

# FREEDOM

## anarchist fortnightly

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TWELVE PENCE

# A WORLD I NEVER MADE

COLOURED WORKERS at Bradford recently demonstrating (under their own steam) against the National Front mocked (vide New Society) the Front's cries of 'Blacks Go Home' by chanting:

LET'S GO BACK

--Who'll drive the buses?

LET'S GO BACK

--Who'll sweep the streets?

LET'S GO BACK

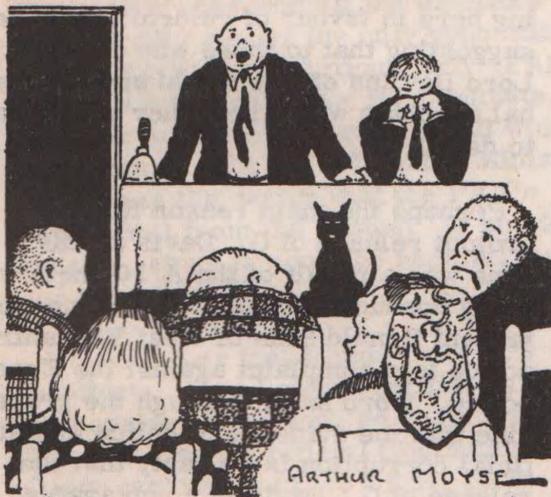
--Who'll empty the dustbins?

It is an interesting question.

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Prejudice against coloured people has been activated in recent weeks by the campaign against British subjects from Malawi (see FREEDOM 15 May "To Each According"). The probable increase in the number of Malawi refugees has been hesitatingly endorsed by the Home Office with suitable noises off stage by racial reactionaries of all parties -- Mr. Mellish of the Labour party being most dire in his warnings.

The crooked shadow of the socio-economic warning, the scientifically detached look at 'things as they are' and the frank admission 'Some of my best friends are coloured but in our present economic state we can't be expected to take in any more' turned into the explicit act, in the brutal knifing of two 'coloured' students in Woodford by a street corner gang who made real what their elders and supposed betters only uttered discreetly and politely. That same racist establishment will deplore



"BROTHERS AND SISTERS, THE MANAGEMENT IN CO-OPERATION WITH YOUR UNION HAS DECIDED TO HONOUR THIS 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1926 GENERAL STRIKE BY GIVING YOU ALL A 10 PER CENT PAY CUT."

those who acted on the bloody instruction so kindly handed out in the platitude. Seeking for the approval of their elders, Paki-bashing, queer-bashing and drunk-rolling are only the words of a conformist and prejudiced society made into bruised and slashed flesh.

These deaths at Woodford were the product of hatred, not only racial hatred, but student-hatred (which is an ignorant admixture of intellect-hatred and class-hatred). Given the fuelling of this hate by Fleet Street and fear it is not to be wondered at.

The crazily logical posturings of Enoch Powell and his ilk and the clownish adolescent posturings of the National Front - aided and abetted in their

## THIN END OF THE WEDGE

THE GOVERNMENT has lifted its 20-months' ban on the selling of houses to tenants in the New Towns. This will allow the local authorities of places like Corby, Milton Keynes, Peterborough and Stevenage to sell to the occupiers after they have been tenants for an expected five years.

This change in policy is because, say the government, the waiting time for New Town houses has dropped. Of course this decision has been seized upon by the Tories as a softening of policy and a vote catcher.

But people have short memories, since this was the policy of Labour's central government that allowed local authorities to sell off housing stock in 1968. Then, the Tory boroughs grabbed the opportunity to boot out tenants from terraced houses in areas like Fulham, to place them in newly built concrete barracks they call council estates. The 'gentified' dwellings are now making a fat profit for the owners.

We are told that this change in policy will not affect those on the waiting list. But it could be the thin end of the wedge allowing all local authorities to sell dwellings to tenants. There is no doubt that this would be popular. Knowing this, Mrs. Thatcher, the Tory party leader, has urged "all Conservative councils to go ahead with the policies on which they were elected by actively promoting the sale of council houses. If the Government then prevents them it will be clear where the odium lies".

This contrasts with the horror of the

paranoia by the anti-Fascist left - sink into their deserved obscurity before the reality of two Woodford non-political, non-intellectual deaths.

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It is a thankless task to cloud with facts minds that are clear-cut with prejudicial theories, but for the record it must be done. The shortage of housing and jobs which it is feared will come should restrictions on immigration (even to the homecoming of British passport-holders) be relaxed has always been the lot of workers under the capitalist (or state-capitalist) system. The arrival of immigrant workers, in any quantity or colour, is always arranged when they are needed for specialist or sordid tasks.

It was indeed Mr. Enoch Powell, he who is preserving us from the racist 'rivers of blood', who instituted the importation of West Indians for necessary hospital tasks. All honour to him for that -- it was necessary. But it is ingratitude to say we have no obligation to welcome ex-colonial peoples - even if they work for a living - or that those here should go back or that those here should be unable to establish their families here.

The practical advantages of having such ancillary workers are obvious.

[Cont on P. 2]

Tory party when Clay Cross councillors refused to implement the law by increasing rents under the Tories' so-called "Fair Rents" Act. But then, as we all know, home ownership is one of the cornerstones of 'our democracy'. The only trouble with that is that most of the time the home is never yours, but is the property of those who advanced the mortgage. With their interest rates, a family is forced to keep its nose not only clean but also to the grindstone.

On the other hand, renting from the council means that a family will never own their home, but such housing does provide a stock of homes for people. The trouble at the moment is the councils don't provide enough homes and don't administer those they've got in an efficient manner.

If the government gives in to the pressure to allow for general selling of council homes to tenants then those on the waiting lists will find themselves in an even worse plight. Many local authorities will jump at the chance to rid themselves of housing and the maintenance that goes with it. They will be only too pleased to duck out of their current responsibility, which they do anyway, of providing homes for residents in their boroughs.

People's need for homes is exploited in the present society. Housing, like any other commodity, is considered fair game to make a profit on. Some people live in big white mansions and others in little shacks and yet people's

[Cont on P. 2]

*(Cont. from P. 1)*

Even in times of job shortage the lowly-paid necessary tasks will find their willing Pakistani, driven by a home-reared poverty for which we have some guilt but little conception. If work is difficult to get it is commonsense that 'guest-workers' will go home voluntarily and by that same commonsense emigrants will cease (even if permitted) to come to strange countries and hostile climates - and peoples - for a state of worklessness. Many, in fact, travel under work contracts with a usurious fare-loan.

The people from Malawi and Kenya are a slightly different proposition. In the majority they, like many student visitors, are bourgeois in origin and of 'independent means'. This, in fact, is one of the reasons for their expulsion from ex-colonial territories. The newly-rising black middle class of the African states resent the dominant financial powers of the Indian immigrants. The situation is similar to that of Germany in the thirties.

Whilst one may have no sympathy for this section of the class conflict, one cannot take sides as between a black and a brown middle-class entrepreneur.

The other race-story of recent date is a different kettle of stinking fish. A Mr. Relf of Leamington Spa, a known reactionary, had advertised his house 'For sale to an English family' (our Malawi friends would qualify). He was served with an injunction, under the Race Relations Act, and for not withdrawing the notice was committed to prison - for an indefinite period - for contempt of court.

It is an undoubted anarchist position that laws, such as the Race Relations Act (and the Sex Discrimination Act which it resembles), make people not a whit less discriminatory or prejudiced -- in fact, the reverse is the case. Liberty has a very mixed list of champions and the odious views of Mr. Relf,

#### THIN END OF THE WEDGE

*(Cont. from P. 1)*

need for a roof over their heads is basically the same. This very fact has forced families to squat in vacant houses. Such actions are a beginning, a step towards a position where people themselves control their homes. For homes should not belong to one individual, property companies, or the local authorities, but to the community. As with the production of goods, people have no control over their housing needs. Most of the housing estates that are built today are ugly and monstrous. This whole environment has been created by professionals, people who are cut off from the real needs of people. We suffer a housing problem today, but also much of the housing is unsatisfactory. Much of it should come down, so that people could design and create the type of homes and environment that suit their needs and not those of the planners and speculators.

P. T.

# OPEN THE GATES!

SUDDENLY WITH a great flood, certain people are being released from prison who have been convicted on evidence resting basically on identification.

First there was the acquittal of Peter Hain, the release of both George Davis and Patrick Meehan, and in what seems only a matter of time the release of George Ince and various other people. It would appear that only when the publicity has died down surrounding a case

who volunteered to fight for Rhodesia and who considers the Race Relations Board to be 'white renegades hell-bent on turning over the country to the black man', find no echo in our hearts or heads, but the palpable stupidity of creating martyrs by the mediaeval judges' privilege of 'contempt of court' and what could, theoretically, be a life sentence offends and insults our intelligence and defends no homeless or discriminated-against non-English person.

Fleet Street once again excelled itself. The proud headline was Robert Relf's cliché 'an Englishman's home is his castle'. The drawbridge of many a home is pulled up by the discrimination of the price he is asking for it; one of the severest discriminations of life (from which no law protects us) is lack of cash. Even a true Aryan Englishman without the necessary cash would find Robert Relf's castle unattainable.

How law-abiding in all other respects Mr. Relf is (and right-wingers are notorious for their devotion to law and order) we do not know, but his castle is vulnerable to numerous legitimate invaders in the shape of bureaucrats; not to mention the police who, of course, would not dream of invading the castle of a true-born Englishman, unless they were convinced an offence had been committed and could persuade a magistrate to the same point of view.

The 'castle' theory of an Englishman's home has rapidly been destroyed by various planning developments and by wartime billeting; the State, which Robert Relf no doubt supports, has the ultimate right to take over or to raze the Englishman's castle. The cliché is now nothing more than an ironic comment on the insularity and self-containment of the Englishman.

There have been many invaders and refugees at the English gate. Many refugees have paid us the compliment of choosing us (a tribute denied to Robert Relf and the writer who had no option or choice but 'to remain an Englishman'). English life has always been enriched by such strangers and what prejudices there are usually pass away with time and familiarity -- given tranquil social conditions. Such laws as there are and such newspapers as we have do no service to these strangers who, like many of us, are "strangers and afraid in a world we never made". Let us together remake that world.

Jack Robinson.

will a person be released. Who would have thought that, considering all the direct action tactics involved in bringing publicity to the case of George Davis, that he would be released at a time when the publicity was at its lowest. Comrades, we should know the authorities better than that; they have to appear in control all the time, don't they? On a point that will be expanded upon later, it is interesting to note that the actions of the supporters of G. Davis in going outside the framework of the law, resulting in the imprisonment of Peter Chappell and others in the campaign, have been more successful in the immediate short term (i. e. the release of G. Davis) than have the supporters of Albert Warrington who played it "by the book". Perhaps it is also worth noting that in an area like the East End the sheer physical deprivation of the area coupled with a sickening violence, that the response has been in violent, physical actions of destruction, whereas in more middle-class areas the rule is to "play it by the book".

A look at the prominent cases where conviction has rested on the question of identity reveals rather sinister implications. It seems to be a point of fact that rather than the innocent person being a victim of wrongful identification there is strong evidence to suggest that there is deliberate collusion and framing of people despite evidence which is weak.

This is a point well worth bearing in mind to those people e. g. Peter Hain, Rose Davis etc. most prominent in setting up organisations like JAIL, who continue to seek reform, mere reform! within a legal system that can tolerate such official and police corruption.

The Lord Devlin who accepts that it is unsafe to convict on the evidence of eye witnesses alone, in principle only rather than recommending legislation that there must be independent corroboratory evidence, is indeed no friend to those who see him as a potential safeguard of civil liberties within the parliamentary system. I am not arguing here in favour of reform but merely suggesting that to those who do, the Lord Devlins of this world are the verbal acrobats with whom they will have to deal.

Perhaps the main reason for the prompt release of G. Davis at this time was a result of the A 10 inquiry being conducted by Det. Chief Superintendent Ronald Sills of West Yorkshire police into complaint against the Essex police. Word has it through the grapevine that the evidence of police and official corruption is so vast, that the release of G. Davis is a sop against further demands that this evidence be made public. One of the main reasons that prevented an earlier release of G. Davis was his known association with petty criminals and his record of petty crime. However it is a fact with a few exceptions, the "ordinary man in the street" is not affected by the activities

of these "gangland warfares". Such behaviour and attitude of the authorities does not auger well for George Ince, another East Ender who is now serving 5 years for the bullion robbery in Essex in 1972. When his appeal was turned down last year his counsel suggested that the notoriety surrounding him after the Barn trial (which he was tried for twice and acquitted) soured public opinion against him. His conviction for the bullion robbery rested on the identification of two policemen. One of whom only saw the man he said was Ince in a car moving at 30 mph and the other saw his "wanted" photograph hours before an identity parade.

The release last week of Patrick Meehan jailed for life in 1969 for his part in the murder of 72-year-old Rachel Ross raises further questions (or confirms opinions already held) depending on one's state of mind. Meehan mentioned (although he kept this quiet at the time of his trial) that he was being framed by British Intelligence because of his help in freeing the Russian spy George Blake. His release came only after the death last month of the man who had previously confessed to the murder. His case has been reviewed five times since his appeal was thrown out four years ago. For the six years he had been in prison he has been in solitary confinement at his own request and has refused parole. His conviction was primarily on the evidence of the dead woman's husband. Because the assailants wore masks, identification was on voice alone.

Meehan was the only one to speak at the identification parade but that was enough to convict him. Mind you, Meehan was lucky, his alleged accomplice, James Griffiths, was shot dead by Glasgow police while resisting arrest ten days after the murder. Even if we ignore the highly dramatic implications of the Secret Service (a claim rejected by Sean Bourke, who wrote a book about the "springing" of George Blake, and claims never to have heard of Patrick Meehan), the whole process of justice and conviction stinks to high hell.

Why is it that it is always assumed the evidence of police is correct and evidence of the general public on matters not just of identification, is wrong?

Other lesser known cases such as that of Thomas Madgin and Albert Warrington, convicted in 1972 for robbery and sentenced to eight years each, concern us over the process of justice. Although they produced eight witnesses between them and claimed they were 110 miles away with friends at the time. This was rejected in favour of the evidence of two men, the first of whom gave widely inaccurate descriptions, the second, even though shown a photograph before the identification parade could only recognise one of the accused. But perhaps the saddest and most important point concerning the whole charade of justice was the comment by Mrs. Warrington (who is also chairman of JAIL) on the way her husband was freed (he was released on

parole last December, while Mr. Madgin is still in prison), "We have done things the normal way, getting M.P.s and organisations like Justice on our side. I thought that was the best way to do it. I didn't think of digging up cricket pitches." The normal way? Is she more concerned about bloody cricket pitches, with their obscene connection with those most proud of our tradition of justice etc., than the incarceration of an innocent man? To have one's own and your friends' word ignored in favour of two police stooges? The normal way? The very same law that actually forces people to go outside the law to draw attention to the obvious.

This brings us back to the point at which we started. For those who have a true sense of justice, not like the present one of hypocrisy and corruption, have to go outside the law. Something these middle-class liberal reformists will find out later rather than sooner, much to their cost. It is unfortunate that people who have for once, it must be admitted, felt the full sting/true face of the law, like George Davis are now being led up blind alleys by so-called Radicals like Peter Hain and other saps in organisations like Justice and Jail.

The existence of organisations like this serves only to maintain the debate about, and the existence of the so-called justice we have now.

Francis A. Wright.

## MAY DAY IN SPAIN

Actualidad Economica (No. 947, 11 May 1976) would have us believe that "May Day wasn't very brilliant for the trade union opposition". "This has been the quietest First of May since 1968," they report a trade union official as saying. "The deploying of the forces of public order and the preventive attitude of the government who took representative leaders and some of the propaganda apparatus out of circulation a week before, and the psychological aspect, seen in the logical tiredness of many workers after two months of almost uninterrupted strikes were the fundamental causes. . ."

If this is the case, imagine as you read on, what previous May Days must have been like, and what the workers will do when they recover from their psychological tiredness.

### VALENCIA

In Valencia, several thousand people tried to demonstrate on the evening of the 30th April. . . Attempts to fly a CNT flag and a republican one came to nothing. In the Elda cemetery, a couple of hundred people laid three wreaths of red carnations at the grave of Teofilo del Valle, killed by police bullets at the end of February.

### BARCELONA

The "forces of order" covered Barcelona. Police on horse back, on foot, in jeeps, buses and white Seats through whose lowered windows they fired rubber bullets, undetermined numbers of pistol-toting police, filled the centre of the city. This impressive demonstration of police strength prevented the formation of groups greater than a hundred.

In the week before May Day a great deal of preparatory work was done. The CNT distributed 150,000 leaflets calling for action on May 1st. A number of people were arrested for this distribution. (Every group was distributing propaganda: from the air Barcelona would have looked as if it were paved with paper.) In the week before May 1st there were many partial strikes in the engineering industry against the terms of a wage decree. There were pickets on factories and confrontations with the police which led to the building of small defensive barricades of cars or building material. There were also processions of strikers through working class districts to ask for support. In one district the strikers were showered with food and 100-peseta notes. Attempts were made to co-ordinate the activity of the engin-

eers with the building workers who had been waiting for a considerable length of time for a wage agreement to be put into effect. The agreement was suddenly acted on by the bosses just before May 1st, but nevertheless, in two districts of Barcelona, the builders' strike was total on May 1st. An incident which shows the spirit of the days leading up to May Day took place during a dustbinmen's strike. In one district, the local people told blackleg binmen to piss off. The police turned up and were showered with stones. It took the riot police to clear the streets and finally the army had to remove the rubbish. On Friday April 30th, 300 people were arrested but this time there is no evidence of physical torture.

The CNT was invited to the meetings arranged to plan the activity on May 1st but they arrived to find that an "agreement" had already been reached. The "agreement" was that people should assemble in Catalonia Square and then march down the Ramblas. The CNT was opposed to this but decided to attend with its own flags and slogans. Its position was heavily distorted by the bourgeois and Communist Party influenced press, and demands have been made by anarchist newspaper workers that no information should be given in future to the bourgeois press, and that the C.P. press should be told to watch their step.

On May 1st the cops and civil guard were kept in their barracks while

[cont on P.4]

12,000 riot police were moved into the centre of Barcelona. (These are known as "gristapo" after the grey (gris) colour of their uniforms and their general unpleasantness.) All traffic was stopped and Catalonia Square was occupied by riot police. The result was that from 10 a.m. until 3 p.m. there were continual clashes with the police in the area of the Ramblas in which militants of all left groups took part. (The demonstrators were mainly from the building trade or engineering, together with many young people.) The weapons used by the people were iron bars, chains, and ball bearings. A police jeep was burned out with a molotov cocktail and police were showered with missiles from balconies.

The CNT demonstration had been announced for 11 in the morning - the assembly point being at the junction of the calle Caspe and the Paseo de Gracia, a little way away from the assembly point for the "unitary" demonstration of the Workers' Commissions, UGT, etc. By 10 o'clock the "grises" were already carrying out the orders of the "democratic" Fraga Iribarne, lashing out at young and not so young, bearded and clean shaven, at anyone to be found at the assembly points on May 1st. Even Spanish and foreign journalists got a taste of the "tolerance" said to have been established by the Government.

Riot police in jeeps roved around the city attempting to intimidate demonstrators by indiscriminate firing of rubber bullets and random arrests. Gatherings of more than a thousand were impossible, usually there was only time enough to unfurl flags, as, for instance the red and black flag of the CNT in Letanendi, where the CNT had called its second meeting.

In the Traversa de Gracia, there was a somewhat larger and longer gathering, where the Liga Comunista, the Workers' Commissions and the CNT assembled, but it too was broken up by the police. A woman resident of the Gracia district said: "With my own eyes I saw how they fired rubber bullets from a white car at three or four young people, without getting out, and without giving any warnings."

In Sabadell some two thousand workers met in assembly for two hours in the district of Can Oriach and afterwards demonstrated through the streets. In the Pabilla Casas district, 300 anarchists held up the traffic, shouting anarchist slogans, throwing leaflets, unfurling banners and red-and-black flags, and painting slogans on walls, until the police arrived in great numbers. In all the districts where demonstrations were rife, CNT emblems were dominant.

You'll have to do better than this, next time, comrades!

(Sources of information: Cambio 16, Actualidad Economica, Le Combat Syndicaliste, Iberia Libertaria, News Digest No. 1)

D. L. M.

# ULRIKE MEINHOF

## Aufwiedersehen Ulrike.

Ulrike Meinhof, avantgardist urban guerilla of the Red Army Fraction, died in her cell in Stuttgart's specially built maximum security gaol during the night from May 8th to May 9th.

Her body was found hanging by a bath towel from the bars of her window.

Officially it is said that she committed suicide but she definitely died as the result of her four years in forced solitary confinement, if not directly at the hands of the justice authorities.

The official post-mortem of Ulrike's body "clearly confirmed that she committed suicide," but the findings of a private post-mortem examination arranged by Ulrike's sister, Inge Winke-Zitzlaff, have not yet been published.

Ulrike, Andreas Baader, Horst Mahler, Holger Meins and others had formed the RAF as the result of 1968, and developed the firm belief that urban guerilla warfare would lead to uprisings of West Germany's oppressed working class.

They produced a programme in which they clarified their position ("Das Konzept Stadt-Guerilla") and accused the anarchists of not "mediating the correct class-consciousness" — see Part IV of their "concept".

Although the Red Army Fraction never claimed to be an anarchist guerilla cell, a few anarchists joined them in their warfare against the

Dear Freedom,

I am no supporter of such groups as those associated with Baader and Meinhof, or the so-called Red Army Fraction, not because I am a pacifist or an opponent of "revolutionary violence," but because I consider their tactics to be wrong, elitist, and not based upon working-class struggle. Theirs was a struggle of despair rather than of hope.

Nevertheless, I cannot agree with the suggestion that Ulrike Meinhof may have committed suicide, as implied by the FREEDOM editorial.

Ulrike was murdered — like Rosa Luxemburg before her — by the German State. Anyone who had been incarcerated in jail, often in solitary confinement, awaiting trial and during trial, for such a period, and who suffered such indignities, was most surely murdered. Whether she actually hung herself, or was conveniently hung by some one else, is immaterial.

It is no longer polite to mention Nazism in Federal Germany these days, but a very large number of that State's rulers, bureaucrats and "judges" are still National Socialists. And don't let us forget it! Meinhof, at least, knew that.

Peter E. Newell.

## A REPLY

The extraordinarily hysterical treatment of the RAF leaders by their captors is a very fine illustration of state delinquency; whether the rulers of the West German state are really nazis or really believers in "social democracy" is irrelevant, surely, to this essential delinquency. We did not imply Ulrike Meinhof had committed suicide, but were mainly commenting on the reactions of the British press, and we said that the destructive effects of solitary confinement had been passed over... Of course there is a point where suicide and murder overlap. The distressing death of Ulrike Meinhof may turn out to be a particularly vivid example of this.

EDS.

German state and increasing fascist behaviour of West Germany's middle class.

However, the anarchists within the RAF soon realised the antagonistic contradictions of the RAF leaders and their ego-trip of avantgardism. And soon some of them wanted to quit but met the firm "military resistance" of the RAF leaders, and "disappeared". It's said in West Berlin's anarcho-scene that they were liquidated for security reasons by the RAF, but some think that this has still to be proved.

Ulrike's dream to achieve social changes through "an armed struggle in West Germany" has not been put into reality yet. And it is doubtful whether real social changes, i.e. the building up of new elements for a new structure in society, can be achieved through any "armed struggle".

Nevertheless, the RAF has provoked the German state and ruling class and scratched the democratic surface deep enough for a rebirth of open fascism to become visible in West Germany today.

And to resist fascism one might have no alternative than to take arms.

Therefore, it is no wonder that a lot of German anarchists and sympathisers of the anarchist idea display solidarity with the (self-elected) "heroes" of the anti-fascist resistance.

English readers should try to understand the authoritarian and brutal oppression by the German ruling class, which has led and leads to armed resistance in West Germany. And the English anarchist movement should not jump to conclusions without considering Germany's past social-economic background which made the foundation of a Red Army Fraction possible.

As an anarchist I do not agree with the concepts of the RAF, but I appreciate their resistance against German fascism.

And hundreds of German libertarians and anarchists went immediately onto the streets when Ulrike's death was announced. In Frankfurt, Munich and West Berlin demonstrations took place which ended up in fiery battles with the police.

Berlin correspondent.

## Communique on the death of Ulrike Meinhof by The Action Group for the Defence of West German Lawyers.

The Action Group for the Defence of West German Lawyers was formed by lawyers concerned at the efforts of the West German authorities to interfere with the free defence of members of the Red Army Fraction, the so-called Baader-Meinhof gang.

The Group learns with distress of the death of Ulrike Meinhof. Assuming that the reports of how she died are correct, that is to say that she committed suicide, it is right that at this time the pressures which led her to do this should not be ignored. Those pressures included the following tactics:

Ulrike Meinhof was arrested in 1972 — but her trial only began during the latter part of 1975, and to the time of her death she had spent four years in jail, most of the time in solitary confinement.

For a period of approximately two years she was kept in conditions of complete sensory deprivation.

Her trial itself was being held in a specially conducted courtroom, under heavy armed guard surrounded by barbed wire and all the accoutrements of a top-security establishment — conditions which are wholly incompatible with the concept of a fair trial by civilian jurors.



Her defence was severely restricted, her lawyers were harassed, their offices burgled for privileged defence documents, and some of them subsequently disbarred, first from the trial and subsequently from the profession, on unacceptable and unjustifiable grounds.

She was deprived of her right to a joint defence with her co-accused by the hasty passage of laws fundamentally in conflict with internationally accepted precepts of human rights.

The same laws permitted the Court to proceed with her trial in her absence through medical unfitness — a physical condition directly ascribed by the court appointed medical advisors to the conditions in which she had been held prisoner.

If it is right that Ulrike Meinhof did kill herself, then in these circumstances it is hardly surprising! She was facing a massive battery of charges and yet was unable to attend much of the hearing and, indeed, unable to hear, let alone answer, much of the evidence against her. The lawyers she trusted were not allowed to conduct her defence and in their stead there were appointed by the Court lawyers who were manifestly out of sympathy with their client and in whom she could not conceivably have placed any trust. She was being held, and tried, in concentration camp conditions and if she finally formed the view that there was no prospect of otherwise leaving that place, then that is a view that it would be hard to condemn as unreasonable.

Whatever Ulrike Meinhof may have done, she was entitled to a fair trial and the right of reply. It is unacceptable that a so-called civilised society should deprive any accused person of these rights. But in her case the West German establishment went further than that. The planned and calculated assault on her psychological integrity, comprised of the conditions of her imprisonment, added to the method of trial referred to above, combine to make out a damning indictment against the authorities for what — even if she did perform the act herself — has already been described, according to today's press reports, as a case of murder.

David Watkinson

for: Action Group for the Defence of West German Lawyers, 35 Wellington St, London WC2. For further information contact Andrew Arden or David Watkinson at 836 5917. 10/5/76.

## RADIO LIBERACION

AS WE reported in our 17th April issue, an anarchist radio station is operating in Spain. At present Radio Liberacion is only broadcasting for half an hour on Sunday afternoons (2.0 to 2.30 Spanish time) on the 33.8 metre band. It is apparently perfectly audible in Aragon, Catalonia, the Balearics and Valencia, and can be picked up in the central plain on good equipment. The programmes consist of comments on the news, short explanations of anarchist theory, interviews, regional news, and protest songs. In future, to enable listeners to tune in, a channel identification signal will be transmitted for half an hour before the programme starts (i. e., from 1.30).

# DISASTROUS STATE

THE INABILITY of the State to cope with an emergency was again sadly demonstrated with the earthquake disaster in Friuli, North East Italy. This inability of the organs of power to deal with the problems created by the earthquake is a direct consequence of the exploitation and expropriation by the State and its beneficiaries at the expense of the poor. People everywhere have been exploited economically (through both work and the tax system), have been prevented from obtaining knowledge which is the "property" of an elite of specialized technicians, have had information taken away from them to be monopolized and manipulated by strong organs of censorship and conditioning, and above all, organizational capacity has been taken away, thus relegating the masses to the position of a herd to be manipulated. All this puts the people in the hands of a few rulers to run every aspect of their lives.

The Friuli earthquake is a sad example of how disastrous this sort of enforced dependence can be. Further, many instances could be cited of how the choice between life and death was administered by those in power. The first houses to fall were those of the poor, poorly built as regards materials and safety standards. Further, people were kept in the dark about any studies about the possibility of earthquakes, and

## Letter from Sweden

INGMAR BERGMAN'S letter of departure from our Utopia was disappointing. It was riddled with patriotic sentiment, and could have found a place in any coloured weekly magazine. The culture editors and jackals of the Swedish art and drama world bewailed "their" loss. The right wing use the situation for their election ends and means.

Unfortunately Bergman never connects the bureaucracy, which he hates, with capitalism and the state. He states he has always been a convinced social democrat. However, he has managed to live in comparative luxury and work within the welfare state until the police hauled him off the stage in the middle of a rehearsal. Nevertheless, his attacks against the popular press, bureaucracy and the police were commendable.

Somewhere within the framework of his films' no-man's-land, his few privileged men and women (who thumbsuck their complexes and frustrations) are in some ways criticisms of our society. On the other hand they seem outside all the realms of concrete social reality.

If, as Bergman says, "I thought my country was the best in the world, and still do, although that's because I've seen so little of others", then perhaps his contact with the world will recreate his film men and women. Not only to tell us that it's society which separates us from each other, but to ask the question why? This he never asks.

Recently, when arriving in Los Angeles, he was reported to have said, "Now I feel free!". What a comment on our Utopia. No doubt when he has found his sanctuary, and I hope he will, he will receive his awards and prize packets, but when he opens them, like most of us, he may find they are only empty cardboard boxes.

statements by seismologists were kept secret so as not to foment "panic" (this could, of course, half the productive process). From the beginning of the disaster the radio and TV in Italy minimized the extent of the damage, inviting everyone to have faith in the authorities who were already taking measures.

Much publicity was given also to military intervention in the situation. However, the fact is that the conscripted soldiers who went to help did so by deserting barracks and the generals then pretended to have given the orders themselves (it would have been too embarrassing to have reprimanded the soldiers).

A positive element in the disaster was the spontaneous solidarity shown by the people. This demonstrated that, if nothing else, people do not need orders from above to survive. Unfortunately, since the State and its friends monopolize the means of aid the slower path of state intervention was again given precedence.

A sickening element, however, was the political capital made out of the disaster by all the major parties and the unions and other powerful interested groups. All the parties (from the MSI fascists to the Communist Party) sent delegates to make speeches expressing concern etcetera and exhorting everyone to vote for them in the elections on June 20th. Their offers of help consisted of promises to go away and give orders to those lower down the hierarchy. The fact that a substantially strong nationalist movement exists in the Friuli area will help to ensure that the Italian state will, in fact, put right the damage to the best of its ability (eventually). Hence, non-intervention could make the state's hold over the area and the rest of the Northern industrial area (the economic stronghold of Italy) an unstable one and that is sadly the only guarantee of help by those who will not allow self-help.

If we now move South from Friuli on a train and travel for about one and a half days we arrive at the Valley of Belice in Sicily where eight years ago seventy-five thousand people were made homeless by an earthquake. These people are still living in the makeshift barracks in which they were placed at the time of the earthquake. Families of average size of four persons have been living for eight years in accommodation measuring 24 square metres with all the belongings which they managed to salvage from the rubble. This is despite the same promises of immediate help and the allocation of substantial sums of money.\*

The people from these barracks in the Belice have marched on Rome on three occasions. The first occasion was in 1968 when a law which was to have guaranteed them financial aid was scrapped. The second occasion was on January 15th of this year when children

[Cont. on P. 6]

(Cont from P.5)

from the Belice led by the parish priest embarrassed the consciences of parliamentarians and ministers and even the president of the Republic. The third occasion was on 31st March this year when a delegation of 100 went to Rome to try and force the minister for public works to draft out and have approved a special law for aid to Belice. This coincided with the governmental crisis leading to the dissolution of the government. Of course, the minister had important things to worry about like the remote possibility of an abortion referendum and so could not spare the time to deal with 75,000 people who had been homeless for eight years.

Sicily, of course, is a very stable element as far as the state machine is concerned. The solid and constant Christian Democrat vote in the island is one good reason why the Republic has not concerned itself about the Belice. In Sicily, also the Christian Democrats are the Mafia's party and where the tension is too great (i.e. in the big cities of Palermo and Catania) the role is adequately performed by the fascists of the MSI. That explains why the

money which was allocated for the rebuilding of the settlements in the Belice seems to have disappeared and not been spent for the purposes intended. The Sicilian Mafia are masters at the art of profiteering from governmental grants and other funds. Further, building speculation is a favourite source of profit. The authorities in the area have too much money to make from building luxury apartments in the cities to bother with 75,000 homeless. Therefore, there is no need for the Italian State to intervene. The electoral prospects of the powerful parties (be they Christian Democrats or Communists) are not threatened by lack of action in the Belice. Further, if the Sicilians do not like it in Sicily they can always emigrate to the North as they have always done (always a useful source of cheap labour).

If the people of Belice had had control over the resources needed to rebuild their settlements would they still be living in their small huts begrudgingly conceded to them by the State? Would they need to waste time and effort going to Rome to try and influence cold, calculating politicians? The State has

constantly proved to be a disaster in terms of creating death, grief, misery, inequality and injustice. When it comes to helping the people whom the State exploits all the time, in their time of need the State proves to be disastrous yet again. Having conditioned everyone to operating through an ordering hierarchy it proves itself incapable of dealing with a situation which requires spontaneity and a genuine desire to help each other. Further, if people were in control of their own lives they would probably have found out the danger which seismologists had hinted at (and were gagged) as regards Friuli. In this country we have the example of the Aberfan disaster in which people were constantly aware of the danger of collapse of the tip but nothing was done about it.

The lesson is clear for us. To live dependent on the State is too dangerous for life and limb. Belief in the state's ability to help its subjects (or that it even cares about its subjects) is nothing short of disastrous.

Nino Staffa.

## BREAKDOWN

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THE LANDSCAPE of capitalism is a global one, existing everywhere with only minor variations. But this universal reign of the paycheck and the price-tag is approaching a state of crisis, becoming noticeable to all but those whose idea of politics excludes everyday reality.

Naturally enough, this crisis of the spirit, this nearing collapse of daily routine, is reaching its most acute forms thus far in America, capital's most advanced arena. Feelings of cynicism, powerlessness, and desperate boredom no longer allow easy distraction; we know that an upside-down world forces us to remain onlookers in our own lives and that the social fact of this realization is fast sending the prevailing values to ashes. The magnitude of alienation is arriving at a critical point threatening to swamp the foundations of our own pacification.

In 1974 the Hudson Institute published Overholt and Kahn's "Perceptions of the Quality of Life", which found that "polls show enormously widespread doubt among American citizens regarding America's most basic governmental and private institutions". From the same semi-governmental think-tank came Barry Smernoff's "Images of Future American Society", with its similar verdict as to "our worsening cultural malaise" and "spreading alienation". Also in '74 appeared a Max Lerner article in the prestigious Foreign Affairs, reporting a pervasive sense of "being at the end of the tether, a mordant feeling of disintegration and decay".

The roots of this sense of "disintegration and decay" were not hard to locate, their reflection was available by a glance at a newsstand's offerings. The June 24, 1974 U.S. News and World Report carried "Vandalism: a Billion Dollars a Year and Getting Worse", and their November 25 issue bemoaned the lowest Fall election participation in 30 years with "The Real Loser: Voter turnout". E. R. Ramey's "Boredom: The Most Prevalent American Disease" discussed the fairly obvious in the November Harper's. Another side of this malaise was provided in December by the Los Angeles Times with the disclosure that arson had more than

tripled in the past ten years.

The January 18, 1975 New Republic offered further commentary on the preceding November's extremely low voter turnout in the aptly titled "Politics as Spectator Sport". The editors noted that growing numbers are convinced that voting doesn't affect their lives, and warned gravely that this attitude points clearly in the direction of "goodbye to domestic tranquility". National attention was directed at the New York Telephone Company in February and March, as if to highlight the recent arson statistics referred to above, when two dozen fires struck their facilities in less than three weeks. In mid-March, the nation's oldest and biggest private security agency, Pinkerton's, declared a very sizable increase in earnings over 1974. In fact, the firm's earnings increased 500% in the past 10 years due to mounting American employee theft, vandalism, and sabotage.

"Loneliness is the most insidious condition in modern society," concluded USC's\* Dr. John Milner in April, the same month that a Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency report gave graphic testimony to the fruits of this emptiness and alienation. The 18-month study found that violence in public schools has reached "a crisis level that seriously threatens the schools' educational mission", and that the annual cost of vandalism is equal to the "entire annual investment for textbooks," to quote the April 10, 1975 New York Times.

In May, the California Poll reported that only labour unions and public schools ranked lower in public confidence than business, and that the levels of confidence expressed showed "a decline from the low levels found in a similar survey two years ago". A May Gallup Poll showed like results, with businessmen, union leaders, and political officeholders occupying the lowest rankings in a national survey of college students.

In June, a study group of the World Health Organization noted the growing incidence of suicide among children under 10 years of age. This remarkable news was independently disclosed during the same month by the director of the National Poison Center network, Dr. Richard Moriarty, who expressed shock at "the number of kids who are thinking about suicide at age 7 or 10". In April, Dr. Darold Treffert had said that "the number of teenage suicides in the United States has tripled in the last decade, to an estimated 30 a day, with more than half the patients in the nation's psychiatric hospitals under age 21". Treffert of Wisconsin's Mental Health Institute, blamed the hoax of the "American fairy tale", and observed that millions are plagued throughout their lives by "a gnawing emptiness or meaninglessness expressed not as a fear of what may happen to them, but rather as a fear that

[Cont. on P.7]

nothing will happen to them". A part of the teenage suicide phenomenon is a bizarre but increasingly prevalent psychosomatic disease, anorexia nervosa. Called the "golden girl disease", very popular, bright teenage girls fall victim to a total apathy in which they simply starve themselves to death. Less dramatic, but certainly somewhat along the same lines, is the June Gallup Poll finding that the proportion of those who drink is at the highest point ever recorded in the 35 years of Gallup Polls.

A Labor Department national survey released in June disclosed an unforeseen dimension to the trend toward the 4-day week. The trend toward the shorter workweek was largely begun in the early '70s as a response to the very high absenteeism rate, and it came as a shock to learn that those on 4-day schedules "were just as likely as 5-day workers to be absent". The July 8 Wall Street Journal reported that auto workers were staying home from work in at least the same very high numbers as they did two years before, despite the massive recession lay-offs in auto.

The Burlington Northern Railroad's poll of thousands of employees (Wall Street Journal, July 15) proved to be another surprise to management. It found that workers with a favourable attitude toward the union also have a favourable attitude toward the boss, and that negative feelings about the two are also paired. And on July 22 it was announced that employer orders for lie detectors to be used on workers were up 25% in 1975, though more than a dozen states bar their use as a condition of employment. A further note for the month on social attitudes was Sylvia Porter's financial column for July 30. It reported on "the soaring student loan default rate", with default claim figures seen "rising in a perpendicular line" as pay-back obligations were ignored.

The evidence continues, from all sectors, with the July Harvard Business Review's "On Executive Suicide", followed by "Why Executives' Children Drink" in the August Dun's Review. Several Summer magazine articles discussed D. T. Lunde's alarming Murder and Madness and its information on our "homicidal society". More interesting than a murder rate which has doubled in the past 20 years is his finding that the murder rate goes up and the suicide rate declines now during economic slumps, a major reversal which is tied to ris-

ing expectation. A national poll done for the People's Bicentennial Commission by Hart Research Associates in August revealed that more than half of the American people believe that both political parties are dominated by big business and only 22% believe that the capitalist system has not yet reached its peak. The poll was widely reported, with headlines such as, "Poll Finds 'Startling' Loss of Faith in Capitalism", and "Public is Turning Against Capitalism".

Also in August, the wildcat strike of 80,000 miners in several states was an event of significance, especially for its anti-union militancy. It was directed at the union's collusion with management and the United Mine Workers' Union was clearly the key to breaking the illegal strike. As miners skirmished with police, defied court orders, and attacked the UMW District 17 headquarters in Charlestown, W. Virginia, the union came out very strongly and openly against its own members. An extremely harsh disciplinary program was established after the strike to defend the union and appease the coal operators. Over 1,000 miners' wildcats were reported in 1973, for example, and the new reform leadership of the UMW seems as powerless as the earlier corrupt leaders to contain the workers.

September saw what has become a commonplace -- articles about kids versus the schools. Feature stories abounded, such as the September 3 San Francisco Examiner story on children often the very brightest, "who develop an abnormal hatred of school". Herbert Hendin's The Age of Sensation was widely reviewed in the Fall, with its datum that the suicide rate of the young has risen over 250% in the past 20 years, and its prediction of increased frustration and rebellion by youth. On September 21, the National Association of Mental Health disclosed that depression is rapidly gaining on schizophrenia as the nation's number one mental health problem. Their survey maintained that 15% of Americans aged 18 to 74 suffer symptoms of serious depression. The September Seventeen ("Young America's Favourite Magazine") featured Lester David's Breakdown I, a teenage case study which also publicized five emotional health danger signals, such as "undue and prolonged" anxiety and despair. An average amount of anxiety or despair is apparently seen by some as acceptable these days.

(The conclusion of this article will appear in our next issue.)

## MEXICO

AS WAS mentioned in the article on Mexico in our 20th March issue, one of the reasons for the ferocious repression of landless peasants occupying latifundios was the approach of the Presidential elections. These will take place on July 4th, but there will only be one candidate.

Since the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has won all the elections in the last fifty years, the only opposition party, the National Action Party (PAN) has decided to withdraw its candidate, which is scarcely surprising, but which has prompted the PRI's Interior Minister to express the desire that the PAN's withdrawal from the contest "is not definitive, since it would be harmful for our democracy".

The one fear that haunts the PRI's candidate, Jose Lopez Portillo, is that of massive abstention, so despite the fact that like the official Communist Party candidates in the USSR, he is scarcely likely to lose the election, he is stumping the country denouncing corruption in the hope of attracting the "popular vote".

Meanwhile, back in the countryside, the landless peasants are still occupying, despite the violent opposition of

## IN BRIEF

landowners. In the last three months the clashes between the two sides have resulted in fifty deaths and more than 500 serious injuries. And things are scarcely likely to get any better. According to official statistics there are at present 3.5 million peasants who have been dispossessed of the right to hold land, and this figure will increase to 5.5 million by 1980. If those 5.5 million take up Zapata's slogan of "la tierra para quien la trabaja" ("the land to whoever works it") the "Institutional Revolution" may well be replaced by a real one.

## Soviet Mutiny

ON THE NIGHT of the 7th November the Soviet destroyer Storozhevey was bombed by Soviet planes in the Baltic (ostensibly she was returning to Leningrad from Riga).

A mutiny on board the ship, led by the crew's political officer, had occurred after fears that members of the crew

who had just completed four years' compulsory service would have to serve on indefinitely because of the war in Angola. The crew had locked the captain and several other officers in their cabins and the ship had changed course for Gothland, a Swedish island in the Baltic. However, an officer had managed to give the alarm which alerted other Soviet ships and planes. The Storozhevey, now with no experienced officers on the bridge, was moving at only half speed and did not even have the ammunition to defend itself. As a result of the bombing, 50 crew members were reported killed, others being picked up out of the sea after the mutiny collapsed. At the resulting court martial in Riga the ringleaders were executed.

The affair came to light when Swedish Armed Forces monitored and taped radio communications between the Storozhevey and other Russian ships and aircraft, which suggested a mutiny. The incident was first reported in the West in January, although very incompletely. The ability of the Soviet authorities to conceal incidents of this nature is most disturbing and only now, nearly seven months after the incident, is the affair becoming clearer.

Correspondent.

## GROUPS

**ABERDEEN** c/o S. Blake, 167 King Street.  
**BATH** anarchists & non-violent activists contact Banana, c/o Students' Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.  
**BIRMINGHAM** Black & Red Group Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Rd., Moseley, Birmingham 13  
**BOLTON** anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).  
**CORBRY** anarchists, write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants, NN1 211  
**COVENTRY**, Peter Corne, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, COVENTRY  
**CAMBRIDGE**, c/o P. Silcock, 51 City Road Cambridge  
**DUNDEE** Alistair Dempster, c/o Students Union, Airlie Place, Dundee  
**DURHAM**. Martin Spence, 17 Avenue Road, High Shincliffe, Durham  
**EDINBURGH**, B. Gibson, 7 Union Street,  
**FIFE** - see West Fife  
**GLASGOW** Jim McFarland, c/o Charlie Baird, 122 Berneray St., Milton Glasgow G22 7AY.  
Glasgow Libertarian Socialist Group, 90 John St., Glasgow C1 or tel. Dave 339-4236 for details of weekly meetings.  
**OXFORD** c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street  
**PORTSMOUTH** Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old

## SHOCK SCANDAL PROBE

SOURCES IN Fleet Street disclose a plot to imply that leading politicians are human and sexually normal. A campaign of slander has been launched by an unnamed Power to make political parties seem important.

It is alleged that a well-known politician lives with his wife, occasionally has sexual relations with her and has produced several children. This is denied by his election agent who points out that a normal man would not be interested in political activities.

The implication of the scandals being spread abroad is that these politicians live such satisfying lives that they are quite unable to take interest in the boring details of Parliamentary life or are insufficiently frustrated to vent their spleen in inter- and intra-party wrangles.

The claim that it is necessary to destroy political figures exaggerates their importance and inhibits the real life of the country and will, by implying that the absence of certain figures from political life is disastrous, surely undermine national morale.

The country has been subjected to a flood of revelations intending to imply that politicians are human. It is increasingly obvious that men in public life cannot survive allegations of such weaknesses. Even the suspicion of such a charge renders the victim unfit for public office. Until we move into a society in which such conduct is permissible public life will offer no haven to such men (or women) against whom such allegations have been made.

Jack Spratt.

# CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 10 June. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Monday 31 May; for inclusion in news section is Monday 7 June (and receipt by Thursday 3 June is very helpful).

### Portsmouth

**ST. ANDREWS**, c/o 'Haggis', Students' Union

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

**WEST FIFE** write John Deming, 164 Apin Crescent, Dunfermline.

### Overseas

**AUSTRALIA**. Canberra anarchist group: 32/4 Condomine Court, Turner Canberra 2601. Melbourne Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne. Sydney F.A.A. and "Rising Free" monthly Box 92 Broadway, 2007 Australia.

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

### MEETINGS

**SUN. MAY 30.** Public Mtg.: Social Control, Cause of Social Problems. Speaker Peter Neville. At The Roebuck public house, 108A Tottenham Court Rd. W.1. (tube Goodge St/Warren St). Organised by Central London Anarchist Group. \*

**SUN. May 30.** Industrial Network mtg. Details from Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gdns. Saffron Walden, Essex.

**SOUTH-EAST** London Libertarians Gp. meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina. 852 6323.  
**HYDE PARK** Speakers Corner (Marble Arch). Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcomed.

Anarchists/Libertarians in **COLCHESTER** area interested in local group contact Hilary Lester 32 Wellesley Rd., Colchester for details of regular meetings etc.

S. E. Parker, editor of Minus One, is willing to speak on various aspects of anarchism and individualism to groups in London and the Home Counties. For more information write to him at 186 Gloucester Terrace, London W.2.

**BRISTOL SAT. 19 JUNE** Campaign Against Arms Trade, national mtg. 11 am-6 pm at Friends Meeting House, Hampton Rd. Details from CAAT, 5 Caledonian Rd. London N.1. Creche arranged.

### PEOPLE/ORGANISATIONS

**BLACK** Flag Bookshop in Leicester has now closed down.

**ANARCHIST** Transport Workers -- an attempt to organise. Contact Adam, 01-247 4829.

**ANARCHIST** Wallpainters (Muralists) require large, external wall (urban London) for early summer. Image negotiable. Long-term project. Write: Meany Tekel, c/o Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High Street, E.1.

**FOREIGN WOMAN** opposed to her government - being forced to return very soon - seeks other nationality. Any man prepared to marry for politics not money please contact Box 700 urgently.

**BLACK CARNATION**, newly formed propaganda group: Two postcards: (red & black) Bakunin 'Freedom can and must be defended only by Freedom': (black & white) Striker:

When you haven't enough to live on the problems of the government are peanuts'. Each 3p (post on up to 15 6 p). Posters General Strike and Freedom for Iberia each 20p, p & 11p on one or both. From Freedom Bookshop. S.L.F. Newsletter report of 3rd Conference available from Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Maryfield, Dundee

### BAKUNIN COMMEMORATION IN ZURICH

AN INTERNATIONAL seminar will be held on 3 & 4 July where it is hoped discussion of papers submitted will lead to wider knowledge of Bakunin's philosophy and activity, will provide an occasion for pooling experiences and assessing common ground, and re-examine methods of struggle. It is hoped to prepare a brochure of papers that have been submitted, translated into German, French, Italian, and if possible Spanish and English. Enquire from Groupe James Guillaume, Postfach 599, 8050 ZURICH.

**INTERNATIONAL CAMP** July 6 - 15 will be held at Malville. Enquiries to address above.

COME TO ROTHERHITHE for a week of Alternative Living in the PEOPLE'S HABITAT SAT 29 May - 6 June, in Rotherhithe St. S.E.16. Each day a focus on something different (e.g. Planning & Surrey Docks, Sat.) Community Living...Food...Transport...Use & ownership of land, Sun June 6). Plus campsite and food co-op all week, children's events, films, music, theatre. Tube: Rotherhithe. Buses 47, 70 & 188. Org. by Comtek, Intermed. Technology, Resurgence, Street Farmers, Undercurrents. For programme phone Fiona Cantell 240 2106 (or get from 9 King St. W.C.2)

### JOHN RETY

MANY COMRADES, if they have not been in contact with him in the past few years, will be concerned to learn that very recently John Rety had a bad fall from a 15ft high roof he was repairing, in his work for a squatting organisation in West Hampstead. He was taken to hospital with a fractured skull and arm.

Before we went to press the hospital reported him to be "much better". He is in the George & Mary Ward, Royal Free Hospital, Pond Street, Hampstead.

## PRESS FUND

6th - 19th May

May Day Greetings from A.P. New York: £ 5; HJALLESE: T.R. 12p; COSHAM: S.G.B. 9p; NEEDHAM, Mass.: Liberty Group per M.T.: £ 12.50; HALIFAX, N.S.: J.H. £ 2.13; LONDON E4: S. & A.G. 50p; LONDON SW6: P.H. 30p; KNOCKHOLT: B.R. £ 6.75; KIRKBY IN ASHFIELD: A.B. 84p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1; J.K.W. 10p; LEEDS: G.H.L. 18p; HAMPTON HILL: D.P.B. 66p; Syndicalist Workers' Federation per D.P. £ 10; LONDON NW3: D.R. £ 2; LONDON SE3: B.S.B. 77p; LONDON R.S. £ 1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1; J.K.W. 10p; BELFAST: P.S. £ 2.20.

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## NOTES

### OF A LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY ANARCHIST

THIS IS the concluding chapter of a book edited by Frans Boenders, *De volle vrijheid: ideologie en geschiedenis van het anarchisme*, which has just been published by Manteau Info (Brussels and The Hague). The other authors and chapters are by Arthur Lehning on Bakunin, Paul Avrich on Kropotkin, John Carroll on Stirner, Frans Boenders on Landauer, A. L. Constance on Nieuwenhuis and Dutch anarchism, and Michael Oukhow on anarchism in Belgium.

¶

MANY OF US would agree with the conclusion of George Orwell that Peter Kropotkin was "one of the most persuasive of anarchist writers" because of his "inventive and pragmatic outlook". Roel van Duyn promoted him to the status of a Wise Kabouter. Let us elevate him still further, and imagine him as an immortal kabouter, rising from his grave at Dimitrov, where they lowered him in 1921 (when the Bolsheviks let the anarchists out of jail for a day to attend his funeral) in order to survey the anarchist in the last quarter of our century. He would certainly have trouble over his exit visa, not only because of his opinions but because of his Jewish wife, but maybe he would have been dumped on the decadent West by turboprop, like Solzhenitsyn.

You can imagine that, as he landed at Schiphol, the newsmen would be clamouring to hear of his impressions of the contemporary world. "Tell us, Prince..." they would begin. "Comrade, if you don't mind," our sage kabouter would reply. "Tell us, Comrade Kropotkin, what do you feel now, about the prospects for anarchism?"

"Well," he might say, "you will appreciate that, having only just been exhumed, before I answer your question, I must go to 262 Herengracht, to acquaint myself with the posthumous history of the anarchist movement."

Emerging from the International Instituut Voor Sociale Geschiedenis, where the archives of anarchism are kept in deep-freeze, you can conclude that he would look older than his 133 years. "So many illusions shattered," he might say, "and so many hopes destroyed." For he would have learned how, in the very year of his death, his comrades in the Machnovist movement in the Ukraine, and in the Kronstadt Commune, had been "shot down like pigeons" in Trotsky's phrase (and of course at Trotsky's orders). He would have learned too, how in the wake of the Russian revolution, the anarchist and syndicalist movements had dwindled away. And he would have followed, with joy diminishing to anguish, of the one great exception, the Spanish anarchists, of their revolution in 1936, of its great constructive achievements, and of its destruction as much at the hands of Stalin's foreign policy as at those of international Fascism. He would have learned as well, of the mass-extirpation campaigns of the Second World War: the ultimate triumph of the nation-state.

He would have learned too, with retrospective calm, of the deaths of those faithful propagandists of the international anarchist movement, who like him had lived in hope, and had seen their hopes gradually eaten away or violently destroyed: Malatesta under house arrest, Berkman in despair, Goldman in lonely exile, Muehsam done to death in a Nazi concentration camp, his own Russian comrades disappearing namelessly in one purge or another. He would have read of the period of anti-colonial struggle in Africa and Asia, and of the crude and sterile nationalism that followed the fight against imperialism. He would have looked at the ideological emptiness of the post-war years, and at the re-awakening of political consciousness that followed the Berlin Rising, the opening of the Soviet camps and the Hungarian revolution in the fifties, and more recently the Czech spring of 1968. He would have seen the intoxicating events in Paris (the city in which he had placed so many hopes) in the same year, and the international students' revolt, as aspects of the same revival of consciousness. But he would have learned too that this revolt had dwindled into Marxist simplicism and dogmatism, or even into romantic authoritarian terrorism, as though a century of revolutionary history had taught us nothing.

He would have looked with hope at those countries, like China or

Cuba, where fundamental revolutionary changes had been achieved. Maybe he would sign on as a Distinguished Foreign Visitor (concealing his identity) for a conducted tour (the only kind he would be likely to get) of either of those countries, the one massive and the other minute, and if he did he would have had the gratification of seeing aspects of the social, economic and educational ideas that he set down in books like *The Conquest of Bread* and *Fields, Factories and Workshops* brought to life as part of the official ideology and practice. But he would see them operating in a context of rigorous thought-control, intolerance of deviation, and hysterical adulation of The Leader. In Cuba, for example, he would find the anarchists in jail (except that his tour would not include a prison visit) and in China he would find the works of his own translator, Pa Chin, available, but with all references to anarchism and anarchists omitted. By contrast, in the English-reading world, he would find that virtually all his own works were in print for the first time in more than half a century, but that he would have to look long and deep to find their influence on society, and even longer and deeper to find the anarchist movement.

"What is the difference between the Mexican Revolution and the Cuban?" he might be asked. "Fifty years," might be the reply. "And between the Russian and the Chinese?" "Forty years" he might say, with the perspective of immortality.

Our exhumed wise kabouter would certainly have been puzzled at the fragmentary and incomplete social changes he saw about him in the West, the "missed revolutions that we have inherited" as his disciple Paul Goodman called them. Could he have made the necessary adjustments to his own vision to offer any useful advice to the anarchists of the last quarter of this century?

¶

He might perhaps have replied to the charge that anarchism is an all-or-nothing utopian vision by calling attention to his own remark in *Modern Science and Anarchism* (French edition 1913) that, "Throughout the history of our civilisation two traditions, two opposed tendencies, have been in conflict: the Roman tradition and the popular tradition, the imperial tradition and the federalist tradition, the authoritarian tradition and the libertarian tradition. Between these two currents, always alive, struggling in humanity - the current of the people and the current of the authorities which thirst for political and religious domination - our choice is made."

As the Australian anarchist George Molnar says, this is a different conception of freedom and of the role of anarchism, from that which postpones all solutions until the advent of a hypothetical "free society". It is a conception of freedom as "one thing along with other causes that can be supported or opposed", while the coming or not coming of the social revolution recedes in importance, since freedom and authority are always struggling. Along this line of thought, he remarks, "we can take freedom as a character, not of societies as a whole but of certain groups, institutions and people's ways of life within any society, and even then not as their exclusive character". Molnar concludes that "the conflict between freedom and authority is the permanent order of the day. Doing politics, advancing freedom as a programme for the entire human race, cannot change this; it can only foster illusions about the way society runs."

This is not the narrowing horizon of anarchism in despair or in retreat. It is an approach that calls for a great deal more subtlety, more knowledge of the world as it is, and more thinking, than the attitude which says, "Only in a free society, where governments have ceased to exist, where exploitation has ceased, will mankind ever, etc. etc." But the very rejection of final solutions brings its own problems: problems of evaluation and interpretation which can easily be evaded if you take the view that because no road leads to utopia, no road leads anywhere. All roads lead somewhere and if you undertake the responsibility of choosing, what guides you in your choice?

The yardstick is the distinction between Kropotkin's two opposing forces, the libertarian and the authoritarian, or as Gierke called them, the principles of free association and of dominion, or what Jayaprakash Narayan calls *lok-niti* and *raj-niti*, people-politics and state-politics. What Martin Buber, in his essay on "Society and the State", calls the social principle and the political principle. He remarks that "The political principle is always stronger in relation to the social principle than the given conditions require. The result is a continuous diminution in

## NOTES OF A LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY ANARCHIST

*(cont. from p. 9)*

social spontaneity. Yet the social vitality of a nation, and its cultural unity and independence as well, depend very largely upon the degree of social spontaneity to be found there. The question has therefore been repeatedly raised as to how social spontaneity can be strengthened by freeing it as much as possible from the pressure of the political principle..."

His is in fact an argument for the choice of anarchist solutions. The one historical example of the large-scale application of anarchist solutions was in the Spanish revolution of 1936, and nobody can read an account of the collectivisation of industry and agriculture in revolutionary Spain (e.g. Gaston Leval: Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, Freedom Press 1975) without realising that their remarkable success (shortlived for military rather than economic or social reasons) was not accidental while it was certainly spontaneous. It was the result of the Spanish workers and peasants having been imbued with an anarchist approach. This was the result of a number of factors: the ancient communalist tradition of Spanish peasants, workers and fishermen; the federalist and Bakuninist inheritance from the 19th century, as well as several generations of working-class struggle in the 20th century.

In the 'advanced' economies of our day the first of these is non-existent, the second is forgotten and the third has been spent on short-term or political objectives. But in the very triumph of political solutions, the assumption that state power, whether in capitalist or communist society, will put everything right, a number of new horizons, none of them anticipated, have suddenly appeared, all of which throw out interesting hopes for the future.

The first of these new horizons is the increasing consciousness among specific under-privileged social groups: Black Liberation, Women's Liberation, Homosexual Liberation, Children's Liberation. The second increase of consciousness in society follows from this: if we claim rights in society (social, not just legal rights) which have previously resulted not from our being human, but from our being White, Male, Heterosexu-

al and Adult, do we not also claim rights which result from our other social and economic characteristics? Do not tenants and squatters have rights over matters concerning housing? Do not patients and hospital porters have rights over matters concerning hospitals? Do not teachers and children have rights concerning education? Do not workers and consumers have rights concerning industry?

The assertion and exercise of these rights, the claims that are made, transforms the nature of arguments about social and economic policy, and about social justice. In the development of Welfare Capitalism in the West, or for that matter in the East, the assumption has been that production is performed by passive workers under the direction of active managers, and that services are provided by bureaucratic functionaries and received by passive consumers. When the people at the bottom of this pyramid of command decide that they have an active part to play, the whole character of society changes. It becomes no longer a matter of how big are the wages paid, or how great are the social benefits offered, or how intensive is the medical treatment, or how comprehensive and long-lasting the education. It becomes something quite different. The question becomes how much are we in control? This is an anarchist question, and it is the basis of a social theory that can only be called anarchism, the theory of a self-regulating society, or rather, of a network of self-regulating societies.

In this light all those sporadic and fragmentary social movements of the last ten years, the demand for worker control in industry, for dweller control of housing, the free-schooling and de-schooling movements, the upsurge of community associations and community newspapers, therapeutic communities and communes, the creative ideas of Provo and the Kabouters and similar groups in other countries, can be seen not as temporary fashions in social protest, nor as the result of boredom with the welfare state, but fundamental assertions of the anarchist demand for a participatory society. They are manifestations, not of social pathology, but of social health.

With so many illusions shattered, they are our hope for an anarchist future.

Colin Ward.

## MORE ON

### "THE REVOLUTIONARY"

PAUL BERMAN's discussion of Hans Koning(sberger)'s political novels (May 15) seems to me to miss the most important point of the earliest one, The Revolutionary (1967). At one level, he may be right to say that this book "is about making a total commitment to act", about the personal development of a single person. But the unnamed revolutionary in the unnamed European republic at the beginning of the twentieth century stands for the whole revolutionary tradition in the whole of Europe at that time, and at another and more significant level the book is about the general development of the left. It is not only a psychological study, but also and above all a political fable. A.'s progression from middle-class radicalism to working-class socialism and beyond is not a private process but is meant to represent something much wider and deeper.

Incidentally -- though it is hardly incidental in an anarchist paper -- Berman misses the point of the final stage in A.'s "transformation". Just as he had left the radicals for the socialists, he leaves the socialists not merely for "a group that wants to act immediately" but for one which is politically as well as practically an advance on the one he has left. A., who had told the radicals he was going to join "the others" in the socialist Association (the Second International) is amused when a younger man called Leonard says he is going to join "the others":

"I used to talk about joining the others."

"Did you?"

"Yes. But you -- the Association -- was the others."

The boy did not understand. "The others," he said, "are the anarchists. The black flag."

A. said nothing.

"They believe in propaganda by the deed," the boy went on, "not by the word. The destructive urge is a creative urge."

"I'm sure you're quoting someone there," A. said,

"someone who was sitting in a nice cosy study as he wrote that."

"Someone who had been chained to a prison wall for ten years," Leonard said.

"Who was it?"

"Oh, never mind. I'll show you what kind of things I'm talking about. Do you want to help in a plan?"

"Yes."

(The writer was of course Bakunin, but Koningsberger -- or Leonard -- has confused the chronology of his life; he was indeed sitting in a cosy study when he wrote his famous slogan in 1842, and it was nine years later that he was chained to a prison wall, for two months rather than ten years.)

The plan in which A. joins Leonard's group is not a "street provocation", as Berman calls it, but a splendid example of propaganda by deed, called "the day of the poor". The anarchist group includes a clerk in the municipal pawnshop, and they take it over for a day and redeem all the pledges free of charge. They are asked who is behind it and who they are:

"The people's behind this," A. answered. "We are the people. We think it's immoral that our town earns a profit, that some bastards are making money from the misery of others...."

Moreover, the propaganda is effective:

There was never a word about the day of the poor in the newspapers, but it made its impression.... A myth was born from that parade of women and children carrying home pots, pans, clocks, shoes, sheets. The free return of a coat or a suit or a blanket, the sudden release of their shoddy possessions from that iron grip of power and legality, assumed in retrospect a vastly exaggerated, miraculous proportion to them, seemed to turn the very laws of nature upside down.

This is precisely the effect of anarchist direct action as experienced so many times during the past century -- the self-transformation not of a single individual but of many individuals, of a community, of society. Berman is wrong to

say that the author's "interest is not in the politics of it"; this is the politics of it, seen from the libertarian position.

Then it is not true that the group "decides that terrorism" is "the externalisation of idealism" and proceeds to plan an assassination, as Berman suggests. The group reacts to the court-martial of strikers whom the radicals will not and the socialists cannot defend by deciding to assassinate the military judge if he condemns them to death. This is not terrorism but revenge; the violence is accepted as necessary, not chosen as desirable. A., hoping that he won't have to throw his bomb, thinks while he waits:

The black flag. Propaganda by the deed. The externalisation of idealism, the only impeccably logical consequence of freedom, and justice.... It isn't me doing this, it's an abstraction of justice. God help me, it's history.

This is a much more subtle interpretation of the situation than Berman suggests, and indeed it is history, for this is how idealistic revolutionaries have turned to violence, not through an existential "readiness" or "commitment" but through a logical process. Moreover, it is not true that "consequences don't count", as Berman suggests. While A. is waiting with his bomb, he recalls the vision he had at the beginning of the book, when he was still with the radicals:

We'll do it, he thought. Contrary to all sense and expectation, we'll succeed, we'll set this town on edge, we will turn it upside down. Give me a fulcrum and

I'll move the world; well, love will be our fulcrum, we'll use people's hearts, we'll dig them out from under the mud and dust and everything they're so afraid of. And suddenly it is going to be different. Why shouldn't it?... But why would things precisely now, precisely in that speck in eternity which is my time, change? You must admit, it's a damned unlikely thing to expect, the odds at a million to one. But electric light was invented in my time. Why not general happiness?

Why not, indeed? These are not "intimate calculations", as Berman thinks, but the social calculations of the revolutionary left for nearly two centuries.

It is true that Koningsberger has simplified his fable, but to bring out the political as well as the individual meaning more clearly. It takes place in a false democracy where elections are rigged and unions are repressed, in a situation which is pre-Leninist but which might be post-Stalinist. The development of A. is meant to take place just after 1900, but it could just as well have taken place sixty years later, when it was written. The vagueness of the background gives it life outside any particular time or place, and the book is at the same time one of the most convincing representations of such events in fiction and one of the most perceptive commentaries on the events which have occurred since it was published nine years ago. Berman is right to give such weight to Koningsberger's political novels, but wrong to put it on the minor aspect of The Revolutionary.

N. W.

#### AROUND THE GALLERIES

## TRULY RURAL

IT IS MUCK SPREADING time for the Town and his frau for from the Royal Academy across the crowded streets of Metropolitan London to the headquarters of the Architectural Association there is a desire and a yearning to once more return to the womb of the great earth mother at least for weekends. This is no idle whim for with the speed of transport the affluent middle class have found that they can enjoy the cultural life of the great cities and then by fast motor road be back within the charm and the beauty of an old world village hidden from brutish gaze by a veil of gently decaying churches and high rising trees. With the mechanisation of the soil the village as the centre of a working community has been destroyed and as the land labourers moved into the industrialised towns so the employing class move into their vacated cottages. Ours is a middle class culture, town based and intellectualised and as such it has romanticised the land and the sea and ignored the brute realities of those who have toiled therein so that we now have a village life consisting of people completely alien to the soil. These trespassers, either by wealth or good intentions, are not Narodniks seeking to educate and to uplift an animal like peasantry but strangers in a strange land who have no desire to work a single square yard of soil, only to inhabit the tarted up cottages of the deserted villages and as the whore follows the drunk so the artist and the building speculator follow the town-tarnished wealth. The yearly Royal Academy Summer Exhibition has to supply three things to make it a successful season, four if one includes the paintings, and these are the painting of the year, the scandal in relation to, and the flaming row among the Academicians, and there is no painting of the year, no scandal and no flaming row among the annointed, only the effort of Peter Blake A.R.A. to recreate the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood with its credo of a "child-like reversion from existing schools to Nature herself" in the newly created Brotherhood of Ruralists.

In complete sincerity one wishes Peter Blake well, for this stocky grey bearded man cast in the image of a mini-Moses school of Michelangelo has over the years brought much pleasure to the town and though his talent is extremely limited he can claim to be one of the trigger men of the Pop Art Movement with his "Self Portrait". Naive, fresh and appealing it was a withdrawal into the world of the children's comics and the teenage magazines with the same bright brash colours and a simple minded subject matter. Now we have the newly created Brotherhood of Ruralists, not seeking the earthy pea-

SUMMER EXHIBITION. . . . . Royal Academy  
THE IDEA OF THE VILLAGE Architectural Association  
PETER UNSWORTH . . . . . Piccadilly Gallery  
JOE TILSON . . . . . Marlborough Gallery  
16th CENTURY ITALIAN. . . . . Colnaghi's  
NICOLA BAYLEY . . . . . Portal Gallery  
PATRICK PROCKTOR.

sants of Millet or the muscle headed corn spreaders of Russian Social Realism but cricket on the church lawn, butterflies skimming across dancing daisies, cows doing whatever cows do in the long green grass of the long hot summers. In effect a desire to place on canvas a world straight off the covers of the Saturday Evening Post, a world that died in August of 1914. Among Peter Blake's group is the artist Graham Ovenden, the one man among them with genuine talent, and his obsession, as a subject of his art, with the female child I have always found a little disturbing and out of key with cricket on the village green, but one wishes the Brotherhood well even if one holds that their allegiance to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood all green hell and sickly smiles is an artistic cul-de-sac. This year's Royal Academy Summer Exhibition has little to commend it for it is as bad or as good as it has ever been. "Sir Richard Sykes, 7th Baronet of Sledmore" by Simon Elwes gives us 'poor Richard' all hunting gear and sneer and as an unconscious piece of class propaganda it is a gift to the Left. But as always the Academy offers some magnificent examples of trompe l'oeil with work by Harrison and Clayton. It is a dead art and the art of illusion in that the artist makes a meticulous copy of his subject matter so that the Town and his frau can cry 'it is so real that one can almost pick it off the canvas' but as a craft it has an honourable lineage dating back 2,000 years or more and while one may regret that these craftsmen have not used their talents beyond their dead subject matter one can pay homage to craftsmanship that many mock but few can equal.

Only one man must have his toes publicly trodden on and that is Carel Weight R.A. for allowing Gallery 11 to be filled with the work of artists selected and invited by Peter Blake A.R.A. One does not fault any of the artists chosen or deny Peter's acceptance of all that free wall space but to give away wall space such as this and to leave the choice of acceptance or rejection to the whim of a single individual is a complete abrogation of what I hold this exhibition to be about. More people submit works than can ever be accepted, and for that they pay a price, and for the in-crowd to begin carving up wall space among themselves and their cultural friends will in the hands of a weaker individual be but the edge of nepotism. The works on display within the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition can be good or bad according to the works submitted and it is not the job of the Selection Committee to go scouring the Town for genius or the fashionable art of the hour. What we expect

TRULY RURAL

(cont from P. 11)

to see is good solid work that reflects the cultural climate of the day and if it is good it is no credit to the Selection Committee and if it is awful then they cannot be blamed for what is submitted, but if they hawk out their patronage then they are evading their joint responsibility. We rightly condemn the Russian State committees for their bureaucratic and insensitive treatment of artists, poets and writers within the Soviet Union but comrades they are there to be condemned and the Royal Academicians must not be allowed to pull a Pontius Pilate by letting Associates fill their wall space for they live well from the trough and they must earn their corn.

A DISNEYLAND ARCADIA

One must relate Peter Blake's Ruralism with the exhibition of the Idea of the Village within the Architectural Association headquarters in Bedford Square. Based on Gillian Darley's book Village of Vision one accepts that these small communities were places of great beauty but always, I declaim, to house a work force and the economic discipline of the day made them viable. It is sad that the political or idealistic villages of the Chartists and others failed and the failure was the human one of people too narrowly committed so that boredom and finally indifference broke up the human community. Quakers such as the Cadburys and the Rowntrees were not only men of simple faith but men with a sharp eye to profit and like the landowners they built their villages as homes for the workers of the field or the factory. With fast easy access motorways an industrialist could plant a factory in some flowered vale and then build his 'vision' village around it but this is 1976 when the land labourers are fighting the economic chain of the tied cottage and labour for a Sunlight, Cadbury or Rowntree factory is no longer static and lifelong, so once more the middle class with flowers in their hair are moving into the labourers' cottages after the garage has been added. Over the years one can bear witness to this takeover as the middle class moved into the fishermens' cottages around the coast or when in the towns the speculators have succeeded in evicting whole streets of working class families prior to gutting their terraced working class houses and reshaping them into expensive and pretty pretty gaytime maisonettes, for always the weaker go to the wall and despite the national press the weaker brethren are the working class, forced out of their villages by mechanism and their streets by process of law. One admires Lord Rothschild's Rushbroom village at Bury St. Edmunds, built in 1965 in the tradition of the old English village, but the flaw in this Disneyland arcadia lies in the property developer's hand-out that he is "trying to re-create the sort of village scene that you can find in a place like Broadway in Worcestershire. . . but. . . we will build out all the disadvantages of previous centuries" and I feel comrades that those disadvantages are the earthy smell of the land and the labourer.

But it is of the earth earthy week for the Town and his plastic wellie frau with Peter Unsworth exhibiting landscapes, within the Piccadilly Gallery, as a green hell peopled by figures moulded out of tinted mist. Good brushwork and a use of overlapping washes give a depth to these landscapes, rural edging into metropolitan. At the rightwing law abiding Lefevre Gallery there is new work by Anthony Caro and a reinforced floor, for these huge slabs of crudely flame-cut iron have the appearance of primitive wooden ploughs, early Reagan, enlarged beyond work need and then cast into iron to decorate the lawns of those ersatz villages of the developers. To these can be added Joe Tilson's huge wooden reliefs at the Marlborough Gallery for I would hold that all this is the work of men with such a limited talent that their only impact can be through size and a phoney bravo. Huge, crude and non-representational, they find a market in a slick and sophisticated society.

There is pleasure in tiptoeing into Colnaghi's to view the 16th century Italian paintings and much pleasure in drinking within the Portal Gallery surrounded by the original illustrations by Nicola Bayley of Richard Adams and Nicola Bayley's book The Tyger Voyage. But if I reject the land via Bond

# BOURGEOIS O

HOUSING: AN ANARCHIST APPROACH, by Colin Ward.  
Freedom Press, 1976, 182pp, paper £1.25

THIS BOOK at first evoked highly mixed feeling in me for several reasons. However, having taken my time in reviewing the book I have had plenty of time to reflect, at first subjectively and then objectively. In fact, I approached the book with open hostility at first and I'm glad to say modified my opinions as I read on.

Why hostility? Because I am one of the products of Planning Education which Colin Ward deals with in his chapter on "The Spectre of Planning Education". Of course, his analysis of planning education is correct. Whilst pretending to prepare for extensive public participation, "planning education" is indeed only concerned with the "education of a technocratic elite". What he failed to pick out was the effect which planning education has on its recipients, supposedly destined to become part of that technocratic elite. Well, imagine four years of full-time education on architecture, sociology, economics, statistics, cybernetics, philosophy, ecology and so on. Of course, this is what education should be for everybody, which was made very obvious by the closed minds of colleagues in general who engaged in highly specialized degree courses. Whilst ignorance may be bliss for the ruling elite (but not for the ignorant) knowledge breeds rebellion. Indeed, the vast majority of my student colleagues kept spouting for the last three years of the course about what an inconsequential activity planning in a local authority actually is. We were by no means starry-eyed hopefuls when we finished the course but merely resigned ourselves to our well-paid nauseous futures. Experience in a planning office in Tyne-side for seven months and my present job in a housing department (where I can observe the planning department from the outside and partly on the inside) merely served to confirm my opinions. My opinion summed up crudely is that planning is a means of enforcing the status quo (which Ward agrees with in the book) but also that the people from planning departments who attend conferences (only the top people are normally allowed to go) are hypocritical inconsequential windbags who act in exactly the opposite manner at work to that in which they claim to act in a conference. Colin Ward quotes several people in later chapters of the book whose work I have had the misfortune to come up against and it is only the laws of libel which prevent me from mentioning their names and the massive difference which exists between what they say at a conference and what they actually do.

This is the reason for my initial hostility. Colin Ward includes in his book several speeches to conferences of the Town and Country Planning Association, of the Housing Centre Trust and so on. I was aware that he attended and spoke at these masturbatory sessions even before I ever saw the book. However, on reflection I realised that if we are to succeed we have to win people over and that means being listened to and received sympathetically in whatever situation an anarchist finds her/himself. This Ward does brilliantly.

He talks to the objects of my hostility in terms which they understand and constantly plugs the cause of freedom in a manner intended to be received sympathetically by his audience composed mainly of egoists and hypocrites. In this manner most elements in the media have become aware that

Street and the Royal Academy there is Patrick Proctor's aquatints for The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. Prissy and pretty, he does for the sea what Peter Blake's Brotherhood of Ruralists did for the land but the land and the sea are eternal and as always the cultural and economic vulgarities of our age will be washed away by the sea and healed by the land.

Arthur Moyses.

# SUBVERSIVE?

Colin Ward is an anarchist and that anarchists are not the stereotyped demented maniacs which the public have been led to believe we are. If Colin Ward, in those occasions when he had the opportunity to speak to an audience not in the least sympathetic to anarchism, had spoken to them in the same terms as some kind of adolescent pseudo-Trotskyist the first occasion would have been the last. Instead he manages to quote Bakunin and Kropotkin to these people and is asked back to speak time and time again. The ultimate result of the ideas he puts forward to his audiences of bureaucrats is to make them irrelevant and useless in their present form. This, to me, "smacks of subversion". If I were a tyrannical dictator the first kind of person I would shoot would be people with subversive ideas who are listened to by the public. Dogmatic theorists with little sense can be ignored (except for incarceration maybe) since not many people would listen and it is only the people who can make a successful revolution.

For anarchists, the chapters which are reprints from War Commentary, Freedom, Anarchy, Undercurrents and Resurgence have much more direct appeal. The first section of the book which is on the theme of "Direct Action" deals with immediate post-war squatting in places all over the country, and with rent strikes. The first article in the book, "Direct Action For Houses", is taken from War Commentary---for Anarchism, 28 July 1945. It describes the activities of the "Ex-Servicemen's Secret Committee" in Brighton who "break into unoccupied houses and instal the homeless families of servicemen" and quotes the movement's secretary speaking at an open-air rally on 9 July 1945, in which he said, "If you see a house, take it and let the law do its damndest". He also talks of the "Great Brady Street Battle" in which "340 Brady Street tenants barricaded their homes and fought the landlords for 21 weeks", and many other instances of confrontation between tenants and homeless and landlords and their protection agency, the state.

This first section ends with a "Contribution to a symposium on Alternative Realities, May 1975", entitled "What have the squatters achieved?" Each section in the book actually spans a great amount of time and shows the huge amount of experience which Colin Ward has had in trying to apply anarchist ideals to the problems of living. In this last article he quotes Ron Bailey on a matter which is a great gaping wound in anarchist thought. That is: just how do we act in a practical everyday situation with regard to authority? Ron Bailey was quoted as saying:

"In the squatters movement I have worked with ordinary non-political people for admittedly small gains, and we achieved a large measure of success. Ordinary people acted and won; and ordinary people manage the houses in which they now live. So when councils offered to hand over houses we accepted these rather than fight over them unnecessarily. And I make no apology for this, for a number of reasons: First it achieved the immediate aim of the squatters, a decent place in which to live, and, secondly, it achieved more -- additional houses were handed over to the squatters. What do those who claim that these deals were a sell-out suggest we should have done?"

This to me is like rubbing salt into our wound. I've heard my bureaucratic superiors say things at work about participation (which they would never dare to say in the conferences Colin Ward attends) which make it clear that they will only allow participation and pretend to take people's views into account after they have already decided what is to be done. In other words, participation will only be allowed if it is advantageous to the local authority's programme. However, in the case of the squatters movement it is clear that Ron Bailey and company made the right choice. It was a valuable victory for squatting and whilst this was not the instant revolution (there was no hot water) it achieved the squatters' immediate objectives. Now that councils are going back to their

hostile stance on squatting is the time for the squatters to be resisting. Needless confrontation is a waste of time and energy.

Whilst much of Colin Ward's work can be looked upon as sweet subversion, there are various elements in it which can be regarded as bourgeois. The most disturbing chapter in this respect is "Self-Help Housing in South America". Whilst he makes many good points about the "un-aided self-help solution: a demonstration of the common people's initiative and the potential of their resources" he does not deal with what is to my mind the important question of city-countryside relationship in the capitalist process. Having taken a keen interest in my native Calabria and the South of Italy in general I am more than aware of the vicious process which causes great waste of resources in the countryside, because potential food producers are drawn into the city (whether this is a local city or the North of Italy or North West Europe) which has nothing for them, and the pressure for accommodation from these "refugees" pushes up the price of accommodation (and hence landowners' profits) at an incredible rate.

Ward points out how the government authorities have often left the squatter settlements alone to look after themselves despite their deliberate flaunting of what the authorities call "private property rights". Indeed, Charles Abrams points out in his book Housing in the modern world how in many of the squatter settlements the squatters have organised their own protection and self-help agencies and that not only do the authorities leave them alone but they dare not interfere. All this is very well, but if, say, the "property rights" of I. T. T. had been interfered with we all know how the squatters would have been brutally dealt with, and the capitalist suction-machine drawing people in from the countryside in great numbers ensures that the pressure of their demand for jobs keeps the whole nation subservient to the I. T. T. s of this world.

I do not in this case believe that Colin Ward was merely being tactical because he heaped the same praise of self-managed slavery in articles which appeared in Anarchy. Indeed, I believe that Colin Ward's long association with the Town and Country Planning Association has probably clouded the issue in his mind. One of the "heroes" of the TCPA is Ebenezer Howard whose well-known work, Garden Cities of To-Morrow led to the mind-killing New Towns. The TCPA has constantly eulogized the New Towns which have done nothing more than capitalize the countryside. Indeed that was the intention of Howard's "Garden Cities". He wanted to bring the "benefits of the city" together with the benefits of the countryside. What it did was to drain London of all its skilled labour as unemployment increased, leaving behind the "unemployable" and all the other associated problems of the poor in inner London and the East End. Whilst the "selected" former inhabitants of inner London enjoy the benefits of a decent house to live in, "decent" schools (as far as schools in their present form can be decent), and so on, the have-nots of London have remained, not surprisingly, with nothing.

To be fair, however, Colin Ward does point out the role that planning has played in our society. He tells us how it has worked to the benefit of the well-off in the status quo and to the disbenefit of the badly-off in the status quo. He uses Jon Gower Davies' description of planning as a "highly regressive form of indirect taxation". Further, his swipes at the professions of architecture and planning are excellent and it is here that he advocates the elimination of the architect as an elite "artist" above the building contractor and building worker. Of course, everyone should work together on a building project (from user, to bricklayer, to architect) and the association must be voluntary.

So, I ask myself the question: "Is this the work of a subversive or a bourgeois?" As far as I'm concerned anyone who advances the cause of anarchism and does that well is a good comrade. Colin Ward does his job well. He uses his situation as best he can and keeps our ideas alive in the most unlikely of places. Anyone who buys the book (and I strongly recommend everyone to do so) should read it very slowly and think about everything in it. It poses so many questions and suggests so many solutions not only for society but for our anarchist ideals as well.

Nino Staffa.

# IS GOD DEAD?

RECENT ISSUES of the Italian anarchist weekly *Umanita Nova* have carried a heated polemic on the question of whether a person can be an anarchist and a Christian or vice versa. The argument was started by a very uncompromising article from a group known as the "Coordinamento Anarchico Cremasco" in which they soundly denounced an organisation known as "Cristiani per Il Socialismo". Whilst the issue of religion is not as heated a point of debate here as it is in Italy (with the oppressive Vatican structure and the various socialistic Catholic groupings which have formed as a result of the leftward swing of politics in Italy) the question is one which I feel is unjustly ignored since religion, in my opinion, is a convenient source for all kinds of oppression, whether physical or mental.

Translated below is an extract from a book by Luigi Fabbri called *Malatesta: L'Uomo e Il Pensiero* ("Malatesta: The man and his thoughts") which appeared in *Umanita Nova* as a contribution to the argument on religion. (N.S.)

## MALATESTA AND RELIGION

ANARCHISM IN ITALY in particular and other predominantly Catholic countries in general, has been heavily influenced by anticlerical and anti-Church ideologies produced by bourgeois radicalism in the last century. This ideology in particular sought to oppose metaphysical religious ideas and their dogmatic presuppositions with naturalistic and materialist arguments which although they were in direct contrast nevertheless were equally metaphysical and dogmatic despite being presented in scientific jargon. Because scientific hypotheses and the opinions of materialist scientists seemed more reasonable and less repugnant to the human intellect than religious metaphysics, these ideas became accepted as proven truths whilst, in fact, they were no more than the opinions, presuppositions and hypotheses with no proven foundation and always capable of being disputed. From this there arose negations and affirmations of the existence or non-existence of God and of the Soul, on the origins of the world and of life, on the spirit or energy and matter, on the evolution of species and many other similar problems of the universe, all of which, despite having taxed the minds of people for centuries still remain unsolved.

Anarchists (or most of them at least) have accepted as definitive solutions and proven truths what were really hypothetical and provisional solutions, and they committed the mistake of linking anarchism so closely to these ideas as if they were an indispensable premise of anarchism. This lumbered anarchism with two principle inconveniences: one rendered unnecessarily more difficult and less accessible the dispersion of propaganda to the masses and the other, through subordinating anarchism to controversial scientific theses committed the error of eventually providing the basis for the enemies of anarchism to cast doubt on and even deny its very foundation and seriousness.

Malatesta was an atheist. "I do not believe in God because his existence seems to me to be inconceivable and absurd," he would say, but he did not give this "opinion" of his (which for him was more probable than the opposing opinions) the standing and value of a new indisputable and equally undemonstrable "creed" as that of the believers in God. Above all he refused to make his opinion as an atheist a basis for the anarchist doctrine. He fought "the absurd attempts to make anarchism dependent on any hypothesis that comes along about the origins and constitution of the universe", and he explained: "I do not believe in God; but not because if God existed the bosses and tyrants would be proven right." (This was also Bakunin's opinion.) "Indeed, if I believed in God, I would demand that tyrants show me the authentic documents with which God had communicated his will to them and given them the right to tyrannize. And it would be much easier to preach equality in the name of God, common father of all men, as it has often been done with great success amongst fanatical populations." One comrade asked Malatesta whether despite his belief in spirituality and in God he could still declare himself an anarchist since in practice he sought everything which the anarchists sought to achieve. Malatesta replied affirmative-

ly. According to Malatesta, the question of God, of spirituality or materialism, etc. "has nothing to do with anarchism. If friend Fiordaliso does not believe in religions whose essence is that of subjugating people to unjustified demands in the name of an unproven Divinity by its self-styled interpreters, but he still wants total liberty for all and is concerned for the welfare of all, and love throughout the world, he can, in my opinion, call himself an anarchist with a clear conscience."

In other words, if anarchism has no need for the hypothesis of God and spirituality, the opposing hypothesis is also not indispensable. That which is indispensable for an anarchist is hatred of the exploitation of man by man, which is a tangible and destructible thing save that men still want it, and to fight against the exploiters and oppressors of the people, not excluding, naturally, the priests of all religions and their churches, who help themselves to keep the masses subjugated, despite the question of whether God exists or not. In fact, there are and have always been many self-professed atheists amongst the exploiters and oppressors of the people and there have even been one or two atheist priests. Some bourgeois atheists have said that "religion is necessary for the people", and one Pope cynically praised the benefits of the "fairy story of Christ" -- just the same there are also believers in God (non-Catholic and not followers of a particular church of course) amongst the anarchists. Needless to say, Malatesta felt the same profound opposition for the enemies of the people regardless of whether or not they were atheists or priest-bashers, whilst he would defend all the oppressed, even if they were believers, and he was always prepared to co-operate in actions with any revolutionary in areas which he considered it right to work in, without bothering whether he/she was a believer or not, or whether or not he/she had any particular opinions on questions of controversial metaphysics.

He was also of the opinion that the error of upholding certain presupposed affirmations on the most abstract of problems, as the basis of anarchism, could lead in practice to certain anarchists to assume authoritarian positions, since whoever believes that he or she is the absolute possessor of truth unconsciously moves towards intolerance. Instead, according to the ethics of anarchism, every truth is always relative and implies also liberty for mistakes -- especially when the error is made in good faith and does not try to impose itself on others with force but expresses itself only, along with everyone else, in propaganda, in discussion and example.

This position of Malatesta's on the more abstract aspects of the religious problem -- of which the churches and religions have been shown to be nothing more than the practical exploitation and the most absurd manifestation of the most absurd superstition -- did not render him any more indulgent towards the same religions and churches and any the less their enemy. "We are the enemies of all religions in general and of the Christian religion in particular, because of the sense of self-renunciation and resignation which they inspire in the hearts of the oppressed; we are the enemies of religion because they are powerful arms for government, which coerce the people into voluntary slavery in making them believe that the evils of this world are willed by God and that they will find their reward in another life, and hence consolidate that state of things which could not survive for long with the help of brutal physical force alone. We are the enemies of religion just as we are the enemies of bourgeois economic theory which substitutes 'natural economic laws' for 'the believers in God', and attempts through another set of absurd arguments and false allegations to do the same thing that religion does: the justification and consolidation of domination and of exploitation by man of other men."

The anarchist struggle against religion does not in fact exclude the appeal to human rationality against all concrete forms of superstition which the churches use to manipulate people's hearts and minds; and the conclusions which have been proven by science to be the most elementary commonsense can provide useful arguments for our needs. But we must not let ourselves be dragged onto an abstract and metaphysical arena where most people would not follow and where with undemonstrable hypotheses we only help to attempt to prove one "creed" instead of another. In practice this is inconclusive and would not strike at our targets because, for instance, there are always those that "from the idea of God embrace equality and brotherhood and others that endorse duty and obedience to superiors and resignation to the situation; just as with the Darwinian hypothesis there are those who see the justification for the bourgeois state and others that see the justification for socialism".

Further it must be borne in mind that "the theoretical propaganda against religion is not welcomed by the poor and ill-informed masses.... There are friends of ours who think that they have obtained a great result if they manage to convince a peasant of the absurdity of some story in the Bible; we are happy, however, and encouraged when we see

a peasant lift up his head and look the bosses in the eye...even if they continue to believe in God".

Bakunin speaking to anticlericals and non-socialists at the Berne Congress for Peace and Freedom in 1868 said, "Whosoever is oppressed economically and cannot eat when hungry or cover himself up when cold, cannot become emancipated intellectually, and whosoever has no consolation in this world needs to create for himself an ideal in heaven. ... Given this we do nothing else than to repeat the basic ABC of socialism and positivism, affirming that the question of the material resources for survival and their development precedes all moral and intellectual questions." Because of this, to whoever would say that "to be an anarchist you must first be an anarchist you must first be an atheist", Malatesta would reply: "Having had a certain amount of experience, we believe that it is useless to discuss dogma with the hungry, but we prefer to help them to see how the priest (the minister of religion) and the defender of those that make them hungry is also an exploiter of the same

ilk." All this does not mean, however, that where theoretical propaganda can usefully be made, especially amongst those elements that are prepared materially and intellectually, that it should not be done. Furthermore, "that which mostly interests us, even from the theoretical standpoint, in the religious and moral questions, is the way of life which religion preaches, and puts forward and when it can, imposes; dogmatism leaves us cold." And even this propaganda to remain libertarian and ethically acceptable, must avoid abstract affirmations which can become a mode of spiritual coercion, but make use above all of moral methods for freedom: to awaken the sense of human dignity, excite doubt, form the habit of reason, develop the sentiment of revolt against all dogma, not only religious but also scientific (or pseudo scientific), political and economic. And it must also be borne in mind that erroneous ideas and inferior sentiments can never be fought successfully with the use of violence, whether small or great, but only by the counterposing of more just ideas and superior sentiments, with the opposing of propaganda with propaganda.

Luigi Fabbrì.

# FILMS

## SPANISH CIVIL WAR

FILM REVIEW, Schwabisch Hall, Germany, April 1976.

BESIDES THE communal cinemas of Berlin and Frankfurt, the "Kino im Schafstall" was the third that organised a film review on the Spanish Civil War. This well organized and well publicised review was attended by about eighty participants. Nearly half of them were anarchists from all over Germany.

A wide film programme was shown.

The showing started with the Russian newsreel by Roman Karmen. It showed vivid scenes from the Spanish Civil War.

In the course of the review more films on the same topic were shown; for example the Swiss film "Swiss in the Spanish Civil War". This excellent film was enthusiastically welcomed because it informed of the International Brigades (IB), the anarchist movement, the Stalinist repression, to count only a few aspects.

"Spanish Earth" by Hemingway and Ivens showed life behind the front and in the villages. The Bunuel film, "Las Hurdes", characterized one of the poorest regions of Spain at that time. But this is still valid nowadays. The fascist newsreel of the Third Reich glorified the heroic deeds of German soldiers. The German Condor Legion had extinguished every germ of life in the small town of Guernica. The film programme ended with the film "Spain" by Peter Nestler, which contained many interviews with Scandinavian fighters of the IB. The films should be a basis for political discussions.

\*

Two eyewitnesses of the Spanish Civil War spoke on this very interesting topic. One of them, B. Lindner, a former fighter in the IB, dealt with "History and backgrounds of the Spanish Civil War". He interpreted the Civil War as the fight of the Spanish bourgeois democracy against international fascism. But he suppressed the

Social Revolution. This gap Augustin Souchy (who had been in Spain 1936-39) tried to fill. He spoke on "Social Revolution in Spain". Souchy made it clear that the Social Revolution had been carried out mainly by anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists. And he made known many examples of successful collectivisation.

In the following discussion it came to a split between the two eyewitnesses and the audience, on the events of May 1937 in Barcelona. The Stalinist Lindner even withhold ( ? (sic) his theory of a fascist counterrevolution.

"Commies" questioned the Spanish collectives. They referred to information out of a book written by B. Frei, The anarchist utopia. Souchy retorted that Stalin resorted to coercive collectivisation in Russia while he tried to destroy the Spanish collectives. He stated that he knew of no example of diminished production as a result of the collectivisations because the collectives had been built up on the ground of free agreement and mutual aid.

Thus this mean effort of the commies to depreciate the anarchists failed. Then a future political scientist described the "Spanish opposition after Franco's death". But he left the CNT out of account because it was not relevant for him. For this reason it came to a new controversy between some participants and the speaker.

The end of the film review had been one of the most interesting parts of the meeting, besides Souchy's first-hand account of the Social Revolution. Souchy described the CNT and its development and also commented on the moot points of CNT policy such as the election and power sharing. He made it clear that the anarchists only voted because they wanted to get free 20,000 imprisoned anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists who had been in jail since the Asturias rising in 1934. The People's Front had promised to set the prisoners free if they won the election. Even D8rruti said: 'We voted for the prisoners and not for the government!'

Concerning the power sharing Souchy stated that the anarchists only shared in power because they had no weapons. This was the only reason.

Finally, a Berlin political scientist

spoke on the role of the Spanish Communists and Stalin's policy. He mentioned the Moscow trials and the dependence of the PCE (Spanish Communist Party) on Moscow. He put forward that the PCE had been a reservoir of the Spanish middle class, of the upper and lower bourgeoisie, that the PCE interceded from the beginning for the restoring of republican order, the defence of private ownership and the safeguarding of legality. Souchy repeated that Stalin's policy had been to obtain political power for the commies by sending weapons. He made clear that the Stalinist intention had been to liquidate the Social Revolution and to work for a dictatorship of the Spanish Communists. Every cartridge had been paid for with Spanish gold still lying in Odessa today.

During the whole meeting the role of the commies had been to prove that there had been no Social Revolution in Spain and to cover Stalin's policy. They made not a single effort to understand the topic but tried to sell their ideology. Notwithstanding, this film review had been very successful for us anarchists.

Paul.

Schwabisch Hall

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PAUL GOODMAN (1911-1972) is widely acknowledged as a major influence, not only on the American "New Left" in its early days, but as one of America's liveliest and most prolific social critics.

He was not only an inspiration to the radical movement, especially of the 60s, but he also made critical contributions to vastly different fields of social concern - education, city planning, psychotherapy, and so on. Always approaching his work from a consistently libertarian decentralist standpoint, he had still another career as a poet, playwright and novelist.

One also finds tantalising echoes of Whitman and Thoreau in much of his writing. Recently, "New Letters", a journal of the University of Missouri-Kansas City has devoted a double issue to Goodman and his work; in addition to much previously unpublished writings of Goodman himself, mainly of a literary rather than social nature, though with Goodman the dividing lines are never that clear (and we too should leave them hazy), there are articles on Goodman and various aspects of his work by our good friend Colin Ward, also Meyer Liber, Geoffrey Gardner, Michael True and Tom Nicely. This fascinating compendium is available, to special order only, at approximately £ 2.95 (+42p post).

This leads nicely to a general rundown of those of Paul Goodman's books currently available in this country:- "Adam and his Works; The Collected Stories of Paul Goodman", £ 1 (+21p post); two volumes of poetry, "Hawkweed"

Anarchist Journals in

## NEW YORK

THE SPRING OF 1976 marks the simultaneous debut of three new anarchist periodicals in New York City, one of them Anarchist-Individualist, one Anarcho-Syndicalist, and one "Libertarian Socialist."

The title of the individualist journal, The Storm, is printed in the same style as the masthead of Benjamin Tucker's Liberty and is borrowed from Der Sturm, a collection of poems by John Henry Mackay, the most famous of which, "Anarchy", is reproduced on page one in a finely lettered script ("I am an anarchist! Wherfor I will / Not rule, and also ruled I will not be!"). Subtitled "A Journal for Free Spirits," The Storm! (the first issue of which, dated April 1, 1976, contains twelve pages) is edited and published by Mark A. Sullivan of 227 Columbus Avenue, Apartment 2E, New York, NY10023. It consists of articles by Lysander Spooner and Laurance Labadie as well as by the editor. A sample copy will be sent free of charge, though financial contributions will be welcome.

The syndicalist paper, six pages in tabloid format, is titled Against the Grain ("Dedicated to Workers' Ownership and Control of Society") and Number 1 appeared on the First of May. It is directed towards rank-and-file workers in the New York area and includes articles on labour and housing as well as quotations from Rudolf Rocker and Emma Goldman. Against the Grain is published at the Free Association, 5 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10010.

The third publication, also six pages long, is a mimeographed "Libertarian Socialist Bulletin" called The Federation. The first issue, which bears no date but appeared in April 1976, includes an editorial, Anarcho-Feminist Notes, labour news, bibliographical data, and a list of available literature. Inquiries should be addressed to Tony Pestalozzi, 164-38 76th Avenue, Flushing, NY 11366.

Correspondent.

## BOOKSHOP NOTES

£ 0.90 (14p post) and "Homespun of Oatmeal Gray" £ 1 (14p post); his classic essay on city planning - written together with his brother, Percival Goodman - "Communitas: Means of Livelihood and Ways of Life" £ 1 (16p post), and another which is equally often associated with his name in the public mind, "Growing up Absurd, The Problems of Youth in the Organized Society" £ 1 (16p post).

Also available are a double volume, "People or Personnel" (Goodman on decentralisation) & "Like a Conquered Province: The moral ambiguity of America" £ 1 (21p post). This double volume also includes seven additional essays, "Three letters to decision-makers," "What is American?" "The Education Industries" "A.J. Muste and People in Power" "We won't go!" "Rural Life: 1984" and "A Causerie at the Military-Industrial".

Lastly a collection of essays on a variety of topics, "Utopian Essays and Practical Proposals" £ 1 (19p post) and "New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative" £ 1 (16p post). We should also not leave Goodman without mentioning an article he wrote which was originally published jointly by Freedom and Peace News, and has since been published in pamphlet form by Housman's, Goodman's "Message to the Military Industrial Complex" £ 0.10 (7p post).

To end with, a miscellany of new titles: "The Publish-it-yourself Handbook", edited by Bill Henderson, £ 2.50 (42p post) is an altogether fascinating anthology culled from the writings of people who, for one reason or another, have spurned - or been spurned by - commercial publishers and decided to go it alone, including articles by Anais Nin, Richard Kostelanetz - whose "Assembling" magazine is a fascinating idea skilfully realised - Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Alan Swallow of Swallow Press, Len Fulton of Dustbooks and many others, together with articles on the more recent flowering of the Little Press movement as reflected in the American Conference of Small Magazine/Press Editors and Publishers (COSMEP) and the UK's Association of Little Presses.

"Families of Eden: Communes and the New Anarchism" by Judson Jerome, is one man's reasons and analyses of how and why he retired to a rural commune, together with his observations on the many libertarian communes springing up in the U.S. over the last decade or so; which he spent some time studying, visiting & living with. This is not an obituary for hippiedom but a carefully researched account of the political and social role that rural communes are playing in the U.S. today. £ 2.50 (29p post).

Tony Bunyan's "History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain", £ 4.95 (42p post) has made itself commendably unpopular in certain circles in its very short life, which is perhaps some sort of recommendation. Anyone who wants to know about the historical background to, and present role and activities of, the Special Branch, MI5 and the rest of their ilk, should read this book.

William Fishman's scholarly and fascinating account of "East End Jewish Radicals 1875 - 1914", is now available in paperback, and although not cheap, it is at least cheaper than it was. There is so little available on this important area, that this new edition is doubly welcome. £ 3.95 (42p post).

"Heroic Mexico: The Narrative History of a Twentieth Century Revolution" - William Weber Johnson £ 2.50 (42p post) is probably, together with Womack's "Zapata and the Mexican Revolution" (also available from Freedom Bookshop at £ 1.25 + 24p post) the most scholarly, sympathetic and undogmatic history of the Mexican revolutionary movements available at the present time in English. It is a large work (463 pages) and highly detailed, but very readable for all that, and paints a fascinating canvas.

In the absence of a committedly anarchist analysis and history of the Mexican revolution, including not only the important role of the Zapatistas, but also of Ricardo Flores Magon, this book and the Womack, at least partially, fill a lamentable gap.

A couple of little 'uns to continue with, the "Defendants' Handbook" £ 0.10 (9p post) seems a useful basic guide as to what to do - and not to do - if nicked. I say "seems" advisedly, as I'm not a lawyer (sic) and one really needs to be, to judge the value of pamphlets like these adequately; but if you can't afford the NCCL Guide, or Moriarty or Brownlee's "Public Order", then this may come in handy. "Anarchism Lancastrium" no.8 (£ 0.08 + 9p post) is what one might call "a totally new concept in magazine design" - or a sort of surrealist anarchic tool as well as a mag including stickers, and a pen ("mightier than the sword?") slogans, hints, agitators for the use of - quite a bargain really.

Lastly we have in stock again Paul Eltzbacher's classic work, "Anarchism: Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy" £ 4.75 (42p post), the seven being William Godwin, Proudhon, Max Stirner, Michael Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin, Benjamin Tucker and Leo Tolstoy. Eltzbacher was not an anarchist but a professor of law, of all things, but this book is one of the finest studies of anarchism ever penned. It was originally published in English by Tucker himself in 1908, and later by Freedom Press and the Libertarian Book Club, in a joint edition, in 1960. It is this later edition which forms the basis of this current edition.

"Anarchism" by Eltzbacher is available to bookshops from Freedom Press at full trade terms.

J.H.

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