

FREEDOM

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PAGES

NO CRIME TO TRESPASS

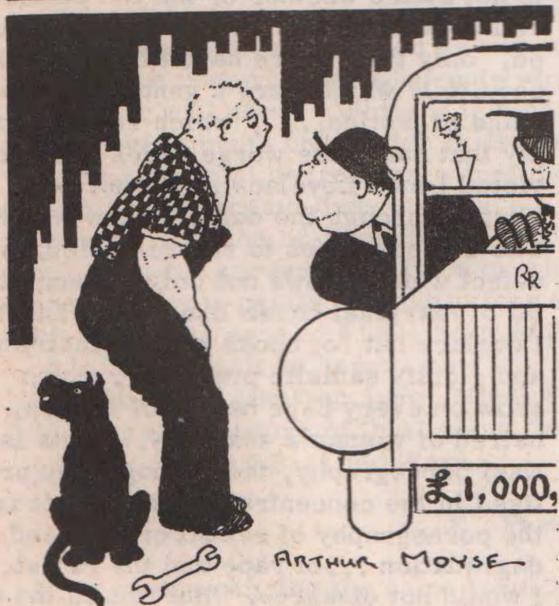
IN ITS FIRST report in 1974, the Law Commission proposed the following new criminal offences:

- "(1) without lawful authority entering property by force adversely to any person in physical occupation of it, or entitled to occupy it, and
- (2) being unlawfully on property and failing to leave as soon as reasonably practical after being ordered to leave by a person entitled to occupation."

The Commission also recommended up to 2 years jail for the offence of Forcible Entry (1) and 6 months jail for Criminal Trespass.

Consequently, a Bill is either being proprepared or has already been prepared which proposes to make trespass a criminal offence. Britain is one of the few countries in Europe (or the world) where Trespass is still a "civil matter", i.e. the forces of law and order cannot arrest you for trespassing as it does not yet constitute a "criminal offence".

The recommendations of the Law Commission were not framed in isolation of the political situation of this country. Direct action of all types had been occur-



"THE BEAUTY OF HEALEY'S PLAN IS ITS MAGNIFICENT SIMPLICITY. THE LESS WAGES YOU HAVE THE LESS TAX I PAY THEREFORE WITH YOUR LOW WAGE AND MY TAX REDUCTIONS I CAN CUT PRODUCTION COSTS FOR GOODS YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO BUY AND I SACK YOU AND TRANSFER THE FACTORY TO HONG KONG."

ring with greater frequency. For instance, squatting is still a growing movement as the amount of accommodation on the market becomes less and less. As factories all over the country were closing several groups of workers saw that they could attempt to save their jobs by occupying the factory. Student sit-ins had also become an established form of protest in the fight for higher grants, greater provision of accommodation &c. Further, the miners' strike and the picketing which had been used as the main support-weapon of the strike had been instrumental in bringing down a Tory government (which was unfortunately followed by another government).

No doubt the Law Commission were greatly impressed by the baton-charges of the French, German and Italian police which had been used as attempts to

quell similar types of protests abroad. Further, the National Guard in the United States had actually been able to shoot students protesting against a sanguinary war and still escape the consequences. The answer seemed obvious, therefore, that if the police could be given greater powers of arrest these instances could be prevented from happening.

However, this is the weakest element in the proposed laws. The Law Commission obviously assumed that if the law existed the number of instances of direct action would become fewer. Whilst impressing themselves with the "efficient" police methods abroad, they must have failed to notice that the number of instances of direct action in Europe alone is much greater than in Britain. Therefore, regardless of whether the law is passed or not the law can only become effective if it is accepted and obeyed. Just as the Industrial Relations Act was nullified by the refusal to accept it so this proposed criminal trespass law will also have to be demolished by refusal to accept it on the part of the "trespassers" who have occasion to come into conflict with authority.

Superficially, the law is designed to attack "squatters". The press, ordinary people, and councillors and politicians (both Tory and Labour) are paranoid about "squatters". The hate campaign against those who dare to interfere with the sanctity of property has been well orchestrated and so the likeli-

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PRICE OF COAL

ANARCHISTS HAVE always drawn attention to the false values that the state and the capitalist profit motive system places on people and their needs. Profits are one of the corner stones on which exploitation is built, and working people have to pay for those profits. We pay in many ways, but many pay with the ultimate sacrifice of their lives.

This happened last week in the case of two South Wales coalminers who were killed when the colliery roof collapsed at Ognore Vale. But the proportion of column inches this piece of news got in the Guardian to that of the executives' decision to ban overtime working was four lines to a headlined eighteen inches. Coalmining might not be the most dangerous of industries to work in now, but it still remains deadly for hundreds every year. For indeed, this is the price of coal that the miner pays and the only time his family and friends are able to have their minds at rest for his safety is when he is on strike. And while during their strike of 1172 the public suffered the inconvenience of candles, cold rooms and cold meals, the miner's family knew at least he would return at night safely; that is unless he had been unfortunately arrested while on picket duty.

Even though safety has improved, especially after the state's takeover from the inhuman exploitation of the private owners, men's lives are still at stake in order to bring the general public the power it needs in an industrial society. In any sane society every effort would be made to find a safe alternative to coal and the hard, dangerous work its excavation entails. People would not expect miners or indeed any other workers to perform tasks that were in any way dangerous to their health, life or limb. Of course accidents will always happen but risks and poisonous, harmful products should be eliminated.

But the corporate state we now live under places the lives and health of the people a long way behind their power and their profits. The Guardian being a mouthpiece of those interests reflects those distorted values. They are more concerned about the effect less of coal from an overtime ban will have on the economy of the country than the lives of the miners. They reflect the same concern, that of the Coal Board, that Longwith Colliery in North Derbyshire is no longer profitable. The miners' concern is that the Board's dust hazard argument could be used against other seams in pits throughout the country. This is the real fear that brought about the eleven votes to ten of the NUM executive. At the same time if two absent 'moderates' had been in attendance, reports

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NO CRIME *cont. from P.1*

hood of this proposal becoming law must be seen as being very high indeed. From this point the authorities can extend the application of the law to all instances where property interests come into conflict through the insidious means of "case law".

Squatting will nevertheless be only one of the instances in which anarchists and libertarians are likely to be involved in and ultimately arrested for. The stupidity of this proposed legislation, even from the authorities' point of view, is shown by the fact that the GLC has expressed concern about the necessity for such legislation. The GLC has already come to an arrangement with the courts whereby they can obtain a court order for eviction on the same day. This is, of course, much simpler and causes less conflict than the proposed law would entail (whilst not making certain would-be socialist politicians seem to be the ogres which they really are along with their so-called opposition),

Occupations of factories and workplaces and by student unions and other groups will also become criminal offences. It only takes a slight leap of imagination (even for the police and judges' limited mental activity) to decide that such occupations constitute criminal offences under the Criminal Trespass legislation.

It will take slightly more political courage, however, to decide that picketing also constitutes "trespass" and hence is also "criminal". Charges of conspiracy or behaviour likely to cause a breach of the peace are only partly effective in blocking picketing due to their vagueness of applicability.

Tenants too could find themselves the victims of this legislation. You try proving you are not a trespasser in your flat with your landlord swearing blind you are indeed a trespasser and a thug in blue saying, "I'm sorry but I've got my job to do. Would you care to... etc. etc." Of course, not all tenants have rent books and any documentary proof which takes time to provide will not save you from a night in the cells and finding the lock changed when you return.

As anarchists we must always feel a certain discomfort about campaigns to stop laws being passed through lobbying MPs and other constitutional means. However, all such laws for which these campaigns have arisen are another weapon in the arsenal of the authorities. The Criminal Trespass laws appear to be one of the most dangerous and antagonistic proposals lately to be envisaged by our frightened rulers. In potential, this proposal could become as large a threat to the taking of direct action as the "riot act" was to the holding of demonstrations by pioneering trade unionists (the "riot act" is still in operation). The threat of this law is even greater when it is considered that the Law Commission's Final Report on Trespass (to be published in March) will be Volume 1 of their 3-Volume Final

Report on Conspiracy.

Ultimately our major weapon against the law will be open defiance of the legislature once it becomes law. This does not obviate the necessity for opposing the proposals now. People have to be informed of the potential of the proposals and the "Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law" has been active in the dissemination of this information (talks, leaflets, posters, etc.) to political groups, parties, trade unions, community groups and so forth. This initiative is to be welcomed and it is hoped that as many people as possible will turn out for the Demonstration against the Criminal Trespass proposals.

The demonstration is to be held on Saturday 28 February and will assemble at 1.30 pm at Belvedere Road, S.E.1. (behind County Hall). It will march to Trafalgar Square for a rally.

N. Staffa

PRICE OF COAL *cont. f. P.1*

indicate that the vote would have gone the other way.

The president, Mr. Gormley, said the vote was a 'fiasco', while Communist Party member and vice-president of NUM, Mr. McGahey abstained from voting. Both men thought the union should accept the Board's decision. Certainly the membership is divided on this issue. Genuine fears exist about future closures and even the Board has tried to reassure the union ~~after~~ the vote was taken, that airborne dust will not be a decisive factor in this or future pit closures.

So the coalminer chooses between an already dangerous job and one with an extra hazard of airborne dust. The choice is one the miner cannot win. That and the death of the South Wales miners, is the high price of coal.

P. T.

LITTLE RED SCHOOLBOOK AT STRASBOURG

The Commission examining Richard Handyside's case against the British Government for seizure of "The Little Red Schoolbook" reported that the measures taken under the Obscene Publications Acts 1959 and 1964 "gave rise to an interference with the right to freedom of expression protected by paragraph 1 of Article 10 of the Convention on Human Rights. However, by eight votes to five, the majority of the Commission was satisfied that the interference was justified under paragraph 2 as being necessary in a democratic society for the protection of morals of young persons".

"Similarly, although the Commission considered the British authorities to have interfered with the applicant's right to the peaceful enjoyment of his possessions, the majority came to the opinion that both the book's seizure (by eleven votes) and its forfeiture (by nine votes to four) were reasonable, effected in good faith, and in the "general" and "public" interest respectively, within the meaning of Article 1 of Protocol No. 1 to the Convention."

A Chamber of seven judges has now been constituted to hear the case!

DEEP THREAT

THE PROSECUTION of its publisher ensured around 50,000 sales of Inside Linda Lovelace and its acquittal by jury elevated the book, which otherwise would have melted into the pulp of run-of-the-mill Soho porn, to the distinction of a First Leader in which The Times examines our anti-human society and arrives at the wrong answer to some irrelevant questions.

"The jury may have been right to acquit..." are the fair-minded opening words of a 30-inch leader, then compassionate condescension to the lower orders "...most people would consider that books even in part intended to help people to enjoy making love are not normally to be prohibited. The fact that Linda Lovelace is written in language a lorry driver would understand... should not be decisive against it", and on to a deprecation of the unfairness of the awarding of costs to the acquitted publisher because (despite that the jury may have been right) "the book is in any normal meaning obscene... and [the publishers] should accept prosecution as a natural risk of a dishonourable trade."

From then on The Times is done with both Lovelace and fairness. It goes on to the slippery slope argument in reverse; quoting from a report (whose?) of a previous trial of magazines illustrating sadistic fantasies in which a defence witness who appeared also for Linda Lovelace informed the court in cross-examination that such pictures would be therapeutic to some of his patients by inducing masturbation. It is not stated whether or not the publisher in that case was acquitted or convicted, only that "there have already been acquittals which were a genuine miscarriage of justice...", which seems to imply that had these worse cases been convicted Linda Lovelace might not have slipped through the defect of law which The Times wishes to see remedied; a defect which allows not only the acquittal of marginal cases like that of Linda Lovelace but "of books which illustrate and glorify sadistic practices, which show on every page hatred of women, hatred of woman's sexuality... This is Nazi pornography, the pornography practised in the concentration camps; it is the pornography of sexual cruelty and degradation... of rape and the rapist." I would not disagree. But who is the exemplar of this pornography of cruelty? Kenneth Tynan. And who is depraved or corrupted by pornography? The pornographers -- "who would wish to become like Frank Harris?" asks The Times. Whether the two examples chosen are the outstanding instigators of or contributors to the element of Nazi type cruelty in our society I cannot judge, knowing the work of neither, but I judge that they are not predominant in

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the welter of leather jack-boots and whips pulp mags sought after by the buyers of pornography. "Against this pornography of cruelty," says The Times, "we need a defence." We need a defence against the anti-human life that enables the emergence of a society in which ruling cliques such as the Nazis cited can, themselves living in privilege and elegance, use the dark areas in the human psyche to secure their power. The publisher of "Linda Lovelace" got nearer to a diagnosis in saying "you have to remember we live in a very bored society". A society whose values and culture are swamped by the products of "sick-minded and commercial men" who sell equally harmful and uncreative products as the "images of hatred, and particularly of hatred of women, for vast profit", which is the Times description of the pornographers' wares. "We need both a law and a law-enforcement which stops them" is The Times' conclusion.

We have always had laws and law enforcement, and despite years of campaigns for enlightenment and release, sex hatred and sex guilt are still at the back of the lawmakers' minds and the forefront of the pornographers'. Guilt and not freedom is the spur that turns sexual liberation to pornography and sadism, and the cruelty that manifests itself in less physical ways. Coincident with the Lovelace case burst the news of the accusations of a homosexual involvement and of suspect financial dealings by Jeremy Thorpe. The financial matter, which must affect people other than himself, received considerably less attention than the former. The Liberal Party manfully stood by him with flat denials of the homosexual story of the pathetic character who sprang it. Several days later John Pardoe commented that the accusation was of something that is not even a criminal offence. That, or a stronger declaration that it was entirely his own affair and blameless, would have been the immediate and only reaction of free men in a compassionate society.

Not that one need shed tears for any possible damage this may do to a man's political career. We have been hearing a lot recently about the unsocial demands the job of M.P. makes on a man, and from M.P.s wives about the financial stress of keeping two homes and the impoverishment of their personal lives, deprived for so much of the time of the society of their dear member. Do we need to burden legislators with such onerous tasks and deprive them of their human freedom, and indeed add to their burden with the making of even more laws and the recruitment of more armies to enforce them, as The Times suggests? If anyone were to consider starting a campaign to liberate our rulers and educators, and move towards a less cruel society, the slogan already practically exists from earlier campaigns: Make love not law.

M. C.

A NEW anarchist organisation has been formed in this country. It was established on 14 February at the second Warwick conference, following upon that of 28-30 November last year when preliminary discussions were held. About 50 individuals and representatives of groups were present - among them Leeds, Bradford, Warwick, Leicester, Oxford, Keele, Durham, Portsmouth, Chelmsford, Harrow, L. S. E., East London, Central London, AC-Freedom, Sheffield, Black Flag.

The new body, it was decided, would be called the Confederation of British Anarchists - at least provisionally. After long and exhaustive argument, a set of principles and aims were agreed upon, subject of course to revision or amendment. This was a considerable step forward towards a coherent organisational framework, and all the more so given the views of many who, at the outset of the conference, had thought groups would only be able to agree on separate statements.

The aims and principles incorporated part of the original draft submitted by Harrow group for publication, among others, in the second national bulletin; they also included an introductory passage from Durham libertarian group and two clauses from the Central London Anarchist Group (CLAG) and will be fully published in the next bulletin, together with the group reports. The preface expresses the commitment of anarchists to "a society without authority, government or rulers" and states that "the only way to work towards this goal is to act and organise in a non-authoritarian fashion, for the means we adopt will determine the ends we achieve. We are concerned not to impose a dogma but to draw out popular creativity and initiative. We believe freedom cannot be given, it must be taken."

The statement continues by describing the strongest motivations of mankind as those of mutual aid, solidarity and the desire for freedom. Opposition is expressed to "all forms of manipulation and control, physical or mental". Libertarian society is described as being built up from below on a decentralised basis around self-managed communities and collectives, federated on a larger level. Reference is made to rational and ecological modes of production and to the need for essentially pleasurable work, education and self-development, free from "preparation for a role". Emphasis is placed on "the earth as a common heritage", on equality and freedom of expression - and again on pleasure.

The final two clauses describe the basic unit of anarchist organisation as the autonomous affinity, or self-selected - group which, through regional federation, composes a federation covering the entire country.

These aims and principles provided, as it were, the lowest common denomi-

nator of agreement between the groups. (For instance, a large minority who wished to preserve the original reference in some of the submitted drafts, to the freedom of anarchist organisation away from government-tainted concepts of "left" and "right" was outvoted by those who felt that anarchism was more sympathetic and historically closer, to the "left" -- an irrelevant argument, perhaps, as far as the present is concerned. Other minorities wished to see specific reference to class struggle, women's liberation and so on.) At any rate, it was hoped that the inadequacies of the first CBA statement would to some extent be compensated by the development within the confederation of regular conferences on specific themes, prepared by sub-groups particularly interested in them and who could also produce papers for discussion and debate. In this way the organisation might mature quite successfully, and at length be able to take on a more completely representative position.

Apart from the existence of a formal set of aims and principles, it was also decided that each group, on entering the confederation, would draw up and circulate a statement of their own views for discussion.

The Anarchist Circle of Freedom collective - a sub-group within the collective interested in anarchist organisation - was asked to take responsibility for the international and national secretariat for about a year, owing to its stable address and contacts and while the confederation was being strengthened. It is also to produce the next national bulletin in conjunction with CLAG. The treasurer will be Philip Sansom.

Membership will be by annual per capita subscription. Annual reports and accounts will be produced by the CBA officers for the year.

It was also decided to send fraternal greetings to all federations abroad, and the Scottish Libertarian Federation, Black Cross, AWA, Solidarity, etc.

*

At the close of the main conference session a talk on Spain was given by Miguel Garcia, a CNT and Black Cross member well-known to anarchists in this country. He began by drawing a comparison between the restrictions and secrecy imposed upon anarchists in Spain by their illegal status, and the greater opportunities for the free and open development of such organisation in countries where it was legal.

Perhaps the most interesting part of Miguel's talk - and also the most ironic, given the previous vote against refusal to identify with the "left" - consisted of his warning about anarchist sympathy with left-wing parties and

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THE REFUSAL

I FIRST came across the name of Jägerstätter in the summer of 1943. One of a threshing gang, we had been working on an old rick of spring-sown barley. It being lunchtime, we sat on the rick-stump in the sunshine, glad of the large jug of fresh tea to refresh and 'lay the dust'. As was usual, this time was used to glance through the very restricted pages of the old News Chronicle. Space was scarce - a whole column was used for news snippets, and it was here that I read of the brave peasant Franz Jägerstätter who, having resolutely defied the Nazi command to submission for military service, suffered the cruel, bestial beheading by axe effected by that power. Previously, this direct confrontation and witness had mostly been made by members of the sect known as 'Jehovah's Witnesses'. Now it was a Roman Catholic, and those engaged in the struggle against military slavery were fortified and encouraged in the common task - knowing the full nature of the conflict, varying within though not confined to national barriers.

Franz Jägerstätter was born in St. Hodegund, Austria. A love-child, his natural father was killed in the 1914-18 war. His mother subsequently marrying, he was adopted by his step-father. With a reputation for being a robust, wild youth, he was the first in the village to own a motor-cycle, and he soon took to factory work over the border in Germany. With the advance of time and his parents becoming older, he returned home to tend the small-holding, bringing with him a detesta-

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cont. from P. 3

groups. In answer to a question as to whether Spanish anarchists would approve of their British comrades joining in left-wing actions and demonstrations against the Spanish regime, Miguel stressed the need for absolute caution in any contact with them. Once the left wing began to participate in government, as it undoubtedly would sooner or later, it was highly probable that the next anarchist battles would be against the socialists, communists and Trotskyists. The communists, in any case, were no allies of the anarchists. They pocketed funds under false pretences and names, and when issuing prisoner lists included only their own members and sympathisers.

When Miguel had concluded everyone, of course, wandered off to the bar. While probably almost all of us felt some cause for dissatisfaction with the day's proceedings, there was at the same time a much more noticeable relief and surprise that such progress had been made in so short a time ... and thanks should be given to the day's three chairmen, Ticker, Martin and Sally - who bravely and ably presided over the most arduous part of the proceedings and thus sat in the front line of fire.

Freedom correspondent.

tion of Nazism, its organisation and works, and in this he was very outspoken. He married a local girl, and the job of sacristan becoming vacant, Franz volunteered to undertake the job and was accepted. When German troops moved into Austria in 1930, Jägerstätter was the only one in the village to vote against Anschluss.

He was called to active duty in February 1943, and his local priest and his bishop advised him to attest, saying that representations would be made that he be given non-combatant work, etc., etc. Clearly he was an embarrassment to his church authorities -- as his memory still is. At this time, he was the father of three young daughters.

Arrested and imprisoned in the Castle of Ling, he was visited by his poor wife, who in the fact of neglect, was accompanied by the local Protestant pastor, who had offered to go with her. Franz arrived conveyed in a van and was bundled to the ground, wearing chains. Husband and wife made a sad, brief farewell. After a military trial, in Berlin, he met his death on 9th August, 1943.

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This courageous peasant man was simple and direct in his thinking and perception. Steadfast in manner - given to the task - once he had set his hand to the plough. Franz Jägerstätter left several written pages of testimony and advice to his young children.

A French film* has been made concerning this young Austrian. It is a beautiful one. Most of the events took place in Upper Austria, and they are portrayed sincerely and truthfully, simply. Because of its nature, this film is not likely to be seen on the commercial circuits. The more reason to contact your local film society and others.

S. L. ROBINSON

*"Die Verweigerung", Austria 1972. 94min. B & W. With sub-titles.

RAISED FINGERS

THE RIFT between the Communist Parties of the western bloc and those of the Warsaw Pact countries (i.e. the Kremlin's power machine) is steadily becoming more and more of a reality and is getting wider. The Italian party (PCI) has constantly been trying to establish an "Italian way to Communism" since the end of the last war and this openly defiant attitude has been a source of constant worry to Moscow.

For many years, however, other Western Communist Parties (e.g. the French and the British parties) have been very critical of the Italian party's attitude towards the achievement of a



"No! no, comrade. We abandoned the raised fist at our last conference. You must now use the extended hand!"

state-capitalism (socialist state to them) Over the past year the attitude of the other European Communist Parties has changed due to several reasons. Firstly, there was the increasingly bad reputation of the Soviet Union which has been a source of constant embarrassment. Secondly, the Party in Portugal through its Stalinist behaviour was instrumental in making the reactionary backlash now seen to be taking effect. Thirdly, the Italian Party's resounding electoral success was a great contrast to the declining fortunes of the French party and the stagnation of the British party,

Over the past year there have been frequent meetings between the PCI's Enrico Berlinguer and the PCF's Georges Marchais to discuss a common strategy for the western parties in opposition to the official Moscow line. These discussions were given effect in the last conference of the French party where the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the "raised fist" salute were abandoned -- in favour of the "extended hand". The Spanish party has also been presenting itself as a moderate Communist Party in the Italian style with its support of the Democratic Junta.

At the same time the British party has followed suit. An article by John Gollan entitled "Socialist Democracy -- some problems" appeared in the January issue of *Marxism Today* (theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party). John Gollan maintains in this article that it is no longer possible to limit the party to verbal condemnations of Stalinism and the Stalin era, but it is also necessary to condemn Stalinism in the Russia of today.

Despite all this window-dressing we can never forget the treachery perpetu-

ated by the Communist Party both in Russia and in Spain and this new strategy is making the distinction between the Communist Party's "socialism" and western "capitalism" even more blurred. It was the then secretary of the Italian party, Togliatti, who wrote in the magazine *Lo Stato Operaio* (August 1936) his "L'Appello ai Fascisti" ("Appeal to the Fascists") suggesting a compromise between the two. Berlinguer is now hoping for something similar with the "historic compromise" proposed with the ever-corrupt Christian-Democrats.

All this makes us wonder about what exactly was in Marchais' mind when he announced the replacing of the "raised fist" salute with that of the extended hand.

N. S.

ATTENTAT !

AS REPORTED in FREEDOM earlier, the French anarchist paper *Le Monde Libertaire* and its bookshop *Librairie Publique*, in Paris were bombed on 24th December, 1975 by Spanish fascists.

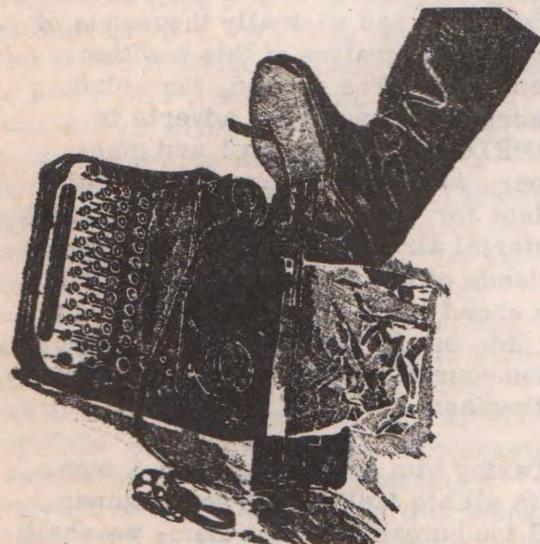
These reactionary thugs, not satisfied with their verbal attacks on anarchism through the spreading of lies and calumnies, now attempt to physically destroy the installations and the work of the French Anarchist Movement.

These "Nazillens" (little Nazis), as the French comrades call their attackers, will not prevent us anarchists from carrying on our anti-totalitarian struggle where it is needed.

One way we in this country can show our solidarity with the French Anarchist Movement is by helping our French comrades to distribute and sell their monthly paper, *Le Monde Libertaire*, which is on sale at Freedom Bookshop price 30p postage paid.

Messages of solidarity can also be sent to *Le Monde Libertaire*, 3, Rue Ternaux, 75011 Paris, France.

Claude.



THE FRENCH Anarchist Federation has stated that an antimilitarist meeting it had organised at rue de Rennes in Paris earlier this month was not able to take place because of the double intervention of the police. Under the pretext of a bomb alert the police first ordered the building to be cleared. Then, when the meeting had finally begun, they a second time ordered the evacuation of the building!

IRELAND

RULES 43 AND 51

THE SUBJECT of Berlin Red Help's recent article in these columns, the destructive process of solitary confinement, arises once more now that Frank Stagg is dead. While most of us would not express sympathy with his aims and methods or with those of his organisation the reason he died in Wakefield prison last week should concern us all.

Frank Stagg died after a hunger strike because the British authorities refused to permit his transfer to a gaol in Ireland. But what none of the British mass circulation papers mentioned were the circumstances under which Stagg and many other prisoners have been forced to live in this country, and the real motive for his protest, and his apparently fanatic obstinacy.

True to form, the British authorities do not use emotive phrases like "solitary confinement". They get away with saying it doesn't exist by replacing it with the phrase "cellular confinement". Under rule 51 of the Prison Rules, Stagg was held in solitary from February 1975 for a "serious and repeated offence against discipline" -- in his case, refusal to work because he was deprived of educational facilities. Under this rule the periods of confinement must not exceed 56 days. In practice, however, what happened to Stagg was that after each period of 56 days he appeared before a visiting committee which, hearing his repeated refusal, simply sent him back to solitary. During these constantly renewed periods he had no contact with other prisoners and in addition, was refused all items -- no books, no bedding, nothing, but a chamber pot. Two years earlier and he would still have been on bread and water.

Similar to rule 51 is rule 43 where solitary confinement can be imposed for "protection". Under this ruling many prisoners (during 1974 about 552) have been kept in solitary, sometimes through the sheer arbitrariness of the prison governor, sometimes through the genuine dilemma of a warden confronted with the problem of the anti-IRA anger of the other inmates of the prisons. As RAP and PAC (Prisoners' Aid Committee) have both pointed out, the indefinite application of rule 43 amounts to virtual continuation of the "control unit" system, currently suspended, but not abolished, and in which severe psychological pressures are deliberately applied.

All Irish prisoners under this rule in top security prisons are automatically placed in "punishment block" whether or not they have misbehaved. Here they, and others, are confined to their cells for at least 23 hours out of 24, and exercised separately. According to the family of Paul Hill, one of the Birmingham bombers, he is exercised in a cage

7 x 8 ft. and is never allowed outside! The effects of such treatment have already been amply described by German prisoners in similar conditions (incidentally, the Baader-Meinhof group have been granted far greater privileges!) They need no repetition here. But, as in the case of the IRA member, Leon McLaughnan, kept in total solitary confinement for two years from 1973-75, they can be literally suicidal. McLaughnan tried twice to kill himself.

In the circumstances it is easy to see why IRA people are so desperate to get a transfer to Ireland, and how Frank Stagg's protest was in reality against the horrors of solitary confinement. Yet this vindictive and unnecessary system is receiving virtually no publicity. Why?

Apart from the obvious fact of the media's establishment position, the reason is also that the enormous secrecy of government procedure in this country means an almost total lack of information on the part of the prison research groups, from the respectable Howard League to the radical RAP and PROP. Yet the collection of accurate information on solitary confinement, as on the generally abysmal condition of British gaols, is an essential part of the campaign against them.

Anarchists interested in this field of work could, in the short term, put pressure on these groups to acquire more, and more factual, data or try to collect it themselves. But in the long term, of course, prison reform can be of no real interest to anarchists. For anarchists, our present political, economic and social environment forms a much larger penitentiary! "Cellular confinement" is a concentrated form of everyday experience in the school, hospital, housing unit, factory farm, work-place. The difference between the Irish prisoner pacing in a 7 x 8 ft. cage and those forced, against their will, to spend the best part of every day doing what they would rather not, is one of degree alone. It is all part of a system based on compulsion in one way or another; thus, from our point of view, it is the entire system that must go.

F. G.

THE MARGINALS

ONE DAY last month a group of people carrying a black flag rang on the doorbell of a section of the Soviet embassy in the 16e arrondissement of Paris. When the door opened they rushed up the staircase onto the second floor and occupied a room overlooking the street, into which they threw leaflets. Eventually a dozen KGB men living there managed to chop through the door with an axe and delivered the occupiers, who used no violence, into the arms of the police waiting outside. The Soviet embassy demanded that the culprits be punished and that "Soviet citizens be protected

cont. on P.6

SATURDAY IN BOLTON

Bolton's shopping centre is not really very different from that of others throughout the country. Neon lit stores selling everything that is good in life, W.H. Smiths, M. & S. Burtons, Coop. People scurrying and clutching at treble wrapped essentials somewhat fearful of being set upon by yobbos.

SANDWICHES

Then, suddenly, its the Bolton Libertarian Street Theatre Group! We have a "tory lady" in hat, brooch, beads and army boots, and mad mike is red nosed and dressed out rageously as a constable. He alternates between giving out curly cucumber and cress sandwiches and maintaining order with his black sock truncheon.

Utterly unrehearsed and all ad-libbed we have a crowd of some 200 souls before a policeman arrives. From the audience we have laughter and clapping and "terrifics" and "God help us alls."

STEVE AUSTIN

Our friend in blue appears from backstage and seems a bit perplexed - his finger never far from his Marconi multi channel - but, bless the soul of Nicholas Walter, he smiles.

THE MARGINALS *cont. from P 5*

from violent acts of this kind". Ten of the group were given a six months' suspended sentence for breaking into property and five years' probation. Two of them, Jacques Lesage and Walter Jones, were sent to gaol for three months.

The leaflets explained that the group, which calls itself "Marge", refuted both capitalist and socialist regimes and believed that the evils of the latter had succeeded in providing a justification for the continued existence of capitalism in the west. Their black flag, they said, was meant to recall the revolutionary army of Makhno, exterminated by the Red Army and by 50 years of falsified history. Referring to the labour camps, the psychiatric hospitals, the powerful bureaucracy, the "enforced religion of work and productivity", they declared "the fact that in Chile and other parts of the world there is even more savage repression does not make it less unbearable. We express our solidarity with all those who die in the East for the liberation of man".

They also called for the release of all Ukrainian prisoners, whether political or not.

CHANGES OF ADDRESS

AURELIO CHESSA/ARCHIVIO FAMILIA BERNERI. New address for both is:

VIA FADDA, 09016 IGLESIAS (Cagliari), Italy.

DI & ARTHUR HUMPHREY now at 40 Sandown Road, Leicester. (Tel. 704177). From Easter 76 at Nybster, Auckingill, by Wick, Caithness, Scotland.

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION now at 26 Oxford Road, Leicester

Then we finish as suddenly as we started with the perhaps unfortunate ad-lib, "You can all piss off now." And people disperse to their living units.

We attempted no message or overt statement, we aimed solely at creating a startling diversion, but like Steve Austin, we have the technology and the confidence in ourselves to go on to better things.

One should note that our first venture into Street Theatre ended up in the dungeons and a trial that is still going on in the form of an internal police enquiry.

AMAZING

Thus the evening saw anarchists from all over the North West attending The Meeting in a plush Bolton pub. Some fifty souls drank, talked and argued through till eleven, (and others, much, later). It never ceases to amaze me the number of anarchists (or close sympathizers) that exist and have never heard of contemporary anarchist movements, national or local.

Such a situation is understandable when applied to individuals but we've stumbled across a group of building workers who have been operating as an anarchist group for six months. And a group I thought folded years ago are still holding fortnightly public meetings in Burnley. Thus we formed the North West Federation and from here we grow. It wouldn't be an anarchist group without differences of opinion and approach but they thankfully will not rule out mutual help, a fearless (and that's important) flow of ideas and cooperation.

THE WORD

Some few hours ago I awoke with a crippling hangover and the words of that momentous poem in Anarchism Lancastrium No. I came to mind:

My eyes
like an eagles
arsehole
as it unchecks itself
from an uncontrolled
power dive
bloody pink and puckery.

All art and dialectic tomes are dead or at least secondary to what you and I know to be the truth. You can create the most liberating films, write poems to change the world, print the glossiest magazines, watch B.B.C.'s guaranteed weekly dose of propaganda while Pans People dance to revolutionary songs on Top of the Pops. All of it is second hand and therefore insulating. You and I have in some way got to stand up in our streets and work units and say or do something about anarchism.

You and I know this to be true and anything else is as useful as debating the shouldisms and ifonlyisms of where 19th century activists went astray.

Gosh!

Peter Good

MARK W. KRAMRISCH

LAST WEEK, in a room crammed with books, Mark William Kramrisch died in his early eighties. Despite his years he had kept up a small business connection as a traveller (representative for hardware) travelling all over London in a search for declining orders. His income was meagre and with inflation dwindled, but he still bought books.

His great love was books and to us he was known as a pacifist-anarchist who tried to spread the love of books, particularly those of an anti-statist, anti-war and rationalist character to all whom he could buttonhole. Though his resources were poor, he was generous with offers of hospitality and prodigal with the gift he had of the world of books and knowledge.

He was ever ready with an apt quotation or a rather strained pun - if Mark had one weakness it was that of the Guardianesque pun. His vice was that of acquisition and love of books.

We understand Mark to have come from the Dutch Jewish community and he started life in comfortable circumstances, his father having a job in the consular service in this country and other family being in the tobacco importing trade in Piccadilly. He had an internationalist outlook which made him a hater of all wars, and by extension he became an anarchist. During the fifties or thereabouts he spoke on the anarchist and Peace Pledge Union platforms in Glasgow.

The projects of his greatest ambitions (whether they can be completed by others we cannot yet say) were an anthology of pacifist-anarchist quotations of which he had virtually thousands of sayings illustrative of this position filed away. The second, for which readers may have seen adverts in FREEDOM, The Match! and other papers was an anthology of anti-militarism for which he had collected much material already (some from abroad). Friends of Mark realised the difficulties ahead in these projects more than he did; but for him success was nought, endeavour all and he carried on with enthusiasm.

Taking him all in all he was a man. With all his faults, and being human (all too human!) he had them, we shall not look upon his like again. In a world of increasing illiteracy, studied and deliberate, the love of books, of peace and a hatred of power is rarely found. But he did try to pass on his message. That is all we can do. Thank you, Mark.

J. R.

LETTER

TALKING TO THE POLICE

With Arthur Moyses at my side, I don't need to worry about the outcome of the Battle for my soul. He makes an important point about the personal reasons for not wanting to mix with the police, which certainly weighed heavily with me.

Another point about political reasons for not wanting to mix with the police is illustrated by the fact that Peter Hain has been lecturing at the Police College for two years, according to a report in the Daily Mail on 31 October 1975. It doesn't seem to have done much good either to the police or indeed to Peter Hain. I don't think I could have done any better, and I could hardly have done worse.

Nicolas Walter.

"MAGGIE McCARTHY"

Dear Editors,

It is quite ridiculous to pretend, as does N. Staffa in his article "Maggie McCarthy", that there is no difference between condition in Britain and those in Russia. No doubt Mrs. Thatcher made her remarks for the usual political reasons, but it still remains a fact that neither Staffa nor myself would be allowed to publish our respective viewpoints in the Socialist Fatherland whereas we can still do so here. Compare the fate of anarchists in Western Europe with that of those in Eastern Europe and then tell me that you would prefer to live there instead of here!

One of the greatest enemies of anarchism is Marxist Communism as any survey of the record of its adherents when in power will show. While it is true that governments only differ in degree, not in kind, that degree can sometimes decide whether one lives or dies. I have no intention of defending any political system wherever it may be or whatever colour it paints its institutions and ideology, but equally I have no intention of letting myself be bamboozled by "Situationist" claptrap (see Minus One 36 for an exposure of this) about the equal horrors of East and West.

S. E. Parker

P. S. Accompanying the same issue of FREEDOM was a leaflet urging support for some Trotskyist organized picket on Spain. Have the editors forgotten Trotsky's treatment of dissidents when he was in power?

--We did not know of the insertion of a leaflet in FREEDOM - presumably inserted by a distributor, in a shop(?) where S.E.P. picks up a copy. Take up a sub, Sid.

IN DEFENCE OF TROTSKYISTS

Re article (News in Brief 24 Jan) on the expulsion of members, including old-timers Palmer & Higgins, from IS by the central committee.

A comrade in IS informs me this group set up a permanent faction in IS, which is contrary to its constitution. Temporary factions are encouraged by the central committee to aid the "dialectical process". The permanent "opposition" allegedly abused its position by using central funds, not distributing the paper Socialist Worker.

Though as anarchists we condemn any labour movement which has a central committee in the first place, we must recognise that the above incident in IS must not be confused with the much greater authoritarianism in other Marxist/Trotskyist organisations.

Kevork H. . .

CAMPAIGN TO REPEAL THE IMMIGRATION ACT

Dear Friends,

Powell has hit the headlines again on the question of immigration, accusing the Labour government of covering up the 'fact' that it has exceeded immigration quotas. The press has gone to town, too, on the scare story of the immigrants working without 'work permits'. Again, accusations that foreign students are robbing British students of college places add to the growing anti-immigrant propaganda.

The Labour government meanwhile plays into the hands of both racists and bosses by implementing the 1971 Immigration Act - legalised racism which operates to prevent immigrants from organising and joining the class struggle. Racist and anti-immigrant feeling acts against the whole working class. As the crisis develops, working class unity is increasingly vital for the defence of working class interests, and the left bears a heavy responsibility. Unless we begin to challenge the attitude that immigrants are a 'problem' and a cause of problems, a real backlash may develop.

On April 11th, the CRIA is calling for a mass demonstration to repeal the Act. This demonstration could, by drawing in wide support, begin to pose a concrete focal point for building a mass campaign against Powellite demagoguery. Already, it has received support from trades councils, Labour MPs and immigrant organisations.

In order to build for the demonstration, an organising committee has been set up which is open to all groups and individuals to attend. We would urge your organisation both to help publicise the demonstration call and to attend the meeting of the ad hoc committee which will be concretely discussing publicity, the choice of speakers and the route.

Yours fraternally,
FRANCO CAPRINO
Secretary.

45 Kensington Park Road, W.11.
Tel. 727 2993 or 674 5775

IN BRIEF

A RUMPUS has been caused in Hungary by the plan of the Hungarian Communist Party to classify pupils according to their social origins. A questionnaire was sent out to teachers asking them to classify the children according to a set of letters ranging from +A+ for the children of physical workers to +F+ for the children of small producers and private shopkeepers. +B+ was to be awarded to the kids of factory supervisors; +C+ for those from cooperative farms with fathers "who directly guide production" and +E+ for the children of intellectuals or white-collar employees.

Owing to the fury of parents the Communist Party has been forced to give in and cancel the government edict.

A REPORT by the Supplementary Benefits Commission to be published soon will recommend the retention of the cohabitation rule, whereby a woman loses her social security benefit if found to be living with a man. Their only concession is that the rule should be applied more humanely and that the sex snoopers should be employed less frequently.

This decision has been made despite the widespread protests against this rule. It looks as though the State still wants its cake and eat it. In other circumstances the law works the other way and women get evicted when their partners die when it is found that they are not legally married. With the State, might is right. (This is another hallowed tradition which is being undermined. The Appeal Court recently found against a private landlord who wished to evict, after the death of the tenant, the woman who had shared the house with him for many years. The court found that since she had lived and been accepted as his wife, she qualified as "family" & was entitled to the tenancy.)

POLICE Constable Alastair McKenna's three day package tour of Moscow turned into a nightmare on his return to duty. Instead of starting out on his Devon beat he faced five hours of interrogation about his short trip to the Soviet Union. His professional comments to his chief constable written on a holiday postcard about his 'educational and interesting visit' and his opinion that 'some day there may be international police links with Russia' smacked of treason. His jokingly written card to a friend ending "Come and join the revolution" seems to have been taken seriously by the humourless Special Branch.

Perhaps the international links were too near the truth. Certainly the S. B.'s heavy reaction resembles that of their counterparts in the 'workers' paradise'. But then their interests are the same, the security of the state against all comers, even one of their own men in blue.

CONT. on P. 8

A RECENT government-sponsored survey in Poland carried out on over six million 15-24 year-olds has found that they have almost unanimously renounced careers in politics. In the list of ratings cabinet ministers came eighth, well below professors, doctors and schoolteachers.

THE BAVARIAN minister of education has refused to nominate Fred Karl as sociology assistant at the university of Ratisbonne; the reason he gave was that Herr Karl thinks "Marxist sociology is alone capable of explaining society".

PRESS FUND

January 29 - February 11.

- KNOCKHOLT : B.J.R. £5.70; BIRMINGHAM : M.W. 90p; HARROW: N.W. 70p; ABINGDON: P.B. 75p; MONTREAL: W.F. £2.32; GRANTHAM: J.G. 76p; ABINGDON: M.B. £3.70; LEEDS: G.H.L. 91p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1; J.K.W. 10p; ILFORD: D.C.W. 35p; LONDON E.16: P.W. 60p; ANON: 58p; DURHAM: M.S. 87p; LONDON E.4. : S. & A.G. 50p; LONDON SW5: H.H. 35p; GAINESVILLE Fla. : A. & R.S. 45p; LONDON E.17: 50p; LLANTRISANT: P.S. 50p; DERBY: G.B. 70p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1; J.K.W. 10p; NEW YORK: £8; ANCHORAGE: J.M.B. £2.35.

TOTAL: £ 33.69
 Previously acknowledged £193.04
 TOTAL to DATE: £226.73

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Meetings

LONDON. Sunday 29th Feb. Federation of London Anarchist Groups presents a meeting on: Spain Today. Speakers include Miguel Garcia, Albert Meltzer, and Paco. Venue: The Roebuck public house, 108a Tottenham Court Road (between Goodge Street and Warren Street tubes), at 7.30 p.m. Organized by the Central London Anarchist Group. All welcome.

LONDON. Weds. 3rd March. "Spain: The Struggle in Spain". Speaker - Miguel Garcia. At 56 Dames Road, Forest Gate, E.7., at 8.00 p.m. Organized by East London Libertarians Group. (58 & 162 buses).

LONDON. Mon. 23rd Feb. Public meeting on "The Political abuses of Psychiatry". Speakers include Victor and Marina Fainberg. At Conway Hall (Red Lion Square) starting 7.30 p.m. Urgent, please come

WEST LONDON Libertarians. Informal network in W. London, initial mtg. 7.30 pm Wednesday 25 Feb. in back room The Sun pub, Parkshot Lane, Richmond (about 3 min. walk from Richmond station)

SOUTH-EAST LONDON Libertarians. Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina phone 852 6323

THURSDAY 26th Feb. 7.30 pm at Housmans Bookshop basement (side door), 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Social Action Projects (Drug Dependents Care Group) open meeting. General Discussion". (Advise 'phone Housmans (837 4473) on or before Wed, 25th to check on correct date, as there was an error in this copy)

NEXT DESPATCHING date of FREEDOM is Thursday 4 March. Come and help from 2pm. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get together and folding session.

CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next review section is Monday 23 February. News/features/letters/announcements &c is Monday 1 March.

HARRINGEY's branch of the Socialist Party of Great Britain has arranged a public discussion mtg. on Anarchy for Mon. 23 February in Hornsey Library, Crouch End, London N.8. at 8.30 pm. All are welcome.

NEW YORK. BAKUNIN CENTENARY Friday March 5 at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave (SW crnr 29 St.) Sam Dolgoff: Bakunin & Marx : The First International, Olga Lang: Bakunin and Asia Paul Avrich: Bakunin and America Murray Bookchin: Bakunin & Spain

Starts 7 pm Admission free, refreshments. Questions & Discussion. (Libertarian Book Club, G.P.O. Box 842, New York, N.Y. 10021).

WEST GERMANY. 9-11 April. Film review on Spanish Civil War at Schwabisch Hall. Tye communal cinema "Kino im Schafstall" will show documentary films; Augustin Souchy will

speak on "The Social Revolution in Spain". More details from Paul Zimmermann, 117 Schwabisch Hall, Johannerstrasse 17.
 LONDON Hyde Park Speakers Corner, Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcomed.

GROUPS

BATH anarchists & non-violent activists contact Banana, c/o Students Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BIRMINGHAM anarchists contact Bob Prew, 40C Trafalgar Rd. Moseley, Birmingham 13

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516) Anyone interested in the Syndicalist Workers Federation in Bolton area contact or write SWF at this address.

CORBAY anarchists, write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 211

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Univ. of Warwick.

DUNDEE. Alistair Dempster, c/o Students Union, Airlie Place, Dundee.

DURHAM. Martin Spence, 17 Avenue St., High Shincliffe, Durham.

EAST LONDON Libertarians write c/o Ken Weller, 123 Lathom Rd. East Ham, E6.

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

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union Road, Edinburgh.

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

IRELAND. Libertarian Communists contact Alan Macsimoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

LEEDS anarchists contact Cahal Mc Laughlin, 15 Brudenell Grove, Leeds.

LEICESTER anarchist group contact Pete & Jean Miller, 41 Norman St. Tel. 549652

LEICESTER Libertarian Circle Thursdays at Black Flag Bkshp 1 Wilne St.

OXFORD anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 21 Haverstock Rd. Southsea, Portsmouth

STIRLING write Nick Sherington, 25 Churchill Drive, Bridge of Allan.

OVERSEAS

AUSTRALIA - Canberra Anarchist Group, 32/4 Condomine Court, Turner Camil 2601.

Melbourne Martin Jones Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne, Victoria.

NEW ZEALAND Steve Hey, 35 Buchanans Rd. Christchurch 4 (496 793).

PEOPLE/PUBLICATIONS &c.

R. I. PAVIGNANO, New York. Please send FREEDOM your address for subscription.

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No. 7 is out. It is dedicated to all anarchists (like me) who have gone into working men's clubs or their own factories and attempted to sell current anarchist papers. Peter Good, Sales & Accounts Dept., Anarchism Lancastrium, 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs.

FREE WORLD OF THE METIS

(Bakunin, unlike Marx, celebrated the inclinations towards libertarian action and organization that were often to be found among groups and classes of people outside the structure of nineteenth century industrial society, and in Mutual Aid and others of his writings Kropotkin used many examples drawn from primitive and rural societies to show not merely that decentralized libertarian organization was not merely possible but also that it was by no means exceptional. Neither Bakunin nor Kropotkin mentioned the Métis of Canada, who were strictly contemporary with the nineteenth-century upsurge of anarchism, but I believe this was because what went on in the Canadian prairies was outside their knowledge. Otherwise I suspect Bakunin might have classed Gabriel Dumont, the finest of the Métis leaders, with Stenka Razin, and Kropotkin would have devoted space in Mutual Aid to the social patterns of these illiterate, half-French and half-Indian hunters, whose desire to remain free from centralized government and police interference was responsible for Canada's last two insurrections, the Red River rising of 1869 and the Northwest Rebellion of 1885. The following description of the organization of the Métis is adapted from a passage in my recent book, Gabriel Dumont, which tells the life-story of a hitherto neglected Métis rebel, who was in fact a much more significant man than the more celebrated Louis Riel, an essentially authoritarian figure.)

ISIDORE DUMONT, the father of Gabriel Dumont, took part in the great buffalo hunt of 1840, the largest expedition ever to leave Red River, which the fur trader Alexander Rose accompanied and described many years afterwards when he wrote *The Red River Settlement*. The Buffalo hunters were always accompanied by their families, since the women and even quite small children took part in the work of drying the buffalo meat or turning it into pemmican, and so there is no doubt that Gabriel Dumont, as child of less than three, was there, perched under the awning of one of his father's creaking Red River carts, when the hunters of St. Boniface began their slow way along the upriver trail to the rendezvous at Pembina. In all, some 1,630 people gathered for the hunt, of whom almost four hundred were children. There were 1,210 carts in the procession, some drawn by horses and others by oxen, and the creaking of their ungreased wooden axles must have been deafening; in addition to the draft beasts there were more than four hundred picked horses to be used by the hunters as buffalo runners. Finally, more than five hundred dogs accompanied the cavalcade as it stretched for five miles over the prairie, to which would be added, once the herds were reached, many hundreds of wolves and coyotes who followed to feast off the discarded remnants of the slaughtered beasts.

Once the hunters had assembled at Pembina, they gathered to elect their officers and lay down the rules by which the expedition into the western plains should be conducted. Except during the great hunts, the Métis had no government at all and no system of delegated authority. The Hudson's Bay Company sustained a completely nominal suzerainty over Rupert's Land except in the immediate vicinity of its own trading posts, and the Métis wandered over the prairies or wintered in temporary huts in extended family groups or small hunting partnerships based on affinity but with even less of a system of chieftainship than the highly democratic prairie Indians. It was only when a great collective effort took place that they felt the need for a temporary organization in which responsibility was delegated to men with special hunting skills. The conditions of the buffalo hunt, with the need to avoid surprising the herd by rash or premature actions, demanded a high degree of co-ordination and voluntary discipline.

Since the procedure for regulating the buffalo hunt had already acquired the weight of tradition, and since in 1873, when the Métis had been forced by the diminution of the buffalo to settle down in Saskatchewan, Gabriel Dumont would make them the basis for the free commune he founded in the prairies, Alexander Ross's account of what he witnessed is of special interest. First - he tells us - ten captains of the hunt were chosen by the full assembly of hunters, and one of them was named "the great war chief or head of the camp; and on all public occasions he occupied the place of president". In the hunt of 1840 this elected temporary chief, chosen for his skill in the pursuit of the buffalo, was not a Métis proper, but a Scottish half-breed named Jean-Baptiste Wilkie (sometimes known as Welkey) who had been brought up as a child among the Métis. He was, as Ross remembers, "a

man of good sound sense and long experience, and withal a fine bold-looking and discreet fellow; a second Nimrod in his way". Eventually, Wilkie would become Gabriel Dumont's brother-in-law.

The overall conduct of the hunt was supervised by Wilkie as chief. Each of the captains was in charge of the expedition when in camp for one day in nine, according to a roster, and he had ten "soldiers" who kept order, organized guard duties at night against possible Indian attacks, supervised sanitary arrangements, arranged the carts and tents in defensive formations and acted as fire wardens. There were also ten elected guides, chosen from men with an intimate knowledge of the hunting terrain.

Their duties were to guide the camp, each in his turn - that is day about - during the expedition. The camp flag belongs to the guide of the day; he is therefore standard-bearer by virtue of his office.

The hoisting of the flag every morning is the signal for raising camp. Half an hour is the full time allowed to prepare for the march; but if any one is sick, or their animals have strayed, notice is sent to the guide, who halts till all is made right. From the time the flag is hoisted, however, till the hour of camping arrives, it is never taken down. The flag taken down is the signal for encamping. Whilst it is up, the guide is chief of the expedition. Captains are subject to him, and the soldiers of the day are his messengers... The moment the flag is lowered, his functions cease, and the captain's and soldiers' duties commence. They point out the order of the camp, and every cart, as it arrives, moves to its appointed place. This business usually occupies about the same time as raising camp in the morning; for everything moves with the regularity of clock-work.

It is evident from what Ross tells us that the delegation of responsibility in the organization of the Métis hunting expedition was in no way permanent. The whole time of the hunt was between sixty and seventy days, which meant that each guide was in charge during travelling time no more than six days and each captain in charge of camp arrangements no more than six days, the duties of the "soldiers" being correspondingly limited. The only man whose role lasted throughout the expedition was Jean-Baptiste Wilkie, and his duties were largely ceremonial - those of presiding over the gatherings of the hunters which discussed the affairs of the hunt - until the buffalo were sighted, when he took charge to give the signal for the carefully co-ordinated attack on the herd. The line of four hundred huntsmen waiting for the charge remained unbroken until Wilkie gave the word, since any premature move could cause a stampede.

The few laws which the hunters voted, not through representatives, but in general assembly, related mainly to the discipline of the hunt. They decreed that nobody should leave the cavalcade either by lagging behind or riding ahead, and that nobody should run at the herd before the chief gave

the starting word. But, considering that the Métis lived in a violent society where homicide of various kinds was common, the punishments were surprisingly mild and relied mainly on the moral effect of public ridicule on a proud people who found losing face more difficult to endure than losing possessions. Anyone who stole from a fellow hunter was merely brought to the centre of the camp, where his name was called three times, with the word "Thief" thrice repeated. A man who broke the sacred rules of the hunt had his saddle publicly slashed for the first offence, his coat publicly torn from his back and cut to pieces for the second offence, and only for the third offence, which took place rarely, was he flogged before the camp and then only lightly, to shame him rather than hurt him.

The same sense of a community ruled by opinion embodied in a few simple and generally accepted moral rules emerges from Ross's descriptions of the gatherings of the older hunters at the end of each day's travelling or hunting, when they would sit tailor-fashion on the ground to discuss the affairs of the day, "each having his gun, his smoking-bag in his hand, and his pipe in his mouth". Ross found these meetings both interesting and agreeable, as the business of the camp was discussed and plans for the morrow were decided. "I must say, I found less selfishness and more liberality among those ordinary men than I had been accustomed to find in higher circles. Their conversation was free, practical and interesting; and the time passed more agreeably than could be expected among such people, till we touched on politics."

The touching on politics, which caused some distress to Ross as a mid-nineteenth century upholder of the hierarchical order which Hudson's Bay Company factors were inclined to favour, reveals the Métis as members of an egalitarian community influenced deeply by the kind of primitive and direct democracy which existed among the great Indian tribes of the plains, where the authority of the chief depended always on the revocable consent of his braves. Long before they were goaded into rebellion in 1869 and 1885 by an unsympathetic and rapacious Canadian government, the Métis appear to have nurtured a sense of individual liberty as strong as any of the plains Indian warriors to whom they were related, and, reading Ross's later remarks, I could not help being reminded of Gerald Brenan's moving descriptions of the anarchist prophets - often illiterate like most of the Métis - who roved the remote hill villages of Andalusia in the days before the Spanish Civil War.

Like the American peasantry - Ross says - these people are all politicians, but of a peculiar creed, favouring a barbarous state of society and self-will; for they cordially detest all the laws and restraints of civilized life, believing all men were born to be free. In their own estimation they are all great men, and wonderfully wise; and so long as they wander about on these wild and lawless expeditions they will never become a thoroughly civilized people, nor orderly subjects in a civilized community. Feeling their own strength, from being constantly armed, and free from control, they despise all others; but above all, they are marvellously tenacious of their own original habits. They cherish freedom as they cherish life.

Such were the Métis at the height of their pride and their good fortune, when the buffalo herds still seemed inexhaustible and the prairies were free and open, with no fences or frontiers or rulers. Lawless perhaps they were in the technical sense of possessing no authoritarian structure of government, no immutable code of regulations, and yet the descriptions by Ross himself and by many other observers agree on the splendid organization of the buffalo hunt, which was achieved by voluntarily agreeing on a series of rules and restraints which everybody accepted and observed. Nor should the degree of mutual aid which was shown during the hunt be overlooked, for most of the best hunters would give away much of the meat they killed to the poor or incapacitated people who accompanied every expedition. (Poverty in this context usually meant lack of hunting skill, since the Métis code did not encourage the accumulation of property, and a good horse and rifle were the hunter's most prized possessions; wealth was relative, a matter of having a good supply of meat and pemmican and a little extra to exchange for trade cloth, trinkets and ammunition, all of which were often

shared out among friends.) Perhaps the Métis attitude can best be defined as one of anarchic egoism, tempered by mutual respect among the strong and generosity towards the weak. Bakunin, who stressed the virtues to be found in people not entirely absorbed into modern industrial society, would have loved, if he had known them, these free hunters who were his contemporaries. Such were the men Gabriel Dumont saw constantly around him when as a child he travelled in the great hunts: the men he admired and imitated, and of whom he himself became in the end one of the best as well as one of the last examples.

George Woodcock.

ANARCHIST PRESENCE

*ONE OF the greatest needs of the anarchist movement is that of establishing an anarchist presence in various walks of life. However, is it acceptable to establish a presence in all walks of life? Further, in any area in which a presence is established, how do we use that presence? It is conceivable that by working inside various organisations, or unions, or whatever we will end up helping to support a part of the system which will be an unacceptable element in any future ~~social~~ type of society, i.e. an anarchist one.

The fiercest opponent of squatting, for instance, has been the local government service. Some of the worst bureaucratic disputes between public and officials takes place in the local government service. Some of the most senseless generalisations, supposedly to be applied to all areas of the country, have been uttered by civil servants.

It was with great concern that I read a recent article in Libertarian Struggle about NALGO and the need for "anarchists" to be increasingly active inside NALGO. The whole article (minus the final boldly-typed paragraph) was a good summary of the defects in NALGO and the present reactionary attitudes of a worrying proportion of its members. The final paragraph, however, leaves too many questions unanswered.

I have been a member of two NALGO branches. Firstly, I was employed by the new bureaucratic mess of the Tyne and Wear Metropolitan County Council, and I am now in the employ of the London Borough of Hammersmith. In the former branch I took not the slightest bit of interest since the departmental representatives were my superiors in the office. Hence, although I was a member of the union the absurd situation of my bosses' representing me kept me from gathering any interest. This situation is perpetuated throughout the North East by the Labour Party "mafia" which is so prevalent there.

NALGO in Hammersmith, however, is a completely different proposition. The representatives, on the whole, are mostly drawn from the clerical positions and the differentiation between bosses (i.e. the councillors), the bosses' hacks and the workers is clear. In this branch I "find myself" on the branch executive and also on a committee which has established the equivalent of the shop stewards' committee in the department in which I work. Socialist Worker is for sale at NALGO Action Group meetings.

The main struggle now going on in the branch is over the wishes of the Labour-controlled council to bring in a firm of private consultants to carry out a "manpower utilisation review". The main advantage of this study will be the fat fee going to the consultants (£46,000 at present, the original estimate having been £120,000).

Despite the original decision of the branch to oppose the appointment of the consultants (P.A. Consultants) and the decision to not co-operate with the consultants, the chairman of the executive (a member of the Action Group, no less) was last heard of negotiating the make-up of the consultative machinery for when P.A.'s are appointed.

At a recent "special branch general meeting" this question

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of the consultants was to be the main discussion point of the evening. It was preceded by two motions on the campaign against cuts in public spending, and on the Chile Solidarity Campaign. The "anti-red" hysteria of the rank-and-file at the meeting produced the most atrocious general meeting I've ever been to. Many "moderates" furthermore had been ordered to attend by councillors with an interest in the "man-power utilisation review". Many of these robots come, of course, from good working-class upbringings and they have been brought up in the borough in which they work.

The result of all this is that the atrociously immobile NALGO national executive is, in fact, much more progressive than the working-class "rank-and-file" members as far as Hammersmith borough is concerned. My criticisms of this branch could take up the whole of this issue in fact.

However, returning to the offending last paragraph:

"For the left, clear goals and good organisation are very necessary. That is why anarchists will be increasingly active inside NALGO."

Firstly, labels of "left" and "right" are to me the labels of institutionalized politics. An anarchist should by his refusal to accept government also refuse to accept their labels (that includes "centre", "moderate", "extremist" etc.). Within my branch I take part in the activities of Nalgo Action Group and I also find the moves by the "moderate" extremists to banish NAG completely obnoxious and will support Nalgo Action Group in its efforts to merely be allowed to exist. However, since my NAG branch is heavily dominated by International Socialists (the number of times my refusal to buy Socialist Worker has been greeted by insults!) I find it hard to see where clear goals can be derived from since the I.S.'s idea of a "revolution" is just another name for the State. As for "good organisation", I do not believe that I could possibly arrive at an agreement with the I.S. "comrades" as to what this might be.

The other question arises of what way will "anarchists" be increasingly active in NALGO. Many attitudes of local government workers should, of course, be subject to questioning by anarchists. Why should we be subservient? Why do we need "Directors"? Many clerical staff that I have encountered also have extremely racist attitudes. Extremely reactionary attitudes derived from the Daily Mail, the Sun, the Express, Mirror are also rife. Therefore, if our intervention is one of trying to change people's attitudes to wars and life in general, I shall be very sympathetic to anarchists being "increasingly active in NALGO".

However, if the intention is merely to bring about a "leftward" lurch of this ambiguous union and an eventual strengthening of the municipalisation mentality then I shall be completely opposed to such an absurd notion. It boils down to the question of whether or not we see ourselves as an alternative to "left", "right", "centre" or "up in the clouds". It is not sufficient to criticise a "left" group for disintegrating and then coming out with similar ideas yourself but merely adding the label "anarchist" so as to make it look excitingly different.

An anarchist is an anarchist because he is not a marxist, a conservative, a fascist or whatever. If I had Marxist pretensions I would not waste my time with anarchists for a start. The place for a Marxist is within the Communist Party or similar types of groups/parties. We have, as anarchists, a great contribution to make in most walks of life, some of which have never even been touched upon by the "left". If "traditional" anarchism has always been a "non-starter" (for "traditional" read "not pseudo-trotskyist") it is because the Marxists have been working harder than the anarchists and make everybody feel guilty if they are not Marxist. Of course, Mussolini's blackshirts also worked harder than the anarchists in the 1920s but we feel no qualms about not being fascists and do, in fact, delight in not being such obnoxious thugs. The answer, therefore, is not "imitation" but "hard work" for our struggle.

Nino Staffa.

A NAVAL REVOLT

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT, by Icarus. A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy, 1918-1919. Simian (Box AA, 1 Exchange, Honley, nr. Huddersfield. 45p)

THIS PAMPHLET was first published by Freedom Press in August, 1944. At that time, when this country and Germany were again at war, its publication came at an opportune time. Such revolts of a country's military are not given the lime-light as are the victorious battles.

This new edition includes Matt Kavanagh's Preface to the 1944 edition and has an added Introduction by Joe Thomas. This new introduction gives us some of the background to the life of the author who went under the nom-de-plume of "Icarus". Thomas informs us of the identity of the author, Ernst Schneider. The nom-de-plume was necessary because Ernst Schneider, as a German refugee, had difficulties with the authorities, who had refused him naturalisation. He had escaped to this country when Hitler's Gestapo made it unsafe for him to stay in Germany.

The German Navy of the First World War was both conscript and regular. Many, like Ernst Schneider, were conscripted because they were previously in the mercantile navy. Also like others he had been an active trade unionist before the war and a member of the reformist Social Democratic Party. At the outbreak of the war he supported the "revolutionary" left wing who were grouped around Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The German Navy was little used during the war except at the Jutland battle. Except for the submarine crews, they spent long periods in port. This gave the seamen regular contact with dockers and other workers in nearby towns. They had up-to-date news of the war, the growing food shortages and the increasing anti-war feeling among the workers.

Of course when it came to the actual organisation of the revolt, this was done in secret. Leaflets would suddenly appear in the factories. Posters would go up on walls. The fleet at Wilhelmshaven formed their own Committee. The members and the delegates had to meet in secret. Such meetings took place in cemeteries and were guarded by the sailors against any intruders.

Anti-war strikes had already taken place and two conscientious objectors, the sailors Reichpietach and Koeses, were executed. Karl Liebknecht had also been sentenced to six years' penal servitude for his "Down with the War! The principal enemy is in your own country" speech on May Day 1916. Being an M.P. did not save him.

The revolt started when the sailors took over their ships from the officers. It soon spread to the factories and workshops of Wilhelmshaven, Bremen and Brunswick followed and the three towns were controlled by 'workers', soldiers' and sailors' councils'. The revolt was shortlived. When the end came the revolutionaries were hopelessly outnumbered by a well trained army of 40,000. The Soviet Union offered no help; when the author met their government's representative in Berlin, he was not interested in establishing wireless communication between Wilhelmshaven and Kronstadt. Later (in 1923) Stalin said: "In my estimation, the German workers must be restrained, not spurred on." In fact they were restrained with the help of the Social Democratic politicians and trade union leaders and the shells and bullets of the army.

Although this reprint is very welcome, the price of 45p seems a lot for 32 pages.

P. T.

(The pamphlet is obtainable from Freedom Bookshop (+ 6½p postage.)

Rather than indulge, as V.R. does, in personal recriminations, ill-concealed slurs and groundless insinuations, I prefer to refute some of his allegations and discuss the paramount issues raised in my review of Carlos Semprun-Maura's *Révolution et contre-révolution en Catalogne; Maison Mame, Tours, 1974* (Freedom supplement, Nov. 22, 1975).

V.R.'s slanderous remarks about the National Committee of the CNT, the anarchist ministers and other "bureaucrats" must not, for the sake of fair play, go unchallenged. They were not motivated by lust for power and glory. They assumed their posts only with the greatest reluctance. Juan Peirò, the minister of industry in the republican government (a former general secretary of the national committee of the CNT) was a glass worker who, for over thirty years, was an outstanding militant in the ranks of the CNT. He was persecuted and jailed countless times. After serving as minister he went back to work in the glass factory. After the war he sought refuge in France. When the German fascists invaded France he was locked in a concentration camp and extradited to Franco Spain. Franco's agents offered to save his life and set him up in a good position if he agreed to collaborate with the Franco-fascist regime. Peirò indignantly refused: "The CNT is not for sale". He was executed the next day, June 26, 1942.

Federica Montseny, the minister of health (still an active militant of the CNT in exile) suffered the horrors of concentration camps and was hunted for years by the German fascists and their French allies. Garcia Oliver, comrade-in-arms of Buenaventura Durruti and Ascaso at last found refuge in Mexico. The list is long and honourable and it is churlish on V.R.'s part to insult them.

V.R.'s attempt to refute my statement that the "...CNT, with only one paid secretary for a membership of over one million, was so structured as to reduce the danger of bureaucracy to a minimum ..." is pointless. Among other historians of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, Semprun-Maura also emphasizes this irrefutable fact more strongly than I do (see p.150).

V.R. notes that after the revolution, the CNT-FAI had to enlarge its staff to "cope with the surge of new members". He believes that the CNT militants who took these jobs became part of the "new bureaucracy". But V.R. himself inadvertently admits that he has no convincing evidence to substantiate the existence of the "new bureaucracy". He confesses that "...I have never seen detailed accounts of its (the bureaucratic machine's, S.D.) composition and role." Nor does V.R. even know whether members of the CNT-FAI "bureaucracy" were "paid or unpaid."

V.R.'s own example further confirms the fact that the employees of the CNT-FAI did not constitute a bureaucracy because the CNT-FAI in its propaganda operations, "... QUITE RIGHTLY .. had to employ editors, reporting and other staff" (my emphasis). The fact that a person happens to work for the government or any other employer does not automatically make that person a "bureaucrat". If this were so, postmen, street cleaners, food handlers, milkmen, bus drivers - anybody who did anything at all - could also be classified as "bureaucrats".

The replacement of the brutal professional police (Civil and Assault Guards) by the people's "Control Patrols" to keep order, far from being, as V.R. claims, an example of a "political bureaucracy" constitutes one of the truly great achievements of the revolution. V.R.'s own evidence contradicts his charge that the Patrols received "orders from the government." The Patrols were composed of workers chosen not by the government, but by the people themselves, "various organizations and parties ... CNT -FAI, UGT, etc." The Patrols were administered, not by the government, but by the Central Comité of Patrols, which like the Patrols themselves, consisted of "delegates" from the CNT-FAI etc. It is self-evident that a government which surrenders its police powers to popular organizations loses control.

In quoting Juan Peirò to prove that the anarcho-syndicalist leaders were "bureaucrats" who encouraged workers' self-management of industry and "initiative from below", V.R. makes two major historical errors: 1) Peirò did NOT reflect the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the CNT-FAI. He belonged to the right-wing, anti-FAI, reformist "trentista" faction of the CNT, who (before returning to the CNT) were expelled for their opportunism. V.R.'s quotation from Peirò plainly shows that Peirò (in opposition to the official position of the CNT-FAI) OPPOSED industrial socialization and agricultural collectivization - "... expropriating, collectivizing, or socializing industries .. would destroy the economy ..." 2) V.R.'s charge that there was no control from below is emphatically denied by Gaston Leval. In his chapter on "Libertarian Democracy" Leval, after describing in detail the democratic, libertarian procedures, insists that: "... this took place in ALL the syndicates THROUGHOUT Spain, in

DOLGOFF REPLIES ...

ALL trades and ALL industries, in assemblies which in Barcelona, brought together hundreds of thousands of workers ..." (*Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*; Freedom Press, 1975, p.206 -

ably translated by Vernon Richards - emphases are Leval's).

It is worth noting in passing that there is no conflict between spontaneity from below, careful, constructive, encouragement of popular initiative, not by politicians but by technically competent revolutionaries. This combination is an integral part of the revolutionary process. Gaston Leval devotes a whole chapter, "The Ideal" to this problem and repeatedly stresses the point, thus: "...the social revolution did not spring from a decision of the leading organisms of the CNT-FAI ... it occurred spontaneously, naturally, not .. because the 'people' ... had suddenly become capable of performing miracles ... but because, and it is worth repeating, among these people there was a large minority .. of men .. gifted with a practical sense .. capable of coming up with conclusive solutions at the required time ..." (ibid.p.80).

The considerations outlined above and available additional evidence, lead to the conclusion that Semprun-Maura's charge (and V.R. agrees) that the CNT-FAI "degenerated into a virtual bureaucratic dictatorship" is a gross exaggeration.

V.R.'s assumption that I defend the collaboration of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists in the republican government is not true. All his remarks on this subject (including the Federica Montseny quotation admitting that collaboration was a mistake are simply irrelevant). Nowhere in my review, or at any other time, did I defend collaboration - this, in spite of the fact that I have been unable to offer a satisfactory alternative.

I made it abundantly clear that what the CNT-FAI should or should not have done is debatable. What is NOT debatable is that there IS a dilemma. I criticized Semprun-Maura because he calls this the most crucial problem of the Spanish Revolution a "false dilemma". And I criticize V.R. because he calls it "Dolgoff's dilemma."

"Dolgoff's dilemma" is, however, shared by Gaston Leval, Jose Peirats and others who opposed the collaboration policy of the CNT-FAI, as well as ALL responsible writers on Spain. Since V.R. questions my "mistranslation" of Leval's writings, which includes a long quotation in my review in which Leval graphically portrays the tragic, heartbreaking situation that our comrades had to face, far better than does Semprun-Maura, I urge the reader to read V.R.'s translation. To clarify this extremely important question, I have reluctantly, despite space considerations, assembled the following quotes:

(In respect of the refusal of the anarchists to take power and establish an anarchist dictatorship Leval writes that) "...it only needs a modicum of common sense to realize that it was quite impossible for us to wage war against the other anti-fascist sectors who would not have allowed themselves to have been wiped out so easily. It would have been a non-sense and a CRIME ..." (ibid. p.82, my emphasis).

"... it was not a case of social revolution - of the proclamation of Libertarian Communism as had been attempted prematurely in other circumstances ... what came first was to prevent the triumph of fascism .. the offensive was not being taken against capitalist society ... what was at stake was the very existence of the forces of the Left and Center, as well as the ... tangible freedoms that were represented by the Republic ..." (ibid.p.70).

"...the desire so widespread among the population to maintain (the united anti-Francoist front) on the national level resulted in the libertarians (in Elda, S.D.) of accepting to enter the Municipal council ... under the pressure of circumstances ..." (ibid. 280)

"... (the successful institution, S.D.) of the new social structure was undoubtedly due to the fact that in Granollers, Gerona, Hospitalet and Valencia, to name a few, the mayor was a libertarian ..." (ibid. p.281 - the mayors expedited social transformation).

In respect to the libertarian proposal for establishment of a national

state financed Health Insurance Fund, Leval's comments are particularly significant:

"...that libertarians should have thought of such a solution which implies the recognition of the existence of the State ... may surprise and shock the theoreticians who ignore the practical facts (the syndicalists did not have the money, S.D.) ... as we have repeated many times, we were in a mixed and most complicated situation in which private capital and individual property persisted, in which even the socialized economy paid taxes, etc... In this situation many activities escaped out control." (ibid. p.273)

These quotations read like justification for governmental collaboration. V.R. could undoubtedly marshal quotes from the same source refuting these statements. But these contradictions reflect the tragic dilemma of our comrades. It is the refusal to take these facts into account that is so disturbing. But V.R. evades this crucial issue and goes off on a long digression about the situation in Spain in 1975 and the anarchists - interesting but not relevant.

Semprun-Maura's assertion that the anarchists joined the Catalanian "Generalidad" government without consulting anyone is not true. Peirats, in an interview with John Brademas (September 12, 1952) told him that the decision to join the Generalidad was adopted by a vast majority vote in the Plenum of local and district federations (Anarcosindicalismo y Revolucion en Espana 1930-1937 Spanish translation of a work soon to appear in the original English - p.213, 214).

Semprun-Maura's and V.R.'s charges that no one "...supported other forms of democratic solutions viable in the circumstances (government collaboration or anarchist dictatorship, S.D.) such as councils of delegates elected and subject to recall - in a word, other communes ..." is not sustained by the facts.

Leval tells how precisely this solution to the dilemma, government collaboration or anarchist dictatorship, was proposed and rejected by the pro-statist anti-fascists - incidentally exploding the myth concocted by V.R. and others that the CNT-FAI "bureaucracy" supinely capitulated to the counter-revolutionary republican government:

"...the leaders of the CNT-FAI first of all did what they could not to give in (join the government, S.D.). They were undoubtedly inspired by their traditional opposition to all governmentalism ... and all government parties. But in the face of the growing danger (fascist victory, S.D.) the greatest unification possible was needed. They thought up a revolutionary solution: the government should be replaced by a Defence Council composed of five members from the CNT, five from the UGT and four from the republican parties. In this way they sought to make clear the supremacy of workers' syndical organizations over the political parties ..." (ibid.p.322). Needless to say, the 1,200,000 socialist party controlled UGT and the political parties rejected the proposal.

V.R.'s quotation from Peirats to the effect that "the revolution could not have occurred under better circumstances" certainly does not apply to the general situation in Spain, but only to the first weeks in Barcelona and Catalonia after the defeat of the fascists. Peirats in reviewing V.R.'s enlarged Spanish translation of his "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" (CIRA bulletin, November 1972) confirms that this is indeed the case. He writes that the CNT-FAI was trapped in the "...vicious circle: war-collaboration - counter-revolution". Peirats also suggests that V.R. should have dealt more objectively with the situation and problems raised by the "vicious circle."

I suggest that V.R. should ponder Peirats' remark that "...realities are, and always will be more decisive than philosophical previsions (speculations, S.D.)... it is unrealistic to expect (100 per cent, S.D.) fidelity to principles in an organization numbering millions ..."

V.R. believes that the Spanish anarchists should have abandoned the fight against Franco-fascism and live to "fight another day". V.R. admits that "...such a course could well have ended in defeat for the revolutionaries in the FIRST FEW WEEKS ...!" (my emphasis) when it was by no means certain that the fascists would win and hopes for final victory ran higher. The anarchists would have rightly been accused of cowardice and held responsible for the disastrous defeat by the masses who were by no means ready to surrender. V.R. himself admits that the "revolutionary expectations (of the people, S.D.) were still high (and) the people still armed ..." How V.R. could seriously suggest such a policy is hard to understand.

To say that the anarchists who beat back and inspired resistance to the fascist hordes in Barcelona and other fronts, made impossible the easy victory of Franco and inspired the people to make the social

revolution (see Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, Freedom Press) were "...willing from the first days of the armed struggle to CONTAIN the revolutionary impetus of the people in arms ..." (V.R.'s emphasis) is false, malicious and slanderous.

To assume that the socialist party members and sympathizers, the bourgeois republican patriots, the Catalanian nationalists, the Basque catholics etc. who make up the "people" were more revolutionary (or revolutionary at all) than the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists who since the days of Bakunin sparked the Spanish revolutionary movement - is sheer nonsense. V.R. may protest that he was referring not to the rank-and-file of the CNT-FAI but to the CNT-FAI "bureaucrats". I have already commented on this assumption which is just as fallacious as are some of V.R.'s other contentions. I wrote in my review (quoting Gaston Leval) that "...collaboration had been ratified by the assemblies, plenums and congresses of our movement..." (Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, p.31). Anyone who took the trouble to read the anarchist press of that period knows that the issue of collaboration was thoroughly debated, and dissenting views exhaustively aired. On this crucial point, V.R. has produced no EVIDENCE to the contrary.

Is it really necessary to remind V.R. that the subject of my review is Semprun-Maura's book; not mine, Rocker's or Maximoff's ideas about what the anarchists should have done about World War 2?

I categorically deny that my review was a "hatchet job" on Semprun-Maura's book. I am prepared to verify every statement made in the review and in this reply by voluminous documentation from unimpeachable sources, including excerpts from Semprun-Maura's book. These necessarily sketchy remarks - both mine and V.R.'s - by no means exhaust the subject. It is hoped that the still timely themes will be further explored.

Sam Dolgoff

... MALATESTA SIGHS

I WOULD BE UNABLE TO ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT ALL PAST REVOLUTIONS though they were not anarchist revolutions were useless nor that future ones which will still not be anarchist will be useless. Indeed, I incline to the view that the complete triumph of anarchy will come by evolution, gradually, rather than by violent revolution: when an earlier or several earlier revolutions will have destroyed the major military and economic obstacles which are opposed to the spiritual development of the people, to increasing production to the level of needs and desires, and to the harmonizing of contrasting interests.

But one must not exaggerate; it should not be thought that we must, and can, find, here and now, a perfect solution for every possible problem. One should not want to foresee and determine too much, because instead of preparing for anarchy we might find ourselves indulging in unattainable dreams or even becoming authoritarians, and consciously or otherwise, proposing to act like a government which in the name of freedom and the popular will subjects people to its domination.... The fact is that one cannot educate the masses if they are not in a position, or obliged by necessity, to act for themselves, and that the revolutionary organisation of the workers, useful and necessary as it is, cannot be stretched indefinitely.

In any case, if we take into account our sparse numbers and the prevalent attitudes among the masses, and if we do not wish to confuse our wishes with the reality, we must expect that the next revolution will not be an anarchist one, and therefore what is more pressing is to think of what we can and must do in a revolution in which we will be

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THE LUXURY OF VIOLENCE

EAST FINCHLEY is to the socially committed film devotee what Neasden is to the mass minority readership of Private Eye, an Ur wasteland for those living with a mile radius of Greek Street, a place beyond the intellectual pale, of lower middle class houses and values for superior working classes. If one had the loot one could apologise for living in Hampstead or St. John's Wood and preen that one lived in Shepherd Market or Sloane Square and all with a self-deprecating tender smile, but no one but no one man would admit to living in Neasden or East Finchley. Yet East Finchley has one jewel within its concrete crown. A few steps from the East Finchley Underground station is the Phoenix Cinema, the last remains of the solid virtues of 1930 cinema vulgarity in a council brick wasteland, and its film programme turns the trinity of the Everyman, Academy and Curzon into a cultural quartet. I made the Underground pilgrimage to the Phoenix not for Shyam Benegal's Hindi film Ankur despite Shabana Azmi's moving performance as Kakshmi, a low caste peasant woman loving and suffering a drunken deaf mute husband, for it seemed to me too much of an eastern version of all those Teutonic domestic horror films of the silent thirties, but for Rolf Lyssy's film Konfrontation-Assassination in Davos. Every book, every play, every film is in the beginning a single idea spawned in the solitude of an individual mind and should be approached as such no matter what the final commercial costing may be, and Konfrontation is an essay about political killing and as such, in the climate of our time, needs to be seen, heard and questioned. This film will surface and resurface in the various art cinemas for it is an historical document and a political argument and a dull and pedestrian 10,260 feet of Swiss roll.

At two o'clock I stood with four 10p ancients and the inevi-

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a relatively small and badly armed minority... But we must, however, beware of ourselves becoming less anarchist because the masses are not ready for anarchy. If they want a government, it is unlikely that we will be able to prevent a new government being formed, but this is no reason for our not trying to persuade the people that government is useless and harmful or of preventing the government from also imposing on us and others like us who don't want it. We will have to exert ourselves to ensure that social life and especially economic standards improve without the intervention of government, and thus we must be as ready as possible to deal with the practical problems of production and distribution, remembering, incidentally, that those most suited to organise work are those who now do it, each in his own trade.... If we are unable to prevent the constitution of a new government, if we are unable to destroy it immediately, we should in either case refuse to support it in any shape or form. We should reject military conscription and refuse to pay taxes. Disobedience on principle, resistance to the bitter end against every imposition by the authorities, and an absolute refusal to accept any position of command....

Advise when we have suggestions to offer; teach if we know more than others; set the example for life based on free agreement between individuals; defend even with force if necessary and possible, our anatomy against any government provocation...but command - never.

In this way we shall not achieve anarchy, which cannot be imposed against the wishes of the people, but at least we shall be preparing the way for it.

E. MALATESTA *

* from MALATESTA LIFE & IDEAS

table thinly bearded youth to pay our 70p to the Phoenix and we were the sum total at the lowering and the raising of the light, which is no condemnation for I have shared seats with a lesser audience to witness great moments within the theatre, gallery and cinema.

During February the 4th 1936 David Frankfurter, a Jewish Yugoslavian, pulled out his store, bought a gun and shot and killed Wilhelm Gustloff, a local fascist leader in the European political consommé of the day. Willy expired on his study floor all paunch and questing eyes and any self-proclaiming superman who succeeds in being murdered within a Swiss study is an historical joke despite a telegram from Adolf Hitler to be read at second hand by the widow. David gave himself up to the local police, was tried and sentenced to 18 years in prison and at the end of World War II was paroled and now lives in Israel, looking oddly enough like the murdered Willy. The film claims, probably rightly, that it is based on authentic facts. Yet it does not manage to capture the terror that the German Nazi and their European jackals created for millions of people, for one gets the feeling of small time back street punch ups and dreary racialism university style. David's reason for giving Willy a shotgun queue jump into Valhalla was that he "felt compelled to take vengeance on the representative of a regime which has made life in Germany impossible for Jews. I killed Gustloff because he was poisoning the atmosphere of Switzerland."

No one ever murdered anyone, from the poorest prostitute to President Kennedy, without a good and self-justifying reason, yet political or military assassination has never solved anything except to make the office of authority a dubious prize for which there will still be contenders and to give a passing sense of satisfaction and relief to the opposition, rich or poor. For remember comrades that political, social or philosophical killing is a two way thing. In all the mass killings taking place in the fringe lands of dying empires is only the continual mass destruction of property that has forced the occupying powers to come to terms for withdrawal and all the dead heroes are no more than grave bait, and in that context, of all the glorious martyrs who have died for and against the cause of Holy Ireland probably only the name and the memory of the unfortunate Kenneth Lennon, the murdered Irish, Special Branch, informer will be remembered for his was the drama and the agony. It has been written that David's killing of Willy made the headlines of the world's press but this is not so. It was reported as no more than another news item in the European political carnage when the Italian Air Force was dropping has on the Abyssinians and the Italian soldiers were being gelded by souvenir hunting Abyssinian spear carrying warriors. I checked through the copies of the Times of February 1936 and found David's story buried on page 11, but all in all he had a better press coverage than the two Swiss anarchists who, on February the 19th, 1936, were sentenced to two years and 15 months imprisonment for attempting to blow up a monument erected in Geneva to the memory of the Genevese soldiers who died during the time of the 1914/1918 mobilization of the Swiss army. The man who commits or advocates assassination by that very act or word forfeits his own life for he has ordered the manner and the method of the debate and from then on, like David, he is living on borrowed time. For in the killing he agrees, with Willy and the Nazi, that, planned and at a time convenient to oneself, individual or mass murder is a legitimate form of dialogue. It is not comrades. For those in authority it is the stigma of failure and for the repressed individual it is no more than an emotional purgative.

David is remembered in this film and as a 66-year-old man he sedately walks the streets of his Israeli home town waiting patiently with all the other law abiding fold for traffic light permission to cross the road. Good men commit evil deeds for the best of motives and evil men act out good deeds for vile and private reasons and when David killed the clownish Wilhelm Gustloff, the leader of the Swiss branch of the German National-Socialist Party, he gave hope and pleasure to isolated individuals suffering from the Nazi thugs in authority but he did not

loosen one single rivet of the prison of the Third Reich. Should he have murdered Willy? Only those denied freedom and liberty dare answer.

Art EDUARDO PAOLOZZI Marlborough Gallery
PAUL STRAND National Portrait Gallery

And the lights go on and here within this cinema at East Finchley is a time capsule embalming the political and aesthetic recorded on the flickering screen, for this cinema was opened almost to the year that David was born, was closed for economic reasons in 1936 when he killed Willy, and in 1976 he walks the streets of Israel as the culmination of his parochial drama. Around the walls is a gilt painted plaster frieze of that nostalgic vulgarity that the Hollywood entrepreneurs accepted as Greek culture and one thought of Eduardo Paolozzi's collages of engineering debris, assembled and black sprayed or cast in plastic as wall decorations for the Town and his property owning frau as they tread the soft carpets of Bond Street's international Marlborough win-or-lose-a-law-suit art gallery as decoration for the new philistines; and how frame after frame of the film *Konfrontation* could be shown as isolated stills at the National Portrait Gallery to win the same screams of approval as the photographs of Paul Strand. For photography is not an art but an accident and Fritz Maeder who did the camerawork on *Konfrontation* created one or two memorable set pieces while the late Paul Strand merely clicked his camera.

MAKE LOVE NOT WAR by Derrick A. Pike (1 Market Place, Glastonbury BA6 9HD) 75 pence.

FRED ENGELS IN WOOLWORTH'S by Jim Burns (12 Stevenage Road, London SW6 6ES) 40 pence.

The killing of Willy was David Frankfurter's answer to a moral and political problem and Derrick A. Pike in his novel, off-set and published by the author, makes his case for pacifism. Set in World War II the novel is well written and contains a smattering of fashionable erotica and for the uncommitted reader it can pass away a rewarding few hours. But Derrick Pike presents in his own terms the case for non violence and his novel must be judged by how well he makes it, and for my part I feel that he has failed. It is claimed that generals always fight the last war and I hold that those who oppose violence in relation to war also base their thinking and their propaganda on a last war. In 1939 generals and anti-war advocates were both talking of bayonets when the tank and the machine gun were standard equipment, and arguing cease fires in relation to the great continental military set pieces when one side surrendered, the victorious army marched through the streets of the captured capital, colonies were taken over and indemnities were paid, women wept and after twelve months the victorious army withdrew and the males of the defeated country sat and brooded in the street cafés demanding a return match. This was the pre-1914 halcyon days when we the working class could make believe that we were conned and kidded into a mindless mass slaughter by newspaper editors, international armament profiteers and corrupt politicians and the maimed and the defeated slobbering mass could cry trickery to justify their own involvement, but Derrick falsifies his case by taking it out of the context of history and beginning his argument from the first day of the Second World War 3.9.1939. World War II was a return to the ancient political wars and for the defeated there was a programme of mass genocide and in every country in the west from Hungary's Black Guard to Ireland's Blue Shirts there was a military political native army ready and waiting to aid and abet the slaughter. Before 1933 Hitler had publicly published his political programme and the concentration camps were already being built and the internal murders of Germany's aged and sick were being legalised. This was when the whole of the British and French national press, governments and industrialists were struggling to avoid war with Germany and the streets of every capital of Europe were filled, almost weekly, from 1933 on with the mass ranks of the working class demanding a confrontation with an enemy who daily demonstrated that the printed promise of mass murder was no idle threat.

Relate the advance of the military National Socialist move

ment to that of any barbarian army without the gate and I agree with Malatesta that there comes a time when we must stand and fight. I hold that the term conscientious objector is a blanket title that covers everyone from the mystic to the coward and the fascist and I do not doubt that if this country had gone to war with Russia then a completely different type of conscientious objector would have been imprisoned or worked on the land, but for the pacifist and the mystic I hold that they should recruit no one for to sit and die in the comfort and glory of one's own belief is a purely personal thing. Like Shaw, Derrick offers simplistic arguments but unlike Shaw he makes all his baddies physically repulsive and his goodies physically beautiful, which is all that Adolf argued, and he quotes God in defence of non violence. In the name of Christ, Derrick, God believed, advocated and practised mass slaughter, see His Old Testament *Mein Kampf*, but Derrick does have the honesty to face up to the problem of what would the non violent man do if someone was raping his sister/girl friend. Instead of hiding behind that "it is a hypothetical question", Derrick's hero John smashes their faces in with a brick, or the just brick as Malatesta might have called it, and I think that that is where the whole case as written in *Make Love Not War* falls apart.

Man has only one right and that is to survive and in that survival all morality, all philosophy, all religion are exposed as no more than a personal luxury as debatable meat for those who do survive.

And if I sound Old Tory then let me praise without stint the poetry of Jim Burns. I remember Jim Burns with affection, a quiet figure seated with his wife in a crowded Manchester pub. *Fred Engels in Woolworth's* is a collection of 18 magnificent 'political' poems dedicated to the striking mill girls who in the Massachusetts of 1912 carried banners proclaiming "We want bread and roses too". True, Jim looks nostalgically over his shoulder at the glory and the pleasure of past struggles and regrets the greed and evil of the hour but it was always so, and socialism must be accepted as a basis for the creation of a just society, not an end in itself. In 1946 Reginald Reynolds published his collection of political verse, *OG*, and they are forgotten but Jim Burns' free verse will survive not because of its social content, not because it fits our mood but because it is pure poetry, pleasant on the tongue, pleasing to the eye and welcomed to the mind.

Arthur Moyses.

A Cure for Unemployment

IN 1887 (according to G.D.H. Cole's *History of Socialist Thought* Vol. 2, p.405) with the growth of unemployment the Fabian Society appointed a committee with Sidney Webb and Frank Podmore as its leading members, to draw up a report on the whole question of public provision of work for the unemployed; and this report, drafted mainly by Webb and Podmore, makes very curious reading today. The authors evidently regarded as nonsensical the entire idea of Home Colonies [based loosely on Kropotkin's ideas] and they also scouted the notion that any cure could be looked for from the institution of public works. Government employed labour, they announced, was notoriously inefficient, because the Government could not coerce or sweat its employees as a private employer could. Public works could be eventolerably efficient only when they were of a kind that could be performed mainly by quite unskilled labour, without the need for much capital equipment. Within these limits the report recommended certain action, including the establishment of a national corps of navvies for heavy unskilled work and rather surprisingly [GDHC] the state cultivation of tobacco on unused land. It also recommended that gas and water services, railways and canals, and the distribution of alcoholic drinks should be carried on under public ownership, but made no further proposals to nationalization. To these recommendations it added, still more surprisingly [G.D.H.C] an endorsement of compulsory military service as a means both of reducing unemployment and of training the workers in the idea of public service.

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

DE VRIJE SOCIALIST

No. 1, January 1976 (Postbus 1329, Amsterdam, Netherlands). In Dutch.

"An appeal to our readers" to participate more in the writing of the paper, by sending in reports of local activities, examples of self-organisation, etc. Two articles on Spain: one, a translation of a declaration of the Intercontinental Secretariat of the CNT; the other, "A fascist kingdom" by Moreno. Three articles on Portugal: one, a translation of Claude's article: "Portugal, Right-wing backlash", which appeared in FREEDOM 6 December 1975; the others, translations of articles from A Batalha about workers committees and the self-management of a Portuguese factory, and about the role of residents' committees in the building of socialism; translation of an article on anarcho-feminism from the American magazine Black Rose, no. 1.; the continuation of an article about the Dutch individualist writer, 'Multatuli'; an article on the recent workers' participation law in Holland; a letter from Chile; a review of the Dutch translation of Colin Ward's Anarchy in Action.

THE MATCH

Vol. 6 Number 9, October-Nov. 1975 (P.O. Box 3488, Tucson Arizona 85722, U.S.A.) (Copies should be available soon from Freedom Bookshop at 8p + 6½p post).

Although dated October-November, internal evidence suggests that it was printed in December, notably the headline on the cover which reads "The spirit of '76 -- Greed". The article below it, by Jackson Howard, is a tirade against the encroachment of governmental institutions over everyday, and against the forthcoming Bicentennial celebrations of the American State. Fred Woodworth's editorial on page 2 exposes and condemns the ever growing physical and psychological armoring of the army and the police in the U.S.A. "More about B. Traven" by Terence L. Panick. "Is Liberty X Rated?" by Jack Sem mens. "On Materialism" by Paul Roasberry. "Figures in Anarchism: Coeurderoy and Dejacque" by Nicolas Walter. Book and film reviews. Comment on current events. Readers' letters.

L'ANARCHO

No. 153, January 1976 (J. Gouin, 53 rue V. Basch, 24000 Perigueux, France.) In French.

"On our revolutionary designs: a society with an agrarian or an industrial basis", by J. F. The author poses an option between of the apparatus of highly technological supra-national production inherited from capitalism, and the destruction of these techno-industrial structures and their replacement by a society with a rural

agrarian basis, as two schemas for a libertarian future. He plumps polemically for the second choice in the hope of provoking further discussion in L'Anarcho. "National Defence" by E. M. An attack on the concept of national defence as the basis of the internecine slaughter of the exploited. Articles on "week-end peasant" farmers; on the slowness and lukewarmness of the reactions of the three major French trade union confederations to the imprisonment of leftist militants for "disaffection" of soldiers; and on the population explosion.

BEFREIUNG

29th Year. 1/76, January 1976. (Ull Dillman, Verlag 'Neue Kultur', Postfach 250263, 5 Köln 1, W. Germany) In German.

"How it all began... anticipation of the 'muzzle law'". Description of West German police raids on the bookshop of the Trikant publishing house in Munich and the 'Gegendruck' printworks in Galganz bei Erlangen, to seize copies and the printing plates of the book Wie alles anfing by Michael "Bammi" Baumann. They also seized books which had been on sale for three years! This action, which has previous German parallels only in the history of the Third Reich, is seen as anticipating the rubber-stamping of a new law to criminalise the production of "subversive" literature as "support of criminal acts", commonly known as the "muzzle-paragraph". Articles on "My development from a supporter of

the KBW (Communist League of West Germany) to undogmatic socialist"; "Impressions of a trial" from the defendants' viewpoint; Iberian Reports - Portugal & Spain; Materials on Trade Union Work; News from France and Italy; On the problem of self-management; Kurdistan; and the German Army.

LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE

No. 219, February 1976. (3 rue Ternaux, 75011 Paris, France.) A few copies available from Freedom Bookshop at 20p + post). In French.

"Open Letter to Giscard d'Estang" on the judiciary's turning a blind eye to such fascist provocations as the bombing of the headquarters of Le Monde Libertaire. Articles by Maurice Joyeux on the disastrous, sanguinary outcome of the combination of religious bigotry and politics in the Lebanon; "The Role of the Army in Africa" particularly in the formation of ruling elites and new classes in the 'decolonised' states; theoretical studies on "An end to war" with quotations from Proudhon, by Emile Renaudin; and on "Education or Recuperation?" by Mathilde Niel; "An historical outline of the Mexican Revolution", translated from Tierra y Libertad; articles on the various voltes-face of the French Communist Party in its pursuit of power; on contemporary morality; on anti-militarist activities; reviews of books, records and films; round-up of news from Europe.

D. L. M.

BOOKSHOP NOTES

FIRSTLY -- A few of the increasingly wide range of libertarian and decentralist and alternative technology magazines stocked at the bookshop, including a few new ones:

Practical Self-Sufficiency No. 2 (60p + 9p post) is a rather expensive, but very useful mag on just that -- including, in this issue, articles on Solar Roofs, raising chickens, pigs, goats; various kinds of gardening and much, much more. If once they have established themselves and their circulation they manage to bring the price down a little, then my only criticism of this venture will have been met. Resurgence, under the editorship of Satish Kumar, is, of course, fairly well known. The latest issue to hand (No. 54) contains articles by Jean-Paul Sartre on the Burgos Trials, and by Gwynfor Evans; on Sarvodaya by Robert Waller. Now 50p (post 11p).

Two other magazines which overlap, to a degree, with Resurgence, are The Ecologist (40p + 11p) the latest issue of which includes Rattray Taylor on the disenchantment with elitism and Goldsmith on The Family Basis of Social Structure; and Undercurrents, No. 14 of which has just been published (45p + 11p) including features on the Bradford Conference on "Industry, The Community, and Alternative Technology"; Andrew Mackillop

on Renewable Energy Sources in North America and Australia; Frank Thompson on new aspects of "Pedal Power". "Alternative Technology in India", and more.

Lastly in this section, the English Language Japanese anarchist publication Radical, no. 6 of which is in stock at 10p plus 9p post, and includes a letter from prison by Kotoku (1910) translated by Y. Hashimoto: The Continuation of the Historical Sketch of the Anarchist Movement in Japan.

Next, two books by important women in the American labour and libertarian movements -- both memoirs of a kind; the first by Mother Jones, her Autobiography (£ 1.95 + 24p), the second by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, The Alderson Story: My Life as a Political Prisoner (£ 1.2 + 21p), both stories of indomitable courage.

A book which could serve as a background to those two is Sidney Lens' The Labor Wars: from the Molly Maguires to the Sitdowns (£ 2.10 + 21p), a vivid story-well-told, incorporating the lives (and deaths) of the Haymarket Martyrs, Debs, Haywood; and also of the various labour organisations -- the I.W.W., the A.F. of L. and their role in the history of American Labour.

Lastly, three reminders of books previously mentioned, Colin Ward's Anarchy in Action (£ 1.75 + 16p). Colin Ward, along with such as Murray Bookchin, has surely done more than most to drag anarchism into the twentieth century. J.H.