

FREEDOM

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TWELVE PENCE

THE NAME OF THE GAME

THIS LAST week has seen the Pound take another hammering on the foreign exchange markets. Even Chancellor Mr. Healey's message of "don't panic" had no effect as bankers and other holders of sterling rushed to sell for safer currencies.

For the 'ordinary' person who has only his or her labour to sell, this state of affairs is very bewildering. Indeed, most of the time this is the sort of reaction TV interviewers give when they put questions to a foreign banker or an economist. It's all a matter of confidence, say the 'experts'. No one abroad has any faith in the British economy and its ability to pay its way. Well, this has even been true of our own investors who have put their money elsewhere rather than 'gamble' it at home. But the name of the game is profit and these people are not the sort to take chances.

The government for its part must be wondering just what else it can do to satisfy the bankers of our trading partners. One item, and the Tories never let us forget it, is more cuts in public expenditure. The Tories, those guardians of the profit motive and so-called free enterprise, are really capitalist backwoodsmen with their ideals of paying for services straight from the pocket. In their speeches about our ability to pay, they talk of the amount of public money that will be used to bring the aircraft and shipbuilding industries under public ownership. However, when they were in power these industries received millions of pounds to prop them up under private ownership. It is this hypocrisy we have suffered under since the beginnings of the capitalist system, where money rules above all else. However, successive Labour governments have done nothing to change this. Far from changing things, they have, like social democrats elsewhere, made

it possibly by their reforms for the profit motive to survive. In all industrialised countries they have trade union organisations which conform to the wishes of their political masters. This country is no exception, for since the TUC made the 4½% agreement with the government, we have witnessed a tremendous amount of activity and energy used to sell it to the rank and file of the unions. So much so that Mr. Murray, the TUC general secretary, had to go into hospital for observation following complaints of chest pains. Indeed, cynics would say, and they would be right, that the trade union leaders work harder at selling their members wage restrictions than they do when they are trying to force increases from the employers.

It is this type of restriction that the profit motive needs. The system wants all the advantages, while the working class are expected to accept both wage restrictions and cuts in public expenditure. Obviously a Labour government has a far better chance of

convincing the trade unions to accept wage limits. Trade union leaders speaking at their conferences have been quick to point out that the only alternative to the 4½% is a return of Tory government and all that implies.

As in all aspects of our lives, we have no control over how the economy is run. It is not excessive wage claims that has brought about the run on the Pound. But that devaluation will affect the cost of living over the next period of the social contract while wages are limited to 4½%.

The trade union leadership are part and parcel of the profit system of exploitation. They, along with political cronies in the government, lead the working class into a blind alley of yearly pay increases but never attack the system itself. No matter how strong or weak the Pound is, the working class has to pay every day of our lives. Our exploitation is daily and covers all aspects of our lives. The government now boasts that it has a partnership with the TUC and the Prime Minister goes as far as to claim it with the workers. But there can be no partnership between masters and slaves.

However, until workers begin to question their position in the present system we will remain wage slaves. But if workers are of the opinion that they can run their own industries for the community, then the action necessary to attain this will end the present capitalist system.

P. T.

PARLIAMENT

DUM & DEE

RECENT EVENTS have brought to mind that deeply philosophical, startlingly logical and significantly political work Through the Looking Glass which together with its predecessor Alice in Wonderland is a highly relevant guide to the issues of the day.

In Alice's peregrinations she comes across twins Tweedledee and Tweedledum who 'agreed to have a battle' because one had spoiled the other's 'nice new rattle'; a monstrous crow flies down and they are so frightened that 'they quite forgot their quarrel'.

There is a deep psychological significance in that the current quarrel between the Dees and Dums of our political life (the Labour Party and the Conservatives) concerns 'pairing', that is, the adroit balancing of the parliamentary voting books by Members from opposite sides of the House both agreeing to be away at the same time so as not to spoil the voting equilibrium. The ultimate logic of this is that only sufficient members of one side to represent the actual majority should attend at any time; unfortunate that those cads of Scottish, Welsh, Irish Nats and those

super-cads the Liberals have made this unworkable but judging by Parliamentary absenteeism, they do both try!

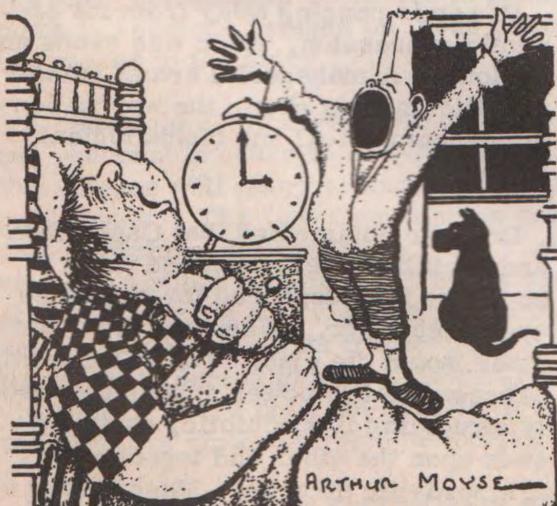
The rattle was spoiled by alleged cheating on the part of a Labour whip (that masochistic essential to the party system) who noting the absence of an unpaired minister rallied to the aid of the party - as whips should not - and voted to save the Labour party's narrow majority in a 'snap' vote against the steps leading to the nationalization of shipyards.

This whole manoeuvre (and the singing of 'The Red Flag') so incensed Mr. Michael Heseltine, a Tory 'whizz kid', that he lifted and swung the mace menacingly. This bauble has a peculiar magical property; once it has been removed the parliamentary session is at an end. This was not Mr. Heseltine's intention but he is deeply concerned and possibly involved (emotionally of course) in shipping. It was he, of course, as a minister who dealt the coup-de-grace to the hover-train whilst preserving the know-how for private enterprise.

Mr. Heseltine's performance highlights the dual nature of Dee and Dum; each equally demonstrative in defence of their particular rattle: in this case private enterprise versus state ownership.

(Cont. on P. 2)

The £ in crisis



"FOR GOD'S SAKE DAD DON'T PANIC"

Each of them has much to lose if the battle grows too bloody. The abandonment of officially-agreed 'pairing' will menace Tory and Labour business interest since each M.P. will be required to attend the House, if not full time, to be available when the whips flick. At the same time the public business of all those nice little delegations, conferences, fact-finding trips will be ruled out (unless Tories can be included in the excursions).

For our members of Parliament although, logically, employed by the voters, are classified as 'self-employed' and work at Parliament (or play) part-time.

Consequently almost every member of Parliament makes money additionally in other ways. 'Profit' no longer being a dirty word many Labour party members are thriving businessmen, lawyers, journalists, etc. earning large sums additional to their salaries as M.P.s or ministers -- even Her Majesty's Opposition is well-paid for its agreement to battle.

Labour M.P.s and ministers from John Lewis, Lord Robens, Ian Mikardo, John Diamond, Robert Maxwell, G. R. Mitchison, R. R. Stokes, C. R. Strauss, Francis Noel-Baker, Sir Stafford Cripps, Hilary Marquand, John Parker, Charles Royle... not to mention the unlucky Mr. Stonehouse whose sad tale is even now unfolding in the courts, were all businessmen who could reconcile the Labour party's assumed loyalty to Socialism (whatever that is) with a devotion to capitalist ways of making a living.

FLYING THE FLAG

I DO NOT like it. I will even go so far as to say that I hate it and everything it stands for. I am neither competent nor interested enough to comment on the technical wizardry involved in the construction of Concorde, nor have I read the detailed cases for and against. In fact my qualifications for speaking on the matter are merely those of a human being, a tax payer, a disliker of machines, a distruster of government and experts, and a victim of aircraft noise.

I plead guilty to the charge of failing to be enraptured by its amazing technology. Its contribution towards the betterment of mankind escapes me. The promises of financial reward do not inspire me. Its aesthetic appeal is lost on me. The significance of its benefits in the furtherance of human happiness I am unable to grasp. Even the spectacle of Sir Ralph Richardson extolling its virtues on television has failed to convince me of its worth.

In my ignorance of things economic, I keep thinking how all those millions of pounds -- and all that brain and labour power -- could have been spent on socially-useful, but not tangibly profitable, things like homes, hospitals, child-welfare, old age pensions, etc.

Being naive, I wonder why it is considered an achievement to build a machine capable of getting Dr. Kissinger and Sir Donald Stokes across the Atlantic in 3 hours instead of 6.

And of course, failing to look at the prob-

DUM & DEE

[Cont from P.1]

Happily, under Socialist Nationalization another avenue has opened up for the bright boys who start on the road to Socialism. They are awarded for loyal services to the Party by jobs on the nationalized boards: an echo of the American political 'spoils system'. A swift examination of Sir Harold Wilson's final honours list reveals the kind of company he was keeping.

* * *

Dum and Dee are thuswise enabled to resemble each other and maintain their manoeuvres and their solidarity. To quote the proverbial French cynic, "There is more in common between two deputies one of whom is a Communist than there is between two Communists one of whom is a deputy."

In latter years there has grown up, along with the profession of public relations, the lobbyist, a member who is in Parliament not to represent and act for his constituents exclusively but to represent and act for vested interests whether they be consumers, producers (including unions), manufacturers, traders, professions whether they be Institute of Management, Police Federation, Meat-Traders Associations, Magistrates Association, World Governmentalists, Rugby Union or Royal Aeronautical Association. For these functions the M.P.s receive a fee and any expen-

lem 'objectively', I ask myself whether the torment and misery of more a aircraft noise (who cares if it's no louder than a 707 -- isn't that bad enough?) for millions of people isn't too high a price to pay for this pile of wonderful junk. (How many executives and designers of the airlines are forced to live under the flight-paths of their creations?)

I even come across a defence of the thing -- sounding like an apology -- suggesting that though its original idea and execution may be misconstrued as the most gigantic cock-up in the history of aviation, the secondary 'spin-offs' alone will justify its being built. (Such reasoning, I thought, would lead us to believe that the Second World War was a good thing because it led to the development of radar.)

Over all this, however, hangs the all-important question: what was the bloody point in the first place? Partly, of course and as usual, for profit, but not solely that. The reasons are also for the satisfaction of an idiotic idealism, and to fulfil an empty notion of 'progress'; for the satisfaction of that type of ego which demands the glory of the grandiose design; for the satisfaction of a stupid materialism devoid of values; and last but not least for the satisfaction of a phoney patriotism -- the same phoney patriotism which will demand our applause, the waving of flags and our cheers when 'we' develop 'our own' next new weapon of mass destruction, because we should be proud that it's British!

The phoney patriotism that really will be 'the last refuge of the scoundrel'.

B.P.B.

ses incurred.

These lobbyist appointments cut across party lines, some interest-groups take the precaution of having two lobbyists, one on each side of the House. The Police Federation wisely switches its representative with each change of government -- to an Opposition member.

Obviously the seeming majority lobbyist is the trade union members who defend the rights of the unions. In a similar way the next largest group -- or possibly greater -- is that of the capitalist (both Labour and Tory). The consumer, as such, is pitifully unrepresented. Both sides are concerned with the exercise of power and any battles they may have are mock battles and both, like Dum and Dee, are well protected against injury.

When real conflicts show up Dum and Dee gang up together. Their excuse is Patriotism. When the pound is menaced they insist that national unity is required (in 1931 it was accomplished, a National Government was formed). In wars it is rarely that an effective opposition functions (even the Labour opposition to Suez stopped short of direct action), in 1914-18 and 1939-45 a Coalition Government functioned. Dum and Dee agreed that some-one should have a battle. The joint patriotism of Dee and Dum is also aroused by threats to Democracy and Law and Order -- unfortunately for Unity there is a distressing tendency to think of the others as being the enemies of Democracy, L and O but they both recognise also that there are extremists of both sides who are the real enemy.

Nevertheless the real fear that inhibits Dee and Dum from having a real bash at each other is the fear of responsibility. If they did succeed in defeating the government in power they would have to solve the problem themselves of the position of Britain trying to keep up appearances in a changed and changing world. Basically the problem is insoluble even with quasi-Socialist remedies which the Tories would be forced to adopt. Dum would rather Dee kept on for a while.

"We'll fight till six and then have dinner," says Carroll quoting Tweedledum and Tweedledee.

This Thatcher-Callaghan battle will be a mock one. They will eventually dine together.

Power is passing away from its economic expression, which was crude and obvious. A managerial era of subtler conditioning has shown the way to power by sociological and technological power.

Drucker commented that Capitalism and Socialism were Siamese twins in so far as they depended for existence upon each other. When one died, the other would die also. The relationship between the two power groups supposedly struggling is symbiotic, each depends upon the other and together they are parasitic upon us. Must it ever be so?

Jack Robinson.

GAYS IN THE U.S.S.R.

EMMA GOLDMAN in her autobiography Living My Life refers to her speaking tours around America and when referring to her tour in 1915 writes:

Censorship came from some of my own comrades because I was treating such "unnatural" themes as homosexuality. Anarchism was already enough misunderstood and anarchists considered depraved; it was inadvisable to add to the misconceptions by taking up perverted sex-forms, they argued. Believing in freedom of opinion, even if it went against me, I minded the censors in my own ranks as little as I did those in the enemy's camp.

Her talks on homosexuality caused many men and women to go and talk to her after the lecture and confide to her their anguish and their isolation. "Their pitiful stories made the social ostracism of the invert seem more dreadful than I had ever realized before. To me anarchism was not a mere theory for a distant future; it was a living influence to free us from inhibitions, internal no less than external, and from the destructive barriers that separate man from man."

The Communist Party in this country has, ever since it became fashionable, been involved with the feminist movement (more through pressure from its female membership than through genuine concern) and would never dream of condemning the gay liberation movement. Most Communist Party members, however, will point to the Soviet Union as the model of how society should be administered, exalting over its highly commendable free medicine, free education and so forth. It is interesting to note, therefore, that the Soviet Union's treatment of gays is equally commendable. Indeed the amount of free medicine given to sufferers of gayness regardless of whether the victim wants the treatment is incredibly impressive. In countries such as Italy where the Communist Party is near to electoral success "their problem" of the gay movement is quietly ignored. The fifth congress of FUORI (The United Italian Homosexual Revolutionary Front) was reported in Italy's anarchist press and by the press influenced by the Radical Party whilst the Socialists and Communists ignored completely a congress of Italy's only substantial homosexual organisation. Their lies about how they have workers' interests at heart must now be modified to include "as long as they are not gay workers".

A recent issue of the Italian political weekly magazine L'Espresso carried an account of a report by A.M. Svjadosc, director of the sexual pathology laboratory of Leningrad, entitled "Sexual pathology of female character". The report gave a picture, documented by case studies of the most frequent

cases of sexual deviancy and of the most frequently adopted therapy. A few extracts from the report help us to see just how progressive the USSR's medical community's views are on homosexuality.

Homosexuality is a serious disease. Several homosexuals suffer greatly from their state [sic]. They feel unhappy and they become emotionally unstable (about 25% attempt suicide and 3% succeed). But the majority of these patients (according to our information 60%) do not consider their state to be against nature and have no wish to cure themselves. A cure treating the causes of the various forms of inborn homosexuality has not yet been found... Progress in the elaboration of biochemical methods to determine the hormones present in foetal fluid has advanced greatly: this leads us to hope that in the following couple of decades it will become possible to diagnose and eliminate hormonal alterations in the foetus, thus preventing and removing the cause of this form of pathology. . .

. . . The successes in biochemistry, neurophysiology and neurosurgery allow us to seek the most suitable methods of injecting correct sexual tendencies into the cerebral system not only in the foetus but also in the mature man.

Homosexuality with situational causes whose origins are tied in with concrete pathologically conditioned reflexes are considered curable from the very start.

Castration as a cure for homosexuality cannot be allowed, although it has been recommended by several experts. It provokes serious endocrinal alterations and does not change the direction of the sexual impulse, or it eliminates the sexual impulse completely without arriving at a state of normality. The same applies to the use of electrical shock techniques: its efficiency in the cure of homosexuality has not been proven. The scientist Owensby claims to have cured six patients with shock techniques, whereas Thompson denies that they have any therapeutic value. Our observations on a great quantity of mentally-ill patients treated with shock techniques have shown us that this method does not influence the direction of the sexual impulse.

The two scientists Ivanov and Goland have developed a system for the re-education of the personality of male homosexuals. The cure lasts between one and a half and two years. The first stage creates a "psycho-sexual vacuum": a relationship of indifference is created for persons of the same sex. . .

Great importance is given to self-convincing sessions just before sleep because it is in these moments that homosexual tendencies are usually activated. The patient chooses the form of self-convincing he prefers.

The second stage is dedicated to awakening the patient's aesthetic sensibilities towards woman. The technique is simple: the patient is firstly shown photographs and drawings of beautiful female faces and then of naked bodies... The reverse happens in cases of female homosexuality. Hypnotism sessions are used to convince the patient to have relationships with the opposite sex; to this end special programmes have been developed to teach the patient how to frequent female company. . . . The last stage of the cure has the purpose of developing the patient's erotic relationships with women... This therapy has worked with four male homosexuals out of every six. The same method has been applied to the cure of female homosexuality.

The report goes on to describe techniques using drugs whereby the victim is made to vomit in homosexual situations so as to associate homosexuality with disgust. Anyone who saw the film Clockwork Orange can remember what a horrifying vision of the so-called future the "hero's" cure of violent tendencies created. As far as homosexuals are concerned in the Soviet Union there is no future to wait for as regards this kind of torture since many of them are experiencing the same thing in sexual pathology laboratories.

The sections dealing with the treatment of lesbians in more specific detail teach us that "normality" (we would say subservience) has the same function in the Soviet Union as it does in the "free" West. Good revolutionary doctors in the Soviet Union firstly drug their female victims so as to remove their drive to do anything including any sexual activity so as to generate complete indifference to partners of the same sex. Then the patient is made to feel revulsion for lesbian relationships through drugs to make her vomit after a particular period of time. In other words, the drug is administered at a certain time due to take effect in, say, one hour, and in an hour's time the lesbian is presented with her lesbian partner. Then the victim is made to concentrate on the joys of family life and male company, etc., etc. . . .

Wilhelm Reich, writing in 1936 in his book The Sexual Revolution, said:

In June, 1934, the law punishing homosexuality was reintroduced in the Soviet Union, and rumours about the persecution of homosexuals became increasingly frequent. In their

[Cont on P.4]

fight against the reactionary homosexuality law, Austrian and German sex reformers had always pointed to the progressive Soviet Union which had abolished the punishment of homosexuality.

Not only does this latest report show that these rumours had a foundation in reality but that the Soviet Union has also made "great advances" (as the report said) in the field of therapeutic torture.

Reich offers several explanations for why the inhibition of sexuality (in all forms) in the Soviet Union has taken place:

The first reason for the inhibition of the sexual revolution, then, was the fact that there was no theory of the sexual revolution.

A second reason was the fact that all those who should have guided this spontaneous revolution were caught in old concepts and formalisms. To mention only a few of these erroneous concepts: The idea that being sexual is incompatible with being social, the assumption of an antithesis of sexuality and sociality. Further, the idea that sexuality meant a diversion from the class struggle... Another erroneous concept was the alleged incompatibility of sexuality and

culture, their absolute antithesis. Furthermore, the whole problem of the sexual process and of sexual gratification was obscured by talking about "family" instead of "sexuality". Even a superficial glance at the history of sexual reforms would have shown that the patriarchal family is by no means an institution for the protection of sexual gratification. It is, on the contrary, at variance with it. It is essentially an economic institution and creates a conflict between economic and sexual needs.

Unlike Emma Goldman, however, who wanted to "free us from inhibitions, internal no less than external", Reich had reservations about homosexuality since he still retained the chauvinistic concept of "natural love life".

Anarchists have always upheld the idea of freedom and inherent in these ideas are most of the demands made by the now publicly tolerated feminist movement and the gay movement. However, anarchists were speaking against the persecution of homosexuals, for instance, long before it was fashionable to do so, in turn suffered opposition for this both from outside and inside the anarchist movement, as Emma Goldman's biography testifies. Because she preached freedom the reaction against her was hard and that included opposition from the feminist movement of the day who refused to accept the

notion that part of the problem was that women themselves were rearing male chauvinist pigs and that by liberating themselves they would thus liberate the hated male as well. "You are a man's woman," they said, "not one of us!"

Anarchists also fought alongside Marxists for a certain period of time and indeed will carry on doing so where the particular struggle in question is a liberating one. However, where the authoritarian Marxists suppress all freedom and spontaneity the anarchists must become their fierce opponents. The treatment given to homosexuals in the Soviet Union has been one of persecution from 1934 onwards when homosexuality was again put in the same category as other "social crimes": banditism, counterrevolutionary activities, sabotage, espionage, etc. This "medical" report by Svjadosc is a confirmation that not only has the persecution taken new forms under the pretext of treating a patient but that the concepts and treatment involved have increased both in cruelty and stupidity. In any society nowadays you are "normal" or "behave naturally" if your sexual activities are conducive to the productive system of bureaucracy, industry or capitalism. In a free society adjectives such as "normal" and "natural" will be meaningless when applied to sexuality. Only anarchists have constantly struggled for a free society.

Francesco.

LAND NOTES

SOME WEEKS AGO, Tony Benn, just demoted from his job as Secretary for Industry, celebrated the death of three Leveller soldiers who 325 years ago rebelled against another revolutionary Cromwell, on the question of the continuation of privilege. Benn suggested that their ideas and values relate to the modern British democratic movement. I quote the seventh point of his speech in Barford church:

"...the Levellers, and still more the Diggers, would add a new and moral dimension to the movement for conserving the earth's limited resources by reminding man of his duty to his fellow citizens and his descendants, not to squander the earth's 'Common Treasury' because it is God's gift to each generation in turn, a powerful argument for common ownership and a classless society."

However, apart from his lip service to these concepts, I can see no real indication that social democracy will do other than encourage the present imbalance of agriculture and industry, and further add to the power of the new privileged professions, managers and bureaucrats.

There appears to be no intention of drastically altering the financial structure of society based on the wages system and the artificial values that stem from it. Increasing state power is as irrelevant to human problems as the individual capitalism that it is willy-nilly replacing.

For politics is not, as Mr Benn suggests, about education; it is about power and privilege (a different sort of privilege perhaps) and more

dangerous today than when those rebels of 325 years ago rebelled against another non-revolution. For the Bennis, Callaghans and Thatchers of today are similar to the Cromwells of yesterday in that people can be led into their several ideas of the utopia. The difference between today and yesterday is that yesterday resources seemed boundless, today they are not, but with population and power vastly increased the fragility of the environmental dimension is obvious.

Mr Benn's social democrats still think in terms of the industrial technology bequeathed by capitalism. In western industrial society privilege has extended to a larger part of society although some still remain more privileged than others. Consumption is necessary to prop up a system which fails both in terms of husbandry and in terms of equity.

With a distorted and irrelevant system of education based on the division between the physical and the intellectual, it is no wonder that the products of it, who rule us, have no idea how to solve the problems of today, particularly in Britain where the problems are most pressing.

In the field of agriculture this is quite evident, where the academic dimension divorced production from needs and is creating problems that are proving increasingly difficult to solve.

For instance, talking on the problems of diseases in cereals on a farming programme the other day, the speaker was saying that evidence points to the fact that large doses of nitrogen alter the structure of the leaf, rendering it more prone to disease. The search for resistant strains of cereal and new chemicals continues. Huntsman, a very popular and resistant variety of wheat is now vulnerable to the fungus which causes "rust". The practice of growing vast areas of the same variety was also questioned by the speaker. Obviously if the structure of

the leaf is altered, so must other parts of the plant be. The probability is that the use of nitrogen and irrigation lowers the mineral content of foods and accounts for the increase in the sale of mineral supplements to animals and humans.

The problem is that attempting to by-pass the natural balances needs careful and cautious experimentation. When the artificial complication of finance and power is introduced, the "quick buck" mentality develops the use of dangerous practices.

It is worth reporting in this connection a happening from Michigan where vast herds of cattle are suffering from a mysterious pestilence which has now spread to humans. It was thought that the poison that killed 29,800 cattle, one and a half million chickens, 5,923 pigs and 1,468 sheep was a fire retardant chemical that is added to plastic, polybrominated biphenyl. This chemical, called Firemaster, was apparently packed into similar paper sacks as a magnesium mineral feed supplement called Feedmaster, and got mixed in with compounded feeding stuff. On May 19th, The Guardian reported effects on humans:

"...But now a new and more alarming phenomenon is being noticed. Humans seem to have become affected by the chemical, and from all over the state come reports of strange sicknesses in the farmhouses which seem to parallel the affliction to which the cattle eventually succumb."

The William Commers family and the Rolland Bohms family, from the village of Mendon, report extreme fatigue, loss of hair, sores on their skins, and severe digestive problems. Other farmers report bleeding from the ears and deafness. Most say they cannot eat."

There seems to be some doubt as to whether this chemical or another is the culprit. Car stickers stating "Cattlegate - worse than Watergate" have been printed. Indeed one can say

that both forms of pollution are very much connected, for as the Guardian goes on to say, "No-one is prepared to hazard a guess about what that something may be. But in the meantime neither the state nor the federal government is going to ban PBB (polybrominated biphenyl) altogether."

It appears to me that economics, agriculture, natural balances and industry and social relationships are in a state of chaotic imbalance which is directly attributable to privilege and power. The concept of anarchy and freedom allows for the adjustment and harmony of all the natural forces which make up the human and non-human environment without the distortion of power and sectional interest enforced by power.

Alan Albon.

OILY WATERS

A REPORT recently published by the Department of the Environment's Central Unit of Environmental Pollution, Pollution Paper No. 6, discloses the oily water future of the North Sea. Even under the best operating conditions obtainable, i.e. the existing techniques for separating oil from water, the peak production of North Sea oil "will result in the discharge of nearly 2,000 tons of oil a year as contamination". Hereby the oil production platforms will discharge about 600 tons a year and land terminals nearly 1,300 tons a year.

Furthermore, Pollution Paper No. 6 reveals that "at the present time no satisfactory continuous monitoring technique exists for residual oil in waste water from platforms or shore installations".

However, the damaging oily effects of the pollution of water are no real concern to the capitalists and the government who are more concerned with the capitalistic magic triangle: full employment, stable monetary value and stable rates of exchange. And the problems of pollution are considered more or less as an obstacle to profit and the very structure of post-industrial capitalism.

So why bother about the continuous industrial oil contaminated discharges into the coastal waters and/or into the open sea. Why bother about the basic component of organic life: water. The capitalists and their supporters want to make a profit, wish to keep a non-functionable socio-economic system going (except functionable for themselves), and think in terms of technical progress, the great benefit for modern man, i.e. cars and all the rest.

As an anarchist I oppose not only the existing diseased socio-economic structure with all its technical polluting progress but also the arrogance and ignorance of man in respect of the natural organic order to which oil-contaminated discharges are damaging indeed.

As homo sapiens I need non-polluted water to survive as a species, and this very ecological need is destroyed by the capitalist ruling classes. Hence, to get my need for non-polluted water satisfied and to survive as a species mankind has to look for an alternative socio-economic living. And the anarchist philosophy provides just that alternative.

Abraham.

N.P. IN BLACKBURN

On May 22nd, in Blackburn, action was taken against a march organized by the National Front's slightly more respectable cousin, Kingsley Read's National Party, which hoped to consolidate support after Read's recent election to the local council.

Before the N.P. march, there took place a counter demonstration organized by "Action against Racism". This comprised approximately 2/3 coloured immigrants and 1/3 whites, revealing the growing determination of the Pakistani and other immigrants, especially the younger ones, to defend themselves against N.P. abuse. Anarchists were quite prominent on the march and included comrades from Warwick and Bradford as well as those from "local" groups such as Blackburn, Burnley, Bolton and Manchester; the display of about half a dozen black flags was particularly impressive.

The march met with only occasional heckling, in sharp contrast to the N.P. march which followed at 3 p.m. There was, unfortunately, no repetition of a previous confrontation with the Front when their marchers were harried through the Blackburn streets. However, the N.P.'s reception was not exactly a mild one; in fact, they were met all along their route with a deafening hail of abuse, and at many street corners by volleys of eggs, fruit, empty cans and other missiles.

The composition of the N.P. march, which was barely 1/2 the size of the counter-demonstration, is worth mentioning. Led by Read and several of the typical pseudo-Nazi "heavies", it contained many middle-aged women sporting union jacks, who would have fitted in well, I'm sure, with the "hangers and floggers" of the Tory conferences, and regrettably a collection of youths who seemed to be missing their usual Saturday afternoon football match "aggro".

This motley collection of pseudo-Nazis and their misguided followers plus a badly tuned music-waggon ended its march at the town's main meeting hall where they were protected, as along their march, by countless police brought in from all over Lancashire. The force of the anti-fascists kept them and their pathetic music waggon penned back around the hall entrance, and here the events reached a pleasing albeit relatively peaceful conclusion. The anti-fascist shouts drowned out any attempt the N.P. made to reply and then came the final, damning gesture. Scores of local youths, white and black, with a few out-of-towners, joined in a sustained chant of "freedom", with arms linked and raised against the fascists and the police.

Then came the inevitable action of the police, pushing us back, almost forcing several

people through the plate glass windows behind with, typically, no regard for the presence of young children who accompanied both demonstrators and perhaps other bystanders. They made no attempt to move the N.P. fascists into the hall as far as I could see. There were so many of them and the presence of so many children meant resistance was basically verbal, and then gradual withdrawal followed.

Still, this wasn't anything to dampen the optimism the afternoon had generated in some of us. Not only were the pseudo-Nazis confronted by the "left" but by large numbers of immigrants and by local whites, both youth and also older locals, the former demonstrating their disgust at the N.P.'s racialism by joining the immigrants in the linked chanting, and the latter who reminded the N.P. that the fascists had been beaten on the British streets in the Thirties and that they would be beaten again.

G. Malden
(member of Burnley anarchist group).

RACIST MURDERS

On 22nd May two "Pakis", that is to say, a Jordanian and an Indian, both students, were stabbed to death on Woodford High Road by 4 drunken youths. This is the culmination of a wave of racist violence in the area where I live. In Buckhurst Hill, up the road, an Asian shopfront has been repeatedly smashed and daubed with shit and "NF". In a local school, and in a local park, Asian kids have been beaten up. Last November two Ceylonese students were beaten up at South Woodford station...and these are only the incidents that reach the papers.

The latest murders are a direct result of the glare of publicity over the Malawi Asians in the national press and TV. Plus a sustained National Front and "anonymous" sticker campaign ("We want your homes, your jobs, your country.") Plus the weekly parade of racial hatred in the letters page of the local paper, the Redbridge Guardian, which opens its pages to fascists from every corner of N.E. London.

This area is suburbia going to seed. There are few tower blocks rising out of the rubble as in other parts of London; instead the M11 ploughs right through, bow windows or not. It is predominantly middle class with pockets of very well heeled people. Buckhurst Hill is a National Front stronghold: there have been Mafia type killings there. We've also got the Festival of Light and Epping Forest — training ground for Nazi Territorial Army members... It is ironic that this area has the highest proportion of Jews in Europe: Asians are being made the new scapegoats in the descent into capitalist barbarism.

What can we do about these right wing groups? Libertarian ideas cannot be reduced to mindless slogans as can NF propaganda: no use bawling out FASCISTS SIEG HEIL NAZI, they'll just say fucking right and give you the salute. No use chanting 'Unite to smash the fascists', or forming anti fascist committees, they won't give a bugger. Some will not agree, but pitched battles between Right and Left won't do any good, that's playing it their way (though I fully support the (cont. on P.6))

BREAKTHROUGH

CONTINUED FROM VOL. 3.7 No. 11 (29 May) p. 7

Ed and Jovita Addeo's *Why Our Children Drink* was published in October and brought to light remarkable figures on heavy and desperate drinking by kids. Their investigations found fifth graders coming to school drunk, almost half the students of one seemingly typical California high school drunk in school, almost 10,000 teenage alcoholics receiving treatment in Los Angeles, and similar facts. The "alarming decline" in Scholastic Aptitude Test scores was also given much attention during the month, including an October 25 pledge by the College Entrance Examinations Board to undertake a thorough investigation. Average scores for both the verbal and mathematical parts of the SAT tests have been declining since 1963, and the drop in 1975 scores from those of 1974 represented by far the steepest drop yet. Also in October, Patrick Caddell of Cambridge Reports said his figures show that 68% of the public believes that "America's leaders have consistently lied to the American people" over the last ten years. Pollsters Louis Harris, Irving Crespi and Peter Hart, also testifying before the congressional Joint Economic Committee, reported much the same kind of widespread cynicism regarding political parties and the economic system itself.

Dr. Ronald Jackson, Dean of Student Life at the University of Rochester, studied student attitudes in the Sixties and recently polled today's students. In November discussions of his findings, a good deal of nostalgia among academicians for the '60s students was revealed. President Kingman Brewster of Yale, for example, agreed sadly with Jackson that students showed great faith in the idea of education as the key to solving social problems in the '60s, in contrast to students of the '70s. The study indicated also that not only do students now have fewer illusions about college training, but they are also less easily polarized and manipulated, perhaps another source of nostalgia for college administrators.

In December, the Institute of Life Insurance issued a *Trend Analysis* report, outlining what insurance executives can expect during the next twenty years. "Many Americans are abandoning the work ethic", began its press release, and the report drew a good deal of publicity for its assertions that people increasingly want to be guaranteed all the amenities of

life, are increasingly frustrated and estranged, and show a greatly increased potential for work slowdowns, sabotage and riots.

In early 1976, Peter Schrag and Diane Divosky's *The Myth of the Hyperactive Child* revealed that almost half the nation's children are being drugged in the schools.

And on and on. I'm sure the reader can bring to mind much of the same - and without recourse to the printed page. From the multiplication of mass murders, to the acceleration of an almost frenzied tourism, to mounting terrorism, to the revolt against work, to the dying and decomposition of New York (our most 'advanced' urban space", to the virtual end of voting by those under forty, to a desensitized sexuality and growing isolation, to practically every line of poetry written today. A paragraph of a recent *San Francisco Chronicle* review by Thomas Albright begins, "In a world where all of us share the same basic futility..." And no one can take exception to the phrase; the fact is too obvious to try to deny.

A break-up of the deepest sort is nearing because more and more people refuse to tolerate merely surviving. Destruction, and even self-destruction, are preferred to the impossibility of living. *Fortune*, capital's leading monthly, designated April '75 its *Special Bicentennial Issue*, featuring Daniel Bell's "Revolution of Rising Entitlements" article. Bell declared that "unlimited wants" are threatening the system. An "equality of results" is being demanded, as human desires are being taken seriously in society. People are starting to want everything, and thus the last part of his offering, "Recognizing the Limits of Power", counsels our masters to make explicit the limits of capitalism. It's time to tell everyone that we can't expect to become happy!

But at the same time, those who serve the commodity are still trying to keep the world of things the master of the human world by cashing in on exactly the desires which have become so dangerous. It's "Mustang II, Boredom zero!", "Harley-Davidson - the freedom machine!" "Old Smuggler's Scotch - for those who refuse to compromise", ad nauseam. They can't help but know what everyone wants: freedom, authenticity, adventure; and so they must attempt to offer

[cont from p. 5]

actions of Asians and Blacks in self defence). WE HAVE TO GET THEM INSIDE THEIR HEADS.

HOW? An analysis of the National Front or any other of the groups reveals the following: (1) the leadership, (2) the membership, (3) supporters outside the membership.

The leadership are a load of nutters who probably want power on fascist lines for themselves (or are waiting for the fuhrer). The membership don't want power for themselves, far from it. They want strong government, a deliverer, someone they can depend on, someone who will think for them, someone who will tell them what to do. Authoritarian conditioning and sexual repression can be linked in here.

Similarly with supporters outside the membership. They are pissed off with the way things are, and are looking around for something better. They are attracted by 'deliverer' ideologies which give ready-made, easy answers. The failure of the Left can be linked in here.

So, we must find ways to highlight the division between leaders and led, to show up the way in which followers humiliate themselves in obeisance, submission, Rational argument won't work to get this over, so we must try shock. We must use gross insults. For instance a massive sticker campaign; I was thinking along the lines of: National Front says: Join us and let our

leaders think for YOU too. National Party days: The sun shines out of our leader's ARSE HOLE. (Perhaps these are too ambiguous!?)

This may seem like just a flea bite, but it could be many times more effective than breaking a few jaws, or chanting 'Nazi', which just isn't an insult.

Nick V. H.

LETTER

FREE SCHOOL

Dear Friends,

If it is at all possible could you please place an advertisement in your publication for Delta Free School, Southampton. We are in need of full- and part-time workers (teachers) for the beginning of the next school year in September. We are registered as an independent school, non-fee paying and unfortunately the work itself is, as yet unpaid. The school is administered and run by everyone involved and is supported by the A.S. Neill Trust Association. We believe in the child's ability and right to regulate her/himself and in the joint importance of freedom

and responsibility.

I can supply a fuller description and philosophy if necessary.

(Ms.) P. A. Dacre, 12 Harborough Road, Polygon, Southampton, Hants.

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more and more - in terms of what can only be seen as less and less.

From Walter Kerr's The Decline of Pleasure (1962) to Robert Nisbet's Twilight of Authority (late 1975), even random titles point up the process.

What is our connection with this real movement? Why are the apparent options those of intervening with the insertion of apocalyptic moment when the proletariat "adopts" theory/consciousness? Both positions are condemned to ideology and its casements, blindfolded to the most natural alternatives and outcomes. Why, in the most advanced revolutionary tendencies, does there remain a polarization of theory and subjectivity?

An antithesis of this dead-endism can be glimpsed by the data cited above - and, we intend, by our own active denial of limits and separations.

TRESPASS PROPOSALS

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES WILL BE PREPARING A DETAILED BRIEFING ON THE LAW COMMISSION'S 200 PAGE REPORT (ON CONSPIRACY AND CRIMINAL LAW REFORM BUT HAS PREPARED THIS NOTE TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE THREATS POSED BY THE NEW OFFENCES SUGGESTED.

In its Report No. 76, the Law Commission makes a number of proposals for reforming the law of Conspiracy and for creating new criminal offences. Amongst other proposals the Law Commission would abolish the offence of conspiracy to trespass, and this move is very welcome to NCCL which has campaigned intensely on the question of conspiracy for a long time.

However, the Law Commission proposes the creation of a number of new offences to fill in what they would see as the gap created by abolishing the offence of conspiracy to trespass, and many of the new offences have dangerous implications for trade unionists, particularly for those participating in factory occupations or work-ins, perhaps as part of a struggle against redundancies. The TUC has recognised work-ins as a legitimate form of industrial action, and the view of NCCL is that the issue of workers seeking to prevent factory closures and to protect their right to work is not the proper concern of the criminal law, which should not be used to restrict peaceful occupation.

VIOLENT ENTRY

This offence is designed to deal with entry to premises against the wish of someone else on those premises. It will be an offence for a person to use or threaten "violence" to secure entry for himself or others to premises if he knows that there is someone present on those premises at the time who is opposed to the entry.

A constable could arrest without warrant anyone whom he has reasonable cause to suspect is guilty of such an offence. The offence will carry a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment. The Law Commission deliberately refrained from defining "violence" but made it clear that it is to include violence against property as well as against persons. It did give the example that violence would include "splintering a door or a window or its frame", but it is to be a matter for the court to decide in each particular case whether there was violence. There does not have to be any actual violence; the threat of violence would be sufficient.

The offence could be committed if security guards or caretakers claim that they were frightened or threatened with

violence - and that could mean nothing more than that they were heavily outnumbered by workers wishing to occupy. The offence could be committed if any but the most minor damage were done to the gates or doors, for example if the factory owner locked the gates to prevent an occupation and they were forced open and damaged. Even if the occupation is by workers already inside the factory, the offence could be committed by other workers coming in to join them or relieve them if there is still a security guard on the premises. The offence would also be committed by Trade Union officials entering an occupied factory against the wishes of a caretaker or security guard who alleges that he feared the use of violence.

The police are given powers to arrest without a warrant on this offence. Bearing in mind that that power is only usually given when an offence carries at least five years imprisonment, this is an unjustifiable extension of police power. If the offence is committed during an occupation by two or more workers, or there is an agreement by several workers to occupy a factory, then there could also be a prosecution for conspiracy.

There are ample powers under the present laws on assault and criminal damage to deal with activities which can reasonably be regarded as criminal, and the unnecessary new offence should be resisted.

TRESPASSING WITH AN OFFENSIVE WEAPON

There would be a new offence of having any "offensive weapon" on premises if you have entered those premises as a trespasser (i.e. without the permission of the owner). There would be a maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment and a police officer would have the power to arrest without a warrant anyone he has reasonable cause to suspect is committing the offence. An offensive weapon is "any article made or adapted for use for causing injury to the person or intended by the person having it with him for such use by him". Anything could be classed as an offensive weapon, including everyday articles such as coins, and most factories are bound to have tools, etc. lying about which could be classed as offensive weapons. In the past this offence has only applied to having an offensive weapon in a public place and it is unacceptable that it now be extended in these circumstances to private property. In addition the police are to be given wider powers of arrest than under the existing law. Again, there could also be a prosecution for conspiracy to commit the offence if there were an organised occupation.

OBSTRUCTING AN OFFICER OF THE COURT

It would be an offence to resist or in any way obstruct an officer of the court enforcing a court order. This would apply even to passive obstructions, for example refusing to move or leave an occupation when asked to do so. The maximum penalty would be six months' imprisonment and the police would have the power of arrest without warrant. There would be no right to trial by jury.

The practice has grown of employers obtaining possession orders against workers occupying a factory, using the speedy Order 113 proceedings usually used against squatters, and any workers who agreed to disregard such an order would be guilty of conspiracy to obstruct a court officer and could be arrested on the spot without a warrant and sentenced to six months' imprisonment by the magistrates' court.

IT IS LIKELY THAT THESE PROPOSED CHANGES WILL FORM PART OF A LARGER MEASURE TO REFORM THE LAW ON CONSPIRACY AND MAY SLIP THROUGH UNLESS RESISTED.

* * *

It is clearly important that the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law be supported by all anarchists and libertarians. In fact, within hours of the appearance of the Law Commission's report the proposals were condemned as "repressive" in a joint statement by the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law (CACTL, 119 Railton Road, London S.E.24), the Squatters Action Council (c/o 2 St. Paul's Road London, N.1.) the NCCL and Law Centres. --Eds.

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 24 June. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get together and folding session.

CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Monday 14 Jun, and for inclusion in news section date is Mon. 21 June (and receipt by Thurs. 17 June is more helpful).

MEETINGS

Sat. 19 June BRISTOL. Campaign Against Arms Trade, national mtg. 11 am-6 pm at Friends Meeting House, Hampton Rd. (Creche provided). Details from CAAT, 5 Caledonian Rd. London N.1.

Tues. 22 June LEEDS. Keith Nathan on "The A.W.A.". First of a fortnightly series. Details from Leeds Anarchist Group, c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 6.

Kingston Libertarian Group. Interested persons contact Pauline (tel. 549 2564). South-East London Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina tel. 852 6323.

Anarchists/Libertarians in Colchester area interested in local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd, Colchester for details of regular mtgs. &c.

Hyde Park Speakers Corner (Marble Arch). Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

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.

BOOKSHOP

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP
(Please add postage as in brackets)

- *Joyce L. Kornbluh (ed.): Rebel Voices, an I.W.W. anthology £ 3.00 (42p)
- *Murray Bookchin: Our synthetic environment £ 2.50 (29p)
- Icarus (Ernst Schneider): The Wilhelmshaven Revolt £ 0.45 (9p)
- Albert Meltzer (ed.): The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: The 1st of May Group, A study of the origins and development of the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement in Europe, 1945-73 £ 1.35 (14p)
- Roger Price (ed.): 1848 in France (illustrated) Documents of Revolution series. £ 1.95 (24p)
- *Georges Sorel: From Georges Sorel, Essays in Socialism & Philosophy, edited by John L. Stanley £ 3.95 (42p)
- Pietro Valpreda: The Valpreda Papers, The Prison diaries of Pietro Valpreda. £ 6.00 (42p)
- *Ida Mett: The Kronstadt Uprising, with an introduction by Murray Bookchin £ 0.75 (16p)
- *Voline: The Unknown Revolution £ 3.95 (48p)
- *David Boadella: Wilhelm Reich, The Evolution of his work. £ 2.95 (42p)
- Wilhelm Reich: The Invasion of Compulsory sex-morality £ 0.60 (14p)
- Listen Little Man £ 0.50 (11p)
- Reich speaks of Freud £ 0.75 (16p)
- The Mass Psychology of Fascism £ 1.00 (19p)

*American publications.

BOOKSHOP OPEN Tues. - Fri. 2 - 6pm
(Thursdays until 8. p.m)
Saturdays 10 am - 4pm

GROUPS

ABERDEEN c/o S. Blake, 167 King Street, Aberdeen

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

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group, Bob Prew, 40c Tráfalgar Rd. Moseley, Birmingham 13

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CAMBRIDGE c/o P. Silcock, 51 City Road, Cambridge

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

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

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

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

EDINBURGH Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. FIFE - see West Fife

GLASGOW Jim McFarlane, c/o Charlie Baird, 122 Berneray Street, Milton, Glasgow G22 7AY

Glasgow Libertarian Socialist Group 90 John St., Glasgow C1 or tel. Dave 339-4236 for details of weekly mtgs.

OXFORD c/o Jude 38 Hurst Street

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm, 2 Chaderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ANDREWS c/o 'Haggis', Students' Union, Univ. of St. Andrews.

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

WEST FIFE write John Deming, 164 Apin Crescent, Dunfermline

OVERSEAS:

ASUTRALIA Canberra Anarchist Gp. 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: Change of address: write to the movement at Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607, Christchurch.

YORKSHIRE: Individuals or groups interested in forming a Yorkshire Anarchist Federation please contact the Leeds Anarchist Group address.

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 6.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS/PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHIST ATHLETE in England for Track & Field Events requires crash pad in London for last week of August. Offers to Harry Siitonen c/o Freedom Press.

ANARCHIST TRANSPORT Workers -- an attempt to organise. Contact Adam tel. 01-247 4829

ANARCHISTS 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 St. London E1.

BLACK CARNATION postcards, (red & black) Bakunin 5p; (black & white) Striker: 'When you haven't enough to live on the problems of the government are peanuts'; Peasant, each 3p. (postage on up to 15 cards 6½p). From Freedom Bookshop.

BLACK FLAG Bookshop Leicester has now closed down.

WANTED 1st edn. (1970) Underground Graphics by Graham Keen and Michel La Rue, Academy Editions. Mick Cropper, 2 Fishers St., Nuncargate, Kirkby-in-Ashfield, Notts.

BAKUNIN COMMEMORATION 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-examining methods of struggle. It is hoped to prepare a brochure of papers 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. Enquire above address.

BAKUNIN COMMEMORATION LONDON

Moves are afoot to hold a Bakunin Black Ball and Disco, on Sunday evening, 27th July at the Roebuck public house in Tottenham Court Road, followed by a public meeting with speeches about, and discussion of Bakunin and his ideas, to be held at the Centro Iberico, 83a Haverstock Hill, NW3, on the evening of July 1st. Further details in next issue.

PRISONERS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Noel Murray & Ronan Stenson Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire. MARIE MURRAY is in Limerick Prison.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, Camden High Street, London NW1.

PRESS FUND

20 May - 2 June

SAN JOSE Cal.: E.V. £11; GLASGOW A.J. 24p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £2; J.K.W. 20p; In Shop: P.W. 20p Anon 10p; LONDON N.W.3.: J.C. 70p OXFORD Anon £1; DAGENHAM: M.C. 70p; ILFRACOMBE: J.L. 40p;

Total : £ 16.54
Previously acknowledged £ 561.86
TOTAL to DATE: £ 578.40

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

THE IRISH PROBLEM

THE IRISH TRIANGLE : Conflict in Northern Ireland, by Roger H. Hull (Princeton University Press, 1976, £9.40).

AS AN ATTORNEY by profession the author of this book is naturally preoccupied with legal questions and in particular with the effectiveness of international law in relation to the conflict in Ulster. An expert on law he may well be but I would have been more impressed by his views if he had not attempted to summarise the course of Irish history between 1172 and 1974 between pages 14-25. By the time he has reached page 16 (and the year 1366) he is already in deep trouble when dealing with the Statutes of Kilkenny. Here we are concerned with one of these myths of Irish history that ought to be exposed to the light of reality.

The myth relates how successive invaders gradually became "Gaelicized", becoming more Irish than the Irish themselves, and becoming aware of the cruel wrongs done upon the Irish by the English, eventually united with the native Irish to wage war against perfidious Albion. Roger H. Hull repeats it to the manner born just as he must have learned it from some of the polluted sources referred to in his bibliography. But as I have suggested more than once in the pages of FREEDOM, much of Irish "history" is not history at all but political fiction.

There are three basic questions that need to be posed when considering any historical event and they can be briefly and simply stated as follows :

What happened? What caused it to happen? What caused it to happen in this way and not in any other way?

The old "Gaelicization" myth doesn't stand up very well when examined by someone using the tools of the historian as Sean O'Faolain does :

For the first real Catholic uprising was led, not by the Irish, but by one of the most powerful of the old Norman families - the southern Desmonds - and it arose, in the first place, out of economic pressure. Necessity had locked the Desmonds into the Irish system : they had come to depend for their great power and revenue on their Gaelic tenants who, in the characteristic fashion of the period, lived outwardly by feudal and inwardly by Gaelic loyalties and customs.

The Gaelic tenants lived outwardly by feudal customs, which is to say that they were forced to recognise the overlordship of the Norman -- and the Normans had no intention of changing this relationship. Willing enough they were to resist interference from England but at the end of the day the Norman would have remained the lord of the manor; less charming and romantic than the old Gaelicization myth perhaps but more in accord with historical fact.

INDIRECT AGGRESSION

Coming to more modern times and ignoring Hull the historian we find that Hull the attorney has much to say that is of interest, as on page 124 :

Under the guise of resistance to racism or wars of national liberation, exported revolution blends with local conditions to produce a seemingly indigenous conflict. Were such conditions lacking in the target, the hostile foreign state's actions would be both readily discernible and largely ineffective. Since, however, human injustice is prevalent in much of the world, those actions are effectively hidden in what ostensibly appears to be 'an avenging whirlwind of popular feeling suddenly

and spontaneously blowing up against unbearable oppression'.

Has there not been an element of this indirect aggression or exported revolution present in the Ulster conflict from the beginning of the present cycle of violence? In its recently published outline history the CPI has been boasting of the role it played in the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association:

The mass movement which was to develop under the banner of (NICRA) in the latter part of 1968 was not the result of a spontaneous upsurge, but the result of years of work by Communists, Socialists and trade unionists in Northern Ireland and by the Connolly Association (Britain), the British Communist Party, Socialists and progressive trade unionists in Britain.

(CPI Outline History, p.45)

That there was need for a genuine civil rights movement in Ulster is undeniable but when the CPI set it up it imagined that it would be able to control subsequent events. It would be naive to assume that the CPI, a most obedient lapdog of Moscow, acted without the support of the CPSU. At the risk of being labelled a red-baiter - I simply don't adhere to the "don't let's be beastly to the commies" school of thought - let me point to some of the dedicated efforts of the comrades in the past. It is hardly necessary to go beyond the bibliography and footnotes supplied in this book to show how active they have been. The authors of all "history" books, pamphlets or articles quoted are members of the CPSU, CPI, CPGB or Connolly Association, the latter being a communist front organisation: I have deliberately avoided quoting the names of authors whom I know to be fellow travellers of the party.

Ireland Her Own : T. A. Jackson

The Irish Case Against Partition :

C. D. Greaves, 1956

The Civil Rights Case: Edwina Stuart, 1972

Lenin On Ireland: V. I. Lenin

The Indivisible Island: Frank Gallagher,

1957

The Anglo-Irish Treaty " " 1965

To this short list we can add the writings of Marx and Engels on Ireland which are quoted. When the (sometimes anonymous) articles and pamphlets published by front organisations are added the list becomes more impressive. If we go beyond the scope of this book and consider everything published by the above organisations on the Irish question the list is staggering.

Perhaps propaganda of this sort is not considered "indirect aggression" by Roger H. Hull, yet what inspired it? Russian interest in Irish affairs is of long duration, the Soviet Union being the first country to officially recognise the infant Irish state, and in 1969 when the Eire government brought the Northern Ireland problem before the Security Council and General Assembly of the UN the Soviet Union, on that occasion, spoke on behalf of the Eire government. However, as Hull points out (p.254), the Catholic Church did not want communist support and "Britain was seriously annoyed, and the United States was even more troubled (in view of the conflict's impact on its citizens of Irish descent)."

Viewed in retrospect Russian propaganda on the Irish question, past and present, seems to be an act of indirect aggression aimed at Britain, intended to inspire a war of national liberation where "exported revolution blends with local conditions to produce a seemingly indigenous conflict".

URBAN TERRORISM

If you would know the legal difference between guerrilla warfare and terrorism consult page 194 and learn that "guerrilla

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

AMERICA'S FIRST UNFINISHED REVOLUTION, a News & Letters Publication, Detroit (obtainable from Bob Potter, 98 Addison Road, Hove, BN3 1TR, 50p post free).

IN THE bicentennial year of American Independence, this is the first attempt to give a "people's history" of the American revolution. It is the untold story of the true creators of independence, the workers, the yeomanry, the Blacks, the women.

Official "histories" always systematically distort the facts in favour of the ruling class, and this is particularly true of the American Revolution, reducing it to a saga concerned with 'leaders' guiding an ignorant mob towards a "new constitution". Forgotten is the mass participation that transformed town meetings from talking shops for rich colonial merchants into people's self-participatory organs, and eventually to the creation of the Committee of Correspondence.

The Town Meetings were also being superseded. It is easy to see why. Boston had a population of some 15,000 in 1773. A town meeting would allow only 2,500 of the populace to attend. The mass meeting, the 'Body', preceding the Boston Tea Party, was over 8,000. And several such meetings had taken place, within a short period of time, each one increasing in size. No restrictions existed, all could attend. Men and women, Black and White, young and old, rich and poor, all constituted the Body.

A Boston Town Meeting on 26 May 1766 voted to consider steps "for the total abolishing of slavery from among us; that you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future".

The pamphlet offers considerable documentation of the involvement of Black labour, free and unfree, in the struggle for freedom. Prior to the war with British imperialism some 300 slave revolts have been recorded, perhaps the most significant example of Black participation being the events leading to the Boston massacre in March 1770. A group of citizens under the leadership of Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave, attacked a detachment of British forces, and although unarmed were shot down by the troops.

Blacks represented one-fifth of the then total population of 2,600,000 and their positive presence was felt everywhere, even in the militia, and the pamphlet reproduces the flag of the all-Black Boston regiment of officers and men. (Of course, the reaction of the Whites varied from area to area. In Virginia they were not allowed in White regiments.) For their part the British tried to use Black aspirations to further their ends, by the promise of freedom in return for support of the colonial troops.

Women have also tended to be 'written out' of official history, yet the truth that so clearly emerges from America's First Unfinished Revolution is that then, as always, women's struggles were not separable from those of men. This was especially true of the lower classes. Only among the budding 'aristocrats' was the distinction of sex and economic roles especially sexist.

In Boston women deliberately bumped into redcoats and shouted 'rape' to rally the townspeople. One of the early copies of the Declaration of Independence was printed by the woman publisher Mary Catherine Goddard and page 21 furnishes us with a picture of Molly Pitcher firing a cannon at the Battle of Monmouth.

When total war eventually came, it was the militia, in many respects the first ever 'guerilla' army, which proved the decisive factor. What the British considered a 'rabble in arms' and George Washington described as "exceedingly dirty and nasty people" was

in fact the very force that saved Washington.

Official legend hails Washington. The truth is that his aristocratic pretensions and practices, his commanding in luxurious comfort on behalf of the Southern shareholders and conservative merchants, was responsible for the virtual demoralization and disintegration of his armies at Valley Forge. His attempts to create a traditional feudal-style army lost him the support of the rank and file, and he never succeeded in commanding an army greater than 20,000 of the 200,000 colonials involved in the fighting.

It was not just an American revolution, but rather the beginning of an age of revolution. As Karl Marx put it, "the American revolution sounded the tocsin for the Europeans". They are still 'unfinished' revolutions in that 'victory' went to the Washingtons and the Bonapartes, while the people remain cheated of the liberty for which they fight. The implication of the pamphlet is clear.

Finish them! Bob Potter.

Whitechapel Years

ON THURSDAY 20 May I dropped in to Whitechapel Library, for a pleasant and unpretentious little ceremony unveiling a portrait of Rudolf Rocker by his son, Firmin, which is to hang in the library. The 92-year old Sam Dreen who had, jointly with Barnett Shine, commissioned the portrait of his life-long comrade, being unable to make the journey from USA, the main speech was written and read by Joseph Leftwich, the East London Yiddish poet, who was the editor of Rocker's autobiographical The London Years. It was a loving recollection of the days and the people of the early years of this century, naturally putting in the forefront Rocker's organisation of the Jewish tailoring workers in the borough, and bringing to life the times with the tailors' strike of 1906, the Jubilee St Street club in 1911 and the siege of Sidney Street "unjustly attributed to the anarchists...", on to the Dock Strike the following year, with its bringing together of Jewish and non-Jewish workers in the solidarity given to the dockers and the taking of dockers' children into Jewish homes to care for them during the strike (the committee had hundreds of offers -- some of which had to be turned down because it was found that the offering families had insufficient to feed their own children), to the First World War and Rocker's internment, hence his ability to go with the rest of the anarchists and socialists to Russia after the outbreak of the Russian revolution. Leftwich told in Rocker's words of his bitter disillusionment in that revolu-

tion and his later sadness that the great hopeful revolutionary spirit and movement in the East End died away following the failure of that revolution.

Leftwich had been "caught up in" the Jubilee Street club -- "these anarchists (at the time of the Sidney Street carnage) had no need of bombs, they had a weapon the state was more afraid of: out of this anarchist club in the East End came ideas." The period was of course virile not only with industrial struggle, strikes and hunger marches but also throbbing with ideas, and the speaker named several of the other sources - the Socialist League, the Clarion, the South Place Institute, Toynbee Hall, the People's Palace - from which he and his generation took bits to shape their composite selves. The result was "libertarian socialism" and this was the description applied during the rest of the ceremony and by other speakers to describe their own and Rocker's philosophy and activity. Although a large proportion of the participants was composed of younger and young people, there was little specific to indicate a continuity in present day East End living. At the close of the ceremony a visiting mayor from Israel, who had published some of Rocker's writing in Israel, presented the presiding mayor of Tower Hamlets with a memento, and in the course of his speech said that in his old town of Beersheba they still try to live according to the same ideals, towards libertarian socialism and fighting to live in peace with their Arab neighbours. The borough librarian said he is having the speech by Joseph Leftwich printed as a pamphlet which will be available to visitors to the library who may wish to know something of the subject of the portrait.

M. C.

WOODCOCK ON ANARCHISM

The conclusion of N.W.'s critique of George Woodcock's Anarchism (Vol. 37 Nos. 8 & 9 "Has Anarchism Changed?") has been held over from this issue and will appear in the Supplement to No. 13, 26 June)

EATING PEOPLE

MULTIPLE MURDER, as opposed to mass murder, is a form of DIY hobby peculiar to the Anglo Saxon temperament. The dionysian Mediterranean type in moments of stress will honour the old tradition and with gun, poison or knife eliminate, corpse wise, the family, political or religious irritant but after the act there is genuine and well witnessed regret. The single murder, repeated and repeated, is a thing of dark nights, decaying houses, rain upon black roofs and a puritan morality that seeks its justification in the ravings of the Old Testament and its cage of horror has trapped its victims from the bars of the Nazi concentration camps in Germany to little Charley Manson's open house murder commune in California, and every knife-cut, every smashed-in skull, has been justified as a means to an end and that end a society ethnically and morally pure.

The Island Race loves its local talent and Jack the Ripper holds his place in public affection with Scott of the Antarctic, Enoch Powell and Henry VIII, and it is but a matter of time for the Moors Murderers, Christie of Notting Hill, Heath and Haigh to take their place in public affection. This is what Madame Tussaud's Chamber of Horrors is about, this is why Tod Slaughter's portrayal of Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber of Fleet Street, with its throat-cutting and cannibalism filled the happy music halls for years. With Fassbinder's *Tenderness of the Wolves* we are back to the same old crap that we must all share the guilt, and I do not accept the responsibility for another man's evil action just as I claim no credit for another man's sacrifice, kindness or gentle charity.

There is a social discipline that we conform to as part of the common good, from patiently standing in bus queues, dropping our fish and chip paper into the waste bins, even in darkness not raping small girls or mugging eighty year old women. It can be rightly argued that these voluntary curtailments of our individual liberties are things of pure self interest but this is our contribution to the creation of a good and humane way of life. When men challenge their particular society fully aware of the penalty of losing they cannot complain when, on losing, they are forced to pay that penalty. Socrates was aware of it and so was Oscar Wilde and each man in his own fashion mocked and ridiculed the society of their day and each man paid the price. It is evil to force men to commit suicide and it is evil to imprison men for sodomy and we must protest against the social or State inhumanity of the day, not because of a Wilde or a Socrates but as one destroys a cage so that one wild bird shall not be imprisoned on the morrow.

Five and a half centuries ago Sawney Beane left his hedging and ditching work and, with his wife, moved across country to finally settle in a cavernous cave on the Galloway coast. Twenty years of age and with a wife to care for, Sawney settled for a planned programme of wholesale murder and cannibalism, and for twenty five years Sawney, his wife and their incestuous family murdered and ate an estimated 1,000 unfortunate travellers. It was King James the First of Scotland in his role of the People's Friend who led the troop of 400 armed men to end Sawney's idyllic, Disney type, life style, through foolishly allowing an attacked traveller to escape.

Sawney and his sons had their genitals torn out and their limbs sawn off by blunt saws, and the women and children were burned at the stake by slow fires, and this must be a clinical case of awareness of actions that offend the society of the day, and brute innocence, for Sawney was a man who grew up within his agrarian community and could have had no illusions that that society would revenge itself on DIY murder and cannibalism. But for Sawney's children, born and reared in simple animal innocence, despite their years of murder and cannibalism, were innocent of any crime, for in their geographical isolation they conformed to the social and moral mores of their group. Scottish townbased romantics have tried to present Sawney Beane as a savage chieftain, and engravings drape him with plaid, tartan and sporran but he was a landless peasant who chose to survive by killing and eating his fellow men and women and until human flesh becomes part of the menu at the Highland Games one doubts if Sawney will ever be rehabilitated as a Scottish middle class nationalist hero figure.

And all this has to do with Rainer Werner Fassbinder. The Gate Cinema is an ancient tarted up flea pit within the centre of the Notting Hill ultra shopping complex. Face "Speaker's Corner" and to the left is the slum area where Michael Abdul Malik acted as strong arm man for the slum landlord, Rachman, before Michael became Michael X and found it more profitable to exploit the fears of the coloured people than to pounce and strong arm for ol' whitey. Here it was that Mosley, the pre-war Fascist

Blackshirt Leader (England's fine young men, cried the *Daily Mail*) made his last bid for political power ten years or so ago when housing and the street punch up was the political programme of the day. It was here that Christie committed his multiple murders for which Evans, an innocent man, was murdered by the State, and here Jack Doyle, the Irish nightingale, and pre-war horizontal British heavyweight still sings in the local bars, and to your right, comrade, terraced working class houses emptied of the horny handed, gutted and rebuilt in gay pastel maisonette style house tomorrow's young executives. And Fassbinder at the Gate.

Our Rainer is part of that dadaist, surrealist, Warhol, Theatre of Cruelty syndrome that uses its small talents to shock the bourgeois with the knowledge that only the bourgeois can afford to pay their price to be shocked and outraged, and at £ 1.40 cheapest admission to the Gate Cinema, I ain't kidding comrades. In 1974 Rainer was hawking his *Angst essen Seele auf* around the Cannes Festival, and even in those dear dead days, Richard Roud wrote of him that "Rainer Werner Fassbinder seems to make one [film] every other week", and to prove him right the production is now, as with Warhol, known as the "Factory", and in 1976 Rainer, bearded and potbellied is still patrolling the Cannes Festival, this time hawking his latest Factory produced film, *Shadow of Angels*.

The German government in a moment of moral panic refuse to subsidise the film and it seeps into Cannes as the official Swiss entry. In the beginning was the Word and the Word was the book by Gerhard Zwerenz, an East German refugee. Nasty, stupid and mucky, it is a fictionalised account of how a jewish property developer destroys residential areas, and profits by rebuilding. One would assume that this was good solid WASP business practice but Zwerenz uses his fiction to place the jewish property speculator at the centre of a web of intrigue and corruption with a rich Nazi business man longing for a rebuilding of the gas chambers. Churned into a play, *The Garbage, the City and Death* by Fassbinder, it went to ground when the publishers, Suhrkamp, backed away from public protest, but our Rainer, ever eager to pour petrol on a smouldering fire, has produced it as one of his Factory films and it can only be but a matter of time before London is called upon to show it. What Fassbinder cannot explain away is his addition to Zwerenz's novel, for within the film Fassbinder makes his jewish property developer murder a tubercular prostitute who has been his friend.

Already the London commercial theatre of Michael Codron and the RSC have asked to read Fassbinder's play, and Peter Hall at the National Theatre has stated that "What would happen if someone wrote a good play that contravened the Race Relations Act? It would have to be done." And Hall is right, and once again the problem that puzzles many anarchists has to be answered, as in relation to the "right" of such hate creating organizations such as the National Front to freely expound their miserable political philosophy. It is to defend the freedom of communication in speech, print, paint and film and as anarchists to produce a vocal and printed challenge but as individuals to take one's own stand, to join the picket or the protest. I have in my mind's eye the photographic image of a young girl peering out of a German railway box carriage on her forced way to the Nazi death camp. And in the long dark night the word, printed or spoken, is no answer for the death of innocence and it is only as solitary individuals that we can make our physical protest and God grant that we shall be fortunate enough to find like minded companions and comrades.

So I paid my £ 1.40 to sit through Rainer's *Tenderness of the Wolves* and it is a shoddy affair updated from the 1920s to the 1940s to save on period costings. The film's central character is loosely based on the life and times of Fritz Haarmann who was executed in December 1924 for 24 murders in the old world town of Dusseldorf. Most of the critics have confused Fritz with the more popular mass murderer Peter Kurten, but Fritz is Rainer's pin-up boy even though Rainer fails to acknowledge the help that Grans gave Fritz and that when on the 20th December both men were beheaded, that same German State was releasing Hitler from the warm comforts of the Landsberger Fortress for a return to public life and 20,000,000 murders, all legal. Murderer, blood drinker, eater of human flesh, small time thief, Haarmann was fully aware of his actions for this same man also acted as a police informer, and to taunt the liberal bourgeois Fassbinder has attempted, and failed, to win sympathy and understanding for Haarmann.

In relation to Peter Hall what one must ask is, is *Tenderness of the Wolves* a work of art, and the answer is no for it is a shabby, badly made B movie that has evoked screams of dadaist rage because of its subject matter. A ragbag of Lang's 1931 murder film *M*, Murnau's 1922 *Nosferatu* and German Expressionism cutouts and shadows from *The Golem* to *Die Dreigroschenoper*, one must now view it to join in the polemic. The screams of rage will not worry Fassbinder any more than they worried the early dadaists, Dali, Hitler, Warhol or the National Front, for this is what the exercise is about, but before me I see the image of a young girl peering out of a German box car on her way to be murdered in a Nazi gas chamber and it ceases to be a game.

Arthur Moyses.

RIGHT - WING ANARCHISM

'OUR HEARTS are on the left' is not only physiologically true but politically true of quite a number of anarchists. That such a sentiment (if not merely a cliché) has its limitations is obvious. We are not, despite the romantics, governed entirely by our hearts -- our heads too must play a part. The intellect must be brought into play even if only to give us intellectual reasons for life-styles, decisions and standpoints already arrived at emotionally and physiologically.

It is a mere arbitrariness of seating and accident of history that has (mistakenly, it can be asserted) placed anarchism with the parties and groupings of the left. The development in recent years of groupings of 'libertarian socialists' and the increasing authoritarianism of democratic socialism - not to mention the highly contentious 'national socialism' - shows that the loose association of anarchism with socialism, or indeed with the 'left', is purely fortuitous. The expression 'libertarian socialism' is either a contradiction or a tautology.

As the left-wing parties and groupings are increasingly - and inevitably - authoritarian, and the acceptance of left-wing concepts by anarchists grows more difficult it is logical and obvious for libertarians to move to the right -- and call their belief 'anarchism'. To the orthodox anarchist these right-wing doctrines, centered largely in the USA, come as a surprise and a seeming contradiction if not outright 'heresy'. The current election campaigns in the United States have produced a Presidential candidate for the Libertarian Party - Roger MacBride.

The Spectator (3.4.76) quotes praise of Liberationalism from the Washington Post: "...for the over-taxed, over-regulated, overburdened and underpowered millions of the American middle class, Libertarians are the only people worth voting for". The Spectator further writes "the party's philosophy, as stated in its manifesto, is based on the concept of the absolute sovereignty of the individual -- the idea that every human being has a right to live in any manner he or she chooses so long as force or fraud are not used in dealings with others. Consistent with this principle, the Libertarian Party platform calls for a strict respect for civil liberties, a free market economy, and a non-interventionist foreign policy". The Spectator continues: "The Party's programme incarnates with remorseless logic, its hostility to all forms of state regulation and intervention. On the one hand conservative voters are wooed with proposals to slash taxes and wind up the federal bureaucracy by, for a start, simply abolishing all the major federal agencies (the FTC, FCC, ICC and CAB); at the opposite end of the spectrum, radical support is canvassed with proposals to repeal all laws against 'victimless' crimes (sex, gambling, drug-taking) and with promises to refrain from ever engaging in Vietnam-type military adventures."

"The rhetoric of the new libertarianism," says The Spectator, "is calculated to appeal to both 'left' and 'right' as this further passage from its 1976 manifesto demonstrates --"

'Beyond the virtual enslavement of taxation are the increasing number of government infringements on our civil liberties. U.S. government agencies at home and abroad are continually prying into the private affairs of citizens... The federal government now tells the American people who we can view on prime-time television, how much money we can spend to support the candidate of our choice and the potency of the vitamins we can take. There are so many laws passed every year which attempt to regulate, control and mould us into what Big Brother deems appropriate that it's no wonder the average person is totally disillusioned with the Republicans and Democrats'...

There is little for the orthodox to quarrel with in this manifesto, and it is not the only manifestation of right-wing liberationalism in America, for with the inspiration of its anarchistic pluralism several groupings and journals exist, distinguishable chiefly by their dislike of other groupings. (How different from Britain!)

The tradition of rugged individualism is very strong in America. It is a proud boast that they are a young country and like to think of themselves as still perpetuating the spirit of the frontiersman with his self-reliance. This attitude often accompanies a certain ruthlessness (even the English word 'aggressive' is an American compliment) in pushing onwards; to some Americans, obviously, the State is one obstacle on the way forward.

Benjamin R. Tucker (1854-1939) is a primary example of the American individualist school of anarchism (Horowitz in his *The Anarchists* refers to 'State Socialism and Libertarianism' but Tucker never fought shy of the word 'Anarchism'). He acknowledged his debt to Josiah Warren and

William B. Greene, American individualist anarchists, and foretold the evolution of Socialism into a 'state religion'. He examined 'the road of liberty' of Warren and Proudhon and concluded it led to anarchism which is "the doctrine that all the affairs of men should be managed by individuals or voluntary associations, and that the State should be abolished". However, Tucker had no objection to the law, to prison or capital punishment; he believed laws should be created by juries. Neither had he any objection to property, although he objected to property on the basis of monopoly.

Tucker is not the only representative of this standpoint. Lysander Spooner and Albert Jay Nock (author of *Our Enemy the State*) - to come up to modern times - were other representatives of this stream of thought. Tucker's main criterion was the invasive nature of the state. Much of the concern of this school was (and is) with currency reform and the totalitarian powers vested in the State and banks by the issue of currency and its consequent effects upon all our lives -- as the present inflation witnesses.

In a tougher tradition of right-wing libertarianism comes Ayn Rand (novelist and philosopher) with her newly-formed philosophy and 'ethic of rational self-interest'. Ayn Rand is a successful novelist, writer of *The Fountainhead* (based to some extent on the egocentric Frank Lloyd Wright) and *Anthem* (1938) similar in theme to Zamyatin's *We* (which latter work gave inspiration to Orwell for 1984). According to *New Libertarian Notes*, *Atlas Shrugged*, another of her books, is the "fictional limited government Bible of modern libertarianism".

Ayn Rand took occasion once in her newsletter to indirectly rebuke Murray Rothbard (a leading libertarian theorist) when she told her subscribers, "Do not join... libertarian hippies who subordinate reason to whims and substitute anarchism for capitalism." Rothbard in *The Banner* (Vol. 1 No. 3) replied to an interviewer quoting this. "As far as I'm concerned, and I think the rest of the movement too, we are anarcho-capitalists. In other words, we believe that capitalism is the fullest expression of anarchism and anarchism is the fullest expression of capitalism." Rothbard then complains that Ayn Rand never defined the term 'anarchism'. Rothbard goes on to repudiate the position of the anarcho-communist or anarcho-syndicalist. "I don't think you can be... I don't really see any basis for collaboration between the two groups because even if we are both against the existing state they would very quickly come up with another state." Rothbard is primarily an economist and comes up frequently with valid and highly technical criticisms of the state's economic interventions even if written from a capitalist-anarchist point of view.

The American movement is based largely upon economic theories. Besides Rothbard, such theoreticians as von Mises and von Hayek form the basis for much of the economic underpinning of the libertarian viewpoint.

There is a primary belief in private enterprise, in the free market eco-

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nomy, a desire for currency reform, a hatred of interest and the debt system and a widely-shared loathing of taxation.

The belief in private enterprise is a touching optimism rather like some anarchists' belief in the goodness of every man. Just as, in fact, it is the basic weakness (or evil) in every man that makes it necessary to abolish the state which gives the maximum of play to man's weaknesses and desires for power or servitude, in the same way the basic weaknesses in private enterprise are writ large in monopoly capitalism.

Private enterprise and the free market economy, and all those supposed virtues of capitalism are just as much based upon the operation of power and domination. Capitalism is authoritarian by nature.

The ideas of currency reform have some attraction, but as with all reforms one is tempted to quote 'O reform it altogether' and throw out the bathwater of currency caring not what baby is wallowing therein.

America's libertarians are free from the cant of many laissez faire supporters in this country who have no hesitation in begging support from the State when it suits them, and urging protection from 'the free market forces' of foreign competition.

One suspects that the main plank of libertarians is a commonly-held rebellion against taxation. Tucker went to prison to protest against taxation, unlike Ammon Hennacy and Thoreau who went to prison to protest against the usages of the money collected by taxation. One is always finding references to 'excessive' taxation, so therefore in the majority of cases there is no objection to taxation as such but a resentment that one has been personally chosen for victimization for the taxman to support (in some cases) the welfare state, which in turn supports some projects we would rather not.

Resentment of taxation is illogical (but nevertheless human) in those who support the State. The State itself recognises the universal hatred of taxation and makes provision (through tax-allowable chartered accountants and solicitors) for tax-avoidance but is very keen on tracking down tax-evasion. As for the workers, they have no option for by pay-as-you-earn tax is deducted at source. However, such is the irony of the wage system that were it not for the anticipated deduction of tax, it would not be necessary for wage packets to rise so high. Indeed, it is well known that to work too hard and long is to work for the taxman.

Hence the ferocious logic of the tax-wages deal by the unions. The shopkeeper-like Poujadism of the tax-avoiding grumbling contrasts with the do-it-yourself-tax-gathering of V.A.T., since the capitalist shopkeeper is bourgeois and statist at heart. After all, the little man beloved of libertarians is sometimes only a big man who hasn't made it yet.

Coupled with a plea against excessive taxation comes a criticism of big government and big business unhampered by the fact that government and business are driven by their inner dynamism and their very

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nature to grow to their maximum capacity.

The Americans, by reason of their recent history, have an inborn tendency to resent centralised government and rigorously advocate 'state's rights', which unfortunately degenerates into a bragging localised patriotism and a usage of centralised government as a bargaining post.

All these factors of anti-statism have, as Horowitz says, a tendency to disintegrate: "Among the most immediate reasons was the loss of nativism /Americanism/ as a progressive value. Increasingly, it became subject to chauvinistic and conservative leanings." Horowitz goes on: "Individualist anarchism thus joined intellectual bonds with know-nothingists -- with that variety of anti-intellectualism which soon lost the need for intellectualist postures as such. Second, the very individualism of the American native anarchists made the establishment of a 'central clearing house' out of the question. Pockets of anarchism soon became transformed into small literary clubs. The championing of private enterprise as the bulwark /against/ State monopoly made by near-anarchists like Karl Heinsen rendered anarchism useless for the advancement of working class interests and superfluous, even absurd as a rationalization of the ideology of laissez-faire capitalism."

Such a viewpoint declines or can decline into rabble-rousing populism. Two particularly dangerous doctrines popularised by right-wing libertarians are those involved with criticism of financial institutions and the study of revisionism (particularly in regard to World War II). The first is apt, in its simplification for mass-appeal, to decline into anti-semitism owing to the identification of the 'hidden hand of Jewry' -- as quoted from Karl Marx, "anti-semitism is the socialism of a stupid man". The second sometimes coalesces with the first, and with its more detached and realist assessment of the causes of World War II and evaluation of guilt it tends to lean over backwards and becomes, in its more extreme fringes, pro Hitler Germany.

To descend from the Rocky heights of American politics -- where everything is developed in excess to its madly logical conclusions -- to the Olympian heights of British thought. Whilst concurring that developments in other countries need not follow the American pattern (there is in fact a British 'Radical Libertarian Alliance' pursuing similar aims to those outlined above -- 25 Hawthorn Road, Godalming, Surrey), the English (and other) progenitors of individualism have bequeathed a rich philosophy which gives individualist anarchism its particular strength.

John Stuart Mill is a representative type of the English liberal (with a small 'l') tradition to which anarchism owes much. In his essay On Liberty he writes, for example, "It is desirable that in things which do not primarily concern others, individuality should assert itself. Where, not the person's own character, but the traditions or customs of other people are the rule of conduct, there is wanting one of the principal ingredients of human happiness, and quite the chief ingredient of individual and social progress."

Herbert Spencer, following in the individualist path, was a disciple of Darwin whose philosophies he developed. Spencer regarded Malthus's doctrines of the pressure of population on the means of subsistence as a challenge for man to settle in new territories, to improve modes of productivity and to cultivate the arts of husbandry and agriculture (a forecast of the challenge of ecology and alternative technology). Spencer regarded socialism not as the next development of society but as a by-product of the militaristic feudal type of society. Spencer was not surprised to find that in Germany the autocrat, Bismarck should favour a form of state socialism. Socialism, he felt, would produce an ant-heap society.

Spencer was (in 1884) critical of the diffusion of education. On literacy he said, "Table-talk proves that nine out of ten people read what amuses them or interests them rather than instructs them: and that the last thing they read is something which tells them disagreeable truths or dispels groundless hopes. That popular education results in an extensive reading of publications which foster pleasant illusions rather than of those which insist on hard realities, is beyond question."

One of his well-remembered sayings is "Be it or be it not true that Man is shapen in iniquity and conceived in sin, it is unquestionably true that Government is begotten of aggression and by aggression". This assertion is backed by weighty research and many published volumes of his Descriptive Sociology.

Spencer was convinced of the necessity of a gradual transition to a peaceful, industrial, voluntarily co-operative society. He somewhere justifies opposition to the State slavery by the analogy that if one joins a club for the purpose of, say, playing football, and one finds oneself confronted only with facilities for table tennis, one is justified in opting out. The State, having been ostensibly founded for man's protection, welfare and liberty, has forfeited his loyalty when it provides little but

KING ARTHUR

AND HIS NIGHTS AT THE ROUND TABLE

STRANGE HOW one man's meat is another's soya substitute ain't it?

In the sixteen-odd years I've been reading FREEDOM my favourite contributor has been Arthur Moyses and yet here's the poor old sod getting a right bashing in the letter columns recently. But in all those years Arthur has been leading us by our grubby philistine hands around the galleries and portals of the fine arts he's always managed to have his cake and eat it -- I mean he's always bitten the hand that pours the sherry and still they invite him back to the next 'opening'.

Oh I admit that he's driven me near barmy with endless put-downs of the fashionable artists of the moment - "why bother to go Arthur," I say to myself, "If you don't like them, why go?" And then again I think, why not? After all it's not such a bad occupation for an anarchist art critic to mingle with the artie farties of the day, swill back their hospitality and then scrag their darlings blind in the columns of FREEDOM. But all this is by-the-by.

On the whole I don't give a toss whether Arthur likes this or that artist -- what I do like is his writing. Because for my two and fivepence he is the most original writer in the English language still living. "Oh a big claim!" - I hear a shrill exclamation from Sheffield - but true for me, none-the-less. There's nust no mistaking his archaic and convoluted style - that Frankie Howard-like air of complicity - that certainty that we are all party of his innermost thoughts and deeds and have rumbled these obscure daubers as well. He expects us, like him, to know that the world of the arts is essentially a sham - an endless dance - a mad hatter's teaparty of taste and fashion, high society and low farce.

But there is another side to his work. He has also written of strikes and lockouts, of the follies of London Transport, of the crassness of transport ministers, of the dangers of bus-conducting in an age of late-night violence, racial hatred and football lunacy. And here too, no matter how passionately he has felt, his work has carried that unmistakable Moyses style. He is, essentially, a stylist, but unlike many writers and artists, his style is not the sum of his work because it is allied to a fierce working class commitment.

I suppose though, that what he chiefly does, whether recording life on the top deck of a No. 29, reviewing a demonstra-

tion of bricklaying at the Tate or drawing a cover for an obscure poetry mag, is to record the follies of our time. And this includes the follies of both foe and friend because ever since I've been aware of his work, the anarchist movement with all its feuds and tuppenny passions has been the subject of his caustic word and line tool.

All of which is by way of introduction to Arthur's new book, More in Sorrow, published by Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Bookshop at 60p plus 11p postage. As Shelley might once have said "they are many we are few" and it would be as well for us "few" to support any anarchist publishing venture and any anarchist writer/artist who dares to put a book on the market. But when the publisher is the indefatigable Jim Huggon (who works at Freedom Books) and the book in question focuses on The Anarchist Follies then we should be out there queuing up with our gelt ready.

For, in Arthur's book are six cautionary tales of his adventures in the company of his legendary "Uncle Albert" and a cast of thousands. Here, in an hilarious world of inspired gossip, malice and hard fact (?), are recorded the wilder imaginings and deeds of the London Anarchist Federation, as its more public members pick their way through the emergence of the underground, the rise of flower power, Better Books, rallies, demos and drunken nights at the round tables of Ward's Irish pub in Piccadilly.

The stories are as densely peopled as his minutely detailed drawings which decorate the book, and his world of charlatans, comen, drunkards, tarts and revolutionaries is at once as familiar and as bizarre as the drawings themselves. He reminds me of a very fine writer called Gwyn Thomas, who used to write in Punch. Thomas's recollections of adolescence and young manhood in the Welsh valleys sprang from a fierce chapel socialism and his imagination was as wild as the coat of a mountain sheep.

Arthur's ravings spring from a curious catholic anarchism which is as funny as it is genuinely surreal. He's as good a writer as Thomas but, whereas Thomas has opened his world to the middleclass readers of Punch, Arthur has closed his down to the initiated and informed of the LFA. It's not that he doesn't reach the rest of us - he does, but not totally. For his is a narrow and close world; some of the barbs are clearly private and we can only guess at his real meaning and purpose.

But for anybody who has been remotely connected with the Libertarian movement over the last decade or so, there is enough here to titillate and entertain in abundance. And when the yet unborn historians of anarchism look back to the sixties and seventies Arthur's triumphant book will be there to confound, confuse and cause mischief long after his own drawings have become collector's items and englit' students are writing earnest critiques of his literary style.

jeff cloves.

RIGHT WING ANARCHISM [cont from P. 13]

aggression, poverty and slavery.

The influence of Darwinism contributed to the Spencerian school of individualism. Spencer, as we have seen, took Darwinism and Malthus to bolster up his individualism. Kropotkin found it necessary to develop his theory of 'mutual aid' to counter the Victorian private-enterprise advocacy of 'the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest'. These ideas were put forward to justify the ruthlessness of the development of capitalism -- the big companies survived therefore they were the fittest.

Rather than develop the political implications of individualism the British individualist movement has developed a typically English brand of egotism, almost eccentricity. Highly developed from self-interest drawn mainly from Max Stirner's The Ego and his Own it has become highly self-regarding. Stirner (like Marx) is more cited than read author and like measles is better suffered comparatively early in life and got over with, otherwise egoism may attack one later in life.

The simple truth about Stirnerism is that one must be a complete individual in order to be able to live communally in society. Stirner helps one to realize that individuality which can only survive in a society of co-operativeness and mutual aid. It is so because such actions (of cooperation and aid) can only be enacted by free individuals, acting

freely.

When one comes to the wilder distortions of individualism (e.g. Jean-Pierre Schweitzer's Oidios, Parker, 1966) which advocates what seems to be pure selfishness -- for example, "The criminal is the anarchist par excellence" -- Schweitzer garnishes his pamphlet with quotes from the eminently quotable Stirner and the preferably selective quote from Nietzsche who, like Stirner and many others, is ill-served by his disciples who select texts to suit a pre-arrived at philosophy.

Nietzsche, and by analogy individualism, has been saddled with the responsibility for Nazism. This is a monstrous distortion of Nietzsche's thought. Indeed it is claimed that the 'Gospel of the Superman' on which much of Nietzsche's 'Nazi' connections are blamed, is a forgery. Certainly selected parts of Nietzsche present a distorted philosophy.

As a final excursion to a somewhat rambling tour of the horizon -- the idea of superman and the Darwinian theories decoyed George Bernard Shaw in an anarchistic mood to compare Bakoonin (his spelling) with Wagner's hero of the Ring cycle: Siegfried. But it is impossible to take Shaw seriously and Shaw's contribution to right-wing anarchist theory was mercifully short in duration. The connection of Wagner with anarchism was even briefer and even less worthy of note.

If there is one thing common to all the schools of right-wing anarchism it is their ability and propensity to communicate so this is probably not the last we shall hear of right-wing anarchism.

Jack Robinson.

warfare is, regardless of whether the weapon is a bomb or a bullet, an acceptable and 'legal' means of conducting hostilities" (from the view point of international law) but what is unacceptable and illegal is "violence directed against individuals taking no active part in hostilities. And that is precisely what the countless assassinations, indiscriminate gelignite explosions in civilian centres, and scorched earth tactics constitute".

Che Guevara, presumably, would take a dim view of many assassinations carried out in Ulster as he is quoted as stating that "the killing of persons of small importance is never advisable, since it brings on an increase of reprisals, including deaths". There is another oft quoted theory of Guevara's, with which I personally disagree, to the effect that "The guerrilla fighter needs full help from the people of the area. This is an indispensable condition".

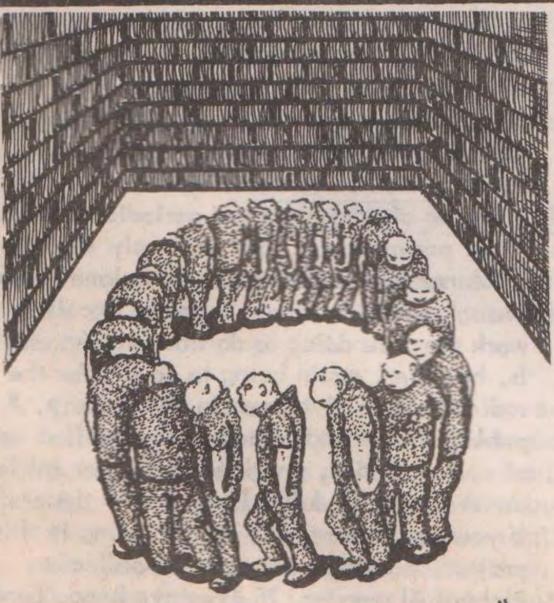
The guerrilla, rural or urban (and widespread support may be important for rural guerrillas fighting in the countryside), likes to spotlight his role as liberator or protector but never his other roles of racketeer and intimidation. Remember how the ERP began in Argentina and later devoted most of its attention to more lucrative kidnappings and protection rackets? Or, similarly, how the Symbionese Liberation Army switched its interests from supplying free food to the poor to robbing banks for the SLA? When a guerrilla movement has attained sufficient strength it relies just as much upon intimidation as it does upon popular support. Anyone who is willing to believe that people who live in areas dominated by paramilitaries support them to the extent of allowing their cars to be hijacked or their small businesses to be either "protected" or robbed needs to think again. That so called theory of Guevara's is, I believe, used mainly as hogwash.

THE MORE LAW THE LESS ORDER?

Our author, good attorney that he is, is very keen on law and order but before considering his views let us consider what the views of anarchists might be on the question of law and order in a situation of urban terrorism. The more law the less order? Not for me at any rate. I have heard that one before and it simply isn't true.

It may appeal to some groups of nihilists or to those who are subversives (not revolutionaries) just for the hell of it, the sort who continually decorate their publications with sub-machineguns or other lethal weapons. In such groups we find the aggressive psychopaths, the schizophrenics, the politically naive, the intellectual terrorists who obtain a vicarious pleasure from offering verbal support to the real terrorists.

The genuine revolutionary has at least some idea of the sort of society he would like to see and some idea of how to set about its attainment, very few serious revolutionaries are "instant revolutionaries". And most anarchists, I believe, are opposed to bourgeois law and order and to the State because they wish to replace them with something better not with something worse. Which raises an important question. When it becomes a question of their kind of law and their kind of order or no law and order at all, in effect anarchy but not anarchism what then? I do not pretend to know all of the



ARTHUR MOYSE 

"YOU
BLOODY
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answers to that one but how many of us have devoted much thought to it?

A MODEST PROPOSAL

Roger H. Hull asserts that "law and order is not, as Britain ostensibly believes, the precursor to freedom and justice. These societal factors are instead interdependent: if there is to be a non-despotic reign of law and order, there must be freedom and justice; and if there is to be freedom and justice there must be law and order. Accordingly, law and order must be pursued simultaneously with freedom and justice, not *seriatum*". (Don't bother to look up your dictionary, *seriatum* means "in regular order", i.e. in series.)

He proposes a modest two-step solution which he believes "will appear naive to some readers" but "is workable; and although the solution will neither fully satisfy all of the participants nor bring true peace to the Six Counties for another generation, it offers - through its immediate and long-range stages - the best chances for the attainment of that peace". It strikes me that any man who realises that no solution will fully satisfy all of the participants nor bring true peace for another generation is not being naive, he is being eminently sensible and his ideas deserve serious attention.

Step one aims at ending terrorism not only by force, as various White Papers have suggested, but also by extending full equality and justice to all citizens of Ulster and encouraging "the citizen opposition required to defeat urban guerrillas". At the same time it envisions a British request for a UN or NATO or EEC peacekeeping force to replace the British Army. Such a force would relieve the drain on British resources and even if it was no more successful than the British Army in maintaining order would be better able to convey the feeling that it is treating all citizens of N. Ireland fairly.

The status of N. Ireland should remain unchanged unless and until the people of the Six Counties decide, by democratic means, to alter that status. If the problem of sectarianism cannot be solved in a six-county microcosm, it cannot be solved simply by taking the problem and putting it into a thirty-two county context. "And is it not laughable to suggest that once reforms are granted, there can be no justification for two Irelands simply because the original purpose of the Ulster Government was the maintenance of the 'apparatus of Protestant supremacy'?" Of this latter argument, once advanced by Owen Dudley Edwards and a favourite of Irish nationalists, Hull observes that "it seems foolish to argue that the elimination of discrimination removes the need for a separate government. Under that theory, there would be few governments in the world today".

Simultaneously with the implementation of step one, the second step must be commenced. This involves the integration of the schools in Northern Ireland, an end to religious segregation in education. This is one step I have always favoured no matter how long it takes to bring about or what methods are needed to do so, and it is good to see that Hull is not blind, as so many who write on Ulster seem to be, to its importance. He recognises that it will be exceedingly difficult to accomplish given the "traditions" of the North, but he thinks that this battle - and the war - can be won because 65% of the adult population want to win it and because Britain can put economic pressure on the Catholic schools by cutting off or reducing state funding of sectarian education.

One would hope that such a hard-line policy would be extended to Protestant sectarian schooling if the Paisleyites refused to come to heel. And Britain would also be in a position to impose economic sanctions on Eire where Catholicism is a thriving industry and one geared to export markets.

There in brief are Hull's modest proposals and they are not so naive as he himself seems to think. They combine the mailed fist with the velvet glove and the time span suggested for implementing them, a generation, is realistic enough. They provide a sensible and practical basis for discussion and the sooner those who have the power to begin implementing have a look at them the better. Or would we prefer another White Paper?

H. B.

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT has yet to emulate the various Marxist sects, and the Marxological sector of the university book-producing machine, in the proliferation of secondary undergrowth spawned by, but now choking, those two great sacred mushrooms of the nineteenth century, Karl and Fred. (Bakunin knows, they had enough fungus between them).

And yet, and yet...the paper explosion (it used to be known as the "information explosion," but librarians, at least, have become more sanguine about the self-promotional publishing of "original research" by academics) increasingly afflicts the anarchist movement. Anarchists have been prolific producers of mimeographed literature, in the shape of leaflets, pamphlets, internal bulletins, journals, etc. almost since the invention of the stencil duplicator, which has the three advantages of relative cheapness, simplicity of operation, and speed of production, which in their turn mean that small groups with slender resources can fulfil one of the fundamental principles of anarchism - autonomous local initiative and activity, in the sphere of publishing and propaganda.

These days, the increasing availability of photo-offset lithography printing facilities, which eliminate the need for costly setting in metal type, and allow the use of more newspaper-like paper than is possible with duplicating, means that more groups of divergent tendencies in the anarchist movement can produce their own, more or less sophisticated looking journals, to compete with the heavily subsidized papers of the myriad parties of Left and Right. If this leads to the clarification of ideological positions, all well and good, but we must never lose sight of the fact that it is the content of the journal which matters, and that glossy production, while apparently necessary to attract the "floating" anarchists in advanced consumer societies, is only secondary. (This is not an apologia for sloppy production - anarchist printing should be as good as the means available allow.)

The Italian monthly, *A - rivista anarchica*, fulfils both criteria, being produced by a group of militants and writers who share a similar analysis of contemporary society. The 5th issue of the *Bollettino del Centro Documentazione Anarchica* (Via Ravenna 3, 10152 Torino, Italy) contains an article by R. Brosio, one of *A*'s collaborators, on the production of, and philosophy behind, the magazine. Although the magazine is, for the most part, produced by militants of the G.A.F. (Federated Anarchist Groups), it is not the organ of that federation, but sees itself as being in between an instrument of daily struggle and a theoretical review, offering applied analyses of current developments in the reality that surrounds us. It is this aspect of *A*, rather than its glossy production that makes it possible the best contemporary anarchist periodical.

Most of what *A* publishes, is worth publishing. This is more than can be said of a goodly part of the world anarchist press. Too much of what passes for anarchist writing these days boils down to personal moans or sociological gibberish disguising a poverty of thought, none of which is either a useful aid to the comprehension of what is happening, or good propaganda.

The paper explosion has given rise in its turn to anarchist "documentation centres," the latest of which to announce its existence is the "centre de documentation libertaire de Lyon," (13 rue Pierre Blanc, 69001 Lyon, France).

They state that "the work of anarchists is equally to make known and to propagate libertarian ideas." To this end they appeal to groups to send them books, pamphlets, personal research work, tracts ... on anti-authoritarian struggles in your area, to participate materially and financially in the work of the centre, to send suggestions, etc. They intend to arrange an exchange of documents between the various groups wishing to participate in the centre, and to publish a bulletin.

There are already two such bulletins in regular existence, the aforementioned "Bollettino del Centro Documentazione Anarchica" which started in January this year, and the long established CIRA (International Centre for Research on Anarchism) Bulletin, the 31st of whose half-yearly issues has just appeared (available from Freedom Bookshop for 30p + 9p post). The two bulletins both supplement their basic contents - lists of the latest additions to their collections - with other material such as book reviews (common to both), short essays on anarchist history (the speciality of CIRA Bulletin), and reprints of documents (more common in the "Bollettino").

The Italian documentation centre doesn't see itself as an archive but as a centre for the distribution of the Italian Movement's publications to the Italian movement, particularly to those militants who live in small, out of the way, places. To this end, it devotes a couple of pages to detailing the contents of mimeographed publications currently available, and several pages to brief details of current books in Italian, of interest to Italian anarchists. (Interestingly enough, the longest book review is devoted to a translation of Colin Ward's "Anarchy in Action," which has also just been translated into Dutch). It also carries translations from foreign anarchist journals (this issue - articles on the reconstruction of the CNT, from *Frente Libertario*) - primarily texts which are too long or complex to fit easily into more propaganda oriented journals.

But the "Bollettino" doesn't entirely neglect the historical aspect of "documentation". The previous issue (no. 4 for April), for instance, was largely devoted to reproducing documents produced in the last ten years by the "Dioniso" group, a libertarian communal group who have been trying to build an alternative way of living, based on "free use" of tools, etc. in the Tiburtino district of Rome. The publication of this documentation, in this form, is especially valuable, since the originals were mimeographed pamphlets, which are now hard to find, and difficult to store given the physical characteristics of duplicating paper (bulky and prone to rapid disintegration). Bringing them together, and adding explanatory introductions and notes makes it much easier to get a clear picture of the group.

CIRA, on the contrary, is basically an archive, storing single copies of publications for historical purposes; and the bulletin reflects this, with its lists of additions of new books, old books, pamphlets and documents, and its notes on research in progress, and on sources for the study of the history of anarchism (for instance, in this issue, there is Piero Ferrua's second installment, in English, on "Sources of study on the Mexican Revolution").

One of its most useful features is biographical sketches (plus bibliographical information, if they were also writers) of less well known figures in the anarchist movement. The current issue has three pages (in French) on Nicolas Lazarewitch, "agitateur ouvrier", the compan-

ion of Ida Mett, best known to English speakers as the author of a book on the Kronstadt uprising. If ever there was an internationalist, it was Lazarewitch, born in Belgium, of Russian extraction, speaking most of the European languages, he cared little for national boundaries (at one time, apparently, he used a savings bank book as a passport, to move about in the Balkan states - the frontier guards were impressed by the number and variety of stamps in it!)

He was imprisoned by the Bolsheviks in 1924 for anarcho-syndicalist propaganda in the Dynamo factory in Moscow, and was only released after a long protest campaign in France mounted by various libertarian and syndicalist groupings. After his release he undertook a series of public meetings in France and Belgium to expose the reality of the new ruling class in the Soviet Union. The meetings held in communist strongholds usually ended up in pitched battles between the anarchist organisers and the local CP members.

Lazarewitch spent some time in Northern Italy in the late 1920s, and in 1931 he went to Spain to observe the rebirth of the anarcho-syndicalist movement there, and wrote a series of articles for the magazine, *La Revolution Proletarienne*, which 40 years later were gathered into a book. Wherever he was, Lazarewitch was always concerned with the workers' struggle, participating in it as an activist in the 20s, 30s and 40s, and reappearing from semi-retirement in 1953, 1956, and 1968 to give his support in those years of struggle.

A collection of the various biographical portraits that have appeared in the CIRA Bulletin over the years, with updated information would be a useful addition to anarchist historiography. The bulletin is also increasingly publishing material which doesn't fall into any of the above categories, such as, in this issue, the manifesto of the HAPOTOC group in Amsterdam, and a "Note on Contemporary U.S. Anarchism" by Bruce Vandervort. The rest of the issue is taken up with book reviews: Volume V of the "Archives Bakounine" is reviewed by Jeanne-Marie (whose biography of Bakunin is due off the presses any time now); "Le discours de la servitude volontaire" by de la Boetie, and "La Terreur sous Lenine" by Jacques Baynac, are reviewed by Louis Mercier Vega (in French); "La guerilla urbana: Facerias" by Antonio Tellez is reviewed by Frank Mintz (in Spanish); and a massive, unpublished thesis by Dominique Gros, on workers' councils in the Austro-Hungarian empire 1917-20, is reviewed by Miklos Molnar (in French).

The one criticism that could be made of these two bulletins is that they are not systematically arranged by subject. The listings in the CIRA Bulletin are alphabetical, but unless one is searching for works by a particular author, they might as well be random. Systematic subject-indexing of pamphlets and periodicals takes a lot of person power, and obviously neither CIRA nor the "centro documentazione" have enough energy to divert from the excellent work they are doing to do this too. An effort is, however, again being to do this for the radical/alternative press in this country. A publisher is already lined up for the first issue of such an index, provided sufficient entries are received by July 31st to justify the project. If you are interested in collaborating in this project, please contact the co-ordinator, Richard Alexander, 18 Byegrove Road, London SW19 2AY, who can send you more information (please enclose a stamped addressed envelope).

D.L.M.