning the value of solidarity. Defying police intimidation and infiltration, a demonstration was held through

THIS WORLD

the main streets of London last week culminating in a sit-down in the main thoroughfare. The continual police harassment has taught the most peaceful of people—as surely the head community in Britain is—the need of self-defence and organisation. Large demonstrations greatly assist the oppressed in rallying their spirits and gaining mutual confidence. From an anarchist point of view there is much to rejoice at in this for it becomes increasingly evident how much we have in common with them, ranging from a rejection of authority to the development of co-operatives and a recognition of the importance and autonomy of the individual, and there is a readiness on their part to join with us if only we do not isolate ourselves in aloofness and elitism.

One of our brothers who is taking a leading part in unifying the two movements is Paul Paulowski who openly defied the police in Hyde Park last Sunday rallying a huge crowd around him in dispensing a large cake containing, amongst other wonders, a quantity of cannabis sativa. The combination of humour and earnestness which some of our sourer comrades find unsettling is nonetheless the key to communication with a great mass of people whom we cannot afford to ignore. It should also be noted that the police have been repeatedly bewildered by such tactics and far better, surely, than any amount of violence is the disarming of our foes.

Socialist Fascists

After the last world war a book by Margaret Buber-Neumann, the wife of one of Germany's leading Communists (who suffered persecution at Stalin's hands while in exile and death later when that good revolutionary returned them to Germany after doing a deal with Hitler), entitled *Under Two Dictatorships* gave first-hand evidence of how little difference there is between authoritarian socialism (or communism) on the one hand and fascism or nazism on the other. The 'socialist' countries have ceaselessly continued to supply evidence in support. The classic *'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich'*

by Alexander Solzhenitsyn and the works of Pasternak, for example, document the case. Now the eminent writer and historian Andrei Amalrik has been sent to a labour camp near the Arctic Circle in North-east Siberia. The charge against him—spreading 'anti-Soviet fabrications', or in plain language criticising the state and the government.

Racist Britain

Anarchists and genuine liberals have with good reason been alarmed at the growth of totalitarianism in Britain. The enactment of anti-trade union legislation, the harassment of heads, the expulsion of Rudi Dutschke, embodying the rever-

sal of a principle of tolerance which had become almost typically British, are all marks of such development. The more laws that are enacted to curtail the liberties of people, the greater the powers of the police and the more intrusion they are enabled to make in our lives. We are then sanctimoniously informed by the authorities that crime is on the increase. Seen in this light crime becomes a highly commendable virtue. One such 'crime' is the illegal entry into Britain of coloured people. While none of us would applaud the profiteering that motivates some of those engaged in the business of transporting such people here, the police persecution and hunting down of those who are entirely guiltless and whose crime is the colour of their skins can only appal us. The government can rely on the silence, if not the active support, of the great majority of people in Britain. A racist situation indeed!

BILL DWYER.

THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

MADNESS AND ONLY MADNESS everywhere. Torturing of innocent people in the six counties. Repression bashed through the Seanad in the twenty-six. I told a 'Provo' when they were holding a meeting on O'Connell Street that the only difference between them and UVR was that they were Catholic Fascists and the latter Protestant Fascists. The gun and the bomb will NEVER solve anything whichever side uses it, wherever they use it, and now it is too late for talking SENSE. Not talking, but talking SENSE, quite different in spite of your reader Bess Simms. Soon every decent person in all the 32 counties will be interned. The Forcible Entry Bill is only internment under another name.

One tiny glimmer of hope. Directly it is signed and becomes law I know for a fact a number of gardai are going to resign. We need money desperately, not only in the six counties but in the twenty-six to fight these evils. International lawyers and courts are going to cost a lot. Defence for illegally detained prisoners and even running costs of the Committee to Oppose Repressive Legislation has already, before we are really off the ground, meant spending £500. Squatters are in mortal terror though

they are in hovels. Everywhere these Tories go on smashing down sound accommodation for the office of the foreign speculator.

The horror of the EEC hangs over us which will mean even more of our children are born with 'For export only' stamped on their backs as they go to provide cheap labour in Germany and Brussels (like the tatle pickers in Scotland), only these will not come back. We shall be the launching pad for the third great Capitalist Power and her filthy weapons because of our geographical position, and the rise in the cost of living will kill our old and very young. It killed quite a number of cold and starvation last winter. Is there NO HUMANITY left anywhere in the world?

Faulkner's visit is over and even more British troop violence is likely. No sense has emerged. Lynch's telegram sounds bland, but since he and his Minister for Justice are bulldozing through the Bill that is even worse than the six counties' Special Powers Act, and is only internment under another name. We who really care for Freedom are 100% sceptical. He is just a political opportunist and nothing else. No brains at all, a little sneaky man. H.

Continued from page 5

GERMANY

CENSORSHIP

If you believe our present rulers, the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*, we enjoy living in a 'socialist constitutional state'. Can perhaps somebody explain to me why letters sent to me by comrades do not arrive? Why my letters do not arrive? Why the telephone of a comrade, well known to me, had been controlled? But I am not afraid as in our *Grundgesetz* (basic law) is stated: 'Censorship does not take place'. Various 'leftist' groups are controlled by the agents of the state. We all have learned from the Soviet Union what it means when the ruling class uses the word 'socialism'.

Our well-distinguished president, Mr. Heinemann, will not fail to congratulate the Shah of Persia personally. In October the Persian ruler celebrates the 2,500th anniversary of the state of Persia. Our president will be in good company together with other 'socialist' leaders such as Mr. Podgorny, Mr. Tito and other well-known heads of state. We also know that the Chinese are co-operating with Persia. May we also see Chairman Mao himself near our borders in October? As far as business interests are concerned (for the big bosses and not for the working-class) we see our leaders all over the world united, whether they are communists, socialists, capitalists or bloody dictators. When the Shah-in-Shah himself honoured our country with his visit a couple of years ago the Persian emigrants and students were ordered to see our local police stations. Some of them had to leave the towns which were visited by the Shah. Still today this is the way our 'socialist' government treats emigrants. Members of the CISNU (organisation of Persian students) are controlled by our political police. The special department of the police works hand in hand together with the SAVAK (secret service of Persia). In October a big demonstration will be staged in Cologne where the Persian ruler has his embassy in Germany. I do hope that British people will also show what they think of this country. Comrades willing to co-operate may contact me c/o Freedom Press. Persia is a good example to show the people the very nature of state and government.

DEPORTED

Our federal republic seems to be a bad place for emigrants. Just recently

a Spanish worker had tried to cross our border into the German democratic (?) republic. Our political police did not fail to arrest him and sent him back to Spain. As he had left his country of origin for political reasons this deportation means imprisonment lasting for years, perhaps even tortures. Friends of mine, working with Amnesty International, informed our local papers, but as you may guess, nothing has been printed. Our trade unions had been informed well in advance but the file of this pitiable Spaniard disappeared in their cabinets. What right do our rulers and the press have to accuse the communist government in East Berlin of having ordered their soldiers to shoot those people trying to escape into the Federal Republic? I am afraid the difference between the two German countries (and their governments) is not as big as they want to make us believe.

POLLUTION

Our rivers, our air and our towns are polluted more and more. Recently industrial waste containing arsenic had been unloaded on various city dumps open to the public. Certainly investigations are taking place but as I know our law affords the drivers of the lorries will be accused and not the company in question. When will the workers learn to refuse the orders of their masters, especially those which endanger the whole population.

ANARCHISTS UNITE!

What I cannot understand is the conflict between the anarchist sections in Germany. The younger comrades are often advocating violence at any price and those of us having fought against the NAZIS resigned and their activity is limited to publications of the past. I do understand both sides: those who take drugs and those who hang on to the past. But don't we have the same enemy? The ruling class is united and we as anarchists should be united too without giving up our individual ideas. The rulers and the industry are co-operating all over the world and co-operation should also be the aim of those people having recognized the nature of state and government. Anarchists all over the world, unite!

At this time of the year most of our politicians are abroad for holidays. If they only would stay where they are, we can well do without them. J.L.

Hands Off the Hippies!

THE SIGHT of our great British press making a complete ass of itself is a recurring source of amusement in a world so sadly lacking in humour.

The press coverage of the activities (or alleged activities) of the Angry Brigade has been no exception. The subtleties of political action have never been the strong point of hack journalists. Who will ever forget the reports last year that confidently assured us that a bomb attack on the offices of the Spanish airline, Iberian Airways, in London was the work of the IRA (sic)! Of course, then the headline-catcher was the IRA, today it's the Angry Brigade.

Every schoolboy hoaxer who sends a letter purporting to be from the Angry Brigade to his local paper is sure of headlines. In recent weeks we've had the threat of assassination of the Queen in York by an 'Angry Brigade' who couldn't even spell 'angry' correctly! But surely the prize must go to the report that an 'Angry Brigade' had threatened the life of radio disc-jockey Tony Blackburn if he appeared in Peterborough to open a shop. (In case you are worried I can reveal that Tony didn't turn up and wasn't blown up.)

The 'in depth' journalists have had a field day speculating about the nature of the Angry Brigade. The obvious stereotype was of course 'anarchist'. Unfortunately for the press hounds, the numerous people proud to proclaim that they are anarchists and tell every snoopling hack precisely what they believe in would not fit in with the great conspiracy story. The fascination of the Angry Brigade is its clandestine nature: the police and press can make all kinds of statements without producing a scrap of evidence and without the fear of contradiction. This is a subtle technique of preparing the ground for repression. 'Descriptions' of the Angry Brigade are used to fan popular prejudices against

non-conformists and radicals.

The *Sunday Telegraph* on June 27 had its own version, a menacing verbal 'identi-kit' picture: 'They are well-organised, include as many women as men, are believed to live in communes and are directed by intellectuals. They are anti-Parliament and seek direct worker control, but many are not workers themselves.'

We've had repeated assurances that PC Plodd is hot on the trail and that the 'guilty' will soon be brought to 'justice'. Some justice! The *Sunday Telegraph* report went on to reveal that 'Scotland Yard has the names of 12 top suspects but lacks the proof to arrest them. This proof will be sought—following an order by Mr. Maudling, the Home Secretary, to smash the Angry Brigade—by a team of 20 hand-picked detectives from the Flying Squad and Special Branch, working with army bomb-disposal experts and Home Office scientists.' You bet that 'proof' will be sought!

The *Sunday Telegraph* report goes on: 'The squad is taking a tough line. It will raid hippy communes, question avowed members of the "underground" and build up a complete file on the sub-culture that challenges the present social order.' In other words they intend to use their well-known techniques of 'interrogation' in order to secure 'evidence' against the chosen victims. Hell! Aren't they satisfied with Jack Prescott and Ian Purdie?

The 'underground's' incoherence in defining its 'alternative society' and the way its life-style alienates it from working-class militants makes it a perfect candidate for the first victim of the growing repression: today the hippies, tomorrow the union militants.

Solidarity with the 'underground'!

TERRY PHILLIPS.

Contact

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New Address—Plymouth Group: John Northfleet, 16 Adelaide Street, Stonehouse, Plymouth. (Greg is moving.)

Black & Red Outlook No. 3. Paper of the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. 5p plus postage. Subscription £1 per 10 issues. In bulk multiples of 10 at 40p a time. All cash to treasurer (cheques and POs made out to Black & Red Outlook, c/o T. Anthony, 29 Eskridge Street, Salford, 7).

Proposed Group—Edinburgh. Tony Hughes, 55 South Clerk Street, Edinburgh. 031-667 3534.

Radical Alternatives To Prison: Women in Prison—An Exhibition. Films, Photos, Poem, etc. Part of a campaign against rebuilding Holloway Prison. Roundhouse, N.W.1, September 8 to 14, 12 noon-11 p.m. except Sundays. Help and money to 104 Newgate Street, London, E.C.1. Phone 01-606 6123.

'South West Conference.' Will any group or individual in the SW who would like to attend, please contact Brian Shuttleworth, 51 Barnardo Road, Exeter, Devon.

Proposed Group: Celia & Laurens Otter, 13 Albert Road, Wellington Telford, Salop.

Anarchist couple, moving to London September 1, seek two-roomed flat or similar in Whitechapel area. Richard and Teresa, 19 Charlotte Road, Birmingham, 15. 021-440 4530.

Bangla Dosh—Operation Omega. Contributions needed in cash, help or kind. We need nurses, doctors, mechanics, office workers, sponsors (individuals or groups), medicines, vaccine guns, high-protein foods, inflatable boats, generators, outboard motors, spare parts. Send details of help you can give, or goods you can offer, or cash to Operation Omega, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1 or phone London 837 3860 or 485 1103 or Manchester 881 1788.

Bakunin: 'The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State'; post free order—single copies 15p, 10 copies £1.00, from CIRA, 134 Northumberland Road, North Harrow, Middx. HA27 7RG.

Commune in Ramsgate, Kent, starting Sept. '71 needs members. Crafts/educational bias. Write: 36 Devonshire Road, Mill Hill, N.W.7.

The Match!—a monthly Anarchist journal. Send to Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona, USA. Year's sub. \$3.00.

Axis Bookshop, 6a Hunters Lane, off Yorkshire Street, Rochdale. Call if in town.

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

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