

FREEDOM

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TEN PENCE

THE END OF TECHNOLOGY

"I HAVE TRAVELLED a good deal in Concord," said H. D. Thoreau, the American philosophical anarchist/quietist, a statement which strikes a discordant note nowadays -- it sounds like a publicity agent's dream except that the British public would say 'Who's H. D. Thoreau?' and Henry David was not that kind of man.

What he meant was that Concord (his native village in Massachusetts) was enough of a world for him and his whole ethos was that of decentralization and self-sufficiency. He also said, "Most of the luxuries and many of the so-called comforts of life are not only not indispensable, but positive hindrances to the elevation of mankind."

Among these 'positive hindrances' can be ranked the namesake Concorde (with an Anglo-French 'E') which this week has incurred the wrath of Heathrow residents and the disapprobation of many by the revelation that its noise level is six times that of any other plane. This makes no difference to its operation since aeroplanes are not liable to 'nuisance' charges.

This controversial plane is only one example of the 'luxuries' and 'comforts' with which modern man has enmeshed himself. The noise of Concorde is only one of its drawbacks: the cost of its development has been astronomical (and almost unrecover-

able); its pollutive properties are comparable with its size and its effects upon the upper atmosphere are unpredictable; its special phenomena for aeroplanes of its type of sonic booms are shattering in their effects; ultimately, owing to its special, complex, precarious technology, the effects of a disaster at its vaunted high-speed would be calamitous. A simple flaw would result in passengers and crew losing consciousness instantly and in the blood boiling at the usual flying height (60,000 feet). (*Sunday Times*, 19.10.75).

Not only Concorde but Boeing has a supersonic plane on the production line. It is not just the Concorde and the Boeing which emphasize and underline the 'hindrance' of the aeroplane. The aeroplane, in itself, carries all the faults listed for the Concorde.

The Concorde is a prestige project to boost Anglo-French technology. Travel by Concorde is also being put over on snob-appeal. The whole en-

terprise is one example of 'conspicuous consumption' as set forth by Thorstein Veblen. Modern society, and not least, left-wing proponents, are enthusiastic supporters of the creation of work for work's sake. As witness the equally futile and wasteful space projects of the USA and the USSR.

The aeroplane as a method of travel encourages travel for travel's sake. When interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph* (18 Oct. 1970) an export director for a toy (!) firm said, "I see no advantage in the Concorde. There can be very few cases where getting to New York in nearly half the time is that important. You can always telephone."

Tolstoy somewhere says that the faster people travel the less important is the destination. This seems particularly true of air travel. Its popularity with show-business personalities (including politicians) is primarily because one is seen to travel (literally 'conspicuous consumption').

The whole sordid story of Concorde is a chapter of air-line politics. Even the cynical usage of environmental lobbyists has obviously taken place. Governments are quite happy to give way to such lobbying if it does not interfere with prestige projects like Concorde.

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'SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL'

THE WILLIAM TYNDALE 'affair' lunches on. Very soon now the junior school will be closed down and the children dispersed.

As for the teachers, they will either be sacked or disposed of in another way. It is said for them, especially the young teachers who must to some extent have been caught up in a situation they weren't ready to cope with. It is sad, too, for the children. Whatever the rights and wrongs, their education must have suffered over the last year or two. Many of them must be confused, bewildered and insecure. Above all, perhaps, it is a tragedy for the head, Terry Ellis. Born in the East End, he became a superb teacher - energetic, imaginative, full of concern for children, enjoying the trust, respect and affection of them and of the other teachers he worked with. When he was appointed head of William Tyndale in January 1974 everyone who knew him prophesied that he would be highly successful.

What went wrong?

In fact, Terry Ellis inherited a difficult and potentially explosive situation. The school had already been without a head for nearly a year. Its children and their parents came from very mixed backgrounds. And above all there was a huge 'philosophical' division among the staff. In nearly all schools

there are differences between 'progressives' and 'traditionalists'. At William Tyndale, these differences were intense, extreme and bitterly personal.

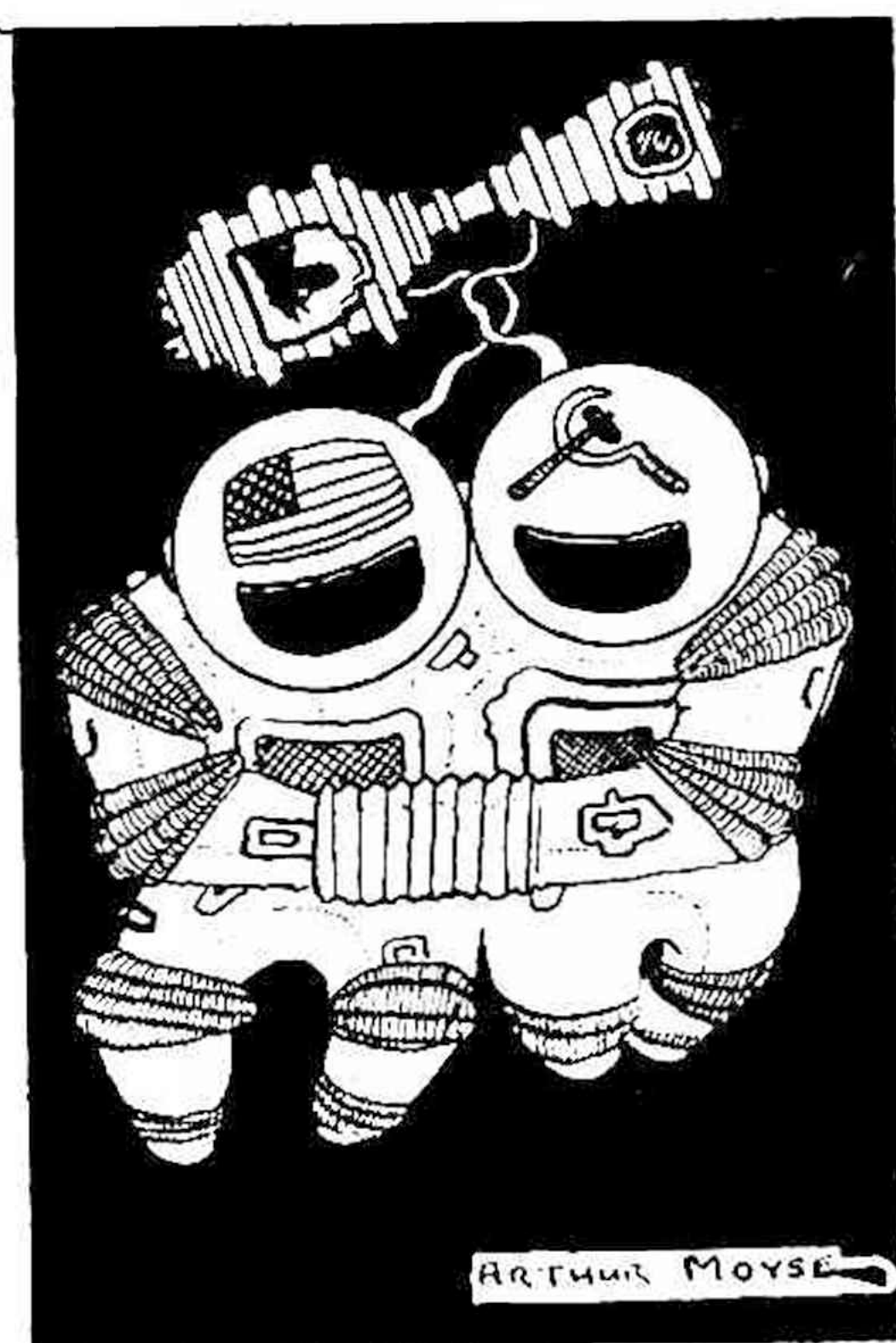
Exceptional tact, judgement and wisdom were clearly going to be needed. A popular proverb at the time of the Renaissance was 'make haste slowly'. Perhaps Terry Ellis made haste a little too quickly. Perhaps he allowed himself to be pushed faster than he wanted to go (I am trying to be fair).

At any rate, by the time Dorothy Mc Colgan (herself a controversial figure) joined the staff in the summer of 1974, the two forces were already drawing up battle positions. Everything that has happened since is a direct result of decisions that were taken at a very early stage.

That is not, of course, to say that the present shambles was inevitable. On the contrary it could have been prevented many times by decisive action. Early on, two other bodies were drawn in - the managers of the school and the I.L.E.A. And for the last year these three forces have been moving round each other in a kind of grim and even grotesque parody of a dance of death.

I see no point in dwelling in detail on

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"Now we're comrades ---

LET'S PISS ON CHINA."

'SCHOOL FOR SCANDAL'... from P.1

the events of the last few months. They have been reported in detail. But certain things need to be said. There is no doubt that from an early stage some at least of the managers were strongly dissatisfied with the way the school was going. The teachers claim that the motivation for this was and is purely political. They have maintained throughout that they are the victims of a political witch-hunt. I think this is an over-simplification. The political-educational views of some of the staff were certainly detested by some of the managers. And intrigues undoubtedly did take place. Nevertheless, the number of children at the school dropped from about 250 to 114 in just over a year.

The teachers argue that a caucus of managers (and the teachers who sympathised with it) induced a state of panic among the parents who withdrew their children in increasing numbers. Can this be the only explanation? Should the changes in teaching methods at the school have been introduced more gradually and only after explaining them to the parents? Was there to some extent an abdication of responsibility on the part of the teachers? (I am trying to be fair.)

Bitter wrangling, rapidly falling numbers - only the I.L.E.A. (Inner London Education Authority) could have averted a crisis. Terry Ellis pleaded for them to intervene months ago. But they did nothing. They closed their eyes and hoped the problem would go away. Or perhaps they had other more devious motives. (Islington has set up an Education Advisory Committee, which is highly unpopular with the I.L.E.A.)

Only now when the situation is beyond recall have they acted. Inspectors have visited the school and have issued a highly critical interim report. (The teachers are furious at the way this report has been 'leaked'.) Much of what they say is preposterous. They blame the school, for example, for 'instances of temper tantrums, sulking and obscene language'. Their views on teaching methods are, as Terry Ellis says, 'pre-Plowden'. One wonders how long it was since any of them had spent more than an hour in an inner-city school.

Meanwhile, only about fifty children are at school. The inspection is to go on. And a public inquiry into the running of the school is to start on October 27th. I have little doubt what the eventual result will be.

Like Rivinghill (1963), the school will close down or change its name. Like Rivinghill, a number of fundamental issues are involved, issues of extreme importance. And as with Rivinghill the cause of progressive education has suffered too. For although in many respects the two 'affairs' are very different, they have both provided ammunition for educational troglodytes. In Thursday's *Daily Telegraph* there is an article by the one and only Dr. Rhodes Boyson

M.P. in which he says 'we may have to move to a nationally controlled curriculum and a pledge of all teachers to uphold the monarchy, Parliament and the rule of law'. Coming as they do from a probable future Secretary of State for Education, these warnings need to be taken seriously.

It is not the least tragic aspect of the events at William Tyndale that they can be construed as lending specious support to such terrifying arguments as this.

David Barnett.

THE END OF TECHNOLOGY

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The ends of technology are inconsistent with (in Thoreau's quaint phrase) 'the elevation of mankind'. This is reflected not only in the swift survey of Concorde but in all developments of technology which corrupt, distort and destroy the luxuries and comforts which they pretend to promote. Among the most vivid examples which spring to mind is the motor-car which has had its days of glory at Earls Court motor-show this week. Alistair Aird writes in *The Automotive Nightmare*: "Each year, one group of people rob the country of twice as much as all other criminals combined. They seriously wound five times as many people, and kill at least twenty times as many. Yet these destroyers, maimers and killers are uniquely privileged." Aird explains that these are the drivers who are found guilty of a million crimes a year.

Atomic power has been lauded as the solution to our energy problems. But the inherent dangers of its precarious potential for polluting and destroying is played down as is the insoluble problem of disposing of the noxious dangerous wastes which we can never destroy but merely bequeath to later generations. Today's horror story is of quantities of waste arriving from Japan for re-processing.

The contributions of technology to the complexity of the provision of sufficient, suitable food to a world whose population has largely profited from death-control by technology are not so great as assumed. The failure to allow peoples access to the birth control techniques is not the fault of technology but of governments. Technology with its application of factory methods to farms has made for ultimate poverty in a world of potential plenty.

Technology, freed of the military-industrial complex which holds control, is capable of great things but only if scaled down to human size. An intermediate technology is desirable and a senseless accumulation of so-called 'luxuries' and 'comforts' is a blind-alley. To quote Thoreau again, "Our life is frittered away by detail. Simplify. Simplify."

There has been much talk of the evil of materialism and selfishness. In fact there is much more evil in living for and through other people. Keeping up with the Joneses is living for other people

and up to other people's standards, standards dedicated to a life of consumption. The selfless sacrifices of many falling in behind insane leaders made possible the lunatic atrocities of Hiroshima, Belsen, Dresden, Guernica and Muy Lai.

* * *

And what of technologically advancing 'socialist' Britain's contribution to this 'elevation'? Besides the perpetration of Concorde and sponsorship of atomic power stations, Britain has refused to admit that she could possibly pollute the seas, even with North Sea oil. Furthermore, Britain now thinks that because of 'her' oil, she should have a solo non-E.E.C. voice on energy councils in order, it is said, to prevent the price of oil going too low when we are sellers in the market.

Jack Robinson.

IN BRIEF

THE notoriously anti-squatting *People* on Sunday, 19 October has in a page (11) of 'straight talk-opinions' a reference to Elgin Avenue squat: "The grabbers win again. The law-breakers are winning. That is the moral to be drawn from the squatters' victory in London." On page 17 a story is given about the sumptuous home of "the 'Sheriff' who talked out the squatters" in which their reporter refers to him home as being only a short walk from Elgin Avenue, "scene of his famous victory over the squatters". Which page of *The People* do you read?

IN WHAT seems to be a misprint (or a Freudian error?) in our contemporary *Socialist Worker*, 11 October, the veteran Tony Cliff is made to say (in a blueprint for Portugal), "The central workers council should immediately take radical measures in a number of fields, like the expropriation of the needy and so on." Perhaps he means the lumpen-proletariat?

A PARISIAN schoolteacher, Mme. Mireille March, describing herself as a "militant of the Revolutionary Communist League" has refused to obey a call to jury service on the grounds that the function of justice in present society is to maintain the domination of one class over another, that the Assize jury, fraudulently called "popular", cannot escape that function, being called upon to judge the victims of a society made for the rich and powerful. She cited as evidence the recent call by Minister of the Interior Pompidou for an all-out attack on "a category of individuals from which infractions come in the main... French and immigrant workers" and the reaction evoked by the indictment and sentencing of a factory owner as being responsible for an accident at work (from which an employee died).

Under French law a refusal "without legitimate reason" to sit on a jury is subject on a first occasion to a fine of 100 francs, the second time 200 frs., the third 300 francs - and on this last occasion to disqualification from jury service!

Sancho Panza!

PREACHING OBSCENITIES

1

THE ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury, Dr. Donald Coggan, last week enjoined the British people to return to God. The picture he described was that people no longer had anchors in their lives, and in a changing world people were drifting. The old values of family life, good and honest work and selflessness, had been forgotten in a race of money making.

Dr. Coggan said that great moral and spiritual issues were at stake and that people should stop the present drift to chaos. "Pay isn't everything. Each for himself and the devil take the hindmost makes for chaos. We must think about money, but if we think about nothing else except money - and we are getting dangerously near that sorry state today - the standards of our life will decline, even in the material sphere."

How strange that it is only now, when the profit motive system finds itself in crisis, that we the people are preached to about money. Throughout history the church has backed the establishment when their power and privilege became threatened by either the internal contradictions of the systems or by the actions of the populace. Today's crisis is an integral one of inflation which the government, the employers and now the church expect the populace to solve by restraining our demands, by working harder and generally making sacrifices.

To preach this to a family who find their breadwinner on the dole is obscene. To attack materialism when so many people are going short and can't find work is hypocrisy. Moral and spiritual values do not provide food on the table and a decent place to live, both of which the Archbishop has in ample supply.

The Archbishop also said: "For too long the voice of a minority which can be anarchic has won." But as we know, progress stems from the agitation and action of minorities. Are we expected to be satisfied with what is; handed down to us from on high either from the State or from God? People must keep their place and not demand the product of their labour. In the post war years, British capitalism has found it increasingly difficult to compete in the world markets. But at the same time, organised workers have used their industrial strength to win improved conditions and wages. Workers have not kept their place and people generally question the values, such as the family which the Archbishop has mentioned, and the system upholds.

The Archbishop believes that "there is a great search going on among serious people for the faith that will hold,

that is intellectually respectable and reaches all parts of their personality and their lives." But faith means a belief founded on authority which is continually being questioned today, and from our point of view rightly so. Religions of the Archbishop's variety have been found wanting and have been rejected by the majority of people. Unfortunately many who reject the Christian faith turn to others, usually of an Eastern variety.

The Archbishop's church has been seen as having no relevance to people's everyday lives. To them it is an interfering moraliser and supporter of a class system of oppression. It supports the system's law and order, its property rights, the authority of the family and the minority who exploit others' labour to make a profit, that is money making.

Dr. Coggan pointed no finger at the industrial giants, the property companies, and the State institutions who exploit and oppress our every desire for a full life both spiritually and materially. The Archbishop, like the State, does not want free and thinking people, but slaves satisfied with faith in authority and whatever is handed down to them.

As usual, those in authority speak of the need for discipline. People no longer know their place. Of course the trade union leaders are doing their best to see that discipline is kept and a £6 limit maintained. But things are different from the thirties. The Sunday Times magazine says that then "working class people were expected to recognise their humble role in the social pecking order; and even when unemployment ran at twice the current level the working man meekly accepted his lot at the base of the heap".

The Archbishop wants to maintain that "heap". However, the thirties are not the seventies and it is unlikely that people will meekly accept a deteriorating economic situation. In such a situation it is to be hoped that new authorities and other forms of oppression are not sought after but that people act together for a better life to bring about a classless, stateless society free from want and oppression.

P. T.

2

THE ARCHBISHOP of Canterbury's stirring call, "Your Country Needs You", is just what we have come to expect from Church prelates ever since Christianity became the established religion under the Roman emperor, Constantine. They have always visited the sins of the ruling class and its institutions upon the people, exhorting us all to ever greater efforts and sacrifices for the sake of the rich.

Had the Archbishop forsaken his est-

ablishment role in favour of the earlier Christian message, he might have addressed himself to the financiers, condemning their usury as the primary cause of inflation; he might have addressed himself to the capitalists, crying "Beware of False Profits!"; he might have addressed himself to the commercial advertisers, praying, "Lead us Not Into Temptation"; above all, he might have addressed himself to the politicians, with the warning, "You Cannot Serve the Public Good and Mammon."

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HYPOCRISY

I. IN A BOOK recently published* dealing with M.P.s who have voted against the advice of the party leaders from 1945 to the election of the Labour Government last year, it is revealed that Reg Prentice has defied the party whip only once in 18 years. Members of the National Executive of the Labour Party who will sit in judgement on Mr. Prentice later in the year include

Michael Foot	81 votes against Labour	since 1945
Ian Mikardo	63 votes ditto	since 1945
Frank Allaun	50 " "	" 1955
Eric Heffer	53 " "	" 1964
Joan Lester	16 " "	" 1966

At least 10 members of the Executive add up to 302 votes against (these include only active votes, not abstentions which would push the figure up considerably). All these people, except perhaps Foot, are expected to vote against Mr. Prentice.

*Dissension in the House of Commons.
by P. Norton (Macmillan, £25).

II. AS A RESULT of Mr. Prentice's trouble in his constituency a split has now occurred in the local Tory party. Four top constituency members believe that if Prentice is forced to stand as an Independent Labour candidate it would be "morally wrong" to oppose him. To quote Mr. Ron Wetherspoon (vice-chairman): "Some of us feel that it would be morally wrong to have anything to do with such an election. It is not because we back Mr. Prentice's policies. We feel that the attack on him was an attack on democracy. We are not playing games. This country is as free as it is today because of certain rules and standards. Those rules have been undermined and I hope we won't just stand by and let it happen."

A Tory Central Office statement said: "For Tories to opt out of the fight against socialism is unthinkable."

A. F. W.

£ 8,000,000 is to be paid in compensation to French farmers to buy up and destroy 220,000 tons of apples.

BWNIC TRIAL

TWO BROTHERS, Martin and Michael Wyness, who went absent without leave from the army in 1974, appeared as prosecution witnesses last week at the trial of the 14 supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign. The older, Martin, described how in 1973 he had asked for the SSFA (Soldiers, Sailors and Airmens Families Association), a voluntary body concerned with welfare, to visit his mother about whom he was worried. He hoped that as a result of such a report he could get a discharge on compassionate grounds. He was then posted to British Honduras and heard nothing more; "Even if it is turned down you don't hear about it." Then he did the same thing again in the summer of 1974. Again nothing was done, and after three weeks' home leave he decided that the only thing to do was to stay absent and try to find a job in his home town so that he could help his mother financially. It was after he had decided to stay AWOL that he wrote, in the name of a friend with whom he was staying, the letter asking for help which was found at the home of defendant Bill Hetherington. He had obtained the London address of BWNIC from a copy of "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" which he had found whilst still in Catterick. In reply, he said, he received a leaflet of "Do's and Don'ts" about being AWOL. Finally, after three months, he had returned to Catterick.

"When I got back I was kept in the garrison jail and nothing had been done at all. I asked them to make out a SSFA report and they said they wouldn't, unless I started soldiering." David Turner Samuel, defence counsel for Wendy Butlin asked him "They said they were not prepared to do anything unless you were prepared to go on doing what you didn't want to do?" Finally SSFA visited his mother, and in the space of half an hour made out a report covering the whole of Martin Wyness's last four years in the army and the last ten years of the family's history. This report was then used in evidence at his court martial (he received 50 days' detention) but since that time his mother had not been offered assistance, nor had he been given any help about obtaining a discharge. He was still in the army. No one had

STOP PRESS

PAT ARROWSMITH that well-known terrorist-pacifist was arrested in Aldershot (that well-known terrorist town) while distributing BWNIC leaflets through civilian letter-boxes. She was strip-searched for more explosive materials and released after four hours (without charged being made) on her own bail of £100. She is to appear at Aldershot police station on December 1st. Her arrest was under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

persuaded him to go absent.

Michael Wyness also stayed absent without leave at the same time and had also applied for a discharge. His application had been ignored. He wanted to get out of the army for health reasons, because of his mother's problems and because he was engaged and felt he could support his wife better outside the army. He had seen copies of "Some Information ..." when on security duty at Catterick but had handed them in to his superior officers. No one had persuaded him to go absent. He returned after two weeks' absence to his barracks and was sentenced to 28 days' detention and 16 days' loss of pay. He was still in the army and intended to apply for a discharge by purchase after three years' service. When asked by Gwyn Williams, defending herself, whether he realised that such a discharge could be deferred indefinitely he replied that he did not.

The rest of the week was taken up by prosecution evidence from police officers and Special Branch concerning the raids which took place last autumn and interviews with some of the defendants. A very large number of documents were produced, including private diaries, letters, address books and internal memoranda, and Newsletters of BWNIC. Leaflets, (including "Some Information...") were produced in large quantities, many of them ordinary pacifist leaflets which have been in circulation for years.

At one point, Justice McKinnon intervened in cross examination with the comment, "As I understand the defence, an essential element is that it is denied that there is any such organisation as the BWNIC". Gwyn Williams

replied, "We certainly don't deny there is such an organisation. I have my full support and regardless of the trial I shall continue to support it as long as there is a single British soldier in Ireland."

A visit on Saturday, 18 October, by the prime minister, Harold Wilson, who is Chancellor of Bradford University, to the university to open the J.B. Priestley Library was greeted by a picket of members of the School of Peace Studies and Bradford Peace Group with placards demanding "Is this a free country?", calling for the defence of free speech and support for the BWNIC 14. Copies of the leaflet produced by the Defend the 14 + Campaign which were judged to be in contempt of court a fortnight ago were given out. (These show a judge with his hands over someone's mouth and say "Defend Free Speech. Defend the 14. Drop the Charges".) Harold Wilson was prevented from getting a leaflet by a bodyguard, but J. B. Priestley, who was one of those who protested against the Incitement to Disaffection Act being passed in 1934, took one.

The Defend the 14+ Campaign is hoping to co-ordinate days of mass picketing outside the Old Bailey, particularly to show support of the 14 when the defence case opens. If your organisation, college or group can undertake to mount a picket on any particular day, or you want information about what is being organised, please telephone 01 337 3794 or contact the Defend the 14+ Campaign, Box 39, c/o 137 King's Cross Road, London W.C.1.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

ENGLAND/ITALY At almost exactly the same time that the 200 squatters of Elgin Avenue were dismantling their barricades after negotiations with the GLC, police were fighting extra-parliamentary left-wing groups and schoolchildren over the forced expulsion of about 30 families from four buildings in the centre of Milan. After the battle, in which the police used teargas and their opponents Molotov cocktails and stones, 27 police casualties were reported; though as the extreme left-wing groups rarely present themselves for medical attention the number of casualties on their side was not known. About 40 people were detained.

But it would be rash for the British squatters to congratulate themselves on a victory, and of course, many of them are not. The "short life" housing offered them leaves much to be desired. According to residents in Camberwell such as, for instance, the old disabled man reported in the Evening Standard of 15 October, the houses "are running alive with rats. We've only got one cold water tap and an outside toilet with no light. It's disgusting."

FRANCE This country of jurists is always rich in extravagant declarations from the Bench. Among the latest is that of the defence lawyer in the trial of Jacky Pietkiewicz, sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment for the (strongly provoked) murder of his father's murderer. Rebuking the public sympathy expressed for Jacky Pietkiewicz, and the demand for his acquittal, the shocked lawyer quoted the words of the lawyer of one of the Bonnot band in the last century: "Public opinion? Chase away that intruder, that prostitute pulling at the judge's sleeve... It was (public opinion) that applauded the September massacres and a century later, stuck its umbrellas in the eyes of the wounded Communards. . ." (!)

Certainly one can be baffled by a public opinion that agitates for the release of Jacky Pietkiewicz on the one hand and supports the death sentence just passed on a 17-year old boy for his murder of an old woman, on the other. The answer is that "public opinion" is really a fiction - an idol or "composite monster", to use our comrade Giovanni Baldelli's phrase, according to the interests of the ruling class at any given

moment, but one that in reality does not exist. There are only individuals and groups of individuals who have always in every period of history responded differently to different incidents, both from within and outside their own class; and it would be absurd to identify those involved in the Pietkiewicz case with those who passed or supported the death penalty at Beavals for an adolescent of diminished responsibility, abandoned by both his parents, and which was motivated by fear and ignorance.

It is finally both hypocritical and pointless for the State to appear shocked by "public opinion" when it was the State, after all, that resurrected the guillotine from the flames to which the Commune had committed it!

WEST GERMANY It would seem from a document just published on "Terrorisme-Anarchismus Baden-Württemberg" that the ministries, the constitutional bodies and the police are now congratulating themselves on having found out what makes urban guerrilla tick. The new form of revolutionary praxis, state the authorities, is determined through the unity of small groups engaged in illegal or apparently legal activities. A distinction is drawn between the "anarchists" who disappear into hide-outs with false papers and others who, with the help of false documents give the appearance of living a "bourgeois existence", and a third group of the so-called "legal type" who work with committees and aid organisations like Red Help. The conclusion is that the days of the big, centralised bands - whatever they were - are over.

Meanwhile, the discovery of West Germany's secret arms deals continues to receive wide publicity and build irrevocably into another "affair", thus at least to assuage the more liberal elements of German society. General Glnther Rall has resigned from NATO, but the gesture is both formal and empty, revealing over again the tremendous disparity between governmental declarations of principles and the grim reality of the relation between governments and the international market. Rall's travels in South Africa, with the consent of the Defence Ministry in Bonn, are of small importance compared to the strong, if hitherto secret, ties with this country. In fact West Germany, certainly not discouraged by NATO, has become the uncomfortable competitor in arms deals of France and Britain, who formerly had much of the field to themselves. The Christian Democrat leader Franz Josef Strauss has been convincing to sell South Africa military aircraft, and companies like Steag of Essen have been collaborating with South Africa in the nuclear field for at least two years. Present research with German help may quite soon lead to South Africa's first atomic bomb which, for obvious reasons, this racist republic is anxious to develop as soon as possible.

SPAIN Many arrests of FRAP and ETA militants have been made over the last week around Barcelona and Bilbao, and more civil guards have

been killed. In a reply to the harsh criticisms of the leader of the Spanish Communist party, Santiago Carrillo, a representative of FRAP has expressed his sorrow that FRAP activities are regarded as "terrorist" and not as the natural deeds of a liberation army fighting the "only fascism of the old order remaining in Europe". FRAP, says this spokesman, is convinced that the present grave economic and political crisis in Spain provides the right and perhaps, only, moment to attack the fascist state; that it would be mistaken to wait for a future reconciliation of fascism and of the monarchy with democratic parties. He claimed that among those supporting FRAP's line were ETA, the Union of Galician patriots, the Trotskyists of the IVth International and the Anarchists, representing "the only organisations who have not participated in the democratic Junta and the Platform". The sole alternative to present tactics in Spain would be an intensification of the struggle by the "entire Spanish people" in the streets and factories.

CHILE While a UN report condemns the "systematic political repression" in Chile and the extreme inhumanity and degradation to which political victims are subjected, including sexual brutality to women, the United States, together with Japan and Spain, have signed a bilateral agreement with Chile on the consolidation of its debt. Though Britain, together with Holland and Sweden, have refused to negotiate

with Chile, it appears that the Santiago government has repaid its debt to Britain for this year and that Britain has not refused the payment. This has naturally been interpreted in the financial world as constituting a "tacit agreement" between the British Labour government and the government of Chile.

OMAN British troops are fighting alongside the Shah of Persia's and the Sultan of Oman's in a full-scale campaign against rebels in the Omani region of Dhofar. Heavy loss of life has been reported. The rebels are fighting for independence for the Dhofar region from Sultan Qabus of Oman.

Contributed.

MARCH ON SPAIN

FRANCO is now menaced not by one but two columns of marchers. In addition to the Morroccans who want to take over the Spanish Sahara, he is threatened on his northern flank by a demonstration being organised by the Comité España Libre in Hendaye (in the extreme south-west corner of France, opposite Irun in the Basque country) on November 1st. The intention is to hold a massive meeting on the Saturday, and to march to the frontier on the Sunday evening and blockade it, as protest against the recent executions. All comrades are welcome to attend.

CREEPING FASCISM

IN THE 1920s in Italy capitalism was under serious attack from organised labour. It naturally felt threatened and took steps towards making itself dominant again. Mussolini's black-shirts soon provided a chink of light at the end of a long tunnel of the capitalists' gloom. Their systematic beating of trade union leaders, followed by the development of a corporate union structure and the mass support for Mussolini which followed from his populist policies culminated in the formation of the Italian Fascist regime.

Whilst it would be unjust to compare turn-of-the-century Italy with present-day Britain there are various lessons which we should heed. The so-called free-market is in great crisis. The State is also in crisis as a consequence. There are some terrifying parallels between what happened in Italy of the 1920s and the solutions being offered by the present-day Conservative party.

The Sunday Times announced in its edition of 19th October "There was a repeated plea at the Conservative Party Conference. Tories should join trade unions and try to change them. . . The Central Office now plans a tough strategy to be carried out by a handpicked and carefully briefed cadre of MPs and volunteers, who will tour the country. Local trade union organisations are to be re-activated on an industry basis, and

union based organisations are to be established."

On Saturday 18 October Michael Heseltine made a speech urging capitalists to take to the streets and that demonstrations should no longer be the prerogative of militant trade unionists and students.

What do the Conservatives want to turn trade unions into? Obviously, to be successful their organisations must be seen to be working. The fascist corporate unions in Italy of the 1920s did in fact organise various strikes against their employers with the full approval of Il Duce. We cannot see the Tory union organisations having much success with merely being "sensible". A worker will listen to Tory "reason" and comply with it as long as he does not become hungry. As the capitalist crisis worsens the Tory unions will have to change to a much more militant line which could become corporate unions.

Michael Heseltine's suggestions furthermore were taken up by the organisers of the Chilean coup. The middle class and other bourgeois elements did take to the streets of Santiago. There is no need to elaborate on the results. The Italian bourgeoisie of the 1920s was more subtle. It let the

Continued on Page 6

FRENCH O.R.A. IN PORTUGAL

'Le Front Libertaire' No. 44 (October) the official organ of the French ORA (Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists) has printed a lengthy and interesting article on the Portuguese Revolution, as the result of their visits to Portugal last summer.

Surprisingly, not a single mention is made in the article of the past or present libertarian movement, the anarcho-sindicalist paper A Batalha, or any other libertarian publication such as A Ideia, A Voz Anarquista, O Libertario, O Pasquim, &c. &c. or about the Autonomous Anarchist Groups (GAAR) !!!

This deliberate omission, unforgivable from the "comrades" who call themselves anarchists, amounts to an insult to the past and present Portuguese comrades, knowing that an ORA delegation did in fact visit our friends of the newspaper A Batalha. Claiming to support the struggles of the autonomous working class movement in Portugal, specifically the work of unnamed libertarian communist groups wherever they are struggling, ORA curiously mentions a newspaper Combate as being worthy of their support and sympathy.

But as far as we know, Combate is not an

FASCISM . . . continued from P. 5

black-shirts take to the streets on their behalf. Interestingly enough the Italian fascist regime was not as cruel as the Chilean junta has proved to be. This is probably due to the fact that Mussolini's fascism was being presented as an alternative viable means of solving the nation's problems and as such contained an ideology (several in fact), and practical proposals based on self-sufficiency for the nation. The Chilean junta came to power, however, not through the presentation of any political alternative to the nation's troubles but through a well-manufactured campaign of hate against the Allende regime.

As such the Chilean junta is not really a fascist regime. It is pure, undiluted dictatorship. If the Tories' proposals evolve to their full potential it is not a fascist regime which will result but a pure power dictatorship. The Tories' campaign is also based not on any viable alternative of handling the nation's economic problems but on hate of "militant trade unionists", of "long-haired students" and so forth.

There seem to be two alternatives open to us. Either we become more involved with the trade union movement as a counterpoise to the onslaught of the activists of the Thatcher regime or we form our own work organisations striving towards real self-management of our lives. Obviously there are different opinions on the correct approach to take inside the anarchist movement. Whilst FREEDOM does not wish to establish itself as the Pope of the anarchist "faith", these problems should at least be discussed and acted upon. Otherwise we could well be shouting "Viva la Thatcher!" or "Viva Mark Phillips!" in the near future. I prefer to shout "Viva l'Anarchia!" What about you?

Francesco.

LETTERS

anarchist publication judging by its content and by the fact that the person who is selling it in London never bothered to contact us about A Batalha or any other subject and also by virtue of the fact that no mention was made by our Portuguese comrades of this paper's being an anarchist one while I was in Portugal in August last.

I am inclined to believe, until I am proved wrong, that Combate is run by Leninists of some sort (the ORA sort?), part and parcel of the political set up of the left wing authoritarian groups that abuse our libertarian slogans and phraseology in order to get a working class audience. It should be noted that every single vanguardist party or group in Portugal, excepting the P.C.P. (Communist Party), is in favour of working class autonomy free trade unions, and direct democracy. In reality these vanguardists are "helping" the Portuguese working class to organise itself under the banner of autonomous organisations in order to eventually infiltrate them and manipulate them for their own ends -- i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat!

These tactics, so near to the hearts of the revolutionary ORA/AWA, are called ENT-RISM and as such should be considered by us anarchists as a political cancer under the skin of any working group of workers struggling against oppression and exploitation.

Just let us hope that our Portuguese comrades will be in a position to denounce these tactics* and present instead a true revolutionary alternative to the demagogic cajolings of the Marxist/Oranists in Portugal.

*A Ideia has already translated into Portuguese and printed with the appropriate comments the Leninist document "The Organisational Platform" by the political commissar Archinov. Claude.

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

Comrades,

One urges you not to join too heartily in the chorus of Tory-Labour cheers for the demise of the I. L. P. as reported in your supplement dated 11th October. Like the reports of the death of Mr. Twain, our passage to pastures new has been much exaggerated.

A true perspective of what has happened is that following I. L. P. Conference at Easter last, the majority (right-wing Labour) faction seized the goods and assets of the organization and constituted themselves a Publications Group for the backing-up of Harold Wilson & Co. The minority, including the Branch at Wolverhampton & Bilston on whose behalf I write, continue to function (albeit on a very low level at present) as a political Party of the "Socialist Left".

Yours fraternally,
George Carter.

I. L. P. Wolverhampton & Bilston,
53 Vale Street,
Ettingshall, Wolverhampton WV2 2EH

FREE COMMUNES WITHIN SOCIETY

(FREEDOM 11.9.75)

Life is a compromise in any society if we are to accept other people's individuality as well as our own. The difference between anarchism and authoritarian ideologies is that anarchists do not accept pie in the sky and believe that reasonable life must be attempted here and now. Many anarchists attempt to achieve it by various compromises in accordance with their situation. I don't live my politics, Bob Moores, I attempt to live my life. Years ago it was possible to rent very reasonably a base for a commune but there were other hassles, so now people try different ways. The anarchist adapts or tries to do so without destroying himself and other people.

Yours fraternally,
Alan Albon.

A FAINT TINGE OF GREEN

Of course anarchists want troops to desert, to disaffect, to stop shoving people around and shooting them. If the State had no army how much easier life would be. I have read the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign's leaflet and find it generally excellent though I admit I can find little parallel with Algeria or Vietnam, in fact even to call Ireland's present troubles 'colonialist' is dredging the bottom of the barrel not a little. However, yes by all means get rid of armies, all of them.

But why FREEDOM editors did you only publish one leaflet? Why did you not publish the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign's leaflet to the Irish Republican Army? You know, the one which gives information on desertion to disgruntled IRA men who have got fed up with the shooting, the killing, tarring and feathering and wholesale unpleasantness towards their fellow men? Failure to publish this is a great disservice to the Campaign amounting almost to press censorship. The Campaign might well get a name for bias in supporting only one side in what is obviously a civil war situation. They might even be accused of not being serious, even 'romantic'.

If FREEDOM's editors are to go to jail for defying the government and courts, at least let it be for something worthwhile. The situation in N. Ireland is murky enough without the British pacifist movement, rather patronisingly, jumping on the bandwagon. What is required is both coherence and consistency. It is a time for FREEDOM's editors to seriously consider which activity in short or long term will lead to the acceptance of libertarian ideas. Northern Ireland/The Unionists/Protestantism/The IRA/Republicanism/The Roman Catholic Church etc., etc., a British Campaign for Roman Catholic Withdrawal might be just as relevant, or irrelevant, but anyway, to use the time honoured question "What the

hell has this got to do with anarchism?"

Peter Neville.

10.10.75. P.S. I bet there are no British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign supporters giving leaflets out outside Green Park tube station tonight? P.N.

Peter Neville has obviously not been consistently reading FREEDOM. For example in Easter 1972 we had an article advising troops not to go to Ireland and also attacking the IRA, and we have consistently declared 'a plague on both your houses'. As for this campaign being 'worthwhile', our comrades of the Harrow Libertarians say in their leaflet:

"There has been some embarrassing publicity about the few British soldiers who have joined the many American deserters in Sweden, but that is not a serious problem. This case is not about them, nor is it really about the fourteen people on trial. It is about the right of open discussion of serious issues and it involves not just military discipline but the nature of our society."

We agree with this point of view. EDS.

BWNIC

ARE SOLDIERS WORKERS?

Dear Comrades,

Dennis Gould's article (11 Oct.) in general and the Complicity Statement in particular seem somewhat out of place in an anarchist paper. The idea that soldiers are a group of workers may be held by state-socialists but it is completely contrary to anarchist philosophy since the army is merely an organ of the state. Why should anarchists (or pacifists for that matter) defend the rights of soldiers, when the army has in the past and may in the future be used against the workers. Surely we ought to be trying to convince individual soldiers that their allegiance should lie with the workers and that this can never be so while they wear a uniform.

The final sentence of the article has me completely baffled. How does Dennis Gould define "unjust laws"? What is a just law?

Defend the 14 by all means, and defend our rights to communicate with soldiers, but don't pretend that we aren't trying to incite soldiers to dis-affect when that is precisely what we, as anarchists, ought to be doing.

Yours fraternally,
J. White.

JANE GASKELL in the Mail reports from America that psychiatrists are beginning to find temporary impotence among businessmen directly linked with falling stock and share markets.

LAND NOTES

I MAKE NO apology for the brevity of these notes, having been helping to gather in an apple harvest. In temperate zones, crops harvested are the consequence of 12 months' work during which various natural hazards can happen. Livestock farming is more complex and in the case of cattle and milk spread over a longer period.

Much has been said about production and productive activity. Things like banking, insurance, entertainment, are referred to as industries when in effect they are really ways of controlling and governing consumption which is the result of industry and agriculture.

In real terms arable agriculture is the only productive industry, as in effect it does by photosynthesis create wealth that was not on the earth before. All industry, no matter how sophisticated, changes the form of matter and moves it from one place to another and in doing so actually consumes wealth.

Much talk of economics, of finance, tends to obscure these facts. Anarchists should recognise the biological, physical and psychological limits to our freedom which are perfectly acceptable. The lowest possible limit to our agricultural activity has to be established, the basic mechanics of man's relationship and skills with our collective body and the activity required to secure adequate food and shelter. In these spheres the technical industrial state has been completely inadequate and becomes more and more so.

Work has become a dirty word. If it is disliked or detested it should not be done at all; it should involve effort and challenge. The nature of our economic activity is making the industrial working class as effete as the ruling class.

No amount of sophisticated technology can conceal the simple realities of the human situation. The success of a society depends on the acceptance of such realities.

Alan Albon.

IN BRIEF

EL CORDOBA, retired bull-fighter who emerged to give a display for dependants of and solidarity with murdered policemen, said after his injuries that he would never enter the bullring again. His injuries were "a sign from God that I must give up bull-fighting". . . and from the bull too!

ACCORDING to The Times there was some fluttering in the legal dovecotes when a judge asked where it was stated that judges could imprison for contempt of court. No-one knew the answer (not even Sir Peter Rawlinson, former Attorney General); eventually a counsel announced (without giving his source) that "from time immemorial judges had 'an inherent power' to commit to prison for contempt of court". The judge was satisfied.

Freedom Press Publications

NEITHER EAST NOR WEST, selected writings (1939-48) of Marie Louise Berneri: I Defenders of Democracy; II The Price of War and of Liberation; III United Nations. Index. 192pp 35p (post 16p) US \$1.

MARIE LOUISE BERNERI, A Tribute (Published for the M.-L. Berneri Memorial Committee). photos. 51pp cloth 30p (post 13 p) US \$1.

ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM, Rudolf Rocker's classic essay on the subject so much discussed today. 48pp 20p (post 9p) US 75c

ANARCHY, Errico Malatesta. A new translation as true as possible to the original Italian text of the essay Malatesta considered his best. 54pp 25p (post 9p) US 65c

BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich traces the course of Bakunin's relationship with Nechaev and how it led Bakunin to re-examine his revolutionary doctrines and reassert his libertarian principles. 32pp 20p (post 9p) US 65c

THE STATE, ITS HISTORIC ROLE, Peter Kropotkin in this essay began by examining free societies, traces their decline under the power of the State and concludes that the increasing centralisation of State power could lead to social destruction. 56pp 20p (Post 11p) US 65c

ABOUT ANARCHISM, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ, what anarchists want, what anarchists do... by Nicolas Walter. A concise and lucid study of the historical streams of anarchism and of the movement today. 32pp 15p (post 5p) US 40c

A B C of ANARCHISM, by Alexander Berkman. The section of "Anarchist Communism" in which he set down his ideas on how the anarchist society could work. 86pp 25p (post 11p) US 75c

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CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next Review section is Monday 27 October; News/Features/letters/announcements Monday 3 November

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 6 November. Come and help from 2 p.m. onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

MEETINGS

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, 1 pm Speakers' Corner, Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, 2nd door) tube Belsize Park/Chalk Farm. From 7.30 pm discussion, refreshments, etc.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly mtgs. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU

CONFERENCE. Amnesty International-Women Against Torture. 8 Nov., 9.30 am to 6 pm. Creche available. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Further information tel. 01-954 5011

CONFERENCE on Sarvodaya "A vision for a communitarian society" Dec. 13 9.30 am-6 pm Conway Hall. Meetings Friday & Sunday 12 & 15 at Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, Bethnal Green, London E2. Participants Lanzo del Vastro, E. F. Schumacher &c. Tickets £1. Enq. Satish Kumar, Eastbourne House.

British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) says: No military solution in Ireland. Withdraw the Troops, End the Union. London Group meets 1st Tuesday in the month at 6 Endsleigh St. WC1. at 7.30 pm.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS/WANTS &c.

COMMUNE: We're trying to get a commune going and need at least one other to form the nucleus. If you are interested please contact Roger McGrath and Steve Cook c/o 36A Newark St London E1 2AA. STAN (ex- 8 St. Martin's Close Camden) Came to see you about the Commune, but you had moved. If you are still interested in joining us contact me at 36A Newark St. as soon as possible. -Steve Cook.

LITTLE BIRD, a monthly information package of collation of leaflets, documents and handbills from Merseyside and elsewhere. Send your materials to us, about 100 copies, and we will circulate it. Material and subscriptions to Little Bird, c/o News from Nowhere, 48 Manchester St., Liverpool 1. (tel. 051-227 2514)

Address all correspondence concerning the forthcoming book "The Cuban Revolution, an anarchist perspective" to Sam Dolgoff, 208 East Broadway, New York, NY 10002

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL needs financial help. Donations to Ralph DiGia, WRI, 359 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012, USA or (GB) Kees Koop, c/o PPU, 6 Endsleigh St. London WC1 0DH.

Triennial Report now available £1.

PORTUGAL, the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5,000

copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets, &c. to A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2-E, LISBOA, Portugal.

GROUPS

ANARCHIST FEDERATION CONFERENCE will be held at WARWICK UNIVERSITY (near Coventry) on the weekend of 28/29/30 NOVEMBER. Full details will be in AF Bulletin out at the end of October.

ABERGAFENNI. Contact 31 Monmouth Rd. BATH Anarchists & non-violent activists contact BANANA, c/o Students Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BOLTON. Anyone interested in the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in the Bolton area contact or write SWF, 6 Stockley Ave., Hatwood, Bolton.

CAMDEN TOWN - anyone interested in forming Camden An. group contact Toff, The Bank, Tolmers Sq. NW1 (Hampstead Rd)

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN17 2LL

Every Sat. bookstall Corporation Street 2-4 p.m. (new hours). Come and help.

COVENTRY. Peter Come, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry.

DUNDEE. Brian Fleming, c/o Anarchist Soc., Students Union, Univ. of Dundee.

DURHAM: Martin Spence, 17 Avenue Street, High Shinccliffe, Durham.

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073).

GLASGOW now has a centre at 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

HARROW write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, view to form organisatn.

LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact Pets and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester (tel. 549652).

LEICESTER Anarchist "Libertarian Circle" continues to meet every Thursday at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street.

OXFORD Anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hunt Street, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH, Rob Atkinson, 21 Havlock Rd. Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

SWANSEA group new address: 37 Glanmer Rd., Uplands, Swansea.

Libertarian POSTAL WORKERS - How can we spread the ideas of anarchism re organisation in the Post Office? Contact Dave Morris, 36 Mitford Rd. London N19.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Thurs. 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Avenue NYC (SW Corner 29 St.)

November 13: Anarchism in Contemporary Science Fiction, Irving Levitas

December 11: Anarchy and Authority, Sharon Presley.

Free admission, coffee, tea, cookies. Libertarian Book Club, GPO 842, New York 10001

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch 4. (tel. 496 793).

PUBLICATIONS

DIRECT ACTION no. 9, paper of the Syndicalist Workers Federation, 5p from c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU

Performance: JUDAS ISCARIOT - a short interlude by Larry Law. Early

P.F.

Contributions 2 - 15 October

BATH: M.J.H.: £1; LONDON SE5: J.McE. £2; HARROW: C.P.R.R.: 50p; HARVEY, Ill.: R.C. £4.80; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; BRISTOL: E.A.M. £1.50; GATESHEAD: G.D. 40p; E.MOLESEY: A.C. 50p; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. £25; LONDON E.4.: S. & A.G. 50p; KOLN: H.U.D. £1; SYDNEY: C.P. £7.70; LOS GATOS, Cal.: Proceeds from Picnic on 28 Sept. per L.M.: £50; CHICAGO: P.C.d.G.: £12.25; LONDON NW2: D.S. in Memory of John Ball £5; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1; J. K. W. 20p.

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PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) H.M. Prison, Du Cane Rd., London W.12, serving sentence for action against vivisection &c, at present also on trial as one of BWNIC 14. A comrade who wrote to him recently had his letter returned with a note saying he was not allowed letters from new correspondents. Try postcards only.

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 still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High Street, London, NW1. GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO, RALF STEIN, awaiting trial, postcards to him at JVA, 5 KOLN 30, Rachmanstr. 30.

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THE RIGHT NOT TO WORK

THIS is the text of a leaflet distributed by Alternative Socialism (c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street, Ringway, Birmingham 4), written by Keith Paton and others (?). Keith Paton is also the author of Anarchy 118 on Work (Freedom Press 15p + 6½p post).

ARBEIT MACHT FREI !!

--WORK LIBERATES! SIGN OVER ENTRANCE INTO AUSCHWITZ Concentration Camp.

IN A GOOD society nobody would be thrown out of a job or fear redundancy. Working people would control industry from the bottom up, within factories and the arrangements of the wider economy. Unemployment is evil because being pushed around is evil. People have a right to organise and get back into a job, IF that is the only way they feel they can live. A big "IF". Every day there's another programme on "telly" about how we'll fall to pieces if we don't get a job. Politicians, unionists and even so-called "revolutionaries" attack unemployment as some ghastly disease. We're in danger of accepting their propaganda about it, rather than working out our own attitudes to being unemployed, the opportunity as well as the financial reduction. Let's consider some of the things people say about unemployment.

"YOU FEEL UNWANTED"

Everything in our society teaches us to despise ourselves and value things according to money. Employers only take us on if they'll be able to make money out of us. But should we take our standards ready-made from them, or work out our own standards of right and wrong? We need to learn to value ourselves and each other, to rely on our friends and relatives to love us and care for us and value us. We need to stop feeling that there's something wrong with us, or that just because a boss doesn't take us on, that means we are worth nothing. Like musical chairs, there are just not enough places to go round. It's not our fault; the system is wrong.

"YOU FEEL ASHAMED"

Because it's a rotten life being a wage-slave, lots of workers are unhappy in their lives. They identify with the rulers and look down on themselves and even more on claimants on social security. As the lowest of the low, claimants serve as a warning to workers to keep in line, and a perverted source of satisfaction -- 'at least we're above that lot,' many workers say. In a good society people would respect themselves, and therefore respect each other. But there's no way we can move towards such a society if you leave it to others to change people's attitudes. Whenever someone tries to put you down, or talks of 'parasites' on society, don't be ashamed. Sub-human words are liable to lead to humans being treated inhumanly -- there were 5,000 "workshy" in the first Auschwitz intake. Claimants and unemployed people are heavily oppressed, but if you cringe in front of prejudice, you'll hate yourself more and encourage people to hate you. Instead, you can gain strength from fighting oppression, and from dealing with people in a straightforward way. If you can't afford to buy a round in the pub, explain the situation to your mates, don't cut into food money for the sake of appearances. Proper friends will understand. Let's respect ourselves -- and then we'll even have some sympathy left over for the poor frightened sods who take things out on us instead of trying to change this class-ridden society.

"YOU FEEL USEFUL IN A JOB"

Unemployment is 1½ million, MALEMPLOYMENT is 12½ million official 'jobs'. So if you get a job, the chances are you'll be even less socially useful than doing an honest day's idleness on the dole. Would you be contributing to society if you got a job in an arms factory, or in the police force, or for Securicorps, or in the Army? Wouldn't you be helping the ruling class only? Could you feel self-respect working in an advertising agency? Wouldn't a sensible socialist society mean that we could provide for each other's wellbeing without thousands of separate insurance schemes -- it's people, not paper, that are our guarantee in life. What about the millions of hours wasted building office blocks rather than houses, or on roads when it would be better to switch to free rail and bus transport, which would also eliminate useless ticket jobs. Instead of settling on a sensible, agreed range of long-lasting, easily repaired products, think how the profit motive leads to duplication, waste, phoney products, senseless restyling of models, irrational marketing and packaging, etc. Think how unnecessary all the time spent by bureaucrats checking up on us really is, from the point of view of living in a socialist self-managed society, where people got on with the job, because they could see they really were working for the common wealth. And unionists would be happy to drop their restrictive practices and the overmanning they insist on in a hostile environment, as a (doomed) defensive strategy. So let's see ourselves as on strike against an insane economy of organised uselessness, and try to move things in the directions of a shorter working week, only useful socially necessary work to make this island self-sufficient in food and energy and to gear our manufacturing industry increasingly towards the real needs of the poor countries, instead of making luxury junk for the rich world.

"YOU GET REALLY DEPRESSED"

At least we aren't always tired out by work. If we can keep our heads above water on less money, we have time and energy to pursue goals we choose. To see things this way is to come into conflict with other people's SLAVE habits and attitudes -- and our own feelings of guilt. Work is the opium of the masses -- you can't expect to give up the national religion and chief drug addiction without some sticky patches. But no one can lead you out of slave society, you'll have to be your own Moses and spring yourself into your own autonomy, and face the period of wandering in the desert of your mind. If you get depressed, don't distract yourself! Accept your depression, be it, flow with it, go into it to come across what is really going on underneath the surface. You'll maybe meet all sorts of dragons and monsters. Deny them, and they'll keep coming back (worse). Recognise them as you, accept the bits you don't like, and they'll gradually lose their power over you (St. George had it all wrong). Even the bad experiences can help us on our individual journey. If we hang on in their long enough, things will sort themselves out. But before this has time to happen, watch out that you don't get yourself locked up. Relatives and neighbours may well object to your 'acting funny', so it's very important for you to have one or more friends you can trust completely, to help you, without trying to interfere with you. If things get too frightening, get in touch with a P.N.P. group (People Need People/People not Psychiatry). We've all been hurt; you are not alone; other people have faced the inner emptiness and found its riches.

"IT'S UNMANLY"

For men, being out of a job weakens our male pride. This too could be an opportunity. We could seize the chance to lis-

ten to our wives, say sorry for falling out, get the communication flowing again. Working out a new kind of relationship with our wife or lover takes time, which our work-first society doesn't normally allow us. Women are becoming more independent, but too many men are needlessly clinging to old ideas. Some men have formed men's liberation groups to learn from what women are saying, and to outgrow silly ideas such as "men don't cry". We have found that stopping oppressing women is the hardest most important step in freeing ourselves -- because we live in a women-hating, women-fearing culture. Many men feel it's "unmanly" to be washing nappies, and not to be out with their mates. This kind of work-manliness is often linked to violent-manliness, as in Mosley's Blackshirts, and is based on unsatisfying sexual relationships very often. Give up your tool-power and prick-power and take your new found time to make love in new, more loving ways, whenever you both feel like it, rather than last thing at night before clocking on again in the morning. Share your poverty, and find the riches of your bodies and 'souls'. Take over the shit-work and it will manure your life. Instead of always being too tired to play, and spending money on our kids as a second-rate form of love, being unemployed gives us a chance to get our relationship with our children right, and to see the world through their eyes again.

Many old people say that, for all the hardship, the thirties were the best years of their lives. People met each other at a deeper level, out of their need, helped each other out and generated a community spirit as opposed to the unfriendly spirit of competing for private goodies, as nowadays. There are all sorts of things we can do:

- 1) join a claimants' union to struggle for our rights, and help others to get money too;
- 2) side jobs, homebrewing, mending things, jumble sales, more self-sufficiency generally;
- 3) food co-ops, equipment pools, neighbourhood workshops, lunch clubs, play groups, etc.;
- 4) developing skills into niches in an alternative economy, e.g. scraptechnology co-ops;
- 5) knowing and helping and being helped by the old, the disabled, etc. ourselves, directly or in voluntary associations;
- 6) contacting alternative projects or starting them, e.g. community printing presses;
- 7) hitch and visit friends, relatives, other projects, etc. in country or other cities;
- 8) entertain ourselves better inexpensively, e.g. making our own music, dances, songs;
- 9) use library, school, adult education, etc. facilities, organise for more open access;
- 10) claim our right to use parks, streets, etc. without being harassed by police.

FRIENDS, THE RIGHT TO WORK WAS A PROGRESSIVE DEMAND IN THE DAYS WHEN THE CONQUERED PEOPLE WERE PUT TO DEATH. BUT NOW IT'S TIME TO QUESTION THE SLAVE BASIS OF OUR SOCIETY AND OUR OWN SLAVE HABITS. DON'T BE PSYCHO-TERRORISED BACK INTO LINE BY THE STATE OR BY THE LEFT. AIM TO REVOLUTIONISE YOUR OWN EVERYDAY LIFE WITH OTHERS, AND THAT WAY YOU WILL CHANGE SOCIETY AND ABOLISH THE WORKING CLASS AS WELL AS THE RULING CLASS.

THE POVERTY OF THEORY

THE 'LAWS' of theoretical economics got a clean bill of health from Mrs. Thatcher last month during her publicity tour of the U.S.A. For Mrs. Thatcher then, the laws of supply and demand are part of the universal economic laws which "could not be repealed, even by the most authoritarian regimes".

Is economics, as Mrs. Thatcher clearly suggested, a social science which can construct laws like the physical sciences? Can it provide us with universally valid knowledge prior to all experience?

In the Conservative party among people like Sir Keith Joseph and Thatcher there is a move towards a kind of pure economics, which concerns itself mainly with market economics and theoretical economic 'laws'. It gets its inspiration today from monetary economists like Milton Friedman who for England currently recommend tight government control of the money supply. Which would mean the government would bring in credit restrictions and print less money, leading to the bankrupting of "less efficient" firms and consequent unemployment. This would then, in theory, result in undermining and reducing the power of organised labour, which would in turn cut inflation.

This approach considers the economic system in isolation from its social and political consequences. A tight money policy is not much cop, from the politicians' point of view, if it leads to riots and revolution. Mrs. Thatcher's so-called economic realities are hardly practical if the political and social outcome is revolution. That's why it is doubtful that she will commit herself and the Tory party totally to the dogma of the freemarket and hardline monetary economics, as an instrument of practical policy in office. As a practising politician, Mrs. Thatcher, like Mr. Foot, will have to pursue a devious and hypocritical path once in government.

THE UNREALITY IN ECONOMIC THEORY

But do the economic laws hold up as a theoretical entity? Pure economic theory concerns itself almost exclusively with market economics; this suggests a more than accidental relationship between the rise of analytical economics and the rise of capitalism. But the growing use of econometrics, mathematical measurement, and the tools of the exact sciences, has not led to much more accuracy in the forecasting of events in the 'real' world by 'pure' economists. The thing is moral and ideological considerations underlie these eco-

nomics 'laws' Mrs. Thatcher is expounding, and western economic theory of the 'free' market is rooted in the conservative political doctrine.

The underlying assumption behind the Law of Supply and Demand is that men will maximise their short term gain. But what if Thorstein Veblen is right and a buyer is motivated not by maximisation of material reward so much as by ostentation; will he not then behave in a perverse manner to the one assumed by the economic theorist, and buy the most expensive goods simply by virtue of its higher price? In the same way what if a worker, having had a pay rise, decides he prefers more leisure time to increased earnings? Or what if workers to combat a fall in wages decide to work more overtime to make it up? Won't all these decisions contradict the law of supply and demand?

What many of the theoretical economists are now doing is developing a kind of pure economic theory which is not relevant to the real world. They are not interested in explaining how the economic system is working, but with how it ought to work given a 'free' market. In other words they are forced to confine their approach to constructing better mathematical models, rather than attempting to explain the social world as it is lived by real people.

UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY LIFE

The natural scientist examines a world of facts, data and events within his field of enquiry, but as Alfred Schutz shows, "...this field does not 'mean' anything to the molecules, atoms and electrons therein". The social scientist who tries to tackle his job in the same way is forced either to retreat into theories about abstract models as the pure economists do or to treat the ordinary man as a "cultural dope" manipulated by society. Those who argue, like the Marxists, the environmental anarchists and most orthodox sociologists, that man's actions are determined by things outside of himself in the social structure, set out by endowing their puppets - ordinary people - with a certain restricted consciousness, restricted by the terms of their theories.

Anarchist analysis of the economic world might best start by examining people's everyday economic life as it is lived, and not by the application of the general "laws" of 19th-century liberal economics or the Marxist iron "laws" of history. We, above all, should not be content to sleepwalk our way through our everyday experiences, only seeking explanations

The Historical Pretension

ALIEN TO the spirit of anarchism, and to be exorcised by the anarchist from himself before he denounces it in others, is that which for want of a better name we shall call the historical pretension, an impediment to social trust far more formidable than single-minded promotion of one's interests, opinions of superiority, political ambitions and a taste for command. To be concerned with the destinies of mankind follows from consciousness of one's humanity and this concern should not be alien to the conduct of our actions, but to decide what course and shape mankind's destinies are to take, or just flaunt a knowledge of what they will be, is arrogant arrogance, swollen with ignorance. We know other men through our dealings with them, but of mankind as a whole we have but a discarnate concept and synthetic intuition. Our imagination of it is vague and summary, somewhat like those few brush-strokes of green on a canvas we call a wood, unable as we are, and our canvas being too small, to paint each individual tree, lichen and leaf. God has conveniently been postulated in order to bridge the gap between our consciousness, and the immense, perhaps infinite, reality which we feel we should, congenially and ideally, be conscious of. But to presume a knowledge of, and authority over, the destinies of mankind, is to claim for us a place that is literally utopical - that place where God was put precisely because it is not occupable by man.

To act, even from a subordinate position as the follower of a leader, the soldier of an army or the member of a party, with a view to deciding of the destinies of mankind, is self-deluding impotence and drunken self-importance. The immediate effects of indulging dreams of men and hours of destiny may be soothing and invigorating, but its after and side effects are a sclerosis of the intellect, a warping of character and a deadening of the moral sense. Such self-delusion and intoxication are indulged and found pleasurable because of an inner obstinate feeling of our insignificance, helplessness and ignorance. Anarchism, by contrast, is manly and sound, when it is ethical, as ethical, in order to be consequent, it should be, stressing the limitations of the individual as well as asserting his rights. Anarchism is the most realistic and least utopian of political doctrines, for it is awareness of every man's narrow confines that makes it deny

THE POVERTY OF THEORY. . . . continued from Page 10
in books and theoretical concepts to social problems.

The success of anarchism in Spain would seem to have to do with the recognisable compatibility and relevance of the Spanish anarchist approach and analysis to the life experience of many Spaniards.* In other words, anarchism in Spain was based on and related to the meaningful everyday world of the worker. This has not been the case in Britain largely because the anarcho-syndicalists here have been employing a theoretical approach, based partly on Marxism, which has so far failed to relate to the meaningful lived experience of the ordinary bloke or lass. Because of this, anarcho-syndicalism has failed to make much impact as a social force or even to develop a credible theory applicable to modern British society, at a time when syndicalist tactics are being widely used by many workers.

Of course an obsession with 19th-century concepts and simplistic general explanations is not confined to Mrs. Thatcher and the liberal economists; even the Syndicalist Workers Federation has its share of antique analysts armed with cookbook concepts and blind to what goes on around them. This is why some of us inside this organisation are now saying that any theory of the social world must start by studying everyday life as it is perceived subjectively by the participants. From this position we would hope to develop British anarcho syndicalism as a meaningful theory and organisation, within the broad tradition of the world of the worker.

Shopfloor Syndicalist.

*For an account of the historical roots of anarchist theory in Spain and the practicability of its application when the opportunity arose, see Gaston Leval's Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, recently published in full translation by Freedom Press, £2 paper (post 42p); £4 cloth (post 48p). -- EDS.

any of them the right to govern others. The flagrant overstepping of these confines, however glamorous in phantasies and eulogies, is in practice but deceptive, barbarous and ungenerous, adding more death, suffering and constriction to those imposed by the hard laws and treacherous vagaries of nature. There is no sound political doctrine without solid philosophical foundations. When in the name of progress or dialectics, of the fatherland, the State, or even mankind, individual destiny and death are set to naught, solid philosophical foundations are painfully lacking. Of course, political organizations and human societies last (or may last) longer than any of their individual members, but they are themselves perishable nevertheless, and their memory will be effaced from the face of the earth like that of any individual. To sacrifice one perishable thing to another equally perishable is sheer stupidity when the one to which the sacrifice is made does not exist in its own right, as a centre of consciousness, but is confused with all sorts of other things and scattered in many individual consciousnesses, all of which could happily do without it. The illusion of historical transcendence, and with it of historically effective action (the shaping or misshaping of human destinies) comes from history books which notoriously and inevitably omit, simplify and falsify characters and events. The writing of history is a most pious undertaking in that it preserves the deeds, passions and thoughts of generations gone; but the making of history, that wilful violence done to contemporaries so that they be cancelled from, or shamed in, the memory of generations to come, so that the history-makers themselves be worshipfully and cravenly remembered, is a crime of lese-humanity and an impious outrage to whatever bonds attach a man to his kind and the totality of being.

The anarchist is loath to take human affairs out of their biological, even cosmic, context. He is keenly aware of the many factions and empires that have gone to join the dinosaurs and other once-masters of the earth. Caught in the destiny of his people, and having to cope with the history-making of a particular power, he yet does not forget other peoples and powers. Thus, far from being narrow in his views, he shows himself to possess a more comprehensive vision of history than those for whom their nation, their leader or their party is history's darling, and the time in which they live unquestionably epoch-making. His wider vision is for something in anarchism's being the most ethical system. Sound ethical principles and practice have been with mankind for centuries and millennia, but whenever they are met side by side with outrageously unethical pronouncements and atrociously unethical practice, we find the narrowness of vision of the historical pretension, an unwillingness or inability to extend ethical principles and practice beyond the confines of a given time, faith, race, class, nation or tribe. He is not an anarchist who, though calling himself so, suffers from the historical pretension and from that narrowness of vision, which is first and foremost a narrowness of heart, in his case a reluctance to extend to non-anarchists the feelings of generosity, tolerance and respect he claims as due to every human person.

To sum up, however strongly an anarchist may feel that the world must be changed, he does not consider it his prerogative, or that of his organization if he has one, or of all those calling themselves anarchist. An anarchist society can only be the work of society itself. If it were not, anarchists would have to impose their will on others, and thereby act in a non-anarchist way. They would also, by so acting, diminish others in their humanity, denying them the right to shape their own destiny as they think best. The alternative is not inaction, but action distinctly anarchist, examples of which are not lacking, though still susceptible of increase, refinement, extension and coordination. As for practical results, though lacking in historical pretension, they could still be historically significant, at least as much, and giving far more moral satisfaction, than any to be obtained by having recourse to the non-anarchist means of the many big and small organizations that are out to change the world.

G. Baldelli.

PRINCIPLES —

WHOSE PRINCIPLES?

WILLIAM OF OCCAM the 14th-century nominalist schoolman having become the accepted leading theoretician of the doctrine that general terms have no corresponding reality either in or out of the mind, being mere words, honed his teaching to the simple aphorism that, in effect, if bogged in a mess of jargon, wire, plaster board, the baroque, the mind-destroying analysis of political and philosophical trivia or the expensive art catalogue pages full of meaningless explanations, then go back to first principles. And first principles in politics are who paid the rent for the hall; in religion why is the well-fed priest riding in a limousine with a cross in one hand and a sub-machine gun in the other; and in art why do I need a £2.00 one hundred page closely printed catalogue to explain away what the eye, the mind and experience tell me is sad uninspired rubbish that only exists as a work of art because it is placed within a room with the wording Art Gallery on the door.

When there are no great causes to march, to demonstrate or to fight for then we fould our own nests by destroying each other as after every revolution when the great sickness sets in and expulsion and heresy hunting becomes the measure of the day and the purity of line gives way to the baroque until it degenerates into the absurdities of the rococo in the visual arts. Our age is the age of restoration comedy and the rich clowns who have political and economic control of our society demand only to be amused, asking only that in return for Judas payments they shall not be called upon to question their society. So be it. But it must happen that within a corrupt society men and women demand a return to William of Occam's first principles, in art and in social morality. A parish priest who has, for a quarter of a century, fulfilled his office in his own quiet fashion is being driven from his church by the Catholic Bishops because he and his parishioners insist in celebrating the forbidden Tridentine mass when Rome decess a bastardised version in the local language of the day. And in an English field a young public entertainer found 28 pieces of church silver buried over 1,700 years ago at a time when the Emperor Diocletian was putting the imperial boot into the Christian minority and the Archbishop of Canterbury is now squabbling with the State for first claim. My heart tells me that My Lords Spiritual should collect the loot and that it should fulfil the functions for which it was created, but I know that it will end in the darkness of a steel burglar-proof safe and therefore, with a heavy heart, I decree that the State must have these sacred relics that we the vox populi, vox Dei can bear witness to 1,700 years of moral tradition locked in a glass case within a State museum. These nine vessels and nineteen flat, leaf-shaped plaques have the simplistic beauty of the work of craftsmen unable to prostitute their art by virtue of the primitive tools they had to work with; therefore we have objects of great functional beauty as valid today as when they were hammered into shape 1,700 years ago. It is only in times of great violence and great unrest that a minority of men and women examine the basic premises of their beliefs not as an academic exercise but from sheer brutal necessity, and when that moment comes there will be no fanfare of trumpets to warn us for like a punch in the dark we must stand or run, retreat or go to ground. Only the craftsman working in glass and silver appears to have come to terms with the functional beauty of the early craftsmen, for the artist and the worker in gold continue to fill the galleries and the Bond street shops with the garish vulgarity that the nouveaux riches demand for their gelt, yet the contemporary craftsmen in silver are now producing work of beauty and simplicity.

At the Victoria and Albert Museum is an exhibition of more than two hundred pieces of Cambridge Plate. Following the Restoration the universities organised a pre-mafia racket in that wealthy undergraduates paid for the privilege of eating at High Table by 'donating' a piece of silver to the 'boys', and like most bribes it degenerated into a compulsory custom irrespective of whether you dined at the intellectual pigtrough

or nay. The loot of centuries is now on display at the Victoria and Albert. It makes a goodly display and what we the lumpenproletariat are given a chance to bear witness to is the work of modern craftsmen in silver, clean and pure of line. There is all the Victorian rubbish, a mess of vulgar decoration, and then there is the work of Glen-Murphy with a candelabrum centrepiece for five candles like unto a five bladed sword and Tostrup's ship shaped bowls with the clean pure sweep of a Viking ship matching as it does the Byzantine dish of the 14th century in the same exhibition. Compare the these two, ancient and contemporary, with Whitford's boat shaped dish of a hundred years ago with its badly modelled swan and mermaid at the prow and one knows that it is only in purity of line, only when functionalism is the basis for the craftsman's first principle that works of great beauty that span the centuries can and will be created. At Gimpel Fils there are the sculptures of George Rickney with the same purity of line as the early silver craftsmen's, and they move, but like Kasmin's painted iron girders, straight from McAlpine, this is Do-it-yourself-art and no matter how impressive the viewing on first seeing one knows that given the time and the indifference one could find a hundred redundant art students who could, would, please let me churn it out for the monied parvenu but with cocktails at six who am I to knock. The simple vulgarities of the fairgrounds are now collector's items and the great State museum of Victoria and Albert turned from the silver to the gilt to give the Regent Street store of Liberty its prize for staying in the business for one hundred years. And they deserve to be honoured if only as a curiosity for if there was a new cultural low Liberty found it, for all that was ghastly in a ghastly age they transmuted into cups and curtains for the Town and his bovine frau. It is no crime to desire that which offends the aesthetic mind and if you have a plastic wall duck or ducks in full flight or a garden gnome then stand up and be counted for I too send dirty seaside postcards to my friends (oh god he hasn't sent us another one of those awful cards); but seek out the best for if you do not then you deny yourself.

At the Fine Art Society in Bond Street there is a mixed collection of work, in the main the usual sadly English type of painting of the 1930s and there at the end of the long gallery is Ernest Procter's "The Mischievous Boy". Ernest left us for the Great Studio in the Sky some 40 years ago and

AROUND Silver at the Victoria and Albert
 THE English painting at Fine Art Society
 Erté at the Electrum Gallery
 Paul Iribe at Editions Graphiques
 GALLERIES George Rickney at Gimpel Fils

this relic is offered to us for £1,150.00. There is some good skin texture in the leg and a sense of dried skin in the foot but compare this banal painting with Bronzini's "Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time", painted about four hundred years ago, and one is presented with an awful pastiche by Procter of a great masterpiece for Bronzini, pur decorative artist that he was, painted a magnificent erotic work that is still valid and like the 1,700-year old silver it is a thing of pure craftsmanship in which nothing is added to destroy the central theme. Decorative? Only in his use of the illusion of pure translucence colours so that the male could believe his hand could slide along the painted flesh but with Procter one can only misquote Gert Stein "a painting is a painting is a painting", crude and two dimensional and £1,150.

Vulgarity seems to hook the Town and there is sadness in the knowledge that Malcolm Henderson, one time owner of the nicely nicely conservative gallery in St. James's, within calling distance to the Palace, has left the world of High Art to become personal assistant to David Stirling, and Colonel David Stirling and his fellow traveller General Sir Walter Walker have discovered their first principle which is to save the world from the workers.

But there is a small and mindless pleasure in the town with gallery owners frantically digging in their basements for any of Erté's fashion drawings, for this week the eighty-year old Romain De Tiroff is the in thing for the Town and his simpering frau. And yet why not if one does not take this trivia seriously. Erté, or Rome as he is known in the trade, has churned out his pretty patterns for three quarters

DAYS OF BETRAYAL

DAYS OF HOPE, a BBC TV series of four films from the Great War to the General Strike, written by Jim Allen, directed by Ken Loach, produced by Tony Garnett.

THE FINAL self-contained episode of *Days of Hope* was on TV last night (6 October). The films were so painstakingly researched, so impeccably cast and photographed and directed and edited, that any criticism must say that first. This was a major cultural event. Either to find fault with the length of the soldiers' puttees, or to accuse the series of 'political bias', is an insult. Trivial complaints like these are left far behind in the wake of these magnificent plays. It was only six hours of TV, after all - one evening's viewing - in a sea of mediocrity. The cardboard head of BBCTV Drama was quick to point out that in the past two years there had been "only ten leftwing BBCTV plays out of 840"!!! Reaction to these plays has lasted longer, because they have been screened over four weeks. Who cares about the *Telegraph's* or the *Mail's* lefties-in-the-BBC-bashing? It's an annual ritual with them.

Criticism of these films must concentrate on artistry to be of any value. Did the mix of dramatic history-recreation and completely fictional creation work? Were the evolution and interaction of the main characters plausible? Did the politics of the writer grow out from within the plot and characters -- or was it stuck on like a label on a beer-bottle? Was the working-class experience shown so convincing that it overwhelmed any faults?

The answer to these questions is yes. To be a successful leftwinger in the BBC - or anywhere else - means being twice as good as everyone else. And twice as hard a hustler, too.

§

A librarian, his working-class wife and her brother were shown over a period of years. The brother joined the army as a patriot, like most people, was sent to Ireland, later deserted in disgust, was involved in the direct action of mining villagers, and presently joined the Communist Party. The librarian was a pacifist and conchie brutally treated by the army, sent to France, and became a Labour M.P. in the first Labour Government of 1923-4. The wife was separated from her husband during the war, later bore him two children, became to his embarrassment chairwoman of an Action Committee during the General Strike, and finally quit her husband after long-felt doubts and arguments, which we saw. She was the most interesting character to me, because she was self-consciously finding her own way. To say with one critic that she ended up rejecting her social-democrat husband for her Communist brother is crude rubbish, with its shallow Hampstead sexist undertones of incest. She sought herself as an individual, and a working class individual at that.

of a century and like Beardsley he dehumanised and desexualised the human and offered pretty patterns for the buyer.; Rome would claim, and rightly, that he was no more than a designer but this man who rates Gaudi as one of the great, nay the greatest, modern architects is definitely meant for the historic chop. But the pretty designs please the indifferent eye and they sell, and the Electrum Gallery in South Molton are bashing their first principle cheques into the till as fast as they can establish their authenticity. Erté's period vied with that of the Victorians for an all time low in art and morality, for for the middle class it was the age of Art Nouveau and the New Yorker style of art work in which humanity was reduced to no more than a prop on which to hang a decorative pattern, black or white or coloured take one's choice moneywise.

And I love to wander into the Editions Graphiques Gallery, cocktails at six, knowing that I reject all the Art Nouveau that they have on display for I see it as so much wasted work but if one enjoys the conversation of Victor Arwas within his gallery and discovers the work of Paul Iribe, husband of Chanel and a man who was calling the French police Pigs before you were born comrade, then it is a day well spent for the good work of this artist in black and white gives a first principle to all the rubbish that the Town has to offer the Town and his frau.

Arthur Moyse.



If there are a few historical criticisms that can be made, these should be levelled at the author's skilful recreation of certain incidents on the basis of scanty evidence fortified by his own political convictions. What he attempted so ambitiously is like the academic aim of the historian E. P. Thompson: to recover and reconstruct from below the world of the working classes by "a complex tissue of inference, often derived from fragmentary evidence". This was sometimes necessarily the method of Robert Vas and Tom Scott Robson in their celebrated TV documentary film on the General Strike. They were criticised by some silly purists, for using later film, e.g. of mining conditions, to illustrate an earlier situation. It's hard -- suppose you want to picture a politician in some year, and there exists no film about that person within five years of the date: newspaper photos happen to be bad and of little use. Again, suppose you don't want to drift away from personal working class experience into archive pictures or graphics plus commentary voice over. You have to use imagination and invention as much in historical documentary as in historical drama. This is a delicate business. Lack of honesty leads to mere propaganda. These are problems of content and commitment as well as of style and technique.

A couple of contemporary references to Trotsky, however, seem to me a frail peg on which to hang a discussion of Marxist trades unionists at a Commons reception of 1924 in which they urgently cite Trotsky in their arguments. When the word Stalinist was used subsequently, it rang as oddly in my ears as would have the word computer -- something from a later period of thought and experience. Likewise the phrase 'Socialism in One Country'. And was Bevin of the T. & G. really a notorious Commie-basher as early as 1926? More jarring, now and then, was the language: as when the young country woman said in Episode 1 "Don't be so bloody naive." It doesn't ring true for the 1900s.

These are peccadilloes, however. Such moments of anachronism were distracting only because the rest of the historical and dramatic atmosphere was so convincing. The directing of actors and actresses was brilliant, sometimes using a degree of improvisation to make sure of the unexpected: as when the pacifists' meeting was broken up by crazed jingoists in Ep. 1, the cast in the hall not knowing that their meeting was going to be disrupted. The bitterness of life on the breadline was never better conveyed. The creation of army life and trenches was careful and horrifying. When World War 1 veterans write to the *Radio Times* complaining that things were by no means so bad, I wonder exactly how many of their fellows died in that horror. These are not glorious survivors, they are just a few lucky survivors.

Equally moving dramatic creation were the scenes of British soldiers in Ireland. Billeting themselves forcibly in an Irish cottage, the boozy privates drove the cottage girl to stand and sing an Irish song in the candlelight. "That's enough of that crap!" they shouted as she began a traditional melody, "Give us one of those rebel songs!" So she did, and sang 'The Bold Fenian Men', reducing the soldiers to maudlin silence.

Now and then there was a telling working class gag. In Episode 4 a Tory Cabinet minister waiting incognito in the shadows outside the TUC, was approached by a seller of *The British Worker*. "How much is it? -- One penny. -- Here you are, and er, keep the change. -- Thank you, comrade."

There was a pleasing moment in 1926 in mid-Strike when the wife was

in bed with her M.P. husband. Begone all cares for the night, but he was still rabbiting on about the politics of the Archbishop of Canterbury. "Sod politics and sod the Archbishop of Canterbury," she said, and rolled him over. I can all too easily imagine a crude Trotskyite doctrinaire who would have her say, "Sod lovemaking, let's talk about the Archbishop of Canterbury."

The working-class Jim Allen can't be accused of being unable to write of the ruling classes: the mine owner in his mansion was reasonably and beautifully depicted in Episode 2, and at length, like Baldwin and his Cabinet in Episode 4 -- who are difficult for any sane person to envisage with sympathy. One scene in Episode 3 revealed the mastery of writer and director and cast in creating a totally imagined confrontation. This came after a somewhat implausible scene where a journalist was created on paper by the author in order to tell the Labour M.P. and the TV audience what was not widely appreciated at the time -- that one Labour Cabinet minister, Wedgwood, was in cahoots with the Tories in preserving governmental preparations in case of the expected workers' strike or uprising. This was followed by the imagined scene of the shocked and disturbed M.P. quizzing Wedgwood. In classic leader style, very subtly, Wedgwood sidestepped the issue to remind the Labour M.P. of the need for Labour unity at all costs. If, as some people now claim, the whole Labour Cabinet and a few trades unionists were in the know, that only strengthens the author's case. It makes the class betrayal by the first Labour Government, whether deliberate or naïve, even more revolting.

That is at the heart of the problem. The deep feeling of betrayal by their leaders which strikers felt at the end of the General Strike has to be imagined somehow. In several places, the strikers refused to believe their ears, and went on with the strike for a few days until it was clear that all had been lost by their leaders. I don't think that the film-makers adequately recreated this. Possibly for reasons of cash, they showed only one general scene from the Strike. They concentrated on the one fictional Action Committee with its chairwoman, the Communist brother, and a real figure, the CP leader Harry Pollitt. Otherwise, the meat of this final film was the detailed portrayal of TUC shenanigans, perfectly recreated mainly from diaries. The cheerful conniving Jimmy Thomas of the NUR was the most profound and memorable creation in the whole film. He was worthy of a place besides Low's famous cartoon character,* symbol of the new respectability of the Labour Party. I grew up on the South Circular Road in London, next door to an amiable old man who lived in a strange tilting Edwardian house on wet-rotting soupy and sliding foundations. He was called Jimmy Thomas, my parents told, and it was whispered that he had been involved in some political scandal. So he had, but 1926 saw the real scandal of Jimmy Thomas, and no-one who watched this film will ever forget it. It is ironical that out of all the fine portraits in these films, Jimmy Thomas, arch-class-collaborator, arch-quisling, was the most effective and moving. He and the other TUC leaders made Days of Hope seem the wrong title. All too clearly, it was Days of Betrayal.

Because of the author's broadly Trotskyite convictions, his characters tended to enact the myth that whilst the rank and file were betrayed by their leadership, these were the wrong leaders. But all leaders are the wrong leaders. Jim

*He was fittingly portrayed by David Low, the brilliant cartoonist of the 'thirties and 'forties, as "The Right Hon. Dress-Suit, M.P., wearing his Jimmy Thomas". He, like Ramsay MacDonald, 'loved dining with duchesses'.

Allen was too honest as well as too Trotskyite to portray the alternative potential leaders of the time, the Communists, in a very flattering light. We are left with a power vacuum which the Trotskyites fill by invocations to the rank and file. This was the inevitable consequence of not showing more of the organisation of workers' action committees right across the country.

This leadership dilemma was underlined by the screen time given to the activities of the TUC. The portrayal of the TUC leaders and miners' leaders and boss Tories was too good. The main characters did not, in this episode, carry the conviction of these superb political cameos. Episode 4 revealed the tenuousness of the interweaving links Jim Allen had tried so hard to establish between major political events and historical leaders, and the lives of his imagined characters. There is a recent rather boring Czech Stalinist film called "Days of Betrayal" about Munich and the appeasers -- also starring the Czech CP and heroic Communists. Its recreation of Hitler, Chamberlain, Halifax, Benes and so on was meticulous and sometimes moving. Contrasted with this recreated historical material, its imagined Communists were banal and propagandistic. "Days of Hope" was far superior in quality, but the problems its makers faced were similar. The TUC characters and Tory Cabinet were almost in a different film from the heroes and heroines.

The most coherent and suspenseful episode remains the first. Here ordinary people were imagined coming to grips in their own lives with major historical events -- the Great War, Ireland, the authorities. These were characters like all of us -- not crudely reacting, but also acting, on their own initiative. The artistic problems faced and solved in this episode were the usual ones of maintaining plot flow and suspense and establishing the characters in their growth and interaction in their own environment.

When asked if he'd seen "Days of Hope", a cinema-mad friend of mine replied: "No, but anything's good that stops Ken Loach making movies." This isn't such a flip insider's snide comment as it might appear. Technical and stylistic considerations became obvious as I watched the repeated slow fades to black between scenes and up again, all apparently of the same predetermined length, none judged for their individual artistic effect. Some scenes demanded a quite different style of film-making. When you have established characters and their motivations firmly, you can do what you like with them. In other scenes, visual and artistic presentation was sacrificed to solid political discussion. Maybe Trotskyites do talk their heads off, but that is one reason why they bore so many people. The makers of "Days of Hope" are not in sound radio or in sectarian journals, they they're in moving pictures.

That is why I liked Episode 1 best, because it most nearly resembled a MOVIE. The vitality in these films slowed down, the more prominently the politicians featured. As we left the films' working class heroes and heroines to look at their leaders, the dynamism of the ordinary people and their struggles was lost. You can criticise this on aesthetic grounds, without bringing politics in. The techniques used stuck out increasingly: they were naturalistic. Naturalism has as many vices as virtues. Naturalism is not the natural ally of the working class or of the TV viewer. It isn't my cup of tea. You don't have to advocate the use of action replays à la Sportsnight to make the point. This is not a crude argument for 'Russian' montage. Loach and Allen have stretched naturalism as far as it can go to tell a complicated story. Their achievement was comprehensive and moving. The memory of "Days of Hope" will last long. It remains inescapable that the General Strike was lost. Will naturalism help to win the next one?

Julius.

THE MONSTER

ON 12 DECEMBER, 1969 at 4.37 p.m. a bomb went off in the Banca d'Agricoltura in Milan, killing 16 people and wounding 88. At 4.45, 5.16 and 5.24 p.m. on the same day three other bombs went off in Rome, wounding a total of 19 people. Understandably, the whole of the Italian nation was shocked (with the exception of the cold-blooded perpetrators). In the next few days Inspector Calabresi (Comrade Pinelli's murderer) told the press that only anarchists could have carried out such outrageous deeds. The bomber's name - Pietro Valpreda! "...an obscene and repugnant beast," said the *Secolo D'Italia* on 13 December (the new-fascist paper). "...an inhuman monster" - *La Nazione*

on 18 December (generally centre-right).

"...one who hated the bourgeoisie to the point of throwing reptiles in theatres to terrorize the audience," said *L'Umanita* (the Social Democrat paper). "...a bloodthirsty maniac with no equal," said *Il Tempo* (centre-right). "...an ambiguous and worrying personage with a vague past, probably manipulated by someone at their pleasure," said *L'Unità* (the Italian Communist Party paper).

So, Valpreda was the bomber, as far as everyone knew, and Pinelli killed himself because the gaff had been blown. Even various anarchist groups in Italy expressed their condemnation of Valpreda's cold-blooded murder of 16 people. The papers had done their job well! Tell enough lies and almost everyone will believe even that night is day.

The bomb was planted by fascists. Quite who it was is another matter. Freda and Ventura have been charged with the same crime as Valpreda was. Freda and Ventura could well be yet more scapegoats. Unfortunately for the aspiring fascist coup-artists Valpreda was in bed with a touch of 'flu at the time and his aunt is an unshakable testimony to this fact. Furthermore, Valpreda had been brought to Milan by the magistrates who wanted to see him about some minor charge concerning a leaflet.

It also became sadly evident that Pinelli did not kill himself but that he was first murdered by Inspector Calabresi (or one of his licensed thugs) and then thrown out of the window to make it look like suicide.

The fascist plan is now very evident
Continued on Page 16

BUNUEL

LUIS BUNUEL: A Critical Biography
by Francisco Aranda (Secker & Warburg £3.90 paper, £6.50 cloth)

MY IMMEDIATE apologies for having to review a book that is very expensive. If it wasn't for the fact that the reviewer receives a free copy of the book for review, and more importantly the publishers receive a copy of the review, I would suggest people steal this book rather than buy a copy.

It may justify buying a copy that this biography (first published in Spain in 1969) is reckoned to be the definitive work on Bunuel, by a man who has known him for many years. This English edition is an updating, revising and enlarging of the original edition; it also contains important Surrealist material written by Bunuel in the 1920s which has never before been published in English. It also contains film review/criticisms by Bunuel of films such as *Metropolis* (Lang) and *Jeanne d'Arc* (Dreyer).

I do not intend to introduce literary merit on this book (most decidedly unqualified anyway!) but use two films as a vehicle for an unfortunate commentary on modern Spain. Acknowledgement here for reference and quotes from Tristram Shandy's excellent article in *Anarchy* No. 6 (1961). (O/P)

In 1932 Bunuel made *Las Hurdes - Land without Bread*, and whereas Garcia Lorca discovered Andalusian gypsies, Bunuel discovered the deformed and monstrous inhabitants of the desolate regions of Las Hurdes. To those people who suggest that Bunuel and Dali in particular, and the Surrealists in general got a sadistic pleasure out of displays of degradation, would reply that the tragic reality of Spanish life could be conveyed only by a systematic deformation "because Spain itself is a grotesque deformation of European civilisation" (quote by Valle Inclán).

"This, says Bunuel speaking of the film, is your liberal republic with its sacred principle of universal suffrage, and we see starving animals, cretinous beggars, cave dwellers and dead children: images with a good deal less surrealist chic than the artfully-arranged dead donkeys on Parisian grand pianos." (Tristram Shandy). --Sadly, forty years later we still see the same faces.

Another view of that face is *Viridiana* which Bunuel returned to Spain to make in 1961, as an apparent challenge to Franco's plea of liberalism to his critics. The offer, refused by the likes of Picasso and Pablo Casals, was eagerly accepted by Bunuel. Although the script was given official approval, one wonders what was in it, for the result was a film packed with eroticism and



Bunuel in 1927.

blasphemy, filmed in a Catholic country with the strictest censorship in the Western world.

To understand the "substance" one has to understand the formative years of Bunuel and his contemporaries. (Aranda's book is excellent if one likes being bombarded by names, facts, figures, etc. endlessly.) Basically, around the turn of the century the Spanish government, dominated then as now by the Church, sacked the leading university professors, who then founded a "free" school, the *Institucion Libre de Ensenanza*, around which grew the "Generation of '98" who sought to examine "the stifling inertia, hypocrisy and corruption of Spanish life". The school apparently resembled the teaching methods of the philosophers of Ancient Greece. Bunuel came to this school in 1917 and his contemporaries included Dali, Garcia Lorca, and lesser known Spaniards such as Rafael Alberti and Ramon Gomez de la Serna. Together with the background of a wealthy background of a wealthy land owning family which he despised, and educated by Jesuits whom he loathed (with that hatred of the Catholic Church which seems to be peculiar to deeply "religious" people like the Spaniards) Bunuel and his contemporaries became known as the

INTERVIEWER: Who are your favourite characters in the movie?

BUNUEL: The cockroaches.

"Generation of '27", an important group in Spanish Surrealism which had basic differences from their French counterparts. It is worth noting that only Bunuel has remained faithful to this tradition -- Lorca being murdered in Fascist Spain in 1937, Alberti denied an audience in Spain, and Dali sadly having disintegrated into triviality and, since becoming a Catholic in 1950, shamefully played down his collaboration with Bunuel.

Aranda also provides valuable insight into the treatment Bunuel has had at the hands of employers not only because of *L'Age d'Or* but his membership of the French Communist Party*. Strangely, though, this lapsed when he went to America in 1937. So that in

1942 we find him working as a Commentator for U.S. Army Intelligence films - fitting occupation for the 1921 Amateur Boxing champion of Spain.

The complexities and ambiguities of Bunuel's character serve as ample warning for prospective viewers and it is interesting to reflect on the nature/character of audiences today. Bunuel and Dali felt obliged to describe their first film, *Un Chien Andalou* which features neither dogs nor Andalusians as "a despairing passionate call to the slaughter". Today, after the slaughter, which appears to be the plight of any opposition in Spain, we are not so impressed by gratuitous acts of violence. It also seems to be an amazing capacity of the bourgeoisie to be titillated and entertained by films that mock and deride their social values.

As the man himself has said, "It is no longer possible to scandalize people as we did in 1930. Today you have to do it with sweet subversion. The idea of *La Fantôme de la Liberté* is to make people laugh, and when they leave, apprehensive." I would submit

"But that the white eye lid of the screen reflect its proper light, the universe would go up in flames."

that they laugh a lot at recent Bunuel films - but aren't yet apprehensive. In fact the bourgeoisie can tolerate apparently "funny" film (*La Fantôme*, *Discreet Charm*, etc.) but the real Cinema, the real Bunuel (and I am thinking of his earlier films) is the Cinema that makes people apprehensive because there is no middle ground --only commitment. And I'm pleased to say Bunuel's on our side.

Francis A. Wright.

*The split between Surrealists/Communists and Communists/Surrealists came in 1933 after a viewing of the Soviet film *The Road to Life* (with its moral of regeneration through labour). This split was one of the main factors in the demise of Surrealism as a revolutionary ideal.

...What was devoutly called, in the nineteenth century, the progressive emancipation of the human race appears, from the outside, like an uninterrupted series of rebellions that overreach themselves and try to find their formulation in ideas, but that have not yet reached the point of definitive revolution where everything on heaven and earth would be stabilized. ...The originality of twentieth-century revolution lies in the fact that, for the first time, it openly claims to realise the ancient dream of unity of the human race and, at the same time, the definitive consummation of history.

--from Albert Camus' *The Rebel* (quoted by Irving Horowitz in his anthology *The Anarchists* (1964).

THE MONSTER...continued from P.14

on hindsight. The idea was to create a climate of tension by terrorist activity. People's image of an anarchist is that of the bloodthirsty anarchist. Therefore, it proved extremely easy to denounce anarchists for the fascist bomb outrages. Then, along would come the fascists, claiming that the only way to save Italy would be through a strong "law-and-order" solution. Hence, after the planned (but failed) coup by Miceli, Borghese and company, the Italian people would have been ready to accept a strong military dictatorship based on "law-and-order".

Pinelli refused to admit to doing something he did not do (even under force!). Calabresi, probably in a fit of angry frustration, delivered two karate-chops on the neck of "the mind behind the Piazza Fontana bomb".

...At last, the book!

Because of the highly complex history of the trials of Valpreda, this book covers an amazing amount of ground. What is it like to find yourself rotting in prison because you had the 'flu? The diaries of the innocent Valpreda in prison make you actually feel whilst reading them that prison is not a nice place to be in. This may sound simple, but to convince a reader who has never been in prison of the despair and anguish caused by imprisonment is a huge task. The tortures inflicted on a prisoner who stops remaining a cabbage for a few seconds show you that solitary resistance is futile.

The arbitrariness and injustice of State Justice is also examined in close detail in the diaries. Not only does Valpreda show this (to us) obvious point by reference to the fabrications concerning his own case, but also through quoting several brief case histories of his cell-mates' convictions. One of these, for instance, concerned a "hardened criminal" who started his "career" as an adolescent by taking a wallet full of money he had found to the police. He was promptly charged with and convicted of stealing it. Several other of his cell-mates actually did "commit a crime" but when they are compared to the lunatics who "captured" and were now destroying Valpreda and many more, you begin to feel that you are better off "inside" along with the "convicted" murderers, pimps, thieves, etc. ...

Another theme running through the diaries is that of the attempted military coup in 1970 and the preceding "creation of tension" referred to earlier. Also included in the diaries is a statement by Evelino Loi, giving details of the preparations for the climate of tension and the military coup. Evelino Loi was taking part in militant left-wing groups before the end of 1969 when he joined right-wing extremist groups in order to gather information about them, in particular the Fronte Nazionale.

After the bombs went off in Milan and Rome he went to the police HQ in Rome and tried to tell the authorities

what he knew. He named names and was promptly told by Provenza and Improta (who had been involved in examining Valpreda) to stop saying things like that and they even prevented him making an official statement to the effect after warning him it would be better for him to keep quiet.

Upon meeting Valpreda in prison Loi then wrote a statement to this effect which Valpreda has inserted in his diaries.

The saddest part of the diaries are the sections referring to Valpreda's feelings when he learnt that his aunt, mother and father and sister were indicted with perjury for supporting Valpreda's alibi. This was nearly the last straw for Valpreda's mental stability. Fortunately, comrade Valpreda has survived. Although he is still to be tried, he is at least out of jail enabling him to provide yet more evidence of the depths to which this monster, the State, will sink.

This book also contains a highly serious implication for anarchists. When the mass media presents the public with an account of, say, a bomb outrage and blames a particular person or group of persons as the culprit, how can we (or should we) begin to approve/disapprove of the situation? Quite often (as was the case with Valpreda) the scapegoat is not allowed to even present his alibi for the attention of the "well-informed" public. Furthermore, it is extremely painful to an innocent man in prison to be told by his captors and tormentors, "Look, even your own comrades are against what you did!" The question can arise of whether we show our solidarity with a comrade (especially if innocent or even if guilty) or believe the mass media and show solidarity with the "outraged" State.

The Valpreda Papers is a book well worth reading. The price (£6.00) leaves much to be desired.

Nino Staffa.

THE VALPREDA PAPERS, by Pietro Valpreda (Gollancz,)

F.B.

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All the titles in this article are available from Freedom Bookshop at the prices plus postage mentioned.

PRIDE OF PLACE this week goes to a significant publication by Housmans: Leo Tolstoy's The Inevitable Revolution (30p + 7p). This booklet - the last thing Tolstoy wrote - has never before been published outside Russia and the new translation is by Ronald Sampson. It is an eloquent appeal for liberty and nonviolence that is possibly even more timely now than when it was written in 1909.

Also available by Tolstoy we have the Briant Printworkers' work-in edition of The Slavery of Our Times (25p + 11p), a hardback edition of The Law of Love and the Law of Violence (£2.25 + 24p), also written at the very end of his life; and the paperback Signet/Mentor edition Tolstoy on Civil Disobedience and nonviolence which includes his "Letter to a non-commissioned officer", his "Notes for Officers", "Notes for Soldiers", "On Promotion", and much more besides -- fine value at 45p (=16p)

New from Murray Bookchin is a new edition of his Our Synthetic Environment, originally published in 1962 and now revised, it was a pioneering study of the problems of pollution, ecology and the environment, and the rural/urban divide, from a libertarian standpoint, and its relevance has increased rather than waned. Also available from Murray Bookchin is his new book (1973) The Limits of the City (£1.75 + 14p); and the collection of his essays Post-Scarcity Anarchism (£1.45 + 26p)

The most recent additions to the ever-growing library of Kropotkin's works

are a paperback edition of Ethics (£1.95 + 42p), and Colin Ward's edition of Fields, Factories and Workshops entitled "Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow" (£1.95 + 42p).

Murray Bookchin also contributed the introductory essay to Sam Dolgoff's anthology The Anarchist Collectives (2.00 + 24p), workers' self-management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-39.

Again in stock are The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf Before the High Court of Vendome (1796) (£1.50 + 16p), edited and translated by John A. Scott and with an accompanying essay by Herbert Marcuse; also Victor Serge's Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941, translated by Peter Sedgwick £1.20 + 42p.

An important work on a much neglected area of libertarian study is John W. F. Dulles' Anarchists & Communists in Brazil 1900-1935, £7.50 + 62p

Cienfuegos Press' latest title, The Art of Anarchy by Flavio Costantini (£3.00 + 42p) is again in stock and includes, in addition to the fine illustrations, details of an offer of the original full colour silk screen prints together with prices and info. on how to obtain them.

Finally, the bargain basement, a remainder of the hardback edition of Peter C. Brown's hilarious, not so fictionalised, account of the worker's nightmare, Smallcreep's Day (40p + 19p).

J. H.

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