

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

Vol. 36 Nos. 16-17 26 APRIL, 1975 TEN PENCE

SOCIAL CON-TRICK

AFTER ONE of the most serious attacks on the living standards of working people for quite a while by any Chancellor of any political colour, the mass media's attention has turned to the chances of survival of the social contract.

The Labour (?) Chancellor's budget has added 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ % to the cost of living through tax increases. Furthermore, it was plain to all that the total package reinforced the trend that is pushing unemployment inexorably towards one million. This "helping hand" to the workers was greeted with approval by the likes of Poulson's friend, Reginald Maudling, and by the stockbrokers and jobbers in the City. Over last weekend Reginald Maudling was quoted in the *Sunday Times*, "...no one can deny the political courage of both his words and his deeds. Not only did he identify the nature of Britain's problem - galloping inflation - and its cause, excessive wage increases, which his political and union colleagues have stimulated or at best not resisted, he actually did something about it."

Meanwhile, in the City, the *Financial Times* share index rose by a record 22 points on Wednesday, 16th April, and by Friday that index had risen by 13%.

This same pattern was observed only as recently as 1972. On Thursday, 20th January, 1972 the British Government announced that for the first time in nearly 25 years there were more than a million people unemployed in the United Kingdom. On the same day, the *Financial Times* Ordinary share index rose to the significant point of 500, the first time in three years that it had attained such heights. From the point of view of

the stock speculator the attractiveness of mass numbers of unemployed lies in the thought that companies are not in business to employ large numbers of people. If they can produce as much or more with fewer men, their profit will increase and this in turn will beneficially affect share prices. Furthermore, workers in a dole queue are in an economically weak position and if more workers are threatened with joining those already redundant the unions will not very readily endanger the welfare of the company.

Meanwhile the unions and the Labour Government have been busy trying to preserve the Social Contract. This masochistic agreement between the so-called delegates of the workers and the Labour Government was designed to not only bolster confidence in private enterprise, but also to pave the way for the coming of the techno-bureaucratic economy which is already a feature of Italian and French life.

The TUC and the Labour Party have great amounts of power to gain from pursuing such a line. The Tories, Liberals, etc. dare not complain too loudly because they also wish such a situation to come about. After all, if they are returned at the next election the availability of this amount of power is highly desirable to them.

For the TUC, the Social Contract means much more than wages. It means a whole row of policies, from Common Market renegotiation to the National Enterprise Board. It also means a Labour Government. Politically, the TUC has nowhere else to go. Therefore, confrontation over wages leading to the collapse of the Labour Government is the last thing that the TUC wants.

As far as the authoritarian socialist groups are concerned, this analysis is quite correct. For these parties to gain power the considerable influence which TUC-Labour Party collaboration provides for the likes of the Communist Party must be preserved.

However, as anarchists we see another alternative. Unlike the authoritarian Left, our concern is not with "scientific socialism" (i.e. the most convenient and efficient method of seizing power for the party executive) but with achieving equality and freedom for all. Our aims never have been the same and never will be. Just as the National Front or the Tory party are our enemies, Len Murray, Jack Jones, Harold Wilson, Denis Healey

Continued on Page 2

COMING APART AT THE SEAMS

PEOPLE HAVE come to expect the worst from the ritual Spring budget. It is like a puritanical reminder that despite the promise of Summer we should not rejoice and make merry because the government knows that sort of thing is not good for us.

As usual, the government has put up the tax on what to many people are their little pleasures in life. Drink, cigarettes and bingo come to mind. While some would dispute the pleasurable nature of these things, for many it will mean that will either have to cut back or meet the increase.

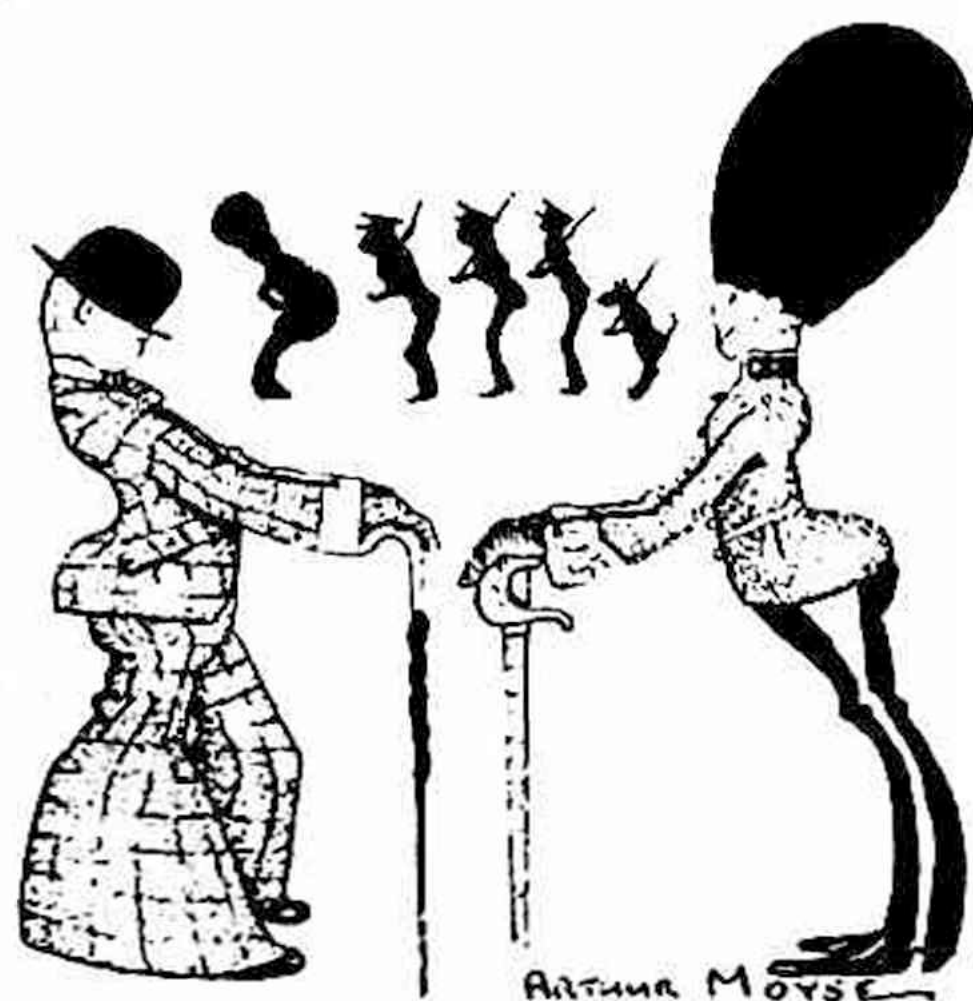
In these 'hard times' Mr. Healey, the Chancellor, thinks we should not enjoy so many 'luxuries'. How people spend their money and how they get their enjoyment is up to the individual, but at the same time, smoking and drinking are artificially stimulated by advertising. Any government knows it has a ready-made means of robbing people by increasing taxation on these two items. People might well smoke or drink less at first but they quickly return to their usual rate of consumption.

But the budget's aim is to make us spend less. People are now rushing out to buy things which will be affected by increased V.A.T. on May 1st. But if people don't buy, then there will be no need to continue production, which will obviously result in increased unemployment. Nowadays governments do not pursue deliberate unemployment in order to cure economic ills. Past history shows that such policies create other problems, and nowadays people may not accept the dole so readily as they did in the twenties and thirties. But there might be no alternative then to a certain amount of unemployment, and although Mr. Healey explains that the present rate of wage increases will lead to this, his budget will also have the same effect.

Once again the level of wage increases is being blamed for inflation. But the budget itself brings further and increased wage claims. If we are to believe wages and prices figures issued by the government, wages are rising more than prices and so during an inflationary period workers have increased their spending power. But while the figure for wage increases may be 32 per cent, many have not achieved it. This includes pensioners and others who receive a fixed income from the state. In our present society might is right, and those who are well organised and work in key industries can still obtain large wage increases.

The wealth produced is distributed unequally. All the efforts of the social

Continued on Page 2



"I tell you, Sir, the only way to put the country on its feet is to have a military firing squad seconded to every factory."

Roy Jenkins, Michael Foot, Hugh Scanlon and so forth are also our enemies.

We must regard all who have ambitions to rule over others in the same manner as we would regard an Oswald Mosley, a Benito Mussolini, an Adolf Hitler. In fact, if any of you have seen the film, "Black Holiday", the resemblance between the local fascist squadristi leader, Guasco, and Len Murray is quite amazing. The Italian fascists' main concern was with the "national interest". They were in power to uphold the "national interest". The Labour Party and the TUC are also attempting to uphold the "national interest" through the Social Contract.

Let us not forget that Benito Mussolini was once a prominent Socialist. How long will it be before legislation is passed which will imprison workers who campaign to "destroy the Social Contract"?

The TUC has great reserves of goodwill towards the Labour Government. However, it is a great question as to whether the union leaders who "understand" Mr. Healey's budget message can "educate" their unions into accepting wider responsibilities - and as the Sunday Times puts it: "turn them from their traditional narrow concern with the interests of their own members in work, to a larger concern for the old, the weak and the out of work".

However, we know quite well that the likes of the TUC, the Labour Party, the Tory Party and the rest are only concerned with the old, the weak and the out of work when these represent convenient political fodder to either help them attain or hold onto POWER! We know that the weak and out of work have become such because of the State machine. How can defending the State machine every be equated with notions of equality and freedom? Only by destroying the State machine can we ensure these ideals.

Therefore in the long run we must work towards autonomous self-managing organisations which will render the State useless. In the short term we can help to make the Social con trick unacceptable to union members everywhere. When confronted with the old, the weak and the unemployed, the answer of the TUC and the Labour Party has been less real income and more unemployment. In our ignorance the sense of such a policy escapes us. But then we do not rule, nor have any ambitions to do so!

N. S.

COMING APART continued from Page 1

democratic governments, with their welfare states, have not altered this. We are not going to get social and economic justice from social democratic governments manipulating the capitalist system. The Labour government's social contract is a part of this manipulation. It still leaves us with bosses and workers, governors and governed, those with power and those without.

Most people are content with trying to

improve their standard of living. This means, in popular terms, buying more consumer goods. But unless we are to emulate the capitalist system we have to show solidarity with those who are less well off. Workers' solidarity should extend to a class solidarity. Workers' struggles should go beyond those based on increased wages and should concern social and economic justice.

While it is obvious that the capitalist system is in chaos, people lack the desire and the organisations to combat this chaos and put something in its place. It isn't any good calling on governments or even getting another wage increase: the solution is in building up something to replace a system that appears to be coming apart at the seams. It is better for people to work out their own solutions and act on them than to have a solution imposed. At the moment the odds seems to be on the latter.

P. T.

IN BRIEF

A BRITISH member of an international cartel which secretly shared out export contracts for cables at agreed minimum prices has won the Queen's Award to Industry.

SEX rears its ugly headline in the Sunday Telegraph 'THATCHER FEAR OF SOCIALIST RUT'

SCIENTISTS at Tate and Lyle sugar factory have succeeded in manufacturing a new detergent and a foam fire-extinguisher.

GEORGE LENNOX, who claims he was tortured by Special Branch and then framed on a robbery charge, has been released from prison, still protesting his innocence.

AN ENQUIRY is to be held into allegations from a group of doctors that the French nuclear tests in the Pacific last year may have caused radiation damage to unborn children on the north coast of Australia. An unusually high number of abnormal births has been reported.

BECAUSE of gate-crashing demonstrations at anti-Common Market meetings the National Front has been barred from Conway Hall for six months. The Front was miffed that it was not asked to participate in the mainly Labour anti-market platform. A Mr. Desmond Fenwick (a name not unfamiliar to older anarchists, SPGB members and bibliophiles), chairman of the N. F. Islington (London) branch, said "We do not further wish to interrupt an organization /the Anti-Market grouping/ which is doing good work."

THE HALDANE SOCIETY (of lawyers) has expressed opposition to the Law

Commission's proposals on squatting which include a proposal for a new crime of 'failing to leave' property at the owner's request. The society says "the proposed offence is vague and ill-defined, and as drafted will include picnickers, ramblers, or people involved in disputes over, for example, entrance to cinemas. . . in particular it would include workers who meet or stay on an employer's premises during an industrial dispute, once they have been told to leave by their employer".

A SCOTS police constable and a police car mechanic were fined for poaching deer. Two red stags, still warm, were found inside their car.

THE ORGANIZERS of the Windsor Pop Festival, Sid Rawle and Bill Dwyer, against whom an injunction banning the festival is standing, are still seeking an alternative site for the festival.

THE ORGANIZERS of the Welsh Eistedfodd have refused the offer of sites from the military since they say the Eistedfodd is dedicated to peace. Mr. Saunders Lewis considers this an insult to the military. Mr. Lewis was imprisoned during the war for setting fire to a bombing station on Welsh nationalist grounds.

"Babies for Burning", a book highly critical of the Abortion Law, was reviewed in The Freethinker in January. The review is very damning of the book. Now, the solicitors to the authors/publishers have threatened The Freethinker with legal action.

Subsequent to the Freethinker review, the Sunday Times denounced the authors' methods of research, questioned some of their findings and seriously doubted some of their facts. The Sunday Times has not, so far, been threatened.

THE ROMAN Catholic Church in England and Wales is winning fewer converts than at any time this century, and is failing to retain the support of an increasing number of its members. These are the findings of a Catholic sociologist from Queen's University, Belfast.

The Guardian reports that according to a secret internal document, membership of International Socialists group has not increased during the past year, and according to the same source, sales of the weekly Socialist Worker have "stagnated". However, sales are still about 24,000 copies weekly. Wake up, FREEDOM readers/sellers!

THE NUMBER of people being held in Portuguese jails who could be termed 'political prisoners' (they include large numbers of Pide secret policemen) is between twenty and thirty times higher than at the time of last April's revolution. So far none of the politicians and officials held has been brought to trial.

Sancho Panza.

SPAIN: REPRESSION GOES ON

WE HAVE been asked by a Spanish comrade to publish the following text. The people mentioned in it are due to come up for trial soon, and face the death penalty.

The passages in bold type at the end are from a letter by Eva Forest smuggled out of prison, and published in January's *Frente Libertario*. The full text is being published in *People's News Service*.

Maria Gonzalez is a pseudonym.
--Editors.

SINCE THE middle of September eight comrades whom Franco's police and politics have singled out as select targets of the repression, have been in jail, savagely tortured and humiliated psychologically and ideologically. They are being charged with the explosion in the cafe Rolando (frequented by police) on 13th September; two of them (Eva Forest and Antonio Duran) are also accused of being party to the assassination of Carrero Blanco and may be condemned to death on the flimsiest evidence (books, hideouts, leaflets, notes, their reputation as "anti-Francoists", their long-standing revolutionary commitment).

However, the present situation in Spain with unrest in every social class, sheds light on the murky precipice over which Franco's government is falling: in one of the most important struggles of the working class, factories are left idle as the workers go out onto the

KROPOTKIN IN ISRAEL

THE READERS of FREEDOM will, no doubt, be interested to read that a pamphlet on the life and teachings of Peter Kropotkin was published recently in the Yiddish language in Tel-Aviv, by the publishing society "Problem".

The pamphlet is a translation from the original Hebrew essay written by the Israeli labour leader, Chaim Arlozoroff many years ago, and was included in a volume of the writer's collected works. (Concerning the life of Arlozoroff, see my letter on Gustav Landauer and the Israeli labour movement in FREEDOM of January 11, 1975).

The essay was first translated into Yiddish by the Hebrew-Yiddish writer and critic Shlomo Grodzinsky in 1944 for a Detroit Yiddish paper.

According to a Jewish Telegraphic Agency report from Tel-Aviv, the newly-published pamphlet became a collector's piece on publication day.

Nahum Sneh

streets; the main supermarket of Madrid had no customers for several days as a result of a boycott by housewives protesting at the prices; students held mass meetings to protest the closure of Valladolid University; for several nights there were no performances in the theatres as the actors came out in solidarity with the workers, acknowledging that they too were workers and demanding the right to organize in a union. The Minister of Labour was sacked because, after six years of ferocious repression, he dared to suggest that Spanish workers might have a minimum right to go on strike.

It is easy to see that the Spanish government is at its last gasp, but a state like Franco's could just as easily execute these comrades as one of its last acts of repression. It is built on the deaths of thousands of Spanish people and on the destruction of an initial experiment in freedom (in Zaragoza, for example, in 1936, the city with the largest membership of the CNT, which responded to the Fascist war with a general strike without even so much as a demonstration on the street, between 15,000 and 30,000 members of the CNT - the city's total population was 200,000 - were butchered by the Carlists, the Falangists & other right-wing factions). This state has been kept in power for 35 years only by the most savage armed repression and the cold-blooded slaughter of all dissident elements. It has implanted... political stupidity in the people (in the winter of 1964 a referendum was held to give a vote of thanks to the dictator for the 25 years of his peace; and the majority rose from their wine and sausages that had been in such short supply during the war to give an inexpressive and meaningless "yes" to Franco's peace).

But today this peace which they made us sing and recite by heart when we were children, which they drummed into the heads of those who had lived through the years of Francoist insurgency, is being shown up by the people for what it is: the cruellest war against freedom, the freedom of people to shape their own lives.

For this reason, if the people clamour for freedom, Franco will inevitably spread terror among the people, torturing and murdering those whose voices are best known; the excuse or pretext doesn't matter - if it doesn't exist, they will invent one, because the fanaticism of the Fascists can always find some old score to settle.

And so, as principal victim of this bloody farce, Eva Forest is in prison, in solitary and in a terrible physical state because of the tortures they have subjected her to, tortures in which Fascist Spanish *machismo* has displayed its total violence and sexual sickness. Maria Luz Fernandez, Eliseo Bayo and Lidia Falcon have had to be interned in a hospital. They have destroyed the face of Maria Paz

Ballesteron, former television actress. Antonio Duran, Bernardo Vadell, H. Sanz de la Pena; all of them are in Spanish prisons, incommunicado, kept on a wretched diet and in terrible sanitary conditions, while they await their trial by a military court which is demanding the death penalty for all of them.

There is a crying need for intensive international support and solidarity to save the lives of these comrades and all others who are left to rot in the prisons of Franco, this military man whose political ideology has always meant the persecution to death of every revolutionary. The Spanish Solidarity Committee has recently been started to provide this support. It is a committee involving a number of different political groupings and they welcome help from any individual or organization. This help is urgently needed because there are lives at stake. They hold meetings at the North London Polytechnic, Holloway Road, 7.30 on Fridays. Contact phone number is 249-1498.

Maria Gonzalez.

"They put me in the hands of some young athletes. Returning from one of the interrogations, I passed Antonio Duran: he was walking with difficulty, his eyes were black and swollen and his face was covered with bruises. Opposite my cell I saw someone who was complaining that they had broken his ribs, and a little further on another person was calling for a doctor saying that he was suffering from similar fractures. Carmen Nadi had been tortured too. Someone told me they had forced her to crawl on her knees for several hours, and that the marks she left could still be seen on the floor of the prison. Lidia Falcon who had recently had hepatitis, had been punched in her liver and stomach."

"The one called Robert showed me to an armchair.

"We are human", he said. "We know that you are an idealist, and that you felt frustrated because your husband went with other women, and because you are a romantic you tried to satisfy your needs with members of the E.T.A."

This interrogation lasted a very long time and was constantly humiliating.

The second time around there was a change of style. They beat me up systematically right through the night. I received blows on the head, in the occipital region with the edge of the hand, and with both their hands at the same time; they pressed on my temples which gave me terrible earache. They gave me innumerable blows. They tore out my hair. When they took me back to my cell early in the morning I felt punch-drunk like a boxer, and I could hardly remember anything of the interrogation.

Throughout the nine days that I stayed in the D.G.S., they interrogated me 17 times, and I was tortured every time except the last, when they only insulted me.

FROM HOLIDAY TO LOCK-OUT

FROM THE general holiday of the working class to the general lockout of the master class; that, in brief, spans the history of ideas concerning the general strike. If the form of general strike advocated by Benbow in England in 1883 was non-violent in nature it may well be that the Peterloo massacre of 1819 was still fresh in the memory; Shelley's famous poem, "The Mask of Anarchy", having been published only a year previously in 1832. Shelley's advice to stand "With folded arms and steady eyes" if not taken quite literally was certainly in tune with the ideas of Robert Owen and many of his followers.

The idea of a general strike was also connected with the eight-hours day movement in Chicago in 1886 when four anarchists were hanged following the Haymarket bombing, and then the movement came to Europe in the shape of May Day demonstrations which were, in Kropotkin's words, "--a sort of one day general strike of all working men, which had to be made for the propaganda of an eight-hours day"⁽¹⁾.

In France the idea of the general strike as a means of ushering in the social revolution took hold, but we can ignore Sorel's reflections on violence and his idea of the general strike as a labour myth to be held before the workers as a red rag is held before a bull. Pelloutier, before his death in 1901, had stated in an open letter to Jules Guesde that he saw the strike as a peaceful weapon and repudiated any form of violence. In 1904 Pouget and Griffuelhes had both declared that it would be a two-sided activity; negatively the suspension of work; positively the seizure of the means of production. It was not until 1905 that the results of a referendum initiated by the Lyons congress of 1901 was published in a pamphlet written by Pataud and Pouget⁽²⁾. The following list of questions had been submitted to members of the French syndicates:

1. How would your syndicate act in order to transform itself from a fighting into a productive group?
2. How would you proceed to take possession of the machinery pertaining to your industry?
3. How do you conceive the organisation and management of the shops and factories of the future?
4. If your syndicate belongs to the highways and transport system, how do you conceive its management?
5. What will be your relations to your federation of trade or of industry after the reorganisation?
6. On what principle would the distribution of products take place and how would the productive group procure raw materials for the members?
7. What part would the labour exchanges play in the transformed society and what would be their duties with reference to the collecting of statistics and to the distribution of goods?

As implied in the final question, the labour exchanges (Bourses du Travail) of the CGT performed a range of functions not associated with similarly manned establishments in this country⁽³⁾. They bore a close resemblance to the Trades Councils even though often referred to as exchanges and, under the guidance of Pelloutier, expanded their range of activities.

The pamphlet, more accurately a novelette,

published by Pataud and Pouget was based upon the answers received, but both of them allowed their imaginations to roam freely. The pattern is similar to the events of the C Commune, with soldiers deserting and siding with the CGT just as French conscripts had disobeyed orders to fire upon the crowd and had joined the ranks of the communards. The role of writers and artists in the revolution is not overlooked, nor have they forgotten, on this occasion, to seize the banks, as the gold will be needed to pay for raw materials or finished goods from other countries. A fanciful touch, possibly suggested by one of their correspondents, is that the Hertzian rays be used to beat back invading armies from capitalist states. But the pamphlet is not a blueprint for a syndicalist utopia; as we shall see, the syndicalists had good reasons for not producing such blueprints, and Pelloutier had considered much of socialist thinking to be on the same level as the predictions of the astrologers' almanac. In practice we find the former mechanic and draughtsman, Paul Delesalle, one of the younger anarchists who was assistant to Pelloutier, complaining in 1900 of the fragmentary nature of strikes being called for on the spur of the moment, and hoping that a wider, more class-conscious, more revolutionary approach to strikes would be developed.

In Britain, while Tom Mann had adopted many ideas from the CGT, his ideas on the general strike, as published in the *Industrial Syndicalist* (March, 1911), seem to be a blend of the "folded arms" idea from Shelley and Benbow's idea of a grand national holiday of the workers: "This will be the actual Social and Industrial revolution and the workers will refuse to any longer manipulate the machinery of power in the interests of the capitalist class and there will be no power on earth to compel them to work if they refuse. When the capitalists get tired of running industry the workers will cheerfully invite them to abdicate and through their unions will run the industries themselves in the interests of the whole community."

The anti-militarist campaigns of the CGT were aimed at undermining the morale of conscripts and thus formed part of the long term strategy of the general strike, but when Mann accepted responsibility for the *Open Letter to Soldiers* which appeared in the *Syndicalist* for January, 1912 he received nine months' hard labour. He later confided to André Tridon that the letter had actually been written by Fred Bowers, a Liverpool stonemason and socialist colleague of Jim Larkin before the latter left his native city for Ireland.

It was another man of Irish parentage, James Connolly, who introduced into these islands the IWW concept of the general strike as the "general lockout of the master class"⁽⁴⁾. He combined it with an idea held by the IWW at the time (but never seriously put into effect) that a political party emanating from the industrial unions (this would really have been the IWW Propaganda League, founded by Connolly, under another guise) could have been used for propaganda purposes and as a means of testing the political temperature at the polls. If the ballot went in their favour and the capitalists refused to abide by the verdict then the *coup de grace* would be applied by means of "the lockout exercised against the master class"

which will "make this social revolution comparatively bloodless and peaceable despite the tigerish instincts or desires of the capitalist enemy". In his anticipation of violence from the capitalist enemy, Connolly was expressing a typically syndicalist viewpoint. Pelloutier had seen the general strike as a peaceful weapon and repudiated any form of violence but he also allowed for the possibility of "that violence which in the end, alone, can curb violence, and which is the natural weapon of every proud and dignified creature".

But it is impossible to really understand the syndicalist concept of the revolutionary class strike without devoting some attention to the nature of the syndicalist union. The one big union is intended to generate within itself all of the working forms of future post-capitalist society; this explains why there are no syndicalist blueprints for future utopias such as were provided by Saint-Simon and Fourier. And the union is not confined to manual workers; syndicates of teachers had pledged their support for the CGT and, as Tridon points out, even those noted "extremists" Pouget and Pataud have declared that they considered literary and artistic achievement as one legitimate form of production. Pelloutier has similar ideas: "Just as bourgeois art does more to maintain the capitalist regime than all the other social forces - government, army, police and judges - together; so a social and revolutionary art would do more to advance the coming of free communism than all those agents of revolution to which man has been led by his suffering"⁽⁵⁾.

With these facts in mind we can understand what is implied when the Amiens congress of the CGT in 1904 pledged itself to expropriation of the capitalists through the general strike and to reorganise society upon the basis of syndicates transformed from units of resistance into organs of production and distribution. The final paragraphs added to the IWW Preamble in 1908 contain the same idea: "The army of production must be organised, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production after capitalism has been overthrown." One of their propagandists, Robert Rives La Monte, stresses the dual role of the industrial union: "How are you going to see to it that the world's work is done after your victory? The old socialism, looking forward to a political victory, had no convincing answer. The new socialism says the very organisation that wins the victory will carry on society's work after the victory is won, and that without any interval of disorganisation."⁽⁶⁾

Connolly considers the syndicalist union to possess "not only the outline of the most effective form of combination for industrial warfare today, but also for Social Administration of the Co-operative of the future"⁽⁷⁾. For his part, Tom Mann pursued his aims through the amalgamation of existing unions: "Organisation on the lines above described will supply us with a weapon that will constantly challenge the consolidated forces of capitalism until the worker is elevated to his rightful place in society - the owner and controller of the forces of production".⁽⁸⁾

Enrico Leone, in his series of addresses published in book form as *Il Sindicalismo* expresses the same idea:

"In syndicalism more than in any other theory you can point to the socialism that is to be... Today the working class... constructs the first nucleus of the future society of equals in associations of workers, which are to organise and discipline production... This is the superiority of syndicalism. It does not build a new social system according to its fancy, but emerges from the working class movement as an autonomous and distinct realm, and sees in itself the fertile soil from which, as a fruit springs from its own tree and a tree from its own soil, it will produce a new world." (9)

H.B.

(1) FREEDOM Pamphlet No. 4, page 31

(2) Published in England as *Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth* in 1913, with a foreword by Tom Mann and an introduction by

Peter Kropotkin.

(3) See the article on Anarchy and Culture Ferdinand Pelloutier and the dilemma of revolutionary syndicalism in *Anarchy* 40. Its author, Alan Spitzer, emphasises that Pelloutier saw them as a means whereby the CGT could promote "the self-education of the working class outside of, and against, the deadening and manipulating culture of capitalist society".

(4) Ballots, Bullets, or - ? in the *International Socialist Review*, October 1909. See also the final chapter of *Labour, Nationality and Religion*, 1910.

(5) The charge of anti-intellectualism levelled against syndicalism is misleading. Pelloutier himself could easily be categorised as an intellectual and, in Italy, Labriola was a university professor while Giovannitti of the IWW, who played a prominent part in the Lawrence mill strike, was a university graduate often described as the poet of industrial unionism. Syndic-

alists have, however, always objected to those intellectuals having nothing to do with the movement who set themselves up as self-appointed leaders and "interpreters" of syndicalism. Sorel comes into the latter category as does G.D.H. Cole in Britain.

(6) *International Socialist Review*, September 1912.

(7) *The Reconquest of Ireland*, 1915

(8) Manifesto of the Amalgamations Committees Federation, December 1912. Mann appears not to have been sufficiently critical of amalgamations taking place under the aegis of the TUC leadership. For a more critical approach, see Connolly's articles, *On Trade Union Organisation and Old Wine in New Bottles*.

(9) Quoted in *The New Unionism* by André Tiron, New York, 1913.

§ Various syndicalist pamphlets on the general strike and One Big Union organisation are available from Freedom Bookshop.

REFERENDUM

Dear Editors,

Francis Ellingham's defense of the Referendum in FREEDOM for 15th March, 1975 leaves me baffled. His principal reason appears to be that "there is an important issue at stake." For him it might be an important issue like it was for Karl Marx in an article entitled, "Indifference to Politics" (reprinted in *Anarchism & Anarcho-syndicalism*, Selected Writings by Marx, Engels & Lenin, Progress Publishers, Moscow, pp. 94-99). In this article he pours scorn on Proudhon for his condemnation of workers establishing political movements and any attempts to get legislation passed to merely ameliorate working conditions.

But there is more that Ellingham "forgot" to take into account - by voting YEA or NAY, he is recognising authority, the authority of the majority or minority depending on which faction he has voted for.

Furthermore, Frederick Engels in a chapter of *Anarchism & Anarcho-syndicalism* (pp. 27-31) entitled "The Catchword 'Abolition of the State' and the German friends of Anarchy", launches an attack on Stirner which fizzles out by itself - he says that The Ego & His Own is a product of the decadence of German philosophy! To Engels, the abolition of the State, a catchword used by Stirner and Proudhon, only reflects "their desire to maintain the existing bourgeois society". Engels says further that the catchword is "...the extravagant bogus transformation of bourgeois liberty into absolute freedom and independence of the individual, or finally, the indifference of the bourgeois towards any form of state so long as it does not hamper the development of bourgeois interests..." So Mr Ellingham ought to be grateful to Engels since, in opposing the State and its institutions (voting, referendums) we are bourgeois.

But Stirner, in *The Ego & His Own* (p. 179) said: "...[the State] imposes being a man upon me as a duty. Further it desires me to do nothing along with which it cannot last; so its permanence is to be sacred for me."

(P. 195): "...States last only so long as there is a ruling will and this ruling will is looked upon as tantamount to the own will... The State is not thinkable without lordship and servitude (subjection); (p. 196): "...Own will and the State are powers in deadly hostility, between which no eternal peace is possible."

In closing, I would like to say to Mr Ellingham, that he ought to apply to himself the words of Stirner, when he says (p. 196): "...in the State-life I am at best - I might just as well say, at worst - a bondsman of myself..."

LETTERS

How change it? [re referendum] Only by recognising no duty, not binding myself nor letting me be bound. If I have no duty, then I know no law either. "But they will bind me!" [fear of a super-State as per Mr Ellingham's view] "My will nobody can bind, and my disinclination remains free" (p. 197). "Defend yourself, and no one will do anything to you! He who would break your will has to do with you, and is your enemy. Deal with him as such." (Stirner).

Yours truly,
R. Yves Breton
(Montreal)

DE-SCHOOLING AND ALL THAT

Dear Readers,

Sorry I haven't answered Alan Alban's letter (March 29th) before, but I've been away with my nuclear family.

He has, I fear, largely missed the point of my article. I wasn't defending schools as institutions, nor would I wish to. My contention was simply that in the present situation some primary schools can offer some children a measure of security, a chance to socialise and an opportunity for mental, physical and emotional growth.

Also, I agree with what Alan Alban says about the family, especially the nuclear family. In inner-city areas families are rumps of what they used to be. Year by year they shrink still more, with devastating effects on children. Hence, the usefulness of schools at the present time.

As for Illich, I endorse most of his critique of our society. But his alternatives seem to me not merely nebulous but also likely to benefit the articulate and 'pushing' at the expense of the others. So does the existing system, it may be argued. True, but the point is that the hoped-for future one ought to be better.

Best wishes,

D. B.

LESSONS TO THE IK

Dear Editors,

As a "Stirnerian" individualist, I found B.H. Moseley's article, "Lessons from the Ik", very strange indeed. What starts out as quite an interesting description of a primitive tribe ends up as a piece of moralistic preaching against anarchist individualism.

The comparison he makes between the Ik and Stirner's notion of an association of conscious egoists is based on a very mistaken view of the latter. Stirner did not deny the satisfactions - selfish, to be sure - of love, nor did he argue against co-operation when such was expedient. What he did insist on was that these activities should not be regarded as "sacred" and binding upon the individuals engaging in them. If this were to happen they would then become "spooks" dominating the individual - new forms of authority for him to serve.

It is true that Stirner did not believe that conflict between individuals would, or ought to disappear. On the contrary, he saw it as a necessary component in the development of self-ownership. For this reason he did not oppose competition either - again, when such was expedient. Moseley's apparent obsession with the Judaic-Christian myth of universal harmony and indiscriminate "brotherly love" prevents him from seeing that co-operation and competition are not always mutually exclusive. Perhaps he ought to read some Stirner before condemning him.

Moseley contends that "society" is something more than "an agglomeration of individuals". Well, just what is it? It is no use invoking the word, "society" as some magic cure for the problems of the Ik and as a curse upon individualists without specifying the qualities supposedly possessed by this "entity" apart from those of the individuals who compose it. The use of "society" in these ways places it on the same level as those other much-beloved spooks; God, the State, Law and Right. Very useful for mystifying the credulous herd, of course, but valueless for anyone looking for a concrete referent.

Moseley makes great play on an analogy he draws between "capitalism" and the world of the Ik. Now, whatever criticisms can be made of "our capitalist masters", I doubt if one can argue that they want to lead us to the fate of the girl, Adupa. Starvation and the brutalities of "emergency ethics" have existed far longer than capitalism, despite the huffing and puffing of the less intelligent socialists. They app-

Continued on Page 6

A CHILD'S GUIDE TO THE REFERENDUM

DADDY, what is the Eec?

--The Eec, spel I-K, are a small tribe living on the boundaries of Uganda who ceased being a tribe and became an agglomeration of individuals.

--Is that why we have joined them?

--What do you mean?

--It says in the paper, 'Britain to decide whether to stay in the Eec'.

--Not Eek! Ee-Ee-Cee.

--What's that?

--European Economic Community.

--Is that better than the Common Market? Mother says we shouldn't go to the Common Market. It puts up the grocery bills. I think she thinks it's too common too, like some of the boys I play- shouldn't play with.

--The E. E. C. 's the same as the Common Market.

--Why don't they says so, then? Sounds suspicious all this changing names. Like on the telly when some crook changes his name to throw the police off the scent. Is it an allice?

--No, it's perfectly simple. The Market's part of it, the Economic Community is a bigger part of its job.

--Is it right that the grocery bills have gone up since we have joined the market?

--Yes. . . but it's merely an adjustment to the standards of living in Europe.

--Then why hasn't our standard of living gone up?

--It's for the benefit of the farmers.

--But if we don't get more money how can we buy stuff in the Common Market? We'd do better in the supermarket.

--Mr. Wilson has got us better terms and we're being asked to vote if we'll stay in the market.

--Is that the reverent dumb? Like the silent majority?

--Not reverent dumb... referendum.

--I thought Mr. Wilson didn't want us in the market. When mother voted against Mr. Heath it was because Mr. Powell said Mr. Wilson was against the market.

--Mr. Wilson changed his mind. Now he thinks because we've got better terms we should stay in the market and tell him whether we agree with him or not.

--If he's running the government why do we have to tell him what to do?

THE IK... continued from Page 5

ear to have been part and parcel of the "human condition" from the very beginnings of mankind.

A final point. Moseley quotes Turnbull's report of the boy Murai justifying his eating while his younger brother starved by saying, "Surely it is better that one should live than that both should die." In the circumstances, what else would he suggest Murai should have done? The pieties implicit in his attitude are fine when one lives in the comparative "affluence" of a "competitive/capitalist society such as ours." They are not even remotely applicable in the country of the Ik as he describes it.

Sincerely,
S.E. Parker

--He wants to do what we think is right.

--If he will do what we think is right why does he tell us what he thinks is right?

--Because some other people in the government do not think he is right.

--Why do they stay in the government, then? Why don't they leave like Mr. Heiffer?

--Because they think that the referendum might decide not to stay in.

--But if Mr. Wilson wants to stay in why doesn't he just do it?

--Because it isn't democratic.

--But he didn't say that before. Nor did Mr. Heath when he decided it was too complicated for the electorate. Is it less complicated now?

--No---things are different.

--In what way? Because we're worse off? Milly's Daddy hasn't got any work.

--That's why we have to stay in the EEC.

--So that Milly's Daddy can get work?

--Not exactly. So that it doesn't get any worse.

--Will it get better if we decide to stay in the Eek?

--It might.

--Don't they know?

--Not exactly.

--Then why do they want us to vote in the reverend dumb?

--Because it will mean that it's our own fault if we decide wrong.

--But Daddy, didn't Mr. Heath decide, and then Mr. Wilson decided---

--We need to belong to a larger economic unit so that we can find our place in the world.

--But Milly's father can't find a place because she says that everybody's buying French cars and Italian cars and German cars and Japanese cars instead of buying

the American cars Milly's father used to make. Why couldn't we go in with the Americans? ... or the Russians?

--They're our competitors.

--What are the French, then? Or the Italians? Or the Germans?

--They're our community partners. We make arrangements, business deals to divide up the trade.

--Daddy, do you think they're being fair? Mummy says we're losing our sovereignty. Is that why we're losing our sovereigns? Is that like Milly's Daddy losing his job?

--No, sovereignty means the right to rule oneself. Of course, if we belong to the E. E. C. we lose some rights and gain others.

--Daddy, did we rule ourselves? Did Didn't we have policemen and bosses, and teachers, and the King and Queen. And haven't we got them now? Shall we lose them if we vote right?

--Have you done your homework?

--Are the French, the Germans and the Italians an agglomeration of individuals?

--No, they're members of the Community.

--Daddy, you know what I think? I think we should vote to join that tribe in Uganda.

Jack Spratt.

30 YEARS LATER

THE APRIL issue of *Rivista Anarchica* carries an article which sums up the evolution and present state of Italy since the end of the war and its "liberation", and the attitude of the Italian anarchists towards it all. What follows is a summary of what was said:-

Thirty years after the "liberation"... whilst signor Crociani (an ex-officer in the Italian S. S.) is pursuing a profitable career with I. R. I. /one of the main arms of Italian state-industry and finance/, the anarchist partisan Belgrado Pedrini is serving a 30-year sentence in the prisons of the republic which was born in the Resistance. 30 years after the "liberation", Pedrini has just recently been released, only to be re-arrested shortly afterwards.

30 years after the "liberation", the M. S. I., a party whose policies are explicitly fascist, is subsidised by the State (4 billion lire a year) and its exponents speak to the Italian people over the state-owned television service.

These types of examples are almost limitless. As anarchists it does not interest us merely to show that the Resistance and antifascismo have been betrayed, because the "resistance" and "antifascism" which we see as part of a greater struggle for social emancipation has nothing whatever to do with THEIR Resistance and THEIR antifascism (of the Christian Democrats, monarchists, social democrats, liberals, of the soci-

alist and communist bureaucrats -- in other words, the "official" commentators on the "resistance"). The men of power, the men of the centre-left, of the centre-right, of the historic compromise, have never betrayed our ideals because they have never held these ideals. For these "official commentators" the resistance was not an intoxicating (but illusory) episode towards revolution, but a necessary transformation in the form of power held (and a partial substitution of the power-wielders) within the substantial continuity of power itself.

Our fight then, and our fight today, does not aim to put the social democrats and communists in the seat of power and privilege. If we raised our guns then, and if tomorrow we raise them again, it will be to exterminate power and privilege.

In the 30 years of "liberation", if anything is worth saying, it is this: that since those enthusiastic days the progress of real liberation for the workers has regressed, from the advanced state it was in then, to new forms of exploitation and new institutions of power which have consolidated themselves.

The reason why the theme of "anti-fascism" is capable of emotionally moving so many workers is that in the memory of those who lived through those glorious days, and in the imagination of the young who did not experience them, the fascist state seemed to be defeated and the oppressed and exploited people were victorious.

Continued on Page 7

FREE RADIO

Dear Freedom,

On 12 April, at approximately 3.30 a.m., three van loads of police from Harrow Road police station, together with GPO officials - twenty seven people in all - sealed off Westbourne Park Road, and smashed down the door of number 115, from which a radio transmission was in progress. Without showing a warrant, without charging anyone with any offence, they seized the transmitter, records, record decks, a microphone, a bag with meters and a soldering iron, and miscellaneous tools, giving no receipt. And also, for some reason, seized a jacket and a packet of tea.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, signed by all the member nations of the United Nations, states as follows:

'Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers' (Our emphasis).

The history of pirate radio is mostly a history of lively spirits going out on a limb and then gradually being absorbed into either the BBC or Capital and LBC monopolies. Apart from a few blasts of ozone - Open Line on BBC 2, for example - the BBC is still regarded as a guard-dog of liberal (as opposed to libertarian) prejudice, and Capital and LBC

THIRTY YEARS LATER cont'd from P.6

We refuse to unite ourselves with the state's "antifascists" because the principal enemy of the oppressed and exploited peoples are today these same state "antifascists" who in the name of "antifascism" exploit, oppress, command, imprison, kill, fool and steal from the people; who in the name of "antifascism" try to make revolutionaries anathema with their formula of "opposed extremisms" (and recently in a more sinister manner with the objective provocation of fascist violence).

The "antifascism" of the state is merely an alibi which covers up shameful connivances (stabilised by custom, the cult of power, and counter-revolutionary hate), designed to blur the distinctions between government and opposition, between Christian Democrats and Communists, which are becoming increasingly formal and less substantial.

We recognise that "antifascism" today cannot be a valid policy, nor a funda-

are chowing-gum radio presenting life as a sybaritic midden. The underlying premise of both monopolies in London is that the Good Life and money are irrevocably entwined. (Last week one of us sentenced himself to watching BBC TV for 5 hours and found that money in some context or other was mentioned 73 times; God once; Change, Evolution, Revolution and Joy: nill.)

The cause of Free Radio is the same cause as Free Speech, and a Free Press.

Many people have much of value to transmit without their message being filtered through elaborate and elitist consortiums, hidebound by licence fee obligations (Capital Radio apparently pays £160,000 per annum for a piece of paper), and who yearn for open access to the air waves. Who amongst us voted for the current zeitgeist link-men and women? Who voted for David Frost, Michael Parkinson, Esther Rantzen, Jimmy Young, et al?

The best conspiracies (which means to breathe together) have Right or Goodness, which is simply high energy, on their side - and having witnessed Radio Concord in action, which necessarily involved participation, we know that Free Radio is a valuable plant worth nurturing. Their equipment was brutally robbed by the slaves of a power and money oriented sub-culture. Socrates said that no harm could come to a good man, which is true, but surely no one would have complained if he'd said that the hemlock tasted a little sour?

M. Merlin, D. Senior, H. Williams.

ANOTHER RAID

During the night of Friday/Saturday April 18/19 Radio Concord lost further equipment, this time to 15 policemen and six members of the GPO Investigation Squad, in a raid this time on an address in Camden Town. According to The Observer, one man was charged from the nine people questioned.

mental aspect of the social struggle. We recognise that fascism itself (from its squalid nostalgics to the mad bomb-throwers) constitutes nothing more than a secondary instrument of power, used for intimidation and provocation in "police-like" manner. It is used also as a false target for struggle, as a divertant and a psychological barrier to our real enemies.

It is necessary and just to weaken the will of the fascists for provocation by energetic and exemplary replies; to defend ourselves from aggression with the necessary force; to remind the fascists that our discourse with them was closed once and for all 30 years ago. Above all, it is necessary to remember and testify with words and deeds that we are anti-fascist as we are anti-many other things. Against everything which prevents or opposes equality and freedom. This includes the State's antifascists.

VIVA L'NARCHIA!

Francesco.

AGRIBUSINESS

IS RUINING OUR FARMS

This letter appeared in the Essex County Standard, April 11, 1975.

THE FARM land lobby is at it again. The High Sheriff of Essex, Col. Judd, is reported... as saying that the government's proposed capital transfer tax will bring about the break-up of large estates ("a land pattern that has existed for a thousand years") into small holdings; a reduction in land prices; and a diminished contribution to the balance of payments.

While it is true that since 1066 much English agricultural land has been owned by a few individuals, it was mainly farmed until recently by small tenant farmers. The concentration of land into large farming units began in the 18th century and really gathered pace after 1945. There has been more change to our land pattern in the last generation than at any time since the Norman conquest.

When land prices shot up in 1972 the farmers were quick to point out that they were no richer as a result, since it meant no more money in the bank for them. They will be happy if land prices fall, since they will be no poorer, and the reduced value of their land will mean a reduced burden of capital transfer tax on their successors.

As for the balance of payments: while the number of people working on the land has dropped greatly in recent years, thus improving the productivity per worker, the productivity per acre of land has improved hardly at all. There has been a slight increase due to new varieties of seed and new breeds of animal, but none as a result of more intensive farming methods. Clearly therefore a return to smaller farming units would not reduce national food production and would not damage the balance of payments.

The cost of the post-war concentration of farm land in the hands of "Agribusinessmen" who treat farming as an industry has been heavy....

It is time our supposedly super-efficient farmers were shown up for what they mostly are: businessmen who are more interested in return on investment in the short and medium term than in the long-term health of the land which future generations will have to farm.

A return to the smallholding farmed mainly by a single family with no outside assistance and in which the farmer is more of a craftsman than an accountant, would maintain or even increase the productivity of the land, while restoring to it the fertility which the "agribusinessmen" have already partially destroyed.

If the capital transfer tax will achieve this it is to be welcomed.

Colchester.

Timothy Oxtan.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 3 - 16 April

HAMPTON: B.P.B. £ 2.50; WHALLEY: P.A. & S.L.G. £ 1; LONDON SE26: J.B. £ 1.07; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1.20; J.K.W. 20p; BOURNEMOUTH: P.F.T. £ 1; SUTTON: B.R. £ 2.58; REGINA, Sask.: P.M. £ 2.25; VARBY, Sweden: A.P. £ 1; STOCKHOLM: O.H. 50p; WHALLEY: P.A. & S.L.G. £ 1; LONDON E4: S. & A.G. 50p; LONDON N3: D.M. £ 2.55; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. £ 25; LONDON E16: P.W. £ 2.00; MANCHESTER: Anon £ 10; MIAMI, Miami Group per J.S. £ 16.66; LONDON NW3: G.H. 25p; LONDON SE1: J.L.N. £ 4; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; HAMPTON: B.P.B. £ 2.50.

TOTAL: £ 78.46
Previously acknowledged ... £ 455.21
TOTAL to date £ 533.67

COPY DATES: for inclusion in next reviews section Monday 28th April deadline. News items, contact column &c. Monday 5th May. (Earlier is helpful.)
WE WELCOME ARTICLES, LETTERS, NEWS OF ACTIVITIES.

WE REGRET our last issue (12 April) was wrongly numbered 13-14. This should of course have been 14-15. (We would be especially grateful if library subscribers would please note.)

LONDON READERS who get this in time: FRIDAY 25 April Campaign to free Desmond Trotter - Picket Eastern Caribbean High Commission, Haymarket, S.W.1 4.30 - 6 p.m.

subscribe

One year.....£ 4.00 (\$9.60)
Six months.....£ 2.00 (\$4.80)
Three months.....£ 1.00 (\$2.40)

This rate is for U.K. subscriptions and for surface mail all over the world. Airmail rates on request.

I enclose Please send
FREEDOM for to

name.....
address.....

Published by Freedom Press,
London, E. 1. Printed by
Vineyard Press, Colchester.

MEETINGS

London

Saturday May 3. CONCERT in aid of anarchist prisoners everywhere in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1, organised by Anarchist Black Cross (83A Haverstock Hill, London, NW3). Main attractions are folksinger, Gordon Gilray, and Valhalla Liberation band. Buffet open from 5 pm. Small Hall open from 5.30 pm. Large Hall open from 7.30 pm. Tickets are now available from Anarchist Black Cross, or Freedom Bookshop at 85p. (+ postage, if ordered by mail). Nearest tube station is Holborn.

Sunday 4th May. British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign General Meeting 11 am-4pm at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St. WC1. All supporters & interested newcomers welcome. Thursday 8 May meeting of all London supporters of the Campaign, 7.30 pm at same place.

Alternate Sundays. Hyde Park Anarchist Forum. 1 pm at Speakers Corner. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcome.

Every Saturday & Sunday. Centro Iberico, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, 2nd door) Tube Chalk Farm or Belsize Park. From 7.30 pm - discussions, refreshments...

MANCHESTER. SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M7 2DU

NEW YORK. Libertarian Book Club Lectures, every second Thursday at 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Ave (SW corner 29th St.) Admission Free. May 8: Paul Avrich: The Anarchist Ideal

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

FREEDOM needs an editorial secretary 2 nights weekly (Monday & Thursday), Whitechapel. 6-9 pm. Shorthand not necessary, electric typewriter, no pay, fares paid. Contact Editorial Collective (tel. 247 9249).

Birmingham Peace Centre needs two new workers, starting summer when Dave and Victor leave. Please reply to Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street, Queensway, Birmingham 5 (tel. 021-643 0936).

We would like to build up an Anarchist Workshop. Our first meeting takes place at FREEDOM, 84B Whitechapel High St. E.1 on Friday, April 25 at 6 pm. Please come and let's see what we can do together. Abraham, International Freie Arbeiter Stimme.

Chinese Anarchism, its history & its influence on Maoism. Information or contacts to Alan Charles, P.O. Box 460 BERKELEY, Calif. 94701, USA

Poems & songs wanted from all over the world, for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology. Anarcho-Pacifist, Anti-Militarist, Anti-Racist, also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements, any language. Mark. Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Cambewell Church St., London, S.E.5.

GROUPS

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. COVENTRY. Peter Come, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry. EDINBURGH, contact Bob Gibson, 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel. 031-226 3073). GLASGOW contact Gerry Cranwell, 163 Great George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH write to Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants. N. LONDON Anarchist Workers Association write BCM-N. Lon. AW/A, London WC1V 6XX
NEW ZEALAND contact Steve Hey, 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch 4. (tel. 496-793).

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRIUM No. 3. 8p + post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Avenue, Whalley, Lancs, or Freedom Bookshop. DIRECT ACTION No. 6 out now. From Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M7 2DU or Freedom Bookshop (5p+5p) INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST (Industrial Workers of the World-IWW) No. 3 out now. From Freedom Bookshop (10p + 5p) or from Organising Committee, 116 Chaderton Way, Oldham, Lancs. (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124). THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. P.O. Box 3480, Tucson, Arizona 85722 \$3.00 per year (or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13p including post). ANARCHY, a duplicated quarterly available in a couple of months. One dollar for 4 issues. Subs., help and suggestions to Anarchy, c/o 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch, 4, New Zealand. LA FEUILLE. Recevez journal individualist. Ecrivez a La Feuille, A/S M. Ullmer B.P. 403-08, 75366 Paris Cedex 08, France. THE VULTURE, North American individualist paper, first issue Summer 1975. Write for pamphlets to C.P.95, Stn. Place D'Armes, Montreal P.Q. H2Y 3E9, Canada.

CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday, 8 May. Come and help from 2 p.m. onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding, and informal get-together).

PRISONERS

PAUL PANLOWSKI, 219009, HM Prison Hatherfield Road, London SW18 3HS. Letters & postcards please. DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre Curragh Camp., Co. Kildare, Eire. STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High Street, London NW1. Needs donations to supply books for these long-term prisoners. GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO

The postcards we mentioned in Freedom, one to send to Marini with a message of solidarity, and one addressed to the President of the Salerno Tribunal protesting against the 12 year sentence, are now available from us for 5p. (i.e. the postage to you) plus a donation which will be forwarded to the Defence Committee.

HELPING THE POLICE

THE GULF between theory and practice, between written history and experience is sometimes both wide and deep. So deep, so wide, that one reads, for example, *Civil Liberties in Britain* (by Barry Cox, published by Penguin) or Sir Robert Mark on the police and the courts in *The Observer*; or hears (on April 8) two urbane policepersons making a sustained apologia for the police on a BBC phone-in, without feeling 'it could happen to me'. Or, more smugly, thinking it doesn't happen to people like us. Even when one reads of what seems to be the final 'thumbs down' on the case of James Hanratty (hanged many years ago), one feels 'a small-time crook and liar like Hanratty was bound to get into deep trouble and be framed into something some day. It doesn't happen to people like us.'

But doesn't it? Last week Comrade X, an old respectable, worthy, well-behaved citizen (not even given to going on demonstrations) was kept in a British police station for twelve hours, 'helping' (as the expression goes) 'the police with their enquiries'. He was denied contact with a solicitor or a telephone, given no food, locked in a cell, intermittently cross examined, indirectly threatened with physical violence, i.e. by a third party, and finally released, not being charged with the offence of which he was completely innocent. The alleged offence (which, incidentally, may never have happened) was non-political. Sometimes 'people like us' do get involved in the tangles of the law and nothing is more difficult than to persuade a policeman of one's innocence when he is persuaded otherwise.

The very physical act of detention and isolation in a cell is sufficient to weaken the stoutest will and a bout of skilful cross-questioning is sufficient to confuse and unhinge the clearest and steadiest of minds.

THERE are epochs in which the moral conception changes entirely. A man perceives that what he had considered moral is the deepest immorality. In some instances it is a custom, a venerated tradition, that is fundamentally immoral. In others we find a moral system framed in the interests of a single class. We cast them overboard and raise the cry, "Down with morality!" It becomes a duty to act "immorally".

Let us welcome such epochs... A higher morality has begun to be wrought out.

Kropotkin
Anarchist Morality

Turning from the practice to the theory. *Civil Liberties in Britain* is one of the workmanlike efforts of Penguin Books; it covers the whole field of civil liberties. But by its subdivision into various fields of liberty - Assembly, Expression, Movement - it cannot, in its nature, see the decline in individual liberty inherent in the growth and development of the technological state, and therefore the impossibility of the task of the National Council for Civil Liberties. Theirs is merely a holding operation. One is reminded of the Indian fable of the men in a dark room with an elephant. One holds the ear and proclaims it a palm-leaf; one holds a leg and pronounces it a tree-trunk; one holds the trunk and says it is a snake, one feels a tusk and says it is a spear. This is how it is in considering civil liberty case by case, when what we are confronting (most of us in the dark) is the woolly mammoth of the state: typified by an elderly man isolated and frightened, locked up in a suburban police station cell for twelve hours.

Sir Robert Mark stands on the borderline between theory and practice. One feels that in his taking over direction of the Metropolitan Police he has brought forward a great number of theories to cover some rather unpleasant practices. He is an avid publicist and quite obviously feels that in the present swing from the so-called 'permissive society' it is the time to press forward the public relations image of the police as knights in shining armour who will, with the help of Sir Robert and some adjustments in the law, usher in a new crime-free era of sweetness and light.

Sir Robert states (in two *Observer* interviews with Kenneth Harris - March 16 and 23) that he wanted four changes in the law. Firstly, majority verdicts in jury trials; secondly compulsory pre-trial disclosure of defence alibis. He wants the abolition of the statutory caution ("You are not obliged to say anything unless you wish to do so, but what you say may be put in writing and given in evidence") upon arrest. The fourth change Sir Robert wants (the first two he got) is, in his own clumsy words, "a change in limited 'compellability' of the accused". That is to say, an accused person should no longer have the right not to go into the witness box.

Sir Robert claims that since there was no public outcry against majority verdicts in jury trials they "are now gener-

ally accepted and widely thought to be of great benefit to the administration of justice". Obviously, the only persons who would object to such an idea would be anarchists; the democratic system itself is based upon such a fallacy and it leaves no room for doubt or the still, small voice of the doubting minority.

His second point is a rather obscure technicality but nevertheless it illustrates the 'games' theory of the law whereby prosecution and defence agree to have a battle (at the expense of the client) and abide by rules of the game.

The third 'reform' needed by Sir Robert is the abolition of the formula upon arrest. This formula is useful as often it is the only indication that one is under arrest. Indeed, it is always useful to say as little as possible to the police since it will be used against one, arrest or no arrest. One hopes that Sir Robert will not get his wish regarding this change.

As to the proposal that the right of not appearing in the witness box be abolished, it can always be countered by a silence in the box which will presumably indicate a guilty discretion which can be construed as such by the judge and jury. Sir Robert, in common with many people, has this master-criminal theory that the law is made a mock of by master-criminals who employ crooked lawyers to take advantage of the privileges of the law to gain acquittal. Sir Robert has produced questionable statistics to back up his case. One might add that the master-criminals are few and the majority of cases concerns people like us caught in the mesh of the law.

Sir Robert has the bad grace to quote the dictum of the jurist Blackstone that it was better that one hundred guilty men should go free than that one innocent man should hang. Sir Robert thinks that this is not applicable -- "since hanging and flogging have been abolished it is surely time to consider issues of this kind logically, rather than emotionally." But nevertheless James Hanratty is still considered guilty by reason of the fact that the jury found him guilty and with little regard to the logic of the case.

We may think of Sir Robert's theories, of the admirable but heart-breaking job of the National Council for Civil Liberties, of the competent, efficient Penguin on civil liberty, but one must consider the case of our comrade, innocent in the cell, and reflect that such things happen to people like us.

Jack Robinson.

THE ORDER OF THE DAY

ONE WALKS with style and grace through the new galleries of the British Museum praising the staff and spreading approval like a benediction over every individual worker. It is the press day and I drink my five glasses of sherry and lecture the Press Officer on medieval weapons of war and I inform her that these new galleries are a credit to all concerned. The room of medieval tiles, the Horological Room with its clocks and watches and the Medieval Room containing the Sutton Hoo treasure give an air of learning and culture to the day and one leaves the British Museum feeling that in some small way one has furthered western civilization. And in less than a three-minute walk I am standing on the steps of the TUC's Congress House unwittingly embroiled in a one-sided dialogue between a group of militant leftwingers demanding that the late departed Alex Shelepin's visit should be honoured and a silent group of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Andrei Alostituk and the poet Eugen Kushev. Before us stood a solid and indifferent wall of police while behind us peered the clerical staff of the TUC from behind closed windowed doors. The leftwing speaker was angry and bitter and the Ukrainians Slavonically po-faced and one stood knowing that in this political free-for-all one was the odd man out, for the only banner that we could carry would be one denouncing both Shelepin and the Daily Mail's rent-a-crowd. So one played the innocent bystander and bussed it to the Victoria and Albert Museum to the liquorless press showing of the watercolours of Thomas Girtin. From early childhood I have loved these great pseudo Gothic museums and I still honour the memory of those lay worker preachers who paid our fares out of their lowly wages to take us local slum runts to visit those great and awe provoking cluttered galleries to view the loot of ancient wars carried to the heartland of Empire by officers and armies marked only by embroidered battle honours. Now I see it as the set for a huge ecclesiastical brothel for a Genet play, its halls cluttered with copes and crosses and crosiers -- and I mean that in purely theatrical terms, for many a better man than I has lived and died in the service of these symbols, but the rooms are too crowded. Roy Strong, late of the National Portrait Gallery, is now the director and he has brought his enjoyable huckster approach to this museum but space defeats him.

The exhibition of watercolours by Thomas Girtin is important, for this was a man who laid the foundation of the great English art of watercolouring by, in effect, throwing away the pencil and the pen and instead of tinted drawings giving us pure washes of colour. A small innovation by itself, but as important in the field of art as the use of steam as power. I find Girtin's work itself dull and sombre and his paintings are dealers' coin, but unlike Joshua Cristall who shares the 18th century with him he is worthy of his place in art history.

FESTIVAL HALL TO GLYNDEBOURNE

There is pleasure in the drawings of Peggy Smith within the Royal Festival Hall, for her drawings of musicians have a skilled and gentle approach no longer found in this age and climate. Over half a century ago it was the fashion for the new found weekly magazines to carry straight portraits of the sportsmen and men and women of the Town for the new lower class readership. But the speed of reproduction and communication leading into television made this style of visual communication space-wasting and the work of Spy, Ape and other artists are now framed hangings for the sons of stockbrokers. In its place is the artist with the bitter and savage pen spitting out our spume and aping our anger for the million readership, and it is for this reason that one spends a pleasant hour with the drawings of Peggy Smith.

And it is to Carlton House Terrace and the drawings of Augustus John. Augustus John is a magnificent draftsman and his drawings have a strength and vitality that time will not erode but his reputation as an artist died with the man, for it was his life style that gave his works their grip on his public.

He was a man to be envied and on most occasions admired, but this exhibition can add little to his reputation for the exciting people he painted are carrion with the eternal dead and we have pallid heads of the mini-famous and awkward gypsy set pieces that lack the splendour of the painter. Yet John will be remembered for his painting of Dorelia. This one single painting of a strong and Smiling Woman firm of body, soft of flesh, with a mocking smile and an easy grace is Augustus John's ticket to the glorious company. For the rest, time and the dealers and the art gallery directors will sift them out and lose them in the void of small-time favourites.

It is at this moment in time that I wish that I was as rich as Augustus John or his sitters when I read my press invitation to the Glyndebourne Festival. The invitation is to view David Hockney's design for The Rake's Progress and this was to be that entree to the world of the mode - for I saw myself pacing the grass lawns with the June air heavy with the scent of flowers, a glass of Chateau Guionne vintage 1970 in one hand and a beautiful member of the landed aristocracy on the other and the gentle chiming of bells to tell us that the orchestra had finished their fish and chips and pale ale and were ready to hammer out the next act of Stravinsky's Rake's Progress. But I have no evening dress or beautiful duchess, therefore I am out of my class and I shall attend the social for the retiring union sec. and dance the knees up with Ivy, Dolly, Mary and Betty and the rest of the geriatrics. Yet I wish David Hockney well for this is the reason for the invitation. Hockney made it by the sheer brilliance of his self-publicity. For the tough north country working class man dyed his hair yellow, wore the dress of the teenage pop musicians, made his homosexuality a public secret and gave the world of cheap money and easy taste a pretty but shallow image of themselves in eggshell blues and nursery greens. All this was fair game in the Town's rat race, and we came to know on canvas after canvas, in old maidish drawing and etching, David's boyfriends. And yet the less one liked his work the more one liked the man. Hazan's film The Bigger Splash gave us three years in the life of Hockney and it is interesting to view these male friends and big and small time wheeler-dealers in their shadowed flesh. And all that one can learn of Hockney from this 105-minute film is that compared with the drawings of Augustus John, Hockney is a rank beginner. For to watch an artist forced to use a camera to enable him to trace his human subject in what one has always assumed to be rather second rate free hand work is to enjoy disillusion. And to see Kasmin the Bond Street dealer mourning his contract with Hockney is to watch a dealer's life forming a closing circle, for one knew Kasmin in the old days of D'Arblay Street, Soho when he laboured in the gallery of Victor Musgrove and in some perverse way one admired him. But David has made it to Glyndebourne and one can only wish him well, for the pretty boys with their modicum of talent are moving forward and their honey-scented breath and their hot sticky little hands are their to hawk a song or a canvas for those who can afford to pay for their hire.

AROUND THE TOWN

But the town is mine and I follow the Town and his shivering frau to the best they have to offer us. And, my masters, we need another John. For the Waddington is hanging the huge prints of Rauschenberg, like unto an ill-pasted scrap book, and the pretty lithographs of Motherwell with their bright, Hockney-style flat colours; and these two ageing enfants terribles, American style, have long ago had their day for their trivia. One admires the Mondrian style of 'painting' of Marlow Moss at the Redfern and Allen Barker's converging stripes at Kinsman Morrison gallery and declares them pleasant but purely for the moment and dismisses them with a sad wave of the beer trained hand, as one does with the vastly overrated scribbles and doodlings of the third American, Jasper Johns, at the Serpentine Gallery. Yet there is talent and beauty of a minor key to be found in the regional landscapes within the Piccadilly Gallery (God! I fear those tough women who run the gallery) and the placid, obsessional paintings of William Cook at the Redfern. There is a form of primitive painting that overwhelms by filling every inch of the canvas and Cook almost literally paints in every blade of grass. But when in 'Museum Piece' he tries his hand at trompe l'oeil with the painting of two framed Flemish old masters on his painted wall he lacks the virtuosity of those trained artists who could and still can paint an object so that

it appears to be reality lying on a canvas. A dead art form, yes, but a craft, yes, and Cook has not yet mastered it. This much could be said of Jean Viollier who departed this life in 1929, for Jean's surrealist paintings at the Mayor lack the poetic imagination of the surrealists and his is that of a minor talent seeking a bandwagon.

And more pleasant landscapes with Greenham at the Grafton and the Old Guard at the revolutionary-haunted Tooth's gallery, and it is at this point that one demands to know why a brilliant artist like Hillier with his dead, sunlit, haunted landscapes should be omitted from Heinemann's Dictionary of Art with its 4,500 entries when it can include, without wishing to give offence, such minor artists as Hoyland or Vasarely, and I am waiting to be informed.

If Epstein can warp time to the brute service of science then I can mould time to fit the poetic hours. And despite the clock I state that I who began my day within the British Museum and the steps of Congress House shall pay one final visit to the Mel Calman gallery in Lamb's Conduit Street, for

there in this tiny gallery hang the paintings of Sara John the granddaughter of Augustus John. Landscapes in the 1930 English style but with two lovely little Still Lifes, and in one wandering day, time and the dead and the living find a common grave and a common wall space. And I sit in the grey April sunlight within Inigo Jones' St. Paul's Church in decayed Covent Garden to join in the memorial service for the critic Neville Cardus, while the orchestra assembled before the dowdy altar play Mozart and Elgar, and Flora Robson and Wendy Hiller stand there in the male-orientated pulpit and read to us. For this was the church where Shaw's Professor Higgins met Eliza Doolittle and where the artist Rowlandson lies buried and where Turner's (for whom the mob queued a month ago) parents lie. The reverent modulated music of the clarinet rises and sedately falls in the Second Movement of the Mozart and I know that I and the Town and his ceiling-gazing frau in this crowded, dingy church are no more than creatures in a Rowlandson 19th-century comic drawing, doomed to oblivion when the next troop of comic ghosts edge us into the grave. Arthur Moyses.

HUMAN SHRAPNEL

THE LARGER our political, social and economic institutions become, the more fragmented becomes human life with more and more alienation. Public monopoly and private isolation is the pattern of modern society. The extravagant nature of such a society is obvious in waste of every resource in a shrinking world and the frantic search to find more to consume.

The political parties, economists and administrators are quite unable to transcend the shackles of their political and emotional attitudes. One only has to hear radio programmes on the common market or the economic difficulties of Britain and the world to realise the basic reluctance of everyone to shed privilege in favour of equity. This sort of irrelevance is not confined to the establishment. Anarchists and the anarchist press also find it difficult to transcend the concepts of consumer-orientated capitalist society; much of what is written (in *FREEDOM* too) tends to sheer away from the basic problems that should be concerning us as members of the human race. From time to time within the columns of the anarchist press appear erudite and clever papers which, akin to theology, neatly sidestep the issues that are really basic to the problems. We tend to turn our backs on the relevance of our own concepts because, perhaps, many of us are also privileged. Moreover, the British anarchist movement is the product of an urban industrial society which is becoming more and more incapable of supplying the real needs of human beings. For instance, industrial action which appertains to increasing differences in pay is entirely at variance with anarchist concepts of equity. Syndicalism to retain its anarchist content and become relevant has to deal with the things that are produced and what effect their production has on the general environment.

To destroy privilege one must renounce it, and people who claim to be anarchists must reduce their concepts to a personal level. In the West many

are imprisoned by the concepts of possessions and consumption. The individual has relevance only in the collective we call society, and society only has any stability when based upon the soil. The realisation of the importance of this runs like a thread through anarchist thought.

Revolutionary attitudes to that important activity, agriculture, have been affected by Marxist prejudices. Marx said: "The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life."

The unfortunate fact is that the idiocy of urban industrial life has spilled over into rural activity with devastating results.

Many of the dangers have been spelt out by economist Schumacher in a recent lecture: "We are living in a troubled, and - very largely - a world of illusion. In passing, let me speak as an economist and blow off a little steam about the extreme difficulty of getting people to face economic reality. Economics is

about production and consumption: we men cannot create anything, we can only convert one thing into another. But people will see it in terms of money and especially of profits! But you can't eat money: there can only be consumption so far as there is production, and unless both are permanently sustainable your economic system breaks down at some point, no matter what figures may appear in your profit-and-loss account. King Midas found himself starving."

What can anarchists do? I would suggest the following propositions:

- 1) Examine how far we can cooperate to reduce our consumption and develop our own low-impact technology.
- 2) Go into the possibilities of developing a Vinoba Bhave type movement.
- 3) Examine our own economic activity and see what relevance it has to human need and indeed whether or not it may be harmful to those needs.
- 4) Make squatting and common ownership of land and property a growth industry with the purpose of growing food.
- 5) Look at the possibilities of channeling our surplus resources in ideas, capabilities and money towards simpler, more economically viable social activity.

Alan Albon.

FP Publications

About Anarchism, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ, what anarchists want, what anarchists do... by Nicolas Walter. 15p (post 5½p) USA 45c post free

Anarchy, by Errico Malatesta, in a new translation from the Italian original. 25p (post 8p) USA 80c
Bakunin and Nechaev, by Paul Avrich. 20p (post 8p) USA 70c
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, by Rudolf Rocker. 20p (post 8p) USA 70c
The State, Its Historic Role, by Peter Kropotkin. 20p (post 8p) USA 70c
Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 1936-39, by Vernon Richards. Cloth £1.50 (post 24p) (\$4.25) Paper £0.75 (post 24p) (\$2.25)

Neither East Nor West, M. L. Berneri, sel. writings 1939-48: I Defenders of Democracy; II The Price of War and of Liberation; III The United Nations 192pp 35p (post 17p) USA \$1.20 post fr.

"Selections from *FREEDOM*" The following are still available from the annual volumes issued between 1951 and 1964:-

- Vol. 4. Living on a Volcano
- Vol. 5. The Immoral Moralists
- Vol. 6. Oil & Troubled Waters
- Vol. 7. Year One -- Sputnik Era
- Vol. 8. Socialism in a Wheelchair
- Vol. 9. Print, Press and Public
- Vol. 10. The Tragedy of Africa
- Vol. 11. The People in the Street
- Vol. 12. out of print
- Vol. 13. Forces of Law and Order
- Vol. 14. Elections Year (US and US)

Per volume: Cloth 52½p (post 16½p)

Paper 37½p (post 16½p)

USA cloth \$2.00 post free paper \$1.50

VOLINE



VOLINE, the pseudonym of Vsevolod Mikhailovich Eikhenbaum, was one of the most gifted and remarkable figures of the Russian anarchist movement. He played an active part in both the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions, as well as in the revolutionary movement in exile. In 1905, as a Socialist Revolutionary, he was one of the founders of the Saint Petersburg Soviet, and in 1917 he edited *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labour), the principal Anarcho-Syndicalist journal of the revolutionary period. During the Civil War he helped found the Nabat (Alarm) Confederation, edited its newspaper of the same name, and played an important role in the movement of Nestor Makhno.

Voline was a prolific writer and lecturer, the theorist of "united anarchism" (*edinyi anarkhizm*), and the author of the most impressive anarchist history of the Russian Revolution, which has been reissued in a full English translation reviewed at the end of this essay.* Speaker and editor, historian and journalist, educator and poet, Voline was a talented and versatile figure. His life was punctuated by arrests, escapes, and a number of brushes with death. One of the most effective critics of the Bolshevik dictatorship, he was twice imprisoned by the Soviet secret police and - Trotsky having ordered his execution - only narrowly escaped with his life. In prison and exile, in propaganda and action, he remained a devoted revolutionary, possessed of both moral and physical courage. He was, in Victor Serge's description, "completely honest, rigorous in his thinking, full of talent, of eternal youth and joy in struggle". His *nom de guerre*, formed from the Russian word *volia* meaning "freedom", fittingly evokes the ideal to which he dedicated his life.

§

Voline was born on August 11, 1882, into an educated family of assimilated Russian-Jewish intellectuals, who lived near the city of Voronezh in the black-earth region of south-central Russia. His parents were both doctors in comfortable circumstances, employing Western tutors for the education of their two sons, so that Voline and his younger brother were brought up with a knowledge of French and German, which they could speak and write almost as fluently as their native Russian. The brother, Boris Eikhenbaum (1886-1959), was to become one of Russia's most distinguished literary critics, a member of the Formalist school and a leading authority on Tolstoy.

Voline himself might have followed a similar path. He attended the gymnasium at Voronezh and enrolled in the law school of Saint Petersburg University. There, however, he became immersed in revolutionary ideas; and in 1904 he abandoned his studies to join the Socialist Revolutionary Party and engage in full-time agitation among the workers of the capital, with whom he had established tentative contact three years before, when he was nineteen. On January 9, 1905, Voline took part in the great protest march on the Winter Palace which was fired upon by tsarist troops, leaving hundreds of unarmed victims in the snow. This was the famous "Bloody Sunday" which marked the beginning of the 1905 Revolution. He also took part (while still a Socialist Revolutionary) in the formation of the first Saint Petersburg Soviet and in the Kronstadt rising of October 25, 1905, for which he spent a short term in the Peter and Paul Fortress. Soon after his release he again became the object of a manhunt in the reaction which fol-

lowed the revolution. Captured by the Okhrana in 1907, he was thrown into prison and ordered deported to Siberia, but succeeded in escaping to France.

ACTIVE EXILE

In Paris Voline became acquainted with both French and Russian anarchists, including Sébastien Faure (with whom he was later to collaborate on the four-volume *Encyclopédie Anarchiste*) and Apollon Karelin, who presided over a small libertarian circle called the Brotherhood of Free Communists. In 1911 Voline joined Karelin's group, quitting the Socialist Revolutionary Party for anarchism, to which he remained unwaveringly devoted for the rest of his life. A staunch anti-militarist, Voline in 1913 became an active member of the Committee for International Action Against War. After the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, he stepped up his anti-militarist agitation to the intense displeasure of the French authorities, who in 1915 decided to intern him in a concentration camp for the duration of hostilities. Warned by friends, however, Voline fled to the port city of Bordeaux and before long had shipped out as quartermaster aboard a freighter bound for the United States, leaving behind his wife and children.

Arriving in New York in early 1916, Voline joined the Union of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada, an Anarcho-Syndicalist organization with more than 10,000 adherents. An eloquent writer and speaker, he joined the staff of its weekly newspaper, *Golos Truda*, and debated and lectured at many of its clubs and meeting halls both in Canada and the United States. With the outbreak of the February Revolution, Voline and his comrades decided to return to Russia at the first opportunity. In May 1917, assisted by the Anarchist Red Cross, the staff of *Golos Truda* packed up their equipment and sailed home by the Pacific route, arriving in Petrograd in July. The following month they resumed publication of *Golos Truda* as the weekly organ of the Union of Anarcho-Syndicalist Propaganda, which spread the gospel of revolutionary syndicalism among the workers of the capital. At rallies and in factories and club houses, Voline was an extremely popular speaker, calling for workers' control of production in place of both capitalism and reformist trade unionism. Though he was of

THE MAN &

medium height and rather frail physique, his handsome, intelligent face with its prematurely greying beard and piercing dark eyes made him an impressive-looking figure, and with his cogent argumentation and emphatic gestures and witty, at times shattering, *repartée* - he reminded Victor Serge of the old French rebel Blanqui - he held his listeners spellbound. Beginning with the second issue, he also assumed the editorship of *Golos Truda* (the first number was edited by Maksim Raevisky, who, for reasons still unexplained, suddenly dropped out of the movement). Under Voline's capable direction, *Golos Truda* became the most influential Anarcho-Syndicalist journal of the Russian Revolution, with an estimated readership of 25,000. A selection of his own articles (which appeared in nearly every issue) was published in book form in 1919 under the title of *Revolution and Anarchism*.

In March 1918 Voline was extremely critical of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, denouncing it as a "shameful" act on the part of the Bolsheviks and calling for "relentless partisan warfare" against the Germans. Soon after this, he relinquished the editorship of *Golos Truda* and left for the Ukraine, stopping in his native district to visit his relatives, whom he had not seen for more than a decade. Spending the summer of 1918 in the town of Bobrov, he worked in the educational section of the local soviet, helping to organize a programme of adult education, including a library and a people's theatre. In the fall he moved to Kharkov, where he became the guiding spirit of the Nabat Confederation and the editor of its principal journal. He also played a key role in its first general conference, held at Kursk in November 1918, striving to draft a declaration of principles that would be acceptable to all schools of anarchist thought, individualist as well as communist and syndicalist.

ANARCHISM IS A UNITY

Ever since he left *Golos Truda*, Voline had been evolving from Anarcho-Syndicalism to a more ecumenical position which he called "united anarchism", a theory that would encourage all tendencies of the movement to work together in a spirit of mutual respect and co-operation within the framework of a single, unified, but flexible organization, a sort of model for the future of a libertarian society itself. Many of his former syndicalist comrades, notably Gregory

Maximoff, found "united anarchism" a vague and ineffectual formula to which they were unable to subscribe. Voline, however, saw the embodiment of united anarchism in the Nabat Confederation, with its centre in Kharkov and branches in Kiev, Odessa, and other large southern cities, a single organization embracing all varieties of anarchism while guaranteeing autonomy to each individual and group. Apart from publishing the Nabat, the Confederation issued several regional papers as well as brochures and proclamations and had a flourishing youth organization as well as a Union of Atheists. It presented an alternative social model to both the Bolsheviks and the Whites, who, needless to say, did all in their power to suppress it.

In the summer of 1919, as the Bolsheviks stepped up their persecutions of the anarchists and began to close their newspapers and meeting places, Voline went to Gulyai-Polye and joined the insurrectionary army of Makhno, for which the Nabat Confederation supplied ideological guidance. Voline, Peter Arshinov, and Aaron Baron all served in the cultural and educational section, editing the movement's newspapers, drafting its proclamations and manifestos, and organizing its meetings and conferences. Voline headed the educational section (as he had done in the Bobrov Soviet) during the summer and fall, besides serving for six months on the Military Revolutionary Council. The following year the Bolsheviks offered him the post of Commissar of Education for the Ukraine, which he abruptly refused, just as Kropotkin had refused Kerensky's offer to become Minister of Education in the Provisional Government of 1917.

In December 1919 the Military Revolutionary Council sent Voline to Krivoi Rog to counter Ukrainian nationalist propaganda disseminated in the area by Petliura. On the way, however, he was stricken with typhus and forced to stop at a peasant village, whose inhabitants laboured to revive his health. On January 14, 1920, while still bedridden, he was arrested by the Fourteenth Red Army and handed over to the local Cheka. Trotsky, whom he had repeatedly criticized in Nabat, issued orders for his execution, but a petition was quickly circulated (signed not only by

wife and five children had to eat and sleep and carry on their daily lives.

Voline remained in Berlin for about two years. There he published seven issues of *Anarkhicheski Vestnik* (The Anarchist Herald, 1923/24), an organ of united anarchism in contrast to Maximoff's specifically Anarcho-Syndicalist journal *Rabochii Put'* (The Workers' Road) which appeared at the same time. In addition, he engaged in relief work to aid his imprisoned and exiled comrades. In 1922 he edited a slim but important volume called *Goneniia na anarkhizm v Sovetskoi Rossii* (The Repressions of the Anarchists in Soviet Russia, published in French and German as well as Russian), providing the first documented information to the outside world of Bolshevik persecution of the anarchists. He also wrote a valuable preface to Arshinov's history of the Makhno movement and translated the book itself into German.

In 1924 Voline was invited by Sébastien Faure to come to Paris and collaborate on the anarchist encyclopedia he was preparing. Faure could make good use of a man with Voline's erudition, familiarity with anarchist history and theory, and unusual command of languages. Voline wrote a number of major articles for the encyclopedia, some of which were published as separate pamphlets in several languages. He also published a volume of poetry and began to work on his monumental history of the Russian Revolution.

In 1926 Voline broke with his old comrades Arshinov and Makhno over their *Organizational Platform*, which called for a General Union of Anarchists with a central executive committee to coordinate policy and action. In the dispute, Voline ranged himself with Sébastien Faure, Jean Grave, Errico Malatesta, Luigi Fabbri, Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Rudolf Rocker, Gregory Maximoff, and other prominent anarchists from different countries. He issued a scathing reply to Arshinov the following year, arguing that the *Organizational Platform*, with its appeal for a central committee, clashed with the basic anarchist principles of local initiative and was a clear reflection of its author's "party spirit" (Arshinov had been a Bolshevik before joining the anarchists in 1906). Voline felt vindicated in 1930 when Arshinov returned to the Soviet Union and rejoined the party, only to be purged by Stalin a few years later. With Arshinov gone, Galina Makhno urged Voline to visit her ailing husband, fatally stricken with tuberculosis. In 1934, on the eve of Makhno's death, the old friends were briefly reconciled, and Voline afterwards saw to the posthumous publication of the second and third volumes of Makhno's memoirs, to which he contributed useful prefaces and notes.

After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, Voline accepted an invitation from the CNT to edit its French periodical *L'Espagne Anti-Fasciste*. At this point, his life never easy, always poised on the edge of poverty, he suffered a series of misfortunes, of which the death of his wife following a nervous collapse was the worst. Soon after, in 1938, he left Paris for Nîmes, where his friend André Prudhommeaux, a well-known libertarian writer and the manager of a printing cooperative, had invited him. Voline took a seat on the editorial board of Prudhommeaux's weekly paper, *Terre Libre*, while continuing to work on his *Unknown Revolution*, which he completed in Marseilles in 1940, shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War. When Victor Serge met him there that year, he was working in the office of a small movie house and living on practically nothing. After the Nazi invasion and the formation of the Vichy government, his position became increasingly precarious. He went from hiding place to hiding place, living in extreme poverty and in constant fear of arrest. Yet he refused to seek refuge across the Atlantic, hoping to take part in the coming events in Europe, "about which," noted Serge, "he cherished a romantic optimism." Senya Fleshin and Mollie Steimer met him in Marseilles in 1941. They begged him to come away with them to Mexico, but he refused, insisting that he was needed in France to meet with the youth and "prepare for the revolution when the war's over."

Pursued by the authorities both as an anarchist and a Jew, Voline somehow managed to evade their clutches. When the war finally ended he returned to Paris, but only to enter a hospital. For he had contracted tuberculosis and his days were numbered. He died on September 18, 1945. His body was cremated and interred in the Père-Lachaise Cemetery, not far from the grave of Nestor Makhno, who had succumbed to the same disease eleven years before. The old comrades were thus reunited in death, their ashes resting by those of the martyrs of the Paris Commune. "Of all the outstanding comrades I knew, admired, and loved," wrote Mollie Steimer, "Voline was the greatest idealist, most convincing in his way of speech and an untiring activist. During all his life he was completely dedicated to the cause of the masses without ever thinking about himself."

Paul Avrich

HIS BOOK

anarchists but also by a few sympathetic Bolsheviks like Victor Serge) and presented to Nikolai Krestinsky, secretary of the Communist Party, for transmission to Lenin. At first it was rejected, but the authorities finally yielded and ordered Voline transferred to the Butyrki prison in Moscow.

In October, 1920, as part of an accord between the Red Army and Makhno's Insurgent Army of the Ukraine, Voline was released. Having recovered from his bout of typhus, he went to Dmitrov to visit Peter Kropotkin, before returning to Kharkov to resume the publication of Nabat. Once back in the Ukraine, he began preparations for an All-Russian Congress of Anarchists to meet at the end of the year. In late November, however, Trotsky tore up his agreement with Makhno and ordered an attack on Gulyai-Polye, while the Cheka rounded up members of the Nabat Confederation who had assembled in Kharkov for the congress. Voline, with Baron and others, was carried off to Moscow and locked up again in Butyrki, from which he was transferred in turn to Lefortovo and Taganka, names which have recently figured in Solzhenitsyn's writings on Soviet prisons.

In July 1921, when the Red International of Trade Unions (the Profintern) was created in Moscow, a number of foreign delegates, disturbed by the arrests of the anarchists, the liquidation of Makhno's army, and the suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion, were persuaded by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Alexander Shapiro to protest to Lenin and Dzerzhinsky (then head of the Cheka). The French anarchist Gaston Leval, then a 25-year-old delegate representing the Spanish CNT at the Profintern Congress, was permitted to visit Voline in prison, and Voline, speaking in flawless French, regaled him for over an hour with the story of his odyssey in the Ukraine. Soon afterwards, Voline, Maximoff, and their comrades staged an eleven-day hunger strike to dramatize their unjust incarceration. Lenin finally agreed to release them on condition of perpetual banishment from Russia, and in January 1922 they left for Berlin.

Rudolf Rocker, Fritz Kater, and other prominent German anarchists helped Voline and his family get settled. Though only 40, Voline, with his receding hair and prematurely white beard, looked much older, but his animated gestures and rapid movements quickly dispelled this impression. Rocker, who had to closet himself in his private study when he wanted to write, was impressed by Voline's facility for concentration. He could go on with his writing in the same small attic where he and his

* Because of the space available, the Book Review appended to this biographical article is held over to our next issue.

CASTING OUT DEVILS

THE FILM *The Exorcist* was earlier reviewed by Arthur Moyse. Since then not only has this gross superstition driven (as all cults followed to excess will) a man mad so that he killed his wife in a particularly barbarous (but no doubt biblical) manner; but it is revived in discussion of the sudden death of a talented actress after the first night of a play on this stupid theme. Good for the box-office, no doubt; as the *Exorcist* is! The distributors have re-issued the film. We think the following article, previously unpublished, is still apposite. --J.R.

*

NO DOUBT the distributors of *The Exorcist* fall on their knees every night and bless those Christians who, through their vociferous objections to this film, have made it the most publicised of the year, and have ensured the likelihood that it will probably be the biggest box-office hit of the year. What is odd, in the midst of all this pious furor, is that nobody seems to have analysed why they object to this particular film so vehemently (after all, possession by the devil or evil spirits is not a particularly new theme to Hollywood: *Rosemary's Baby* was very profitable, whereas *The Possession of Joel Delaney* was only mildly so), or what exactly distinguishes this film sufficiently from others of a similar nature to make so many people want to flock to see it. As a piece of filmcraft it is no great shakes; the direction and editing follow the usual and familiar stock pattern for horror and suspense films using clichés that Hitchcock had worn thin and discarded by the mid-fifties. The sudden telephone ring piercing a lengthy and pregnant silence; the swift cut from a silent scene to a noisy subway station through which a non-stop train is hurtling; nothing new in cinematic terms. In fact, *The Exorcist* relies very heavily on the pre-performance "nerves" induced in audiences by publicity, since between the anti-climatic scenes of "possession", the film is tedious and boring to such a degree that had the censor made any cuts in it, the remains would have emptied cinemas like a plague.

The actual horrors when they do finally come (and such *longeurs* of mumbling tedium separate them), are not in themselves that bad; the young girl who is "possessed" looking like a grotesque Shirley Temple vomiting and spitting Lincoln Pea Soup, and developing a pointed tongue with which she performs cunninglingus on the air around her. During actual "possession", her voice changes to that of a man, and it is in these scenes that I think we have the clue to why Christians so hate this particular film, for it is her "blasphemies" that give voice to the deeply rooted ambivalences which are so severely repressed within the subconscious minds of most Christians. Religion consists as much of aggression against the god-head as worship of it, and it is not

without significance that "blasphemy" consists merely of sex-talk in everyday language. The first indication of "possession" is given when the child intrudes on a party that her mother is giving, and after speaking to one of the guests, she urinates (seemingly involuntarily) on the floor. The maid is later seen scrubbing the ill-used spot on the carpet.

On the next occasion, the young girl lifts the front of her nightdress before a visiting psychiatrist and growls in her deep voice, "Fuck me! Fuck me!", sounding for all the world like a frantic butch homosexual in very desperate straits at the end of a drunken party, subsequently she stabs her vagina repeatedly with a crucifix, (again, significant that most critics should refer to this savage act as "masturbation"), and commands her mother to lick her bloodied crotch. (In passing, one should perhaps bear in mind that competent film editing, whilst clearly indicating all this, is nearly always far less explicit than the written word; a point that seldom seems to trouble religionists when they write their lurid prose about films they object to). Finally, the taboos regarding those dark areas of the Christian subconscious mind are broken and violated when, on hearing the name of "Jesus Christ", the child very sensibly replies, (*basso profundo*) "Fuck him!" (presumably spelt "Him" in the original shooting script). Later she enjoins a priest to "stick your cock up his arse", referring to his companion priest; a practice not entirely new or unknown in the annals of Christian history. Such "blasphemies" as "suck his cock" and "your mother sucks cocks in hell" (paradise?), are all fantasies and impulses which are within all of us, but since few will acknowledge this, then like the soliloquy of Molly Bloom in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, and the final scene of Bunuel's *L'Age d'Or*, *The Exorcist* "offends" in a similar way, because it exposes how all religions repress and stifle the natural libido, and, by implication, shows the essential hypocrisy of religion which, whilst pretending to love and adore its god, his son and mother, actually generates deep hatreds and morbid states that have to be vigorously repressed, and which produce a mild schizoid state in most of its followers.

The infantile pranks and actual cruelties of the Christian religion are merely paralleled and reflected by those who regard themselves as devil-worshippers and occultists, and again, no review of *The Exorcist* seem to have commented on the fact that both sides in this affair are, in effect, twin halves of the same coin. The "rituals" of the "priest" are accompanied by "holy water" (which, when sprinkled on the unfortunate child burns into her flesh true Jesus-style), and the "sacred" name of "Jesus Christ" is chanted and invoked in much the same manner as "black magicians" cast "spells". She "curses"; they "bless". Whilst waiting to see this film I was

urged by a Christian female to "let Christ come into my heart"; a "possession" that could lead to all kinds of mischief and wickedness (like abandoning a vegetarian diet), which would severely curtail the carnal pleasure I so enjoy, and which, I trust, my comrades at "Freedom" would promptly exorcise by chanting the magic names "Kropotkin", "Shaw" and "Myra Breckinridge". Though this particular Christian did admit that she'd not actually seen the film, I somehow doubt that if she had, she would have been shocked by the same parts as I was; the disparity of standards in the hospital treatment of the penniless compared to that given to the daughter of a wealthy actress, or the spectacle of a priest whose hobby is boxing, beating up a child of eleven, in anger, and before his own subsequent "possession". Neither could she see that as she spoke of my fate on "judgement day", she was subconsciously envisaging (with relish!) a punishment far crueller than anything that even the most depraved human could devise; endless torture and torment. World without end. Amen. An essential part of her "reward" being the knowledge that I was being "punished" for loving the horny and over-sexed libido that her god endowed me with. Since he was most generous in other respects too, that would have to be the first thing to go...

From the warped viewpoint of Christianity, I should think they would welcome a film like *The Exorcist* rather than condemn it, since such mumbo-jumbo and exploitation of natural fears and anxieties is the very warp and woof of all religious belief, and is, (like all "miracles"), more likely to induce faith amongst the gullible than dispel it. It is precisely because this film has (probably more by accident than design) stumbled across the dark, forbidden areas of the Christian psyche that they call for it to be banned. But the horrors, such as they are, are all products of Christian philosophy and thought. Their natural predecessors were a howling mob formed to pursue "witches" to the stake; the Christian gentlemen who broke their victims on the wheel; and the Christian society that devised an execution so hideous and cruel for Damians, that it provided a public spectacle of several hours duration. Priests were in attendance for that performance; for *The Exorcist* we had the excellent services of the St. John's Ambulance Brigade.

If there were any grain of reason in this, or any other, religion, then those Christians who waste their time leafletting cinema queues would instead marshal themselves against the very real sadistic cruelties that seem always to be with us in this world, and which have the blessings of every prince of the church upon them - the torturers, the truncheon wielders, the electric-shock administrators, the gas cylinder firers, the bomb planters, the bomb droppers, the napalm shooters, those who chop off the hands of thieves, the executioners, the vivisectionists, and the casually cruel. When such scourges are finally wiped from the face of the earth, then they too might perhaps join us in saying "Jesus Christ? Fuck him!"

David Godin.

"Noi Folli e Giusti"

MY INITIAL reaction upon seeing this collection of prison poems by Marini was to be highly sceptical. I am doubtful as to whether it is advisable to create anarchist "super-stars" and this book seemed to me to be part of the process. However, after reading the book my opinion has been totally reversed. These poems can only inspire admiration for the manner in which Marini is adapting himself to his unfortunate, and certainly unjust, imprisonment.

These writings show that Marini has now become a "convict". In other words, he does not consider himself superior to his fellow inmates and his desire for freedom does not end at the question of his own liberty. He feels great sympathy with his companions, which he manages to portray tenderly but directly. For me, the most beautiful example of this was "Sono le undici forse". In this poem he tells of how he is in a cell with another young man who is awake, crying in the middle of the night. He is in prison because he killed his girl-friend trying to carry out an abortion on her. Marini tries to console him but he realises all his attempts are futile.

In the preface, Dario Fo points out that these poems are very akin to the writings to be found plastered on cell walls. For this reason we can see that these poems were not composed whilst sitting quietly at a table with pen and paper, but in the very process of "living" in prison. Marini's prison is, of course, very obvious to himself and others. Our prison, however, is not so obvious since we tend to call ourselves "free". Whilst a guard locks Marini's cell door, we lock our own cell door in our roles of guard and prisoner simultaneously. Other, more sinister guards exist to ensure that we never step out of this role. When we see ourselves as playing this role we will become free in the process. To do this, however, we have to become creative. We have to write poetry, paint pictures, act drama, compose songs or anything otherwise creative which will enable us to free ourselves.

Marini has, in my opinion, managed to become free - much freer than I shall probably ever be. His poems do not solely relate to his life in prison, they are all applicable to life outside. He is capable of great tenderness, and great violence, even in the same verse. I was also struck by the feeling of solidarity he portrays with all people. One poem which has all three of these qualities is "Contadini e Terra" ("Peasants and Land"). This is a "song" about the oppression of peasants, firstly in the Italian South, but including Greece, Chile and Vietnam.

His solidarity also extends to others engaged in revolutionary activity, and not necessarily anarchist. Several poems illustrate this by reference to many revolutionary struggles around the world. However, these poems do not solely concern themselves with worldwide revolution but quite rightly initiate from within the cell to all his fellow inmates and then outwards to the world.

These poems could, however, be called songs since their style is similar to that of many popular songs in which a certain phrase will be repeated after each verse. This shows to me that Marini actually feels what he is writing and thus has no cultural pretensions. Since he now is playing a leading role, he could have tried to write the "anarchist poem" with its

own distinctive style and meter, etc. Instead he chose the popular song form, because (a) he had no time or will to invent a new style, and (b) it was obviously his natural mode of expression.

The poems nevertheless are probably better left in the Italian version for several reasons. Firstly, Italian is a vastly more beautiful language than the expressionless form of English. It is often said that Italians don't talk but sing. Hence, these poems in translation would probably lose their song-like character. Secondly, some of the more "tender" of the poems may be considered too "wet" by the Calvinistic British mind. They are essentially Latin in character and would probably not mean much to the North European. FREEDOM's reluctance to print poetry, for instance, illustrates how even in anarchist circles the British will fight shy of passion and artistic expression generally, which would seem to threaten the famous "stiff upper lip". Thirdly, poetry in whatever language it is written initially will always lose a great deal of impact in translation.

Francesco,

BOOKSHOP NOTES

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

84b Whitechapel High Street
(in Angel Alley) London E1

BOOKSHOP OPEN

Tuesday-Friday 2 - 6 p.m.
(Thursday until 8 p.m.)
Saturday 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

HAVING MADE a passing reference to Kronstadt in a recent Notes, I thought I'd dig a little deeper into the subject this time. Firstly, two classic works on the "incident" and its deeply rooted causes and wide implications for the Russian Revolution recently issued by friends in America (Solidarity, and Black & Red): Voline's Unknown Revolution (review in our next issue, 9 May) Arshinov's History of the Makhnovist Movement (paper, £2.00 plus 17p postage), a translation by Lorraine and Fredy Perlman of a vitally important work never before available in English, with a preface by Voline.

Serge's Year One of the Russian Revolution is available in an expensive but beautifully produced hardback edition profusely illustrated with well reproduced photographs and edited and translated by Peter Sedgwick (£3.95 plus 46p postage) - this is published by Allan Lane, the Penguin Press and it is surely time that Penguin published a paperback edition.

Paul Avrich's fine work, Kronstadt 1921, an accurate, dispassionate and vividly written chronicle, is available in paperback at £1.75 (post 15p). Paul Avrich has also edited The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution (£1.35 plus 17p post), a fine anthology of writings by Voline, Makhno, Maximoff, Kropot-

kin, Berkman, Goldman, and many other important if lesser known anarchists - those actually involved in the struggle rather than analysing safely from afar, and thus in greater danger of sinking into the oblivion of history unless we rescue them and learn from them. Lastly another classic, The Kronstadt Uprising by Ida Mett in a Canadian paperback edition with an introduction by Murray Bookchin (0.75 plus 11p post).

*

To finish on a different, and more immediate tack -- Ireland. Little has been written on the "troubles" from a libertarian standpoint, mainly because those who know what is going on are too busily engaged to write about it - again this is left to the armchair revolutionaries and academics. One activist libertarian who has found time to put pen effectively to paper is John McGuffin who has two books available, Internment (£0.75 plus 13p post), a history of fifty years of internment and repression, and The Guinea Pigs (£0.40 plus 10p post), a documentation of the torture, brutality and sophisticated - and not so sophisticated - methods of interrogation now in use in Ireland - and possibly/probably - soon here too! Martin Dillon and Denis Lehane have documented the recent and bloody history of sectarian killings in Northern Ireland in Political Murder in Northern Ireland (£0.45 plus 13p post). Lastly Anarchy (Second Series) No. 6 devoted to Ireland containing material on the Belfast Police Mutiny of 1907, James Connolly, the People's Democracy, Crumlin Jail and the Cement Strike of 1970 (£0.20 plus 10p post).

J. H.

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

ANARCHIST CITIES

THE LATEST issue of Undercurrents (No. 10) contains an article by Colin Ward on anarchist contributions to urban thought. He opens by discussing the -parity between the aristocratic myth of pastoral bliss and the reality of present-day, predominantly rural Latin American countries, where the peasants flock to the cities in search of a better life, and set up "unofficial" cities around the metropolises, which exhibit all the anarchist virtues of self-help and collective self-management outside the official financial and legal structure.

He sees this as a natural response to rural deprivation, and goes on to discuss the basic anarchist solution to the dichotomy of town and city, which is their integration into a "polynucleated city mirroring... anarcho-syndicalist premises" (in the words of Professor Thomas Reiner discussing one of the Goodman brothers' versions of Communitas). This scaling-down of city life is common to Kropotkin, Lewis Mumford and Murray Bookchin, in their visions of how we can live a more human life, in contact with each other, but is not shared by Richard Sennett, in his book, The Uses of Disorder. He wants cities restructured so that people are forced to face each other in nonviolent conflict and forge some kind of mutual compatibility instead of scurrying off to the suburbs.

PARIS COMMUNE

ONE OF the most written about and hotly disputed examples of workers' control of a city is the 72-day long Paris Commune of 1871 which followed the abrupt abandonment of the town by the "government" who scurried off to the most aristocratic pastoral paradise of all time -- Versailles, where Marie Antoinette used to play at being a shepherdess, and ate brioche all day long.

The March issue of our American sister publication, The Match, has an article by Paul Avrich, on "The Paris Commune and its Legacy". He discusses both the Anarchist and Marxist sections of the International; its impact on such individuals as Kropotkin and Malatesta, (converting them both to anarchism, and inspiring Malatesta to the original acts of "propaganda by deed" which were attempts to take over towns in Italy and run them on Commune lines, rather than the later assassinations and bomb throwings); the actual way that the city was run, which defies any simple ideological label, but was basically "from below" (as is the case with the Latin American shanty towns) despite the authoritarian leanings of certain sections; the relationship of the commune with similar contemporary uprisings in France, and later communes such as the Cantonist movement in Spain, Kronstadt, the uprisings in East Berlin 1953, Budapest 1956, Shanghai 1967, Prague 1968, etc.; and the cynical use of Commune relics by the Soviet state.

"BLACK LIGHT"

THE FEROCIOUS repression of the Communards by the Thiers government of terrified bourgeois was not an illustration of the class struggle, but the class struggle itself.

Nowadays the revolutionary role of the proletariat (even the existence of a proletariat in the super-developed West and East) is brought more and more into question by such Marxists as Herbert Marcuse; and the "recuperation" or "integration" (or simple buying-off) of the proletariat, by the bourgeoisie, is the subject of an article written to open a debate, in the second issue of the Fre French anarchist critical review, La Lanterne Noire.

We mentioned the first issue of the magazine in FREEDOM for 24 August, 1974, but for those of you with incomplete files, shortish memories, or who just weren't reading us at the time, here are the basic details: it's a quarterly review (it's us who are late in mentioning it, not them in appearing) produced by a group of people associated with two now defunct periodicals, Rouge et Noir and Information, Correspondances Ouvrieres. Subscription details can be got from: P. Blachier, B.P. 14, 92360 Meudon La Foret, France (but please don't mention "Lanterne Noire" on envelopes, because of French Post Office regulations about box numbers).

Issue no. 2 is 64 pages (24 more than no. 1, and no. 3, which is due in 4 or 5 weeks, will probably be bigger again) and in addition to the article already mentioned, there is a critical review of various sectarian pamphlets on the workers' take-over at the Lip watch factory, a very useful chronological account of all the events connected with the Suarez kidnapping and the GARI (International Revolutionary Action Groups reported on in FREEDOM 25th January 1975) which will be continued in the next issue, a book review section, and a theoretical discussion to round it off.

GERMAN ANARCHISM

The current theoretical position of the German anarchist movement is as confused as that of the British movement(?). This can be seen in the very varied reactions of German anarchists to the Lorenz kidnapping as quoted by Jean Barrue in the current issue of Le Monde

IT IS true that the revolution first breaks out in industrial rather than in agricultural localities. This is natural since these are greater centres of labouring population and therefore also of popular dissatisfaction. But if the industrial proletariat is the avant-garde of revolution, the farm labourer is its backbone. If the latter is weak or broken, the avant-garde, the revolution itself, is lost.

Berkman (1928)

Libertaire. They range from outright condemnation through partial approval to admiration of technical expertise. According to Barrue there are 60 to 70 autonomous groups in Germany, who are not coordinated, and who represent tendencies ranging from classical anarchism to an anarcho-marxism.

The present position can be compared to the past thanks to an article on the history of the German anarchist movement in this same issue of Le Monde Libertaire. The roles of Muhsam and Landauer in the revolutionary period immediately following the First World War are widely known, but I was surprised to read of the strength of the German Anarcho-syndicalist Union (F.A.U.D.) in the period 1918-33. At one point it had almost 200,000 members, and was issuing national weekly papers like Der Syndikalist in editions of 100,000. Nevertheless it failed to survive the oncoming of fascism in Europe, although it managed to continue distributing clandestine propaganda until 1935.

The communist-anarchists also had a federation in inter-war Germany, the F.K.A.D., whose best known militants were Pierre Ramus and Erich Muhsam, released from captivity, who edited first Kain and then Fanal, until his imprisonment and brutal murder by the Nazis.

INFORMATION PLEASE?

One of the objects of this column is to bring to the attention of English-speaking comrades the variety of anarchist writing that is going on in the world, on matters that are of interest and relevance to us. In this month's Front Libertaire there is a four-page supplement on the strike-movement among fishermen in Boulogne, which sheds light on the actions of the local fishermen in this country. The problem is that (a) there are very few copies of Front Libertaire available in this country, and (b) the article is in French, which may make it inaccessible to a good number of comrades.

The first problem could be easily overcome by the use of photocopying. Xeroxes of any of the articles mentioned in this column could be provided for cost of production + postage. (Although, theoretically, this would probably infringe the Copyright Act, very few anarchist publications copyright their articles, and we don't anticipate that there would be any objections from foreign anarchist papers. We would, however, be reluctant to xerox articles from currently available English language publications.)

The second problem, of translation, is much more intractable. Although we would like to be able to provide such a service, it's just not possible at present. However, if there were enough interest, it would surely be possible for us to coordinate a network of translators from amongst ourselves. How much do you want information and how much information do you want, comrades?

D. L. M.