

FREEDOM

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TWELVE PENCE

THEY MUST NOT HANG

REPORT COMPILED BY D. O' M. and K. O' M.

MAIN TRIAL ACCOUNT

ON WEDNESDAY June 9th, two anarchists, Noel and Marie Murray, were sentenced to hang on July 9th, by a three-man tribunal in Dublin, for allegedly killing a policeman in September 1975 when escaping after a bank raid. Sentence of 12 years on a charge of armed robbery, 6 years each on separate charges of possessing firearms and 5 years for having explosives were also imposed, giving a total of 35 years each. The third accused, Ronan Stenson, is being granted a separate trial on similar charges because of his poor physical and mental health. Stenson, was described by his psychiatrist as being "tense, extremely agitated, and showing crisis upset of panic proportions".

Noel Murray went on the run in 1974 when he jumped bail during a trial concerning arms and explosives offences, for which three anarchists were imprisoned, and Marie Murray was given a two-year suspended sentence. On 11th September 1975, an off-duty garda (policeman) Michael Reynolds, died after being shot through the head in a public park in the Raheny area of Dublin while chasing bank raiders. On

September 23 gardai (police) raided the homes of known anarchists throughout Dublin. According to anarchist sources in Ireland about 200 raids were carried out - directed not only at anarchists but also against the relatives and friends of the previously imprisoned anarchists - in what appears to be an attempt to use the 'guilt by association' methods also employed by the British police in the Angry Brigade trials. Considerable brutality was used during the subsequent interrogations, one detainee spending two weeks in hospital recovering. On October 9, Noel and Marie Murray and Ronan Stenson (who had been picked up earlier and released) were arrested and beaten into signing 'confessions' which were subsequently accepted as valid evidence. Mr. Justice Pringle, who presided at the court, claimed, however, that no factual basis existed for any of the allegations against the Gardai, that the statements had been made freely and voluntarily and that both accused had been properly treated by the Gardai. However when the Murrays were brought to trial the Irish straight press complied with a request from Justice Pringle not to report on the evidence relating to the admissibility of certain statements of the accused until the court had decided on their admissibility. Important evidence pertaining to the fact that the 'confessions' had been made under duress did not, therefore, find its way into the daily papers.

The sentences were the culmination of a 7-weeks' trial during which the Murrays vehemently protested the unjust nature of the proceedings and demanded a fair trial. Because of this they were removed to the cells, where the proceedings were relayed by microphone to them. Earlier, speaking in

PICKET! PICKET!

IN SUPPORT OF

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY

at

THE BANK OF IRELAND

106 Kilburn High Road, London N.W.6

SATURDAY, JUNE 26th (starts 10am)
until JULY 9th.

ALL groups, comrades and sympathisers are urged to attend and support.

Francesco.

SCHOOL'S OVER, TEACHER!

THE NUMBER of people killed in the Johannesburg township of Soweto has risen to 109 with 1,100 injured. figures are expected to be revised later when a substantially higher toll will be shown.

This massacre of protesting Black Africans reminds us of a previous incident in the white man's rule of Southern Africa. At that time, in March 1960, it was a Sharpeville, a township near Vereeniging. The Africans were protesting over the carrying of passes and had gathered at the police station to surrender themselves for not carrying these identity cards which they were required to do by law. The demonstrators were fired upon and 56 men, women and children killed and 162 injured.

The Soweto demonstrations centre around a government ruling that African schoolchildren in 'white' urban areas must be taught in both English and Afrikaans. In other areas, such as the so-called Bantu Homelands, everyone has a choice. As an example of this, all "homelands" governments have stopped the teaching of Afrikaans in favour of English.

This differential illustrates the need needs of what can only be described as a racial slave state. Where the ruling 'whites' need the Africans they have to have a knowledge of the two languages used by the 'whites' in the towns and cities. Afrikaans is indeed the language of the white ruling class. It is the masters' language. But even slaves need some education and must converse with their masters. And so although the number of Black children at school has risen to nearly four millions, three quarters of these re-



"SCHOOL'S OVER, TEACHER."

[cont. from P.1]

ceive about four years education in the schools. If further evidence of discrimination is needed, the government spends £300 a year on every white schoolkid, and only £18 on Africans.

Even before these demonstrations members of African school boards had been sacked by the authorities for refusing to teach Afrikaans in their schools. But the Black secondary school children realise that they are slaves. They still have to carry the hated passes wherever they go. Every aspect of their lives will be controlled, they know this from how their parents have been bonded to an employer, restricted in movement and even separated one from the other. They have seen the arrest and imprisonment of people for not carrying - even just forgetting to carry - this card.

At 16 they will have to carry this card. But all around they see the African taking over from the white man. This change of masters from white to black had already started at the time of Sharpeville, but now only Rhodesia and South Africa remain. Time is fast running out for these slave states where the human dignity of the black African is trodden on so that a minority of 'whites' can live and enjoy a higher standard of living than they could if they lived in Europe.

The government has blamed the 'riots' on outside 'agitators' but as one South African paper has said, the real agitators as 'poverty, frustration, and the cruel laws of apartheid'. But at last the 'Wind of Change' which Mr. Macmillan spoke of in his hypocritical speech in Capetown 1960, is becoming a reality. It has taken a long time, much longer if you are daily subjected to apartheid, for the wind to reach the southern part of Africa. In his speech Mr. Macmillan warned the South African government that they, the British government, could not just mind its own business when apartheid "affects my business too". But since then we have had reports about these same business interests paying starvation wages to the African worker. We haven't seen the hypocritical Guardian, which is willing to report and attack these companies in its columns, turn down; advertising from these same companies. It has been business as usual for British capitalism, who have been only too willing to exploit the cheap slave labour provided by the racist police state.

Mr. Vorster, the South African prime minister, has said his coming talks with Mr. Kissinger would not stop his government from taking firm action: "the maintenance of law and order is more important". This is the same type of reaction as that which followed Sharpeville. It is the reaction of people trapped in a closing net of their own making. Sharpeville ended the non-violent attempts of the Pan-African Congress and African National Congress to a peaceful change. And we of 'white' Europe failed to respond to these organisations' call for a boycott

THEY MUST NOT HANG!

[cont. from P.1]

his own defence, Noel Murray had challenged the prosecution's evidence, based as it was on statements not given voluntarily. Noel said that if the court rejected part of these statements then it must cast doubts on all of the statements. None of the other evidence put forward by the prosecution, none of the items found in his home or anywhere else, could be placed in their possession at the time of the crimes. The only thing which might make this evidence valid was the statements. He continued that statements of admission were not generally regarded as sufficient evidence in any murder trial. Marie Murray pointed out that the prosecution's case involved admitted speculation on what were the thoughts of the late Garda Reynolds as he passed the bank and started the chase. "I think when the prosecution feels it necessary to enter the realms of speculation it shows basic weaknesses in their case." Continuing, she said that the part dealing with the death of Garda Reynolds must be first-hand knowledge or imagination. In this case there was nothing to connect either herself or her husband with the robbery or the murder. She concluded, "On the evidence you only point to one or the other of us -- not both, and I submit that no court could find both of us guilty. There is no evidence apart from a doubtful statement by Noel, to convict us of the crimes with which we are charged."

Before sentence was passed Noel said there was a great amount of evidence that he could bring forward in his and Marie's defence if they were given the chance of a fair trial. Marie then thanked the tribunal for having vindicated every word she and Noel had said, since this farce started. The following exchange ensued:

Justice Pringle: Please restrict yourself to the question of sentence.

MARIE: Please Mr. Pringle, show some courtesy. I did not interrupt you.

J. P.: Don't interrupt the court.

MARIE: This is not a court. No sentence you can give is justified. This is not a court. If you wish, have us ejected from the dock and pass the death sentence."

J. P.: Will you stay quiet!

of South African goods. Indeed all the official Labour Movement could do in this country was organise a one month's consumer boycott, the irony of which was that it was the same month in which the Sharpeville shootings took place. The white working class failed to aid their black comrades. We failed in helping to avoid the bloodshed of last week. For the type of rule the white racials have imposed can only end in a bloodbath unless others on the outside give the oppressed their solidarity. When that bloodbath comes the white supremists' rule will end. May it be soon.

P. T.

MARIE: Are you afraid of what we have to say?

Pringle then ordered the accused to be forcibly removed from the court. After an adjournment of 20 minutes she was brought back for sentencing and as Mr. Pringle began to pronounce the death sentence on her, she interrupted saying "This Law and Order Government has timed this for the elections." Once again she was removed. Noel refused to reenter the court to hear sentence, saying "I'm not going up there, I don't consider it a court."

Justice Pringle refused the Murrays the right to appeal against the convictions and sentences, but said they could appeal against his refusal to the Court of Criminal Appeal.

On 14th June Noel lodged his appeal, which is not expected to be heard until late July. We have just heard as we were going to press (21st June) that Marie has now lodged an appeal. Noel is being held in the Curragh Military Detention Centre, Co. Kildare, Eire (along with the anarchists imprisoned in 1974) and Marie in Limerick Prison (along with Rose Dugdale, Marion Coyle) where her right to receive mail is severely restricted.

Protests should be addressed to
1) The Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor

BACKGROUND ON THE "NEW EARTH" GROUP

The arrest and trial of the Murrays marks only the latest phase of the Garda attack on New Earth, a Dublin anarchist group with Black Cross connections. On March 20th 1974, Paul Stephens, the group's international secretary, was arrested and charged with petrol bombing the Spanish cultural institute in Dublin on March 3rd (an attack carried out to protest the garotting of Puig Antich in Spain the previous day). Later, all the members of the New Earth group were arrested and four of them, Columba Longmore, Bob Cullen and the Murrays (along with Des Keane and Edward Jones who were not members of the group) were charged with armed robbery, possession of firearms and explosives, and with causing explosions at Iberia Airways offices and various finance houses in Dublin. All were originally granted bail of £4000 and sureties but this was subsequently withdrawn from all but Marie Murray. Noel went on the run until his arrest in 1976. They were found guilty and received sentences of 7 years (Cullen), 5 years (Longmore), 4 years (Keane) and 2 years suspended (Marie Murray).

The group's plans to start a new libertarian monthly to be called "New Earth Resistance" collapsed as a result of these arrests and the police confiscated the group's files and duplicator.

D.O'M & K. O'M.

THEY MUST NOT HANG

Place, London, S.W.1.
2) President O Dalaigh, Aras an Uachtaran, Phoenix Park, Dublin, Eire.

[Information from Irish anarchist sources; People's News Service; Black Flag.]

COMMENT

The Murrays were tried in Dublin's "Special Criminal Court", which is a 3-judge tribunal presided over by the 74-year-old Justice Denis Pringle. There is NO jury in such courts and the judges can be any barrister, solicitor or military officer of seven years' standing. These courts were set up to try I.R.A. offenders because of the alleged difficulty of protecting jurors from intimidation and reprisals -- but why the Murrays who have absolutely no link with the I.R.A. should have been tried in this court, and not by jury, is one of the more sinister aspects of this case.

A major talking point in Dublin legal circles after the sentencing centres on the availability of an executioner, as there is no official executioner in Ireland and traditionally a British hangman has been used. There have been reports of an un-named British executioner, who recently carried out hangings for the Smith regime in Zimbabwe, being used -- and Mr. Harry Allen, Britain's official hangman and one-time apprentice to Albert Pierpoint, has said he will carry out the hangings if requested "because it is the right thing to do". Support for the proposed executions has come from Mrs. Reynolds, widow of the murdered garda, and from the British Police Federation who have linked it to their call for the return of capital punishment in Britain.

The last execution in the Republic was in 1954 although in the post-war period 18 death sentences, including three on women, were passed. However, all but three of these (all on men) were commuted to life sentences. This might lead one to suppose that the Murrays could automatically expect a reprieve -- but this, due to recent changes in the law, is not so. Since 1963, under the Criminal Justice Bill, capital punishment (for murder) is abolished except for killings of, e.g. a diplomat, garda, etc. WHICH ARE LIKELY TO HAVE POLITICAL MOTIVES. As a result the Murrays have effectively been labelled "terrorists" in the modern sense, and public outcry against their sentences is consequently more muted. President O Dalaigh alone can commute the sentences, but only on the recommendation of the government, and in view of Premier Cosgrave's known "law and order" stance this cannot be taken for granted. However Michael Mullen, a member of the Irish Senate and Irish Transport and General Workers' Union leader, has called for the hangings to be called off, as have prominent legal figures. Finally, one might think that this same Irish government protested diplomatically to Franco's regime over the 1975 executions of left-wingers.

FOOL'S PARADISE

"WHAT will happen if the PCI (Italian Communist Party) gets into power?"
"WHAT will happen if the PSI (Italian Socialist Party) vote increases?"
"THE latest opinion polls show Communists and Christian Democrats running neck and neck. Turn to page ... for a detailed analysis!"

At the time of writing (Sunday 20th June) Italians are flocking to the polling stations in order to register a vote for one set of liars rather than several others. The results will be known by the time this issue is dispatched but the outcome is irrelevant. Of the various alternatives (which will be sorted out by the parties after the election rather than by the people's votes) none is relevant to the problems facing the people living in Italy except that repression may or may not increase. If the Communists get into power the worst thing that can happen is that some politically naive Camerican commander engineers (together with the fanatical fascists in Italy's armed forces) a military coup sincerely believing that he is helping to save Italy from Red dictatorship. All the "political experts" assure me, however, that Italy is not at all like Chile and that everything will be all right. The "political experts" can always say afterwards that they were wrong speaking from the comfort of their university offices but the Italian people will have to live with the result of various States' reactions to this mass spectacle known as an election.

The 5th June issue of *L'Internazionale* devoted the whole of its front page to the subject of the elections with the banner headline of "Astensionismo Elettorale Anarchico: Arma del Proletariato per La Rivoluzione Sociale" ('Anarchist Electoral Abstention: Arm of the proletariat for the social revolution').

Elections secure consent for the system. The Italian people have been asked to vote for a "new" parliament because there was no guarantee of stability for the various coalition formulas which the ruling classes had tried out with the fodder available to them in parliament. The mass-media have been looking towards a possible Communist-Socialist coalition as the only way to solve what they call a "general crisis" of democracy which goes beyond mere economic matters. Anarchists, however, do not accept this imposition of so-called opinion by the mass-media which whilst pretending to inform actually serves the interests of the status quo. By concentrating people's energies around a peripheral activity (i.e. elections) of the parliamentary power system the rulers have, for the time being, guaranteed the acceptance and continuation of that system.

These elections have come about be-

cause the social inequalities and tensions in Italy have increased, thus bringing about a need for a change in the mode of governing the nation. The Christian Democrats with their corrupt methods based on clientelism can no longer guarantee stability of the ruling system whilst the Communists and Socialists meet better the needs of contemporary capitalism. Since the management of capital is increasingly being centralized into the hands of state institutions and the multinationals there is a need for a more powerful ruling class in the shape of a technobureaucracy, of which "the traditional left" of PCI and PSI is rapidly becoming the political form of expression.

All this fuss, of course, is only really of interest to those with political and economic interests in the control of the levers of power. The rulers' interests are completely opposed to the interests of those who are exploited in their work, of those who are forced to bear hunger and unemployment, of those who are totally excluded from the making of economic and political decisions, and to the interests of the oppressed masses in general.

During the electoral campaign every party on the list invites everyone to vote their candidates in, on the grounds that they are the only ones who are able to represent the people's interests. Since people once in power attain a privileged position they do all they can to ensure that they remain in power, and this involves the safeguarding of their own interests primarily, it seems suicidal for us in our subordinate positions to delegate to others the task of making decisions for ourselves. Because of this, we must refuse to delegate power to professional politicians who, using the excuse that they are representing us in parliament, practice forms of oppression on the people similar to those used in any dictatorial system.

As an economic exile I should like to know whether the parties who attain power will place their own interests first (i.e. solve the present capitalist crisis by making life harsher for the workers, the poor and the alienated) or whether they intend to halt the system of oppression which has ensured that millions of Southerners have had to emigrate to increase the amount of cheap labour in North West Europe and America. The Communists, for instance, constantly argue that it is constant mismanagement of the economy by the Christian Democrats over the past 30 years which has brought about this situation and they also point out the obvious fact that the economic imbalance between North and South and between rich and poor has been const-

SUNSHINE REVOLUTIONARIES

ONE HAS a built-in reflex sympathy with anyone struggling to protect his or her job, and in this hour of savage cuts in the social services for the first time for more than a quarter of a century teachers in the junior, primary and secondary schools are now having to learn the miserable lesson that has always been the common heritage of the labouring class: that of living in weekly expectation of finding a dismissal notice and one's 'cards' enclosed within the pay packet. There was always the comfortable assumption peculiar to the educational and medical trades that the State must and would always provide and that at the end of the State's training course there was a guaranteed job for life, automatic time serving promotion and the economic security to analyse in conferences and wordy committees their contribution to their society and the duty of the community in relation to their medical and educational ideals. The doctors' strikes were a needed catharsis for generations fed overlong on the Victorian public relations pap of the dedicated and idealistic squabones, for when the doctors said, in effect, 'let the bastards die unless we get more wages' they raised themselves up to the level of the middle class image of the common workman.

So too with the teachers in the State schools. In a period of abnormal labour shortage it seemed that everyone was in the 'teaching lark'. Ask where he or she was and the answer was that they had gone in for teaching. Meet he or she when the State training was finished and the drudgery of the schoolroom was their hired lot and one learned that they could not accept the 'authoritarian structure of the educational system' and they had now moved into group therapy or drama appreciation. But the simple fact is "little comrade" the free loading in that particular area is over and as Tony Turner of the SPGB would hammer out from his platform in Hyde Park, Sunday after Sunday in the days of the 1930s 'two million unemployed, "You can be a master mariner, have sailed the seven seas, skippered everything from sail to steam but if you didn't have a ship then you were just another unemployed worker." So translate ship to school.

THE ANNUAL Conference of the National Association of Head Teachers heard several highly aware if reactionary speeches last week. Mr. Stanley Dixon from Epping said that it was a shameful and frightening prospect that ten out of every class of 30 would go out from school to the dole queue.

"We shall finish up with an army of least able, least articulate youngsters mainly from working class and least privileged homes, including immigrant homes. A vast army; they are going to react. They are not going to regard school as of any relevance if at the end of the day there is no means of earning a living.

"They may not be so well organized as the National Union of Students, but they are a far more fertile breeding ground than all the sociological departments of our universities rolled into one."

Of course, we anarchists have always

I have no particular feelings regarding free loading and I write, with complete honesty, that I enjoy watching the alcoholics carrying their cases of wine onto the public places for while I regret that they should destroy themselves in this fashion I find a pleasure in watching my taxes put to a use that gives a sad comfort and harms nobody but my unfortunate recipients. But all those who have poured through the teacher training colleges have betrayed the children of the working class who fed, clothed and housed them during those long and pleasant training years for there are 1,000,000 people within these islands unable to read or write. And I would state without being able to produce a single statistic that the 1,000,000 unable to read or write is a tragedy peculiar to the State working-class schools and that it would be impossible to find a middle-class child of average intelligence unable to read or write. I cannot and will not accept that a child can enter a school at the age of five, spend ten years at larger and larger desks without anyone being aware that the child cannot read an open page or pen a simple line, and all the pretty finger paintings, all the school 'visits', all the play groups are a betrayal of a trust by those who have a vested interest in the educational system from the headmaster, the teachers, the school keeper to the 'lady who dishes out the dinners'.

It is arrogance to claim to teach, but the working class have had to pay too high a price in that they have been used as human fodder by a social service manned over the long years by many who are no more than the rejectable dross of our industrial system, semi-educated themselves and in many instances unfortunate neurotics insisting on controlling children's lives as a dangerous therapeutic release for their own inadequacies. The teaching trade within these islands has always been accepted as the province of the lower middle class just as nursing is a working-class emotional outlet, and if you would dispute this, then check the number of coloured girls in nursing against those in the teacher training colleges and observe how they divide into

hospital or college according to class.

In the past the teachers have never considered themselves part of the industrial work force and in demonstrations for higher wages they have flaunted the social slogan that "Dustmen earn more than teachers", thereby creating the assumption that their demand for higher wages is a social and not an economic right. With £ 4,000 a year, the William Tyndale balls up and a situation wherein principles are daily going for a burton, the 'sit in' of the student trainee teachers must be counted as the greatest protest pratfall in industrial history. I witnessed the banners of protest and 'sit in' decorate the walls of Garnett, Digby Stuart and the Froebel Colleges and this with the full approval of the educational Establishment and national press, and that same sunny day the revolutionary force went home and stayed home for the public hols -- an army had literally left the battlefield to go home to tea. What these student trainee teachers have failed to understand is that they are non-productive and their sit in is as ineffective as that of a group of Old Age Pensioners. No police at the gates of the colleges, no blacklegs, only a tiny minority propagating a lost cause and an indifferent majority already obeying the Careers Officers and looking for another form of training grant, plus the fact that the employed teachers have not risked and will not risk their fragile hold on employment by risking their jobs in defence of those too lazy, stupid or indifferent to fight their own battle. I know what these political economic cuts mean and in committee I have argued to oppose them for they mean the loss of the surplus teacher used for the remedial class to aid those children hardly able to read and write, and it means that the wash basin in the infants' class cannot be fixed. These are the concrete issues that have to be defended and the teachers' economic security will only be defended when they stand in line with the rest of the industrial and agrarian wage class. No workers are going to black the Garnett, Digby Stuart and the Froebel colleges when these people cannot even be bothered to mount a picket on the gates and at four o'clock go home to tea, for the belief that they have a right to the good life is not valid when too many men and women, the factory fodder of an incompetent educational system, have to fight the same battle without a grant and without the Establishment's approval.

Lumpenproletarian.

TRAINING FOR WHAT?

said that it is not political leaders (e. g. the sociology students) who will make the revolution but people themselves. That includes this vast army described by Mr. Dixon. Further, we shed no tears that these youngsters will not regard school as of any relevance. School is a means of training for the acceptance of bourgeois standards and for the acceptance of authority. Neither of these is relevant to the underprivileged. What is more, if these youngsters decided to revolt it would be very unlikely that they would have their actions curtailed by heated debates between the various shades of Marxist intellectuals. Indeed the stock Marxist answer to these people's problems is the Right to Work campaign. However, we are forced to ask whether these school-leavers actually want to spend their lives doing mundane jobs for too little money. The one

thing we can be certain of is that they want to live and enjoy life.

The fear that they might not accept a mundane existence prompted Mr. Swallow from Ongar to suggest to the same conference a programme of national service for school leavers directed at community service rather than the armed forces. He also questioned what he called the trend towards making not working too attractive.

So Mr. Swallow suggests that these youngsters be mechanized through a national service scheme to provide a useful source of cheap labour. This is disadvantageous for everybody concerned in several ways. Firstly, posts and vacancies will not be filled but will merely be carried out by drafted labour. The people drafted into National Service

KROPOTKIN ON BAKUNIN

IN MAY 1914 the anarchist movement commemorated the centenary of Bakunin's birth. Kropotkin, who was then living in Brighton, wasn't well enough to attend the meeting in London on May 20th, but he sent a message which was printed in FREEDOM in June 1914 (together with a tribute from Max Nettlau, the anarchist writer and biographer of Bakunin, which is much too long to reprint here), and is just as suitable to commemorate the centenary of Bakunin's death in July 1976.

(Some of Kropotkin's points need explanation. Bakunin's "abstruse philosophy" was Hegelianism. Marc Caussidière was the republican chief of police in Paris in February 1848 who organised the revolutionary People's Guard which Bakunin served in. He is reported to have said about Bakunin: "What a man! On the first day of a revolution, he is a perfect treasure; on the second, he ought to be shot." Bakunin was not expelled from Paris in February 1848, but left of his own accord in March 1848 -- with a "loan" of 2,000 francs from the French Provisional Government -- to join the revolutionary movement in Eastern Europe. Bakunin was arrested for his part in that movement, was imprisoned in Saxony, Austria (being chained to the wall of his cell at Olmütz for two months) and Russia from 1849 to 1857, and escaped from Siberia in 1861. He did attempt to join the Polish rising of 1863, but got no further than Sweden. He joined the International in 1868, and was expelled by the Marxists in 1872, the Southern European sections seceding in sympathy. Kropotkin's reference to Portugal was prompted by the organisation of a revolutionary syndicalist confederation

tion on the French model in 1914, following the republican revolution of 1910 -- which brings his message right up to date in 1976.

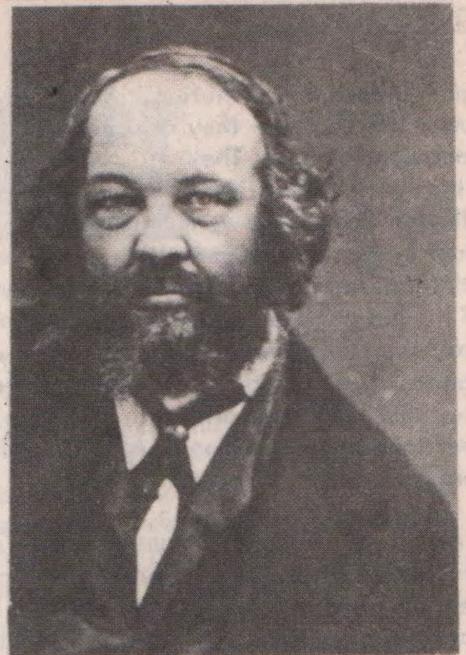
N W)

Dear Comrades,

I am so sorry that I cannot be with you for the commemoration of the birthday of our great teacher, Michael Bakunin. There are few names which ought to be as dear to the revolutionary workingmen of the world, as the name of this apostle of the mass-revolt of the proletarians of all nations.

Surely, none of us will ever think of minimising the importance of that labour of thought which precedes every revolution. It is the consciousness of the wrongs of society which gives to the downtrodden and oppressed ones the vigour that is required to revolt against those wrongs. But, with the immense numbers of mankind, quite an abyss lies between the comprehension of the evils and the action that is needed to get rid of these evils. To move people to cross this abyss, and to pass from grumbling to action, was Bakunin's chief work.

In his youth, like most educated men of his times, he paid tribute to the vagaries of abstruse philosophy. But he soon found his way at the approach of the Revolution of 1848. A wave of social revolt was rising then in France, and he flung himself, heart and soul, into the turmoil. Not with those politicians who already prepared to seize the reins of power, as soon as the monarchy would fall under the blows of the revolted proletarians. He fore-



saw, he knew already, that the new rulers would soon be against the proletarians, the moment they were at the head of the republic. He was with the lowest masses of the Paris proletarians -- with those men and women whose vague hopes were already directed towards a social, communistic commonwealth. Here, he represented the so-much-needed link between the advanced parties of the Great Revolution of 1793 and the new generation of socialists. A giant, trying to inspire the generous but much too pacific socialist proletarians of Paris with the stern daring of the sans-culottes of 1793 and 1794.

Of course, the politicians soon saw how dangerous such a man was for them, and they expelled him from Paris before the first barricades of February 1848 had been built. He was quite right, that bourgeois republican Caussidière, when he said of Bakunin: "Such men are inval-

will both have no right to organize and be made to feel ashamed for grumbling since they are being handed a job as a charity. The scheme would also be a useful first step towards militarizing the country's youngsters again so as to complete the job of teaching them subservience to authority.

The conference also decided to take action on the need for special provision for disruptive pupils. So not only does the educational system bore the pants off certain people so that their only outlet is the one that is taught them by the teacher (i. e. violence) but these headmasters also want to government to take measures to deal with their more unruly products. The proposer of the motion, Miss Aldridge, suggested that some newly-qualified teachers unable to get jobs should be retrained to cope with disruptive pupils and attached to schools so that the pupils could be handled on a more individual basis. The mind boggles!

Mr. Clifford Fisher of New Malden, Surrey, was less concerned about newly qualified teachers getting jobs as bouncers in tough schools and was also much harsher in his attitudes towards the disruptive pupil. He suggested that disruptive pupils should be withdrawn from schools and placed in boarding schools or even in psychiatric wards of mental hospitals. "That is where some of them should be," he said. We are indeed surprised to see he didn't suggest capital punishment as

a very efficient deterrent and cure at the same time!

The conference also pointed out the shameful situation whereby other European countries indulge in far more industrial training than Britain for their school leavers and pointed to the fact that whilst seven tenths of school-leavers' jobs in West Germany were covered by training facilities, in Britain 300,000 boys and girls leaving school each year could not get training from any source. Whilst it is obvious that the present economic crisis and unemployment rate are due to the incompetence of the archaic nation-state with regard to the present stage of development of capitalism it is also sad that the underprivileged who have always suffered through a bad start in life as regards the present reigning system should also be discarded as useless and a problem to be suppressed. People do have a right to live and the present system decrees that to live you must obtain money and to obtain money you have to hire yourself to some sort of employer. It seems only logical within the terms of reference of the present system that the unskilled underprivileged school leaver should have training facilities available.

However, as anarchists we are led to question what they are being trained for. The answer is wage slavery in boring and socially useless jobs. Freely associating collective forms of work would not only be socially useful

in a free society but there would also be no barriers for a young person who wished to learn how to do certain jobs. A person would never in their lives become that sub-species of human known as a "pupil" either. Nevertheless, until we achieve our goal of a free society we should not rejoice at the prospect of someone leaving school and being made to feel a failure because he or she is jobless and the fact that the State is unconcerned about this (except to worry about the possibility of rebellion) is even more evidence of the absurd notion that the State is. If, however, a person comes to the logical conclusion that he or she does not wish to work for this society's interests then he or she deserves all our support. The right to live must not be made subject to conditions such as compulsory subservience. Further, since the amount of self-satisfying activity which could be carried out by individuals if they were freed from the shackles of wage-slavery is probably enormous, society as a whole is lacking the benefit of a whole range of creative effort which the present absurd system prevents.

Anarchists are all in favour of re-training. We want people to train themselves to be free from the authoritarian bilge they are drowned in and are forced to believe. Malatesta said that Government is a disease of the mind and we believe that we can be cured.

Francesco.

KROPOTKIN ON BAKUNIN

able before the revolution. But when a revolution has begun -- they must be shot." Of course they must! They will not be satisfied with the first victories of the middle classes. Like our Portuguese worker friends, they will want to obtain some immediate, practical results for the people. They will want everyone of the downtrodden masses to feel that a new era has come for the ragged proletariat. Of course, the bourgeois must shoot such men, as they shot the Paris workers in 1871. In Paris, they took the precaution of expelling him before the revolution began.

Expelled from Paris, Bakunin took his revenge at Dresden, in the revolution of 1849, and here his worst enemies had to recognise his powers for inspiring the masses in a fight and his organising capacities. Then came the years of imprisonment -- in the fortress of Olmütz, where he was chained to the wall of his cell, and in the damp casemates of the St Petersburg and Schlüsselburg fortress -- followed by years of exile in Siberia. Only in 1862 he ran away from Siberia to the United States and then to London, where he joined the friends of his youth -- Herzen and Ogaryov. Heart and soul he threw himself into the support of the Polish uprising of 1863. But it was only four years later that he found the proper surroundings for his revolutionary agitation, in the International Workingmen's Association. Here he saw masses of workers of all nations joining hands across the frontiers, and striving to become strong enough in their unions to throw off the yoke of capitalism. And at once he understood what was the chief stronghold the workers had to storm in order to be successful in their struggle against capital -- the State. While the politician socialists spoke of getting hold of the State and reforming it, "Destroy the State!" became the war-cry of the Latin Federation where Bakunin found his best friends. The State is the chief stronghold of capital -- once its father, and now its chief ally and support. Consequently, Down with capitalism and down with the State!

All his previous experience and a close friendly intercourse with the Latin workers made of Bakunin the powerful adversary of the State and the fierce revolutionary anarchist-communist fighter he became in the last ten years of his life. Here, Bakunin displayed all the powers of his revolutionary genius. One cannot read his writings from those years, mostly pamphlets dealing with questions of the day and yet full of profound views of society, without being carried away by his powerful argumentation and without being fired by the force of his revolutionary convictions. In reading these writings and in following his life, one understands how and why he so much inspired his friends with the sacred fire of revolt. Down to his last days, even amidst the pangs of a mortal disease, even in his last writings which he considered as his testament, he remained the same firmly convinced revolutionary anarchist and the same fighter, ready to join anywhere the masses in their revolt against capital and the State.

Let us, then, follow his example. Let us continue his work, never forgetting that two things are necessary to be successful in a revolution -- two things, as one of my comrades said in the trial at Lyons: "An idea in the head, and a bullet in the rifle!" The force of action -- guided by the force of anarchist thought.

May 14, 1914

P. KROPOTKIN

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY MUST NOT DIE
IN PRISON

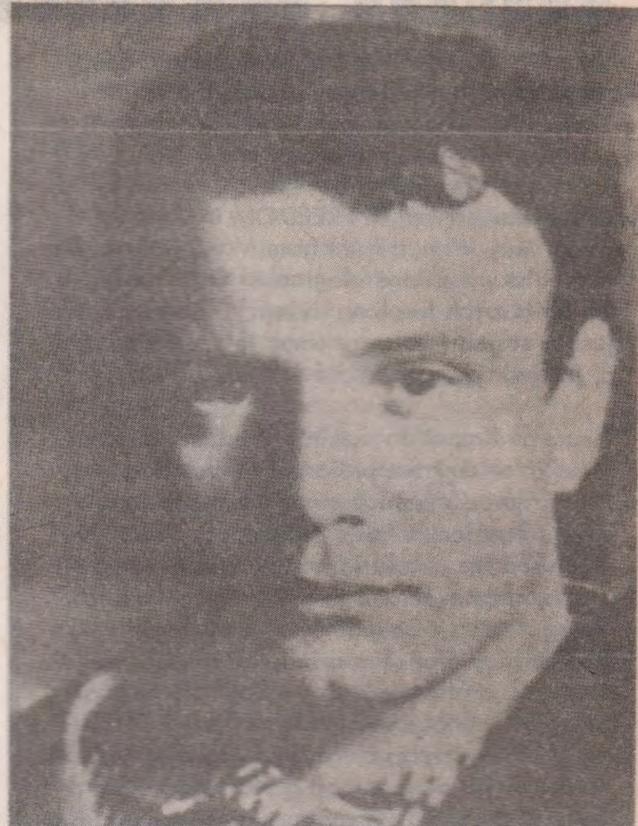
Vladimir Bukovsky, 32, has shown exceptional bravery in campaigning for basic civil and human liberties in the USSR. In particular he took up the cause of those imprisoned in psychiatric institutions because of their opinions and beliefs. Bukovsky sent to the West documentation on the abuse of psychiatry in the USSR and, by his campaigning, worked towards the release of some of these sane and innocent people.

As a result, on 5 January 1972 he received a 12-year sentence on a charge of anti-Soviet activities.

In his short life, Bukovsky has spent some ten years in prison. This has affected his state of health, and he is now afflicted by three illnesses. At present he is being held in appalling conditions and his physical state is so grave that his life stands in danger. He is not receiving proper medical care, and by way he is being treated it is clear the authorities wish him to share the fate of another young political prisoner, Yury Galanskov, who in November 1972 died in a prison camp from lack of proper medical treatment.

Vladimir Bukovsky has committed no crime but has persistently and selflessly fought for the cause of human rights in his country. At his trial in January 1972 he concluded his final plea:

"Our society is still sick. It is sick with the fear we inherited from the time of Stalin's terror. But the process of society's spiritual regeneration has already begun, and there is no stopping it. And society already understands that a criminal is not the person who washes dirty linen in public, but the person who dirties the linen in the first place. And for



whatever length of time that I have to stay in prison, I will never renounce my convictions: I will express them taking advantage of the right guaranteed me by Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution, to everyone who is willing to listen to me.

"I will fight for legality and justice. I only regret that during the brief period—one year, two months, and two days — when I was at liberty, I managed to accomplish all too little towards that end."

How much do you owe this man?

Latest News

LATEST NEWS about Vladimir Bukovsky is extremely serious. He's again in a critical condition after another hunger-strike which has so far lasted three months.

Those who know something of the conditions in Vladimir prison will know how near he must be to death. It is virtually impossible to communicate with Nina Ivanovna, his mother, but it is certain she is now in a state "beyond despair".

At the gate of the Soviet Embassy, where I have recently been refused entry, minor (K.G.B.) officials refer pointedly to an "internal" matter - and close the door. By permanently breaking Bukovsky's health, the Soviets avoid the possible scandal following premeditated murder.

A subtle form of torture is to "find" any prisoner nearing the end of his sentence "insane" after an "investigation" at the Serbsky Institute. Valentyin Moroz is the latest to be found "insane" and "recommended" to a special (i. e. punitive) psychiatric hospital.

The loyal doctors who zealously perform such duties are among those who recently received high praise from an eminent British psychiatrist, Dr. Denis Leigh - himself an adviser to the Ministry of Defence. One would like to know precisely what part this doctor has played in the administration of certain techniques of deprivation and isolation which absolutely must not be referred to as torture. After all, that too is an ..internal matter.

Well, there is to be a chance to bring these things into the open soon, not of course in Parliament, but nearby in Trafalgar Square, on SUNDAY, July 4th at 2.30 p.m. Speakers include Tom Stoppard, Victor Fainberg and Natalya Gorbanevskaya. We hope to see you there.

David Markham (for Bukovsky Committee and Campaign against Psychiatric Abuse).
Lear Cottage,
Colman's Hatch, Hartfield, Sussex.

(Leaflet, with provision for signature of petition on reverse, is available from and for return to David Markham or Amnesty International, 55 Theobalds Road, London, W.C.1, for readers who cannot be at Trafalgar Square on July 4th.)

IN BRIEF

PEOPLE'S HABITAT

"People's Habitat — A Festival of Alternative Living", 29 May - 6 June 1976.

I FELT that "People's Habitat" didn't quite get off the ground or perhaps it was too far off the ground. However, I went as a mere consumer and did not contribute very much. It was a pity the many competent and talented anarchists did not get together on this, particularly as we have a great body of literature relevant to this project.

The most spectacular item was the windmill which (apart from the expensive brick tower) could be built cheaply to perform as a power source. The aim was to pump water to the allotments on the filled-in Surrey Docks at Rotherhithe, south-east London. With the continuing drought I hope it is soon connected to a pump.

Many residents are taking advantage of the example and enterprise of Hilary Peters who runs an urban animal farm at Dog-and-Duck Wharf following an agreement with the Port of London Authority for temporary allotments on the disused docks. However, many tenants appear to accept the temporary nature of the enterprise as the local authorities prepare to cover the area with various commercial enterprises.

It seemed difficult to acquaint tenants with the problems facing human society and the alternatives were not very systematically or competently laid out. This may have been because of the diversity of views, which was why it was a pity that we were not there.

Alan Albon.

VOLK HERO ?

MR. ROBERT RELF, now released * from his jail sentence for contravening the Race Relations Act by advertising his - actually his wife's - house "For Sale to an English Family" only, has become something of a "folk" hero to the British Press. Is he not a "true-blue" Englishman? A hitherto "law-abiding" citizen?

Well, not quite. Though you would never know if you only read the English press.

For those readers of this paper who may not be aware of Mr. Relf's background, the following may be of interest. Mr. Relf already knows about prison life.

Twelve years ago, Robert Relf was jailed for three months when he refused to pay a fine for daubing racist slogans on walls in Warwick. At the time he was a member of Colin Jordan's National Socialist (i.e. Nazi) Movement. Soon after he left the Jordanites, presumably because they did not help him, or were not "extreme" enough. He joined the Ku Klux Klan; and in 1965 he

was jailed again, this time for wearing a KKK uniform. He made tape recordings on behalf of the Klan. Later, he was imprisoned again - this time for two and a half years - for an attack on an Indian shop. After he was released, he joined the National Front. He also applied to join the successor to the NSM, the British Movement. At the present moment, his campaign is being supported by the National Front.

Such is Robert Relf and the squalid gang of "patriots" who are supposed to be defending us from "hordes" of Asiatic aliens! With friends like Relf and the Nazi Front, who could possibly want enemies?

PEN.

*because of danger to his health from the hunger-strike he maintained for about forty days, the judge exercising his prerogative to absolve Relf from his "unpurged contempt of court". The sign remains on his house.

LETTER

RIGHT-WING ANARCHISM

Dear Editors,

Whatever one may think about Jack Robinson's 'ramblings' on "Right-Wing Anarchism" (FREEDOM Review 12 June) his views on anarchist-individualism, which is not the same thing, leave much to be desired. To specify:

- 1) Anarchist-individualists are neither 'Right', nor 'Left', nor 'Centre'. These are arbitrary political terms, whereas anarchist-individualism is a-political.

- 2) His quotation from Irving Horowitz is nothing but question-begging. Which American anarchist-individualists became "chauvinists" and "conservatives"? Who "joined intellectual bonds with know-nothingism"? He does not say, and until he offers concrete evidence and demonstrates that any individuals he can name constituted a majority of American anarchist-individualists, his charge will remain merely malicious rhetoric.

- 3) His remarks on "the British individualist movement" simply display his ignorance. Once more, who is it that quotes from Stirner, but does not read him? As for the silly comparison with measles, what was the young Robinson's reply to the inevitable conformist elder who told him that he would "grow out" of his anarchism when he got older?

- 4) "The simple truth about Stirnerism" is that Robinson's version is neither simple nor true. No-one who has read The Ego and His Own can claim it as a guide to the Robinsonian utopia. Stirner's view of individuation includes both conflict and "co-operation" as expedient to be used by the conscious egoist for his or her own ends, but he in no way commits one to co-operation and "mutual aid" as principles. Those who seek in his work support for humanitarianism are due for a nasty and deserved shock. (One might, in passing, ask why something which one had better suffer early in life, like measles, suddenly becomes transformed into a useful ingredient for living "communally in society"?)

- 5) I am puzzled by the point of citing Schweitzer's O Idios, since I cannot see any necessary connection between "pure selfishness" and "the criminal". For the record,

I will repeat what I wrote when Schweitzer's essay originally appeared (Minus One 13, March/April 1966):

"Anarchists are certainly a-legalists, and sometimes il-legalists, but it does not follow that every law-breaker is therefore an anarchist. If J.-P.S. had written 'The anarchist is the criminal par excellence' - using the term 'criminal' in the sense that Stirner does as the mocker of the 'sacred' - then I would agree with him. As his statement stands, however, it reminds me of the romantic tosh that used to be written about our 'comrades the thieves' by anarcho-communists in the 1880s and 1890s. The ordinary criminal is simply the other side of the coin of the law. They stand and fall together."

Yours sincerely,
S. E. Parker.

FOOLS' PARADISE

antly increasing. Their answer to this problem amounts to a formula for increasing capitalist involvement (i.e. exploitation) through further State control and intervention. That is just what the Christian Democrats have been doing over the past 30 years. Of course, "Our hands are clean!" say the Communists. "Maybe so," I say, "but how long will they remain that way?" One particular phenomenon of Italian political life is that the people who found it convenient to don a black shirt and shoot at the partisans and so on, and shout "Viva il Duce" did so until it became more convenient to vote Christian Democrat and participate in the corrupt technobureaucracy set up by them. Now, many old blackshirts, and ex-Christian Democrats, are all good antifascists and are prepared to vote PCI or PSI.

Delegation of power serves not only to guarantee a consensus for the system but to kill the will to fight for our own interests since we are often happy to leave these troublesome aspects of our tedious lives to someone else. Anarchists know, however, that this system of power whose main weapon is obligation of power through voting must be fought if we are to achieve an egalitarian and free society. The Italian anarchists' conscious action during the elections has been the total abstention from voting.

Anarchists propose direct action, to be carried out personally by all individuals whose freedom has been taken away by the Government, the multinationals, the police, army, etc..., without delegation or any other form of mediation, and also propose free association through non-hierarchical federations based on complete equality between comrades. Through direct action anarchists propose struggle on all fronts against every form of authority, every form of hierarchy, every state, and against all exploitation either by individuals or the state.

The anarchist programme makes sense now and always has done. Therefore, all those Italian voters who have flocked to the polls seeking their salvation in the vote are living in a fools' paradise.

Francesco.

MEETINGS

EAST LONDON Libertarians Group hold regular fortnightly meetings at 123 Lathom Road E.6. Details from Ken, tel.552-3985.

Graphics group also starting. Next meeting Wednesday June 30th, 7.30 pm about racism.

SOCIAL ACTION Projects (Drug Dependents Care Group) Meeting & social gathering Sat. 17th July 2.30 pm at 6 Endsleigh St, London WC1. Anybody interested invited.

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation for meetings, activities and newsletter write 165 Rosehill Road, Burnley, Lancs.

SOUTH EAST London Libertarians Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina tel.852 6323.

KINGSTON Libertarian Group. Interested persons contact Pauline tel. 549 2564.

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

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 & individualism to groups in London and the Home Counties. For more information write to him at 186 Gloucester Terrace, London W.2.

EDINBURGH Bob Gibson, 7 Union Street.

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 meetings

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

LEICESTER. Peter & Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester. tel. 549652

OXFORD. c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street

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

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

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

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

Proposed Federation - individuals or groups interested in forming a Yorkshire Anarchist Federation contact Leeds Group.

OVERSEAS

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Anarchist Group, 32/4 Condomine Court, Turner, Canberra ACT 2601

5p. (post on up to 15 = 6½p).

"Dawn" monthly (libertarian, anti-militarist) c/o Norman Lockhart, 62 Melrose Street, Belfast 9.

INTERNATIONAL CAMPS

Switzerland: July 6-15 at Malville, Enquiries to Groupe James Guillaume, Postfach 599, Zurich.

France: July 15-August 15 at St. Mitre les Remparts (on highway D50 between Istres and Martigues, 50 km. west of Marseilles). Apply to Francès PORTILIAT, 3 square Guy de Maupassant, Groupe Milion, 13110 PORT DE BOUC, France.

PRISONERS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp., Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY and **NOEL MURRAY** - see news pages, but protest letters to the Minister for Justice, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR.

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

NEXT DESPATCHING date for **FREEDOM** is Thursday 8 July. 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 28 June and for inclusion in news section date is Monday 5 July (and receipt by Thurs. 1st July is more helpful).

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 Trafalgar Rd. Moseley, Birmingham 13.

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

BURNLEY. Michael Sweeney, 165 Rosehill Road, Burnley, Lancs. BB11 2QX

CAMBRIDGE c/o Peter Silcock, 51 City Road

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants NN1 2LL

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.

PRESS FUND

3 - 16 June

LIVERPOOL: J.G. 35p; **STOCKHOLM:** O.H. 40p; **LONDON W.5.:** M.M. £ 1.44; **CARDIFF:** J.L.H. 70p; **WEMBLEY:** J.P.W. £ 1.10; **WOLVERHAMPTON:** J.K.W. 20p; **J.L.** £ 2; **LONDON E.4:** S. & A.G. 50p; **BIEL, Switz.:** S.R. 70p; **HUDDERSFIELD:** P.G. 35p; **BIRMINGHAM:** M. & B.D. 50p; **LOS ANGELES:** S.S. £ 11.40; **LONDON S.E.16:** L.B. £ 1; **EXMOUTH:** A.B.H. 35p; **NEW YORK:** W.T.S. £ 6.20; **LONDON E.11:** L.T.R. 35p.

TOTAL: £ 27.54

PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED £ 578.40

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 605.94

Melbourne: Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne.

New South Wales: P. Stones, P.O. Box 25, Warrawang, NSW 2502

Sydney: F.A.A. and "Rising Free" monthly, Box 92, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

write to the movement at Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607, Christchurch.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS/Wants &c.

MERSEYSIDE PEOPLE'S HISTORY. The groups need people with a view to taping their memories of local events. Interested in the following 1911 Strike and 'Bloody Sunday'

1919 Police Strike: 1919 Police Strike: 1919 the Rhyl mutinies: 1926 General Strike, &c. Memories of people involved in the political and other movements, shop stewards movement, syndicalist; anarchist; IWW-feminist and the political parties of the 'left'. More details from 25 Tumilty Avenue, Bootle, L20 9HU (tel. 051 5763)

EDUCATION: Wanted, full or part-time teachers from September at an independent school supported by the A.S. Neill Trust Assn. Write P. A. Dacre, 12 Harborough Road, Polygon, Southampton, Hants.

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

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

If Kate Snelling, or anyone who can tell her, sees this, Liam Bouch would like to hear from her at: c/o Dunn, 1414 London Road, Norbury, London S.E.16.

PUBLICATIONS

BLACK CARNATION's new pamphlet *The Wall* (facts about Berlin's Wall built 1961) 35p (post 9p) from Freedom Bookshop. Also postcards, black & white 3p each, red & black (Bakunin)

BAKUNIN CELEBRATIONS LONDON.

A Bakunin Party will be held at the Roebuck Public House in Tottenham Court Road, WC2 (no. 108a: nearest tubes Goadge St. or Warren St.) starting about 7.45 pm on Sunday 27th June. There'll be records, (but not at disco level), dancing, self-managed singing, conversation, drinking, etc. 50p on the door, all profits to good anarchist causes.

A meeting about Bakunin will be held at the Centro Iberico, on the 1st of July (the 100th anniversary of his death) starting at 7.30 pm. Speakers from the Anarchist Workers' Association, the Anarchist Black Cross and others.

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HAS ANARCHISM CHANGED?

PART TWO

IN MY FIRST article (FREEDOM, 17 April and 1 May) I described George Woodcock's double thesis about recent developments in anarchism -- that the historical movement had ceased to exist by the time he wrote his book *Anarchism in 1960-1961*, and that the new anarchism which emerged after its publication in 1962 is essentially different from the old. In this article I shall argue that both these theses are incorrect -- that the historical movement continued and still continues to exist, and that the new anarchism is not essentially different from the old (though there have of course been many changes both before and since the early 1960s).

The first problem is what happened to the old anarchism. It is certain that the historical movement which is the subject of Woodcock's book had collapsed by the time he closed his story, at the end of the 1930s, and had not fully recovered by the time he began writing it, at the end of the 1950s; and it is probable that the "nadir of anarchism" came as he says in the early 1950s, when he himself ceased to take part in the movement. But it is not so certain whether Woodcock was right to say in his book that the surviving anarchist groups and activities were "only the ghost of the historical anarchist movement", or to add in his postscript that traditional anarchism survives only "as a kind of fossil faith preserved mainly by Italian grocers and vine-growers in the United States, by marble workers in Carrara, and by Spanish refugees, ageing and dwindling rapidly, in Mexico and Languedoc". Anarchism had of course been physically suppressed by Fascist and/or Communist regimes in most of Europe from the early 1920s to the early 1940s, but there is plenty of evidence that it did not just survive but actually revived much more vigorously than Woodcock suggests during the late 1940s and early 1950s.

To take the example of the last major movement described in the book, Spanish anarchism since the Civil War is dismissed in the postscript as follows:

After 1939 a few groups of FAI militants maintained a brief guerilla struggle in the mountains of Andalusia; a few raids were made across the Pyrenees from France, but these were of little consequence, and Spanish anarchism shrank into a movement of refugees encysted in memories of the past.

There is some truth in this view, but it is not the whole truth, and a very different story is given in several recent books on the subject by writers with first-hand knowledge of the remarkable events they describe. Woodcock takes virtually no account of the anarchist resistance to the Franco regime inside Spain -- syndicalist agitation in the towns and guerrilla action in the countryside -- which has been maintained continuously since 1939 and which has been marked by the execution of dozens and the imprisonment of thousands of militants over a period of nearly forty years. He doesn't even mention the strikes of the 1950s and 1960s, or the careers of such guerrilla leaders as Faceras and Sabate, who should surely be named in the tradition of Durruti and Ascaso; he does mention these two heroes of an earlier generation, though he depreciates their contribution (and misspells Durruti's name), but he ignores the two heroes of our time who were killed fighting as old anarchists against the old enemy in 1957 and 1960 respectively -- just before he began his book.

Woodcock's version of Spanish anarchism since 1939 may turn out to be correct, but it must be said that the opposite version of such writers as Miguel Garcia, Octavio Alberola, and Antonio Tellez should at least be considered, and it must

also be said that any acceptable account of the subject would have to include the division between the emigration in France and the underground in Spain and the disputes over methods of action against a total dictatorship.

Woodcock mentions that "national federations re-emerged in France, Britain, Italy and elsewhere" after the war, but he insists that "they did not reassume the importance of their predecessors acquired before the Russian Revolution". This is of course an irrelevant comparison -- the question is not whether anarchism after 1945 became as important as it had been before 1917, but whether it was significant enough to count as a recognisable continuation of the movement which existed from the 1860s to the 1940s.

In France, anarchists took their place in the resistance to the Nazi occupation. After the war the Anarchist Federation was bedevilled by bureaucratism and parliamentarism, but during the late 1940s it was important enough to produce a paper which reached a circulation of 100,000. Of course there was a decline during the 1950s, but anarchists were still active in the labour movement, in the Garry Davis world citizenship movement, in the Algerian independence movement, and in the resistance to the Gaullist putsch in 1958. It would be wrong to exaggerate the libertarian influence of writers like Breton and Camus, singers like Brassens and Ferré, militants like Armand and Lecoq, but it would also be wrong to ignore them.

In Italy, anarchists similarly took their place in the resistance to the Fascist regime, and they were the only left-wingers whom the Allied occupation refused to allow freedom of activity. After the war the Anarchist Federation was bedevilled by problems similar to those in France, but here again it maintained an honourable struggle in the face of great difficulties.

As for Britain, Woodcock doesn't go as far as James Joll in ignoring British anarchism altogether, but he does omit all the aspects of the postwar movement other than those he himself was involved in or approves of. It is not enough to say that organised anarchism "re-emerged" in this country without adding that it did so during rather than after the war, and that the national organisation became specifically syndicalist and survived on a small but active scale until the 1960s. Woodcock himself belonged to the intellectual wing of the movement, and he is possibly right to emphasise it, but he is surely wrong to ignore the militant wing which followed the traditional policies of class struggle and industrial action; Now may have been an important magazine, but so was *Direct Action*. He might also have mentioned that FREEDOM, of which he was an editor during the 1940s, continued through the nadir of the 1950s into the revival of the 1960s and on into the 1970s, as a fortnightly, then as a weekly, and now as a fortnightly again, maintaining a traditional anarchist presence throughout this period. He might also have noticed that most of the new anarchist organisations formed during and after the revival of the 1960s have been of a traditional kind -- the Black Flag group, the Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance, and the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists/Anarchist Workers Association definitely belong to what he would call the old anarchism rather than the new.

In the British connection, it is curious that Woodcock mentions the international congresses in Berne (1946), in Paris (1949), and in Carrara (1968), but not the one in London (1958) -- just before he began his book.

Woodcock gives no details about the survival of traditional anarchism after the war in Germany, Scandinavia and the Low

Countries, and outside Europe in North and South America, in India, China and Japan. In all these areas the old anarchism may have been as unsuccessful after the Second World War as it had been after the First World War, but it seems absurd to pretend that it didn't really exist.

Woodcock states that the 1950s was "a period of hibernation for anarchist ideas". Perhaps it was for him, but it was the period of Colin Ward's FREEDOM column on "People and Ideas" and Chris Farley's Peace News column on "The New Politics", both of which made regular application of libertarian ideas to new circumstances, and vice versa; it was the period of Albert McCarthy's Jazz Monthly and the Malatesta Club; it was the period when Paul Goodman was writing about education and youth and Murray Bookchin (as Lewis Herber) was writing about ecology and technology, when Daniel Guérin was calling for a revival of the synthesis of libertarian socialism and George Molnar was calling for the recognition that anarchism could only be a form of permanent protest; it was the period when the post-Ghandian movement in India, led by Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan, began the vast Bhodan-Gramdam movement which Woodcock himself believes "does represent perhaps the most extensive commitment to basic anarchist ideas in the contemporary world"; it was the period of the foundation of such papers as Noir et Rouge in France and the University Libertarian in Britain (and Woodcock contributed to the latter, so he must have noticed it), and of such groups as the Situationists in France and the New Left in Britain; it was the period of the growth of anarcho-pacifism from individual civil disobedience towards mass direct action; it was the period of the cracks in the structure of post-Stalinist Communism in East Germany in 1953 and in Poland and Hungary in 1956. The last two phenomena, after all, led directly to the revival of anarchism in the 1960s. If anything was in hibernation at that time, it wasn't anarchist ideas but Woodcock's powers of observation.

Woodcock then says that the revival of the 1960s "has certainly taken place" but has done so "mainly outside the groups and federations that carry the tradition which stems from Bakunin and Malatesta". There are two short replies to this argument -- that such revivals always take place to a large extent outside existing channels, and that nevertheless the traditional anarchist organisations were to some extent involved in the revival.

To take the example of the major outbreak of the new anarchism described in Woodcock's postscript, the part of the traditional anarchism in the French "events" of 1968 is dismissed as follows: "The ageing intellectuals who publicly represented anarchism in France played no part in inspiring the event"; and "the leaders of the French Anarchist Federation admitted that they had no influence as an organisation". But the leading representatives of anarchism, or of any other political ideology, seldom inspire spontaneous episodes in any revolutionary movement -- indeed that is precisely what anarchist theory would lead us to expect! Nevertheless, apart from Woodcock's acceptance of the part played by "certain dissident student groups of anarchists" and of "anarchist elements" in other groups, it is clear that many members of the rank-and-file of the traditional anarchist movement took a full part in the struggles and the occupations and also that some of the leading spokesmen of the movement were inspired by traditional anarchism. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, whose anarchist credentials Woodcock has often denied, stated during the events that he was an anarchist and was influenced by Bakunin, the anarcho-syndicalists, the Kronstadt rebels, Makhno, and Volin; and his brother Gabriel confirmed the affiliation, distinguishing between "old" and "new" anarchists but also emphasising the continuity between the two (see the Magazine Littéraire interviews with them, translated in Anarchy 99). The book they wrote together after the events showed in greater detail how both old and new anarchism were combined in their view of "leftism".

At a more striking level, it should not be forgotten that many of the famous graffiti of May 1968 were traditional anarchist slogans, often quotations from the classical anarchist

writers. Above all, there was nothing surprising about anarchist participation in such events. Woodcock has an odd passage here:

The spectacle of the black flag of anarchism flying beside the red flag of socialism over the Sorbonne and the Bourse [the Bourse?] was in fact truly symbolic of the eclectic attitude towards revolutionary doctrines that inspired most of the student and worker rebels...

But in his original chapter on Spain he explained that anarcho-syndicalists flew a black and a red flag which "symbolised an attempt to unite the spirit of later anarchism with the mass appeal of the International", and during the Civil War anarcho-syndicalists and other socialists often found themselves on the same barricades; and of course back in 1917 the black and red flags flew together as the anarchists fought alongside the various other revolutionary socialists to overthrow the Tsarist and liberal regimes in Russia. It is difficult to know exactly what Woodcock is trying to say -- except that what he said in his book is true, whatever might have happened since.

No one is denying that anarchism is not the same as it was before 1917 or 1939 or 1960-1961. But it is no coincidence that the revival of the 1960s was accompanied both by the republication of the old books written by members of the historical anarchist movement and also by the publication of new books written by students of it -- including Woodcock's own book. Ironically, what he intended as a funeral text for a dying movement has been used as a study text for a reviving one. The sad thing is that he has found it necessary to spoil it by drawing an unpleasantly patronising caricature of old anarchism and a less unpleasant but equally distorting caricature of new anarchism.

Thus Woodcock calls the old anarchism "a structured movement" -- but when was it ever such? He says it "had developed its own orthodoxies of thought, its own rigidities of action" -- but was this true in France, in Russia, in Spain, or indeed anywhere else? He says it has not survived "with its martyrology and its passwords all complete" -- but did it ever exist so? He says that "the dormancy of the movement extended even to the Spaniards" -- but has Spanish anarchism ever been dormant? He says that the "modest revival of the old anarchist movement along traditional lines" after the Second World War was "largely a reunion of veterans" -- but was it largely such? He says that in the later revival "the broadening appeal of libertarian ideas has ... led to their adulteration" -- but wasn't it always so? He says that nowadays "anarchism often appears as only one element in what can be described as a climate of rebellion, an insurrectionary frame of mind, rather than a new revolutionary ideology" but isn't this what has been happening ever since the First International? He said that "one finds it mingled with strains of Leninism and early Marxism" -- but hasn't one frequently done so, ever since Bakunin himself?

Woodcock says that the new anarchism is "a trend of the young and especially of the middle-class young", and quotes the FREEDOM readership survey, which he dates as 1962 but which was actually done at the beginning of 1960 -- before he began writing his book. The age and class characteristics which he now attributes to "the new libertarianism" of the 1960s actually belonged to the old libertarianism at the end of the 1950s whose significance he has repeatedly denied. His confusion arises from the fact that he read about the survey in Anarchy 12 (February 1962), too late for his book. If he had been following the anarchist press, he could have read much more about it in several issues of FREEDOM during early 1960; indeed, if he had been in close touch with the anarchist movement, in Britain or anywhere else, he would have known that his view of the old anarchism was wrong before he began his book: and if he had got his view of the old anarchism right, he might have got his view of the new anarchism right too.

N. W.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

I REMEMBER DURING WAR...

... A GIRL of seventeen volunteering and being accepted for an anti-aircraft battery; a doctor prescribing benzedrine for an overworked farmer to keep him awake during harvest time; a worker being sentenced to one month's hard labour for leaving his employment without permission.

A desperate Nazi Germany on its last knockings? Didn't the Nazis in the last days of their short-lived Reich descend to using very young and old in its defence? Perhaps, but what is forgotten, and by a post-war generation probably not even known, is that the United Kingdom was the first country ever to introduce conscription of women, on a mass scale, in December 1941. Further, the three events mentioned above, and selected at random, occurred in the U.K., and were a common rather than an exceptional occurrence.

Of course when I say "descend to" I'm simply using a phrase to make a point. I'm not interested here in making any moral points, but of jolting people from the accepted view of the "last war", because for British people, despite Korea, Malaya, Kenya and Cyprus, it was their "last war".

As a war boy, conceived in 1944 and born between VE and VJ days, I was brought up in an atmosphere drenched with the "last war", an atmosphere inevitably warped by Britain's diminishing role in World affairs. Therefore, in that time of uncertainty (and it's as true now, probably, as it was in the '50s) one could turn with relief to memories of the last war. Even if the Yanks had taken over our role in World politics we, after all, won the war. It was a universally known fact that whilst they had had the numbers, we had had the guts and determination. And the Japs were only making inroads on British exports because (a) they fed their workers on bowls of rice and (b) they were cheap imitators of British engineering know-how. And the Jerrys? Well the Labour Party was forever passing resolutions opposed to the re-armament of those uncivilised brutes -- war hungry to a man. We British, of course, were renowned the world over for our sense of fairplay and justice, which doesn't quite explain Malaya, Kenya, Suez, Cyprus, Aden... Oh well, never mind, we still had the Best Health Service in the World.

And so on. But myths, like mud, if you throw enough, stick. Besides the esteemed services of Jack Hawkins, Dirk Bogarde, Kenneth More and Vera Lynn, the other heroes who won the war were Montgomery, who would rather go in the jungle with Mao than with anyone else, and a one-time admirer of Adolf Hitler -- Winston Churchill.

The myth, for this war boy, started to totter a little the moment I left the restricted home life I had had and went out to earn a living. Stories that I heard from workmates were often at odds with the TV war documentary versions and the Rank Pinewood Productions I lapped up as a kid at the local Odeon. (Where in fact would British TV be if it didn't have the Second World War to fill its screen hours?)

A couple of years ago I was doing some background research for a radio play I had set in the last war and I came across further tantalising glimpses of the lesser known side of that war. Franz Borkenau - author of Spanish Cockpit, an astute observation of Spanish Civil War politics - commented to Orwell in 1940 that he considered England to be in the first stages of a revolution¹. Perhaps it was because of this, rather than from fear of the Germans, Orwell thought, that the Government refused to "Arm the People", and instructed the LDV (Local Defence Volunteers) to send in all revolvers in 1940, so Orwell thought, they got into the wrong hands².

Whether it was the fear of a Teutonic gauleiter or a gun-toting revolutionary local, the upper classes were certainly packing their offspring off in droves to Canada. One of their number, Sir Henry Channon, who had sent his son Paul across the Atlantic (he later became Minister of Education in Heath's government), was busy getting his gardener to bury the family heirlooms on the estate in Essex³.

There's no doubt that, as in any war, there were some massive social upheavals going on, but there is nothing to suggest from interviews I have been doing for a proposed book, that Britain was on the verge of a revolution in 1940.

What has emerged is the total coercive grip on every conceivable aspect of daily life by the British War Cabinet, sanctioned, apart from the occasional murmurings, by Parliament. This is in contrast to the cherished myth of the last war being fought by sober minded citizens quietly

determined to defeat the Nazi menace and being hampered in their efforts by an army of bureaucratic Blimps.

Freedom's Battle is how one publisher characterised the Second World War, and the myths that have grown up since have glossed over the fact that the authorities had quite a bit of difficulty finding recruits for this great battle. For the first time in British history, peacetime conscription was introduced in April 1939, and the minimum age for a conscript, which throughout the '14-'18 war had been 20, was reduced to 18 the day war was declared. The conscription of women between the ages of 18 and 40 that followed in 1941 was precisely because there was a dearth of volunteers for war work, particularly in the aircraft industry. Many women, if the interviews are anything to go by, seemed to have reacted magnificently. One dodge was to volunteer for something relatively cushy rather than wait to be directed into munitions. Or to go into the Land Army rather than the ATS. A reputed variation on self-inflicted wounds in the women's services was to get oneself pregnant, and hence an immediate discharge -- although if this is true it demonstrates just how desperate some women felt their lot to be.

But even the avenue of volunteering for certain industries as an escape from more obnoxious ones was blocked by 1943 when one was directed into an industry or a service not of one's choice. So unsure, back in 1940, had "Candidus" of the Daily Sketch been as to how well the British might stand up to the great battle that he wrote in his regular column, "Item number one on our agenda should be to secure a greater measure of unity of command over the whole country than appears to exist at present... It might even be advisable to declare martial law at once", and that "we must become more totalitarian than the totalitarians if hereafter we are to be able to call our souls and liberties our own". His nerves were obviously showing. Not so a leader writer on the front page of the same issue. It reassured readers that "Britain stands fast - resolved to resist any attempt at invasion... Standing with us is the Empire and all its vast resources. See middle pages." The middle pages revealed that "Padres go into Training, Too". The training consisted of throwing balls at each other to make them fit for army service as chaplains⁴. Oh well, never mind. We would soon have the best health service in the world, if nothing else.

The War Machine kept going through the war in much the same way as a peacetime government did then and does now: by getting people to accept a repressive hierarchy using fear as the weapon of that acceptance. In the same way that you wouldn't tell your foreman in the '30s, or your old man for that matter, to go hang himself, similarly you wouldn't tell the sergeant to go and take a running jump. To do so was inconceivable. Although if it just so happened that you did conceive of it, a suitable punishment, guaranteed to break your will to resist, would be in store for you.

On September 12, 1945 Mountbatten formally accepted the surrender of the Japanese forces in South East Asia. For the publisher, Freedom's Battle was over, but for me, unbeknown at the time, it had just started -- a battle with my own internal fear and feeling of inadequacy and the outside reality of parents, teachers and later on employers. For millions of others on this island the "Battle" was still going on as the homeless squatted in empty houses, and the rash of strikes that had built up prior to 1945 - the Kent miners and the Tyneside shipbuilders, for instance - erupted into bitter disputes involving dockers and the Smithfield meat porters⁵. The newly elected Labour Government wasted no time in using conscript troops (some fresh from defeating the "Nazi menace") in defeating these strikers⁶. This should have surprised no one. The War Cabinet had included Labour ministers of the calibre of Ernest Bevin, a hated wartime Minister of Labour who, besides anything else, had introduced Regulation IAA, whereby a strike leader might gain him or herself 5 years imprisonment or a £ 500 fine.

If readers are interested in following this period up I recommend The People's War by Angus Calder (Panther). It's certainly better, as a general social survey of the period, than Norman Longmate's How We Lived Then (not to be confused with the paperback series How We Used To Live, which he part-edits). Norman Longmate's book tends to reinforce the myth of the "we're all in it together volunteering", but is nevertheless useful for those who, like myself, did not live through the period.

Lastly, for the record, 17 was the minimum age for volunteers and the girl was my mother. The farmer and his wife worked on occasions, with double summertime, up to 20 hours per day! They live in Somerset. To leave your job without a suitable reason, or for giving no reason at all was a punishable offence. The worker sentenced to one month's hard labour was reported in the Stratford (East London) Express a couple of weeks before VE Day. He obviously had the right idea. The report stated that he had been absent or late 82 times in less than

WALKING THE TIGHTROPE

I WAS most gratified to read Nino Staffa's review of Housing : An Anarchist Approach, not least because it may help to shift a few copies off the shelves and reassure Freedom Press that it was worth bringing out, but also because he makes it clear that the book is as much about the strategies and dilemmas of anarchism as about housing. There are a few points where I believe he is still in the grip of conventional Marxist or Fabian thinking.

1. The enormous drift to the cities in the poor countries is not because of the capitalist suction-machine but because of the immeasurably greater life chances in the city. Nowhere is there equal justice between city and country. Even in China it is still a punishment for the urban intelligentsia to be sent to do their stint among the peasants. Even in Peru the 'radical' land reforms have not yet touched the lives of the rural poor. As to "self-managed slavery" he ought to read another new anarchist book on housing: John Turner's Housing by People (Boyars).

2. I think Nino Staffa is quite wrong about Ebenezer Howard, and wrong to take the fashionable line that the plight of the poor in our decaying cities is due to the New Town policy. I would criticise this policy from a quite different point of view and would urge him to read the full text of my paper "The Do It Yourself New Town". Parts of this are printed in journals as far apart as the May Municipal Review and the June Undercurrents, but please, NS, read the full version which I self-indulgently put in the March Bulletin of Environmental Education (30p by post from TCPA, 17 Carlton House Terrace, London SW1).

3. And incidentally, if the TCPA is the kind of organisation he thinks it is, how come that I, an employee of theirs, am able in their own journals and from their own platforms, to deliver damaging attacks on the planning system and the way it operates? And how come that it is the only organisation in the country to run a Planning Aid service to advice victims of the planning system? My job is to run their environmental education service for teachers and is in no way to push some kind of TCPA party line, though I get a certain pleasure from the fact that Kropotkin, the founder of Freedom, had close links with the founders of the TCPA (these too are traced in my "Do it Yourself New Town" paper).

§

These points made, I think that Nino Staffa raises issues of great importance for anarchist propagandists. He talks of a great gaping wound in anarchist thought. Well, if it's a wound, it's a self-inflicted one.

I REMEMBER DURING THE WAR. . .

3 months, and as there can only be a maximum of 92 days in a three-months period the authorities were obviously counting the occasions when he pissed off in the afternoons as well!

And now a list. I would like to hear from anyone who was a war worker; a land army girl; a C.O.; who dodged call up by going on the run; an overseas volunteer who either stayed in the U.K. or returned home after the war; anyone who was in contact with gypsies or knew of any; anyone involved in the BEF withdrawal from France 1940; a fighter pilot; and anyone who served in the Far East. A strange list I agree, but all will be revealed, if I can find a publisher, one day. And I'd also like to hear from any folk who happen not to fall in any of the above categories, no matter how mundane they may think their story to be. My address is 14 Bective Road, Forest Gate, London, E.7. Thanks.

Pete Grafton.

¹ Orwell, Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters, Vol. 2 pp.387/8 (Penguin).

² ibid. p.403

³ Chips, the Diaries of Sir Henry Channon (Penguin). For an insight into the feeble character of English upper class mentality this book is truly amazing. Unfortunately it is now out of print.

⁴ Great Newspapers Reprinted No.18, Daily Sketch, Tuesday, June 18, 1940.

⁵ see How Labour Governed : 1945-51, Direct Action Pamphlet No.5 (Syndicalist Workers Federation). P.S. Can whoever borrowed my copy please return it! Also see Labour Government Vs. The Dockers 1945-1951, Solidarity Pamphlet No.19.

⁶ There was one commendable exception that I know of the Government's attempt at strike-breaking. Four lorryloads of parachutists detailed to go to Smithfield ended up spending the day at Hastings, thanks to the clever navigation of one of the drivers. Instead of getting the MBE for this heroic action all four drivers were put on a charge, but the ring-leader lived to tell the tale.

HOUSING &

If we want to preserve ourselves in an embalming fluid of revolutionary rectitude, it is our own fault if we fail to make any effective contact with the common life going on all around us. By chance my own answer (written for a Flemish paperback addressed to a non-anarchist audience) is printed in the same issue of FREEDOM (15th May). I think that the task of anarchist propagandists is to win friends and influence people, and especially to change the way they think about the issues that confront them in their daily lives. The extent to which we fail to do this is the extent to which we remain an infinitesimal minority, condemned to talk to each other instead of to the outside world. Labels like "bourgeois" and "reformist" don't help a bit in this task. They are the left-wing equivalent of swearwords and are just as meaningless. Best to leave them to the Marxist sects.

I don't have any illusions over the current popularity in the field of housing of people like John Turner and myself, though it's nice to be listened to for a change. After all, he and I are both in our fifties and have been saying the same things for half our lifetimes to a handful of anarchists and architects. Official policy is bankrupt, and in such circumstances anyone peddling an alternative approach gets a hearing, especially when the alternative appears to shift responsibility from governments to people. But there is a world of difference between getting listened to, getting a few alternative experiments off the ground, and actually changing the system. We are walking the tightrope, not between that precious revolutionary integrity and absorption into the system, but between a laissez-faire faith in self-help and a collectivist ideology of equality.

We aren't the first anarchists to find ourselves in this dilemma. Proudhon said Property is Theft. He also said Property is Freedom. On the ideological plane it would be a worthwhile task to work out an anarchist philosophy of tenure, of both housing and land, which goes beyond the easy slogans. Similarly with planning, which is about land-use conflicts; books like mine attack the governmental planning system, but beyond casting doubts on the pretensions of participation, we have got nowhere as near to evolving an anarchist philosophy of planning as we have in the case of housing. No doubt there are anarchists for whom concepts like "tenure" and "planning" are the very antithesis of anarchism. But they are affected by these concepts every day of their lives so it's important someone or other in the movement should think about them. They might even find them a means of bringing the sanity and rationality of an anarchist approach to people who had never in their lives considered that there are alternatives to capitalism and the state.

Colin Ward.

HOUSING BY PEOPLE

HOUSING BY PEOPLE : Towards Autonomy in Building Environments, by John F. C. Turner (Marion Boyars, £2.25).

IT IS FORTUNATE that this book has appeared so soon after Colin Ward's Housing : An Anarchist Approach (Freedom Press, £1.25). Although both books treat the problem of housing from similar standpoints the subject matter and manner of presentation of the two books is different yet highly complementary. Colin Ward refers to popular initiatives in housing and hence the squatter settlements of South and Central America and it is John Turner's work that Colin Ward refers to. It is a shame, therefore, that John Turner's small paperback book has what, for some, is the inaccessible price of £2.25.

In my review of Colin Ward's book ("Bourgeois or Subversive?" FREEDOM 29 May 1976, Vol.37 no.11) I referred to these squatter settlements, using the disparaging term "self-managed slavery". John Turner's book has convinced me that this is not the case but I'm still not satisfied as regards the overall economic issues. Whilst the book demonstrates how autonomy in the environment is the sole means of survival for these people on very limited incomes and also that attempts by central authorities to provide housing (right through from the provision and control of resources to the provision of the housing unit) is an absurdity I still maintain that the

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squatter settlements are allowed to exist because they do not interfere with the status quo in these countries. Where John Turner gets interesting for us is that he wants this autonomous approach to spread for the good of everybody and also for the good of our ecology. However, I see no conflict between the condemnation of capitalism and adherence to John Turner's ideas. Indeed, being anti-capitalist is not a Marxist monopoly, and emigration (either nation to nation or from country to city) is a result of the evolution of capitalist production. Whilst it may be a punishment for the urban intelligentsia in China to do their stint in the countryside, the dream of most Calabresi emigrants is to return to their villages in Calabria, or failing that to the nearest big town in Calabria. Of course, for many this dream remains a dream and those who manage to return find an even worse situation than when they left. The reason for this deterioration in the local situation in Calabria is the increasing dependence, since the setting up of the "Cassa per Il Mezzogiorno" in 1950, on State and other institutions rather than the autonomous approach advocated by John Turner, Colin Ward and company. However, the state bureaucrats, the mafia, the multinationals and so on, will not loosen their stranglehold on Southern Italy (or elsewhere) merely because people want to fend for themselves. Indeed, the point will surely come when self-build schemes, for instance, will be blocked for political reasons and that is the reason why I as an anarchist want to see these institutions overthrown and not merely accommodated into the lifestyle of a city.

Of course, Colin Ward is right in saying that people move to the city because of increased life chances but they do not always make this choice voluntarily (I would suggest hardly ever). John Turner's book, however, provides the direction towards which we should be aiming not only in housing but also in other matters such as industry, ecology and so on.

Colin Ward, in his introduction to Turner's book, identifies what he calls "Turner's three laws of housing". The First Law, which he quotes from Turner's book Freedom to Build (Collier Macmillan, New York 1972) is: "When dwellers control the major decisions and are free to make their own contribution to the design, construction or management of their housing, both the process and the environment produced stimulate individual and social well-being. When people have no control over nor responsibility for key decisions in the housing process, on the other hand, dwelling environments may instead become a barrier to personal fulfilment and a burden on the economy."

The Second Law "says that the important thing about housing is not what it is, but what it does in people's lives, in other words that dweller satisfaction is not necessarily related to the imposition of standards". Finally, the Third Law "says that deficiencies and imperfections in your housing are infinitely more tolerable if they are your responsibility than if they are somebody else's".

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The book is interspersed with much theory and philosophy concerning these basic points outlined by Colin Ward and with detailed case studies of how people in differing housing situations coped compared to the other case studies, both financially and as regards non-monetary satisfaction. His examples are taken from Mexico City and all help to prove his main contention that it is absurd for centralized institutions to provide housing units for people since their needs and priorities are infinitely variable. In other words, "housing is not what it is, but what it does in people's lives".

The first example is a young car-painter living in a shack he has built for himself and family in his comadre's (god-mother's) yard and by having had his housing costs minimized he is able to feed his family adequately and save for the future out of what would otherwise have been a totally inadequate income.

The second example is of an ageing mason, an ex-squatter

who has been rehoused (after his own agitation) in a public housing project. He is required to spend 55 per cent of his income on housing and as a consequence is ill from under-nourishment. On top of this his sons must spend 5 per cent of the family income on transport to work. Of course, in their squatter settlement they could walk to where they worked. The house met with the required government standards but it was bleak, of uniform style, and the family head was suffering physically as a result of paying the rent to live there.

The next example is a young factory worker and his family who illegally bought a plot of land and started by building a two-room dwelling. As the family grows he will be able to extend his home to provide more rooms and the cost of acquisition, building and then upkeep of services later to be provided would always remain minimal while the value of the house would rise probably even higher than a legally built middle-class home eventually. The interesting thing is that the factory worker intended to also add a shop, a pigsty, and so on, and is free to do so.

The Government employee, however, has a salary at a level about twice that of the factory worker and lives in a much smaller public housing dwelling but he was happy with the low proportion of his income he had to spend on housing. The Government employee is not free to sell his house and hence move, for several years, and there are many restrictions on what he can or cannot do with his house. Nevertheless, the value of the autonomously built factory worker's house will inevitably be much higher and provide greater freedom.

The most interesting example is "Mama Elena's low-income communal household". Mama Elena has managed to build so far a 6-room house with a crude shop in the street. This was after living in provisional huts on squatted territory, suffering several police-enforced removals, and then seeing that the police did not return, decided to build more permanent housing. The large plot which her people have squatted "has enabled a semi-commune of 19 very low income people with unstable incomes to live in relative comfort and security".

Colin Ward writes: "Turner is not a great believer in the value of books (the present one was wrung out of him by Ivan Illich's admonition that he was burying his ideas under a lot of of Peruvian mud bricks)..". In the final chapter of the book, therefore, John Turner sets out a Programme of "further action I now consider essential. . . Housing by People is addressed primarily to those who share and believe in certain principles and methods".

Turner identifies three principles for practice, makes four proposals and outlines four methods. The "Three Principles for Practice" are as follows:

First there is the necessity of self-government in local affairs for which the principle of local and personal freedom to build must be maintained. Second is the necessity for using the least necessary power, weight, and size of tools for the job (whether managerial or technological)... Thirdly, there is the principle that planning is an essentially legislative, limit setting function, and must cease to be confused with design, which has to do with laying down lines of action.

Following on from these three assumptions he makes four proposals as part of a "clear programme for thought, research, action and development":

Proposal One is to set up an international communications network in order to intensify the use of existing channels of communication (both formal and informal) in ways that increase universal access and reduce the risks of exploitation by centralizing powers.

(He intends this communications network for people engaged in the type of activity referred to in his book.)

Proposal Two is to set up a number of centres where case materials will be collected, indexed and made available to those needing access to the precedents set. All such centres will be interconnected so that anyone can search the rest for particular documents or topics.

(From these centres he wishes to see those who share the

[Cont. on P. 14]

principles and methods outlined to develop a theory which can also be applied in practice. He believes, indeed that there "can be no information without theory".)

Proposal Three is to institute a new school of the built environment: not to create a new organization, but to establish the fact that there is such a school and that it exists by virtue of many scattered individuals and a few groups and small organisations. The medium of the school is the international communications network.

Finally, the Fourth proposal is to "initiate a programme for the design of proscriptive law that will generate self-governing form". He believes that not only are prescriptive laws inadequate but they are also damaging to people's housing prospects since they attempt, through a centralized institution to cater for wishes, desires and aspirations of people which, after all, only people themselves can do adequately. Proscriptive laws, however, would merely set limits of action beyond which people in self-managed or self-built housing could not go. The actual design, location and building should be left as decisions for the people themselves.

It is the last of these proposals which, as an anarchist, I find at first sight disturbing for it entails a certain degree of

involvement by Central Government. However, that central institution need not be Central Government and may even turn out to be some form of body to execute decisions arrived at collectively over a large area (by whichever way this is understood) in an anarchist society.

I believe that these principles and proposals are worth quoting here in full, since they are the whole point of the book. Turner wants these ideas to be spread and acted upon by more and more people.

Turner's approach is a sound one which ought to be followed by anarchists in formulating practical approaches to the problems we intend to deal with. Instead of looking at the difference between rich and poor and then attempting to bring the poor up to the same level as the rich (a strategy doomed to failure) Turner has looked at how the poor solve their own problems and has elaborated his approach from there. In his case studies the people who managed their housing, food and so on the best were the poorest. The car painter in his shack, the factory-worker and Mama Elena in her self-built community house. After all, the rich are rich through the exploitation of the poor and hence their solutions are irrelevant to the formation of an anarchist society.

Nino Staffa.

LETTER

Dear eds,

I enjoyed Nick Walter's warm and richly earned tribute to Colin MacInnes (Review, 15 May) but it raised some interesting points on how "anarchists" see themselves and others.

I sometimes feel as though somewhere hidden in the "formal anarchist movement" (whatever that may be) there is an MCC type selection committee which picks the players for the anarchists' test team. Nick's article very clearly indicates that MacInnes was a talented player but not quite sincere (?), or something, enough to be given the Freedom of Lords.

On Nick's own evidence MacInnes thought himself an "unconscious anarchist" in the fifties - by the sixties "he decided he had become a conscious one, and he began to proclaim the fact and explain what anarchism was and why it was worth taking seriously". Elsewhere in his article Nick details the instances whereby MacInnes used his position as an established writer to proclaim anarchist ideas and publicise anarchist literature and journals. Finally he acknowledges "...he was almost the only successful writer of our time who was not corrupted by success, living as he had lived before, giving away money when he had more than the essential minimum, seeking no soft options or false honours, seeming the same person at the end as he was at the beginning of his career".

So here we have a self-proclaimed anarchist who used his own trade to further anarchist ideas and ideals, who lived humbly without sense of property, was unspoiled by critical success and did not sell out - and yet he is lumped in with "some prominent sympathisers" (who - George Melly?) and finally, and most damningly, Nick says of him.... "Of all our fellow-travellers since the war, he was the most consistently anarchic and the most completely sympathetic."

So why isn't he an anarchist - nowhere in Nick's piece does he say "Colin MacInnes was an anarchist" - and I'm interested to know why. If Nick knows something we readers don't know now's the time to tell because of all the damning things that may be said of a

human being "fellow traveller" is among the most damning. It implies, to me, a closet commitment - a failure of nerve which leaves an escape route in case the chips ever really do come down. I never met MacInnes and know of him by his books, his public life and Nick's tribute. It seems to me he 'came out' politically and sexually whereas your true fellow traveller never fully declares his or herself.

George Melly is another example of a person anarchists are sympathetic to but never seem to count as one of themselves. Maybe George, unlike MacInnes, has never declared himself an anarchist - although his life, such as I'm aware of it, is as solid an affirmation of anarchy as I've encountered. I'm also aware of course that Nick's tribute doesn't actually question MacInnes's sincerity but his placement with the "sympathisers" and "fellow travellers" still rankles. Sometimes it seems as though anarchists are suspicious of worldly success and equate it necessarily with compromise. If there is that doubt in Nick's mind about MacInnes he should say so straightly. I sometimes wonder if Arthur Moysé, for example, would lose his place in the team if his collected works were suddenly published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson and received with critical acclaim in the liberal press.

I am, of course, open to accusations of personal bias in this whole argument since when I used to write fairly frequently for FREEDOM I was abused for propounding liberal views in an anarchist paper. It was clear that as far as so some readers were concerned I would never be accepted as a real anarchist - or even a fellow traveller come to that. In the end I gave up writing but, meeting an ex-editor of FREEDOM after some years of silence, I was plunged back into a defence of myself as he was still raising some hoary old objection to a review I once wrote.

Now, fairly recently, a letter from FREEDOM invited me to contribute again providing "you don't write about football". So, after sixteen years of involvement with the anarchist movement I still don't know what you have to do and what you have to write to be accepted. Like Colin MacInnes, perhaps, what initially attracted me to anarchy was the anarchists themselves - an appreciation of their ideas came later. Also, like him, I believed myself to be an anarchist and endeavour to apply anarchist principles to my own life. I

would be sick indeed to be remembered, if at all, as a "fellow traveller" as I imagine Colin MacInnes would have been, had he known that was to be his fate.

jeff cloves.

N.W. replies:- I don't really understand what Jeff Cloves is complaining about, I don't know about selection or acceptance as an anarchist, and I don't care.

I didn't simply say "Colin MacInnes was an anarchist," because his case wasn't so simple. Before the early 1960s he didn't call himself one; I described how during the early 1960s he did call himself one, and did valuable work for the cause; after the 1960s he didn't call himself an anarchist, or anything else: I tried to respect his intensely personal position.

I see nothing wrong with fellow-travellers - people who sympathise with a particular ideology but don't want to make a total commitment. Anarchists, above all, should respect such people. Most of us begin like that, many of us end like that, and a libertarian society would depend on them.

I suppose the test is that real anarchists never worry about whether they are real anarchists.

F.P.

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LAND FOR THE PEOPLE, compiled Herbert Girardet. (Crescent Books, 8a Leighton Crescent, London N.W.5, £1.20).

THIS IS a book on land use and ownership, and there are contributions by eleven authors. It gives a history of how land came to be in private ownership and the various forms of land use and land tenure.

The book starts with a Land Manifesto which, summarised, states the obvious that land is life and should not be owned and that a balance should be achieved between agriculture and industry. There is an introduction by Satish Kumar, editor of our contemporary Resurgence. He sees the problem of the movement as "the protection of land, production of food and distribution of food". He points out, rightly, that people are born with a body but no legal right to any space whatever unless one inherits it. Once, when arrested at Greenham Common at a Committee of

lation having ruled out hunting-food gathering, we are stuck with agriculture and the problem of ensuring its management and non-ownership has to be resolved.

Writing about "Food: the International Context", Malcolm Caldwell says he does not belong to the school of writers that has earned the title of "doom and gloom" because he believes that events in Asia and China are indicating that there are solutions to the ecological problem. However he points out that in the affluent parts of the world the convulsions of the world economy have not yet had the same effect as on the Third World where resources are small. There is an assumption that living standards can go on rising, though to my mind those standards have long been quantitative at the expense of declining quality.

Caldwell thinks that the Western Empire - and with it capitalism - is in its terminal throes of disintegration and decay. The question to be asked is

moderate to a world in which unquestioned Western supremacy and with it Western imperialism have finally gone - and with them the conditions essential to maintaining industrial economies of the type which has evolved from and since the Industrial Revolution. No overdeveloped country, least of all Britain, can expect to remain unaffected by the enormous changes in store, and impossible though it is to forecast with accuracy the specifics it is surely only prudence to act upon the assumption that, to have at least a good chance of weathering the storm, Britain had better plan to be self-sufficient eventually -- and to start moving towards that ultimate goal as from now.

MUST BRITAIN FEED ITSELF?

Michael Allaby in the chapter under this heading points out how, while other nations tended to protect their agriculture, Britain is unique in having up to the Second World War deliberately run it down: the industry was only saved by wars. Had the industrialists and

LAND FOR PEOPLE

100 demonstration, I made this very point to the magistrates -- that they and the whole legal system are party to wholesale robbery with violence the ultimate consequences of which are yet to be seen.

*

Robert Waller, in the book's section on "Land: Enslaver or Liberator?", deals with Agriculture and Alienation. A recently discovered tribe in the Philippines neither hunts nor farms but feeds on gathered fruits, have no words for 'hate', 'enemy', 'metal', are without jealousy, aggressiveness or sexual promiscuity. It should however be recalled that undisturbed Eskimos were similar in their social attitudes. Waller outlines the growth of agriculture, the enclosure of land and the disputes over ownership which is essentially hierarchical in structure, and the use of slave power to work such an agricultural society. He draws attention to the fact that the way land is owned and managed determines the culture and character of every society:

For Western man the land is capital, to be let for rent or sold. The variations in the economic value of land degrade it in this system into a commodity bought and sold with insufficient respect either for nature or the needs of the community as a whole. Without the right to any land of their own, the majority of men are reduced to the status of labourers working for others, however well paid they may be.

As Waller points out, density of popu-

whether the new direction will be authoritarian or libertarian. The answer to this must be in the consciousness of the majority.

The whole world became the farm of the industrialised west as a market to be supplied and a resource to be tapped. The British agricultural scene, in its destruction in the interests of industrial development, can only be compared with that of Russia under Stalin. With loss of the Empire, our industrial hegemony is at an end without the political will for the revolutionary changes such a situation makes necessary. The writer points out that the Conservatives have always favoured the restriction of British agriculture, being, as he says, concerned with "exchange value". The Labour party has to some extent considered use value and though urban and industrially rooted has consistently protected home agriculture. On the uncertainties facing Britain the writer concludes:

In any case, surely this very uncertainty strengthens the case for aiming at agricultural self-sufficiency? Devoting resources of capital and labour to hopeless pursuit of the mirage of winning an ever-growing share of a shrinking world market would surely be, in the circumstances, for Britain a disastrous and tragic waste of both available resources and of the time still left to her to adjust tack to the ever more strongly blowing wind of change, heralding the hurricane to come. For it will take time to undertake the structural changes in the British economy and British society necessary to accom-

their political instruments had their way, this island would have been a vast factory from end to end. However the short term economics applied since the Second World War in the context of complex market situations have tended to result in alternative gluts and shortages quite artificially produced. Now industrialised farming has arrived at what Michael Allaby describes as a 'Catch 22' situation in that yields have reached a point in which it is impossible to increase them. At the same time the agricultural industry has become almost wholly, except for potash, reliant upon imported oil and materials. In fact the import costs of maintaining industrial agriculture probably outweigh the savings in imported food.

If the efficiency of our farming can be measured by the wealth of the largest producers Britain, with the highest output per man, is at the top of the league. However the economics in ecological terms are that the price is becoming more than the resources can pay. For instance, to quote (p. 55):

The large increases we have enjoyed in the live-stock sector have necessitated housing animals and birds indoors, where the regulation of their environment must be the responsibility of the farmer, not of nature. This consumes energy, large amounts of energy. In his study of the efficiency with which energy is utilised in food production (described in The Man-Food Equation, to be published by Academic Press) Gerald Leach points out that while the most primitive of pig farmers among the people of Papua/New Guinea derives something like 20 units of food energy for

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every unit of energy he expends, the modern British battery farmer expends six times more energy than his hens yield. On this basis, the Papuan is 120 times more efficient than the Imperial Tobacco Company, Britain's largest poultry farmer!

Allaby's answer is twofold: more people to replace excessive mechanisation and more use of organic waste to replace chemicals.

ENCLOSURES AND CLEARANCES

Martyn Partridge gives a good history of enclosure, its advantages and disadvantages from a crops point of view and the creation of the vast group of landless and rootless labourers which in spite of ephemeral prosperity most of the working class remain.

Gerrard Winstanley on St. George's Hill (now a place of quite ostentatious privilege, then common land) addressed himself to the privileged:

"For though you and your ancestors got your property by murder and theft, and you keep it by the same power from us that have an equal right to the land with you by the righteous law of creation yet we shall have no occasion of quarrelling (as you do) about that disturbing devil, called particular property. For the earth, with all her fruits of corn, cattle and such like, was made to be a common storehouse of livelihood to all mankind, friend and foe, without exception."

A poor law was enacted in 1662 to save the consciences of the privileged, a forerunner of the social services, which merely deal with the consequence of privilege without abolishing it. Partridge concludes:

The enclosures were the first manifestation of a system which freely discards people according to the requirements of profit. There is no reason to accept this as the inevitable condition of mankind: we always have other options. After 300 years Gerrard Winstanley's description of commercial attitudes seems to have grown in stature: "...this hardness of heart begets luxury and lust of the flesh, and this runs into all excess with greediness and being in discontent against any that crosses his pleasure till his heart becomes fully like the heart of a beast, as it is apparent in some at this day".

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

Andrew Lycett reviews various abortive attempts at land reform, including that of Zapata in Mexico, and says it is a sad, recurring story of peasants outmanoeuvred by bourgeois and bureaucratic elements who take over the revolution. I would point to a refreshing exception: the collectives in Spain, and the book published by Freedom Press (Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, by Gaston Leval) could well be read in conjunction with this book.

In a further article advocating "Principles of Land Reform" Robert Waller reviews Henry George, advocates communal ownership of land and rent to the community of a land tax, and proceeds to give us George's well known arguments.

However, to me this is an added complication which does not really solve the problem of money and wages system which was largely created by the enclosures and created a means of exploitation that replaces slavery and serfdom. One must think in terms of abolishing the monetary system, already in a col-

lapsed condition, rather than creating a different system of taxation which presupposes bureaucracies, banks and usury.

Dave Elliott in "Lessons of Land Settlement" shows its difficulties under a capitalist system and the impossibility of success unless the social structure of society is equitable and just. His closing paragraph clearly points out, if land settlement is not to be just another concentration camp for the unemployed, that "Land settlement is one aspect of this overall strategy but if the power of the status quo is to be challenged, then we must both avoid co-option and integrate this campaign with other struggles."

Herbert Girardet, the compiler, on a chapter on "New Towns or New Villages" goes into the problems and possibilities of integrating town and country, recalls attempt to do it. Pointing out of course that the country was at one time much more populated -- vast tracts of land are now only populated by tractors. He advocates a new and closer link between food production and human settlements.

A chapter in this very thoughtful book in which our friends Kropotkin, Colin Ward, Bookchin, Goodman are quoted on "Reviving the Land", a plea for habitat reconstruction as a positive and economic source of food is an interesting proposition which, given a non-exploitive society, may well be tried, particularly the use of rough and wet lands. It is a plea for a return to a more balanced environment and could well be necessary and feasible.

In conclusion, Steve Hobbs lays out "Theory and Practice" of land reform, influenced by the Gramscian movement. This is an attempt by those associated with Resurgence and Undercurrents to deal with the problem of returning land to its rightful place as a common resource.

Alan Albon.

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