

# FREEDOM

## anarchist fortnightly

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TWELVE PENCE

# END OF WHITE RULE?

TIME IS FAST running out for white supremacy in Southern Africa. It looks only a matter of time before the white South African government has to give in to the inevitable rise to power of the blacks.

To the north, in Rhodesia, Mr. Smith's government has sent its army against black guerrilla forces. It has also attacked and killed Frelimo troops in neighbouring Mozambique. The Smith government might win a few battles but it cannot win the war. White rule is doomed and Smith and the whole population of Rhodesia are nearing the end of their privileged position.

In South Africa it has been the school children and students of the black townships who have spearheaded the revolt against white rule. This revolt has so far brought about damage estimated at £25,000,000. Included in this has been the Urban Bantu Council debating chamber in Soweto. This shows that Africans are not satisfied with the white-imposed black leadership. Other symbols of this 'stooge' leadership have come under attack in what is a violent eruption of frustration against authority.

This eruption is not confined, but is fast spreading and has reached Cape Town. Black unrest is nationwide. In some places 'coloured' [mixed races] have demonstrated against the government. So far, this revolt appears a leaderless one, organised at grass roots. Black leaders in the townships have tried to calm things and have appealed to the young population to cool off. Many of the older people, according to reports, do not at present share the militancy shown by their offspring.

The government, like all governments, has said that its first priority is the maintenance of "law and order". The Minister of Labour and Mines, Mr. Fanie, has said that the choice is this, or to "give free rein to the evil forces of anarchy". But this is the 'law and order' of white minority over a black majority. It is one of master and slave, where blacks have little or no freedom.

The South African government seem to think that by arresting certain 'leaders' they can stem the tide of unrest. Included among those arrested is Mrs. Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela who is serving life imprisonment on Robben Island. Mrs. Mandela is a member of the newly-formed Black Parents Association in Soweto, an organisation which is trying to moderate

and stop the demonstrating youngsters. The black Africans seem to be split on an age basis, with the younger blacks increasingly becoming impatient with the 'road to freedom' their parents want to take. They are calling their elders Uncle Toms, and it is reported that one of the reasons why so many beer halls and bottle stores have been destroyed is that the young Africans say their parents have become 'demoralised' by liquor. One youngster was heard to say to his father: "They gave you whisky instead of freedom."

The whites in South Africa created a racial slave state from which they lived in a comparative luxury. The Bantu areas set aside for separate development for blacks were just a cover up. Those areas have poor land and lack vital government funds. The Bantu leaders and chiefs had the blessing of the white rulers. One such leader, Chief Gatsha Batholezi, has spoken out against what he calls "the arrogance of young people". While this Chief might be against apartheid and desire a democratic, multiracial South Africa, he wants to negotiate for it. But in the past, both the government and the majority of the white population have not wanted a multiracial society. Even now the white gold miners are on strike against the introduction of black Africans into their supervisory jobs. In the mines, the only real miners are the blacks. There seems no way, as we are now seeing in Rhodesia, of ending

black slavery except by violence. The trouble is that the increasing violence on the part of black Africans will be countered by the government's violence.

Peace can be had, but at what price. Chief Buthelezi has called for vigilante groups from the 'silent majority' to control the youngsters. The question is, will black Africans be able to gain their freedom by peaceful means? History shows that by one means or another a ruling group will only give up power when it can no longer control those in revolt. That could mean mass industrial action, or violence.

In other countries in Africa, black Africans have achieved power from white masters. But without exception we only see a change of colour in the skins of those who now have power. Except for a feeling of national identity little has changed for the black people, who must still work for a boss in order to live. No doubt we shall see the same in Southern Africa, and those who now speak out against the youngsters could well become the political chiefs of the future.

P. T.

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See p. 2

# CHANGE A FINE THING

IT IS COMFORTING in politics and in real life to witness the exposure and downfall of a rogue. It gives one a sense of feeling that truth will out and justice triumph and at the same time wipes the slate clean so that one can start again with reform and an honest man. The euphoria over Watergate and the apparent discovery of the god-like Jimmy Carter and the no-less whiter-than-white Ronald Reagan has given the American electorate a chance to opt for decency and virtue rather than the gang of rascals that used to run the political set-up.

On a minor scale the recent sentencing, exposure and denigration of John Stonehouse M. P. have swivelled the spotlight of virtue on the unblemished remainder of the British political scene. Even our old one-time 'libertarian' comrades of International Socialism are trying to get in on the act of 'purity in politics' by fighting Stonehouse's Walsall seat —when he gives it up. Not

that they have any hope of winning, as they admit—but chance is a fine thing!

But what if the whole political-business racket was tainted and no man of decency would voluntarily stay in it? What if the qualities necessary to survival in the world of politics and business were such that a decent man would be corrupted by the exercise of those talents? What if a man eventually became so involved in the corruptions and compromises necessary to business survival and political power that he ceased to be the reforming idealist he once was and could not extricate himself (except by some mad act) from this web of corruption?

The Stonehouse case has been discussed ad infinitum and ad nauseam in the Press and court but one cannot erase the impression that here was the simple case of a political idealist corrupted by the opportunities, temptations, ambi-

[cont. on p. 2]

# A Fine Thing

[Cont. from P. 17]

ons and power-seeking of the political-business game. Quite simply to quote Andrew Roth's Parliamentary Profiles 1966: "...ex parl. sec. Air '64-66. LEFTIST. Co-op African expert; anti-EEC, Movement for Colonial Freedom, Banned entry Nyasaland 1959. Unilateralist 1960. Directorships in Co-op." Roth concludes, "Traits shrewd, practical, prickly, handsome." He was also in 1958-9 the M.P. who visited Hola Camp in Kenya and witnessed what the British were doing - in defiance of humanity and decency - against 'Mau Mau' suspects. 80,000 people were rounded up. In proportion to the Kenya population, Stonehouse wrote, "this would represent in Britain the adult population of ten whole towns". "The British Secretary of State for the Colonies owes a higher loyalty -- to human justice and dignity." True, this is criticism of a Conservative administration but no doubt Stonehouse knew of similar situations when he was in office and his party was in power.

It is easy - and safe - now for the Sunday papers to research and dig out the flaws in the characters of disgraced politicians. They are discovered, embarrassingly enough, to be human just like us: what did they think we were voting for — archangels?

Indeed the jungle conditions of political and business survival are such that

one cannot succeed in these fields without the qualities of ruthlessness and cynicism that take one to the top. 'Nice guys finish last' is a truism and a justification in life as well as in sport. Such ideals as one has are better left at the door of the House of Commons or in the lobby of the Stock Exchange.

It was reportedly said by Warren Hastings, Viceroy of India, charged with corruption, "When I consider my opportunities I marvel at my restraint."

We the people of Walsall or Winnebago or wherever elect individuals on what appears to be our behalf to go to Westminster or Washington and are rather appalled when these individuals look after their own interests when they get there.

There is a strange interim morality in all this, especially on the left wing. It is related of a S.P.G.B. member that he exploited his employees more ruthlessly than any other nearby capitalist employer in order to point up the defects of the capitalist system. Whether this is true or not, there was the case of the S.P.G.B. member who was in the call-girl racket. Possibly only a question of maintaining a supply to meet an obvious demand, but some of the more business-involved lefties give one the impression that they're only in business till the revolution — or until the party gets voted into power.

Such an acceptance of the capitalist ethos is commonplace in the Labour Party with the wide financial dealings

of prominent members. 'Profit is no longer a dirty word.' Perhaps Stonehouse's only fault (worse than a crime) was, like Nixon's, to be found out.

In the highly speculative and highly competitive world of business it is a razor edge between success and failure, between bankruptcy and prosperity. The slightest wobble of public confidence will plunge one into the abyss of commercial failure and business disgrace.

Respected and revered financiers who dined with society and hobnobbed with kings have plunged to death, destitution and imprisonment when their dream-world of wealth crashed around them. Kreuger, Marcossen, Hatry, Jimmy White, Bottomley, Insull, Hooley — all crashed, dragging down shareholders and small savers — all would-be capitalists — with them. Stonehouse was not unique in his fall or his corruption. He was only unique in his attempt to get away with it and start again.

Nixon was not unique and there is no guarantee that his successor no matter how much of a Hollywood hero or a Baptist bible-puncher will be able to restrain his hand from dipping into the pork-barrel.

Even were a pristine virgin member of I. S. by an act of God (or the Devil) elected member for Walsall it will not be long before he loses that virginity in the crumpled pox-ridden bed of Westminster.

Jack Robinson.

# THE MURRAYS

DURING THE RECENT APPEALS proceedings in the Murrays case, the Irish Information Service was putting out the story that Noel and Marie Murray were enjoying superior conditions in the condemned cells. Whatever the truth of that, it is very much not the case now. According to the Murrays Defence Committee in Dublin, they are being deprived of 'basic prisoners' rights: they have no freedom of association with other prisoners; they are not allowed the visitors of their choice (including their relatives); and they are not allowed parcels of food or books. All this contravenes the minimum guarantees of treatment of prisoners laid down by the United Nations, and almost universally accepted.

Dennis Faul, a noted campaigner for human rights, has said that the detention of the Murrays for such a long period under the threat of the death sentence is worse than physical torture. Amnesty International are not adopting the Murrays "officially" (since their statutes preclude them from adopting people "who advocate violence") but they are making representations about the case to the Irish government. Ironically, four members of the current Irish government, Richard Ryan, Garret Fitzgerald, Conor Cruise O'Brien and the Director of Public Prosecution, are members of Amnesty International.

The Irish media are silent about the case because of governmental pressure applied both informally and legally (prosecution of the Irish Times and Hibernia for their reporting of the case). The British press seems to have dropped the case.

The Murrays Defence Committee in Dublin is suffering from financial difficulties and from a whispering campaign against them started by the police. John McGuffin, the noted libertarian and author of "Internment!" and "The Guinea Pigs" (about his own experiences of internment and torture by the British in Northern Ireland) has joined the Defence Committee.

The main expenses of the committee are providing comforts and pocket money for the prisoners, postage and publication. They intend soon to bring out a background leaflet giving details of the worst aspects of the case and the trial, and they want to print thousands of this. The main aim of their campaign is to have the case re-opened so that fresh evidence can be presented, but this too, naturally, will involve heavy legal costs. The Defence Committee urgently needs funds, so please send as much as you can afford to them at: 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Eire.

Apart from Eire, the only other countries in Europe which still practice capital punishment are France, Bulgaria and Russia, but we all know how strong is the current of public opinion for its return in this country. If the Irish government is allowed to get away with it, how long before it returns in this country? At present the British press seems to be covering the Murrays case with a blanket of silence. We can pierce that blanket by writing letters to the national press, to our local press, to any political groups we have contact with, about the Murrays case. As the political dissidents in the Soviet Union say: "Prevent the Crime of Silence!"

## REPORT FROM ABROAD

Just a few lines to let you know that we photocopied your excellent story about the Murrays ("They Must Not Hang!") in your issue of June 26. We sent off many copies to activists in different parts of the world. They have been well used. But we have just heard from Australia that one of the copies we sent there was reprinted with a request that people write to the Irish Embassy in Australia and the Irish Premier. These have been distributed all over Australia. I am enclosing one of the copies. Let this be an encouragement to you to continue the good work to help save our anarchist brother and sister in Southern Ireland.

Amsterdam.

HAPOTOC

SO LONG as organisations are held together only by a common purpose they will automatically do their work smoothly. But when, in spite of conflicting interests, you have people held together in a common organisation, internal conflict results, and some outside force becomes necessary to preserve order; you have, in fact, governmental society. It is the anarchist's purpose to so organise society that the conflict of interests will cease, and men will co-operate and work together simply because they have interests in common.

In such a society the organisations or institutions which they will form will be exactly in accordance with their needs; in fact, it will be a representative society.

GEORGE BARRETT

# THE NIGHTMARE COCKTAIL

THE TRAGEDY of Seveso has only just begun. Most appallingly, the victims of the Icmesa plant in this suburb of Milan - mainly immigrant workers and their families without a proper organisation to back them up and help them - will not know what really has happened to them for four or five years. At the beginning of this week, Dr. Alan Poland, a world expert on dioxin from the American National Academy of Science, said it was the worst disaster ever caused by the chemical. Young children are already suffering from extremely serious skin conditions that the doctors don't quite know what to do about. Already many animals have died of the poison. Yet, throughout the long, long agony of waiting, Seveso's belated evacuees will not have the dubious comfort of knowing that the chemical is a necessary evil. It is not.

The monstrously-named Tetrachlorodibenzo-p-dioxin is an extraordinarily toxic "unintentional molecule" formed during the industrial synthesis of trichlorophenol. This is an intermediate in the manufacture of two chemicals - a bactericide (hexachlorophane) and a herbicide (2,4,5-T). The sales of both have dwindled since the early 1970s when they were found so toxic as to require regulation. (Just one ironic detail.) Hexachlorophane has a threefold use. It is a wash for treating acne, an ingredient of soaps and skin cleansers, and an antiseptic. However, it is very dangerous and can be lethal to handle, and after rather a long time it was found that the chemical could seep through the skin and cause internal damage, for example to the brain. The other product, 2,4,5-T, is still widely used as a herbicide and defoliant, but it too has suspected dangers. Like dioxin it could itself be a teratogen, causing physical abnormalities. It is little used in this country and the US Environmental Protection Society is reconsidering its use there. According to *New Scientist* of 12 August 1976 "The benefits of making hexachlorophane and 2,4,5-T are thus questionable" and "The total disappearance of hexachlorophane would cause little more than inconvenience."

A little more than inconvenience did happen at Seveso, whose inhabitants have not only lost their homes and possessions but, in some cases, their prospect of children; and those infected could suffer abnormality, disfigurement; and pain for the rest of their lives.

In order to save face the Italian authorities have consistently understated the situation. For the vital first few days no action was taken. After they were forced to accept the gravity of what was happening, their dithering and politicking, their ignorance and inbuilt cynicism, put many in an extra danger that could have been avoided as soon as the accident was known. The notorious multinati-

onal Hoffman-La-Roche, who owns the Swiss firm Givaudan that controls the Icmesa plant, having failed to provide and ensure the necessary safeguards, or warn of the lack of them, nobly promised full compensation. Yet even this was not offered without La Roche's president somewhat indelicately stating that so long as chemical plants existed for the good of mankind - some people somewhere would have accidents. ... Well, it's the same old story. The poor sods of the present must accept their sacrifice to the happy sods of the future. Except that what do their infected children really have to look forward to? No-one is sure.

Ecologists are now involved in a battle for the rest of Italy, no doubt desperately hoping that the government's low-key scorched earth policy won't have to extend too far down the peninsula. There, somewhere, from the palaces and summer retreats, His Iniquity the Pope (that great abortion) and his iniquitissimal cardinals and archbishops call to confession the terrified and unhappy women who have decided not to take the risk of childbearing.

The ecologists fear that the "nymph of lakes and rivers" as *L'Espresso* calls it, the nymph diossina (for, in Italian even dioxin can sound poetic) may infect the water supply, after raining down from the sky into streams, torrents, rivers, ponds, wells, canals and permeable ground. After all, it's no light matter for the water to sweep away out of harm's reach a chemical so toxic that one microgram per kilo can kill the rabbits and the little pigs of Seveso.

While the long-neglected ecologists debate and juggle with "operative mathematical models" of control, others speculate on the future of other industrial areas and notably the place that figured, for its legendary beauty, in every epic poem of every decent, self-respecting Greek poet and in every itinerant philosopher of the Classical era... Syracuse with its cruel and splendid past has a cruel and less splendid present. Today its limestone quarries are, fortunately, visited by tourists and not slaves, but the local tyrant Dionysius has been replaced by the less accessible and infinitely more powerful tyrant, Sincat-Montedison, and the slaves of the limestone quarries have given way to the slaves of industry. And, before long, Priolo, a Syracusan slave-town of some 12,000 souls could be emptied, by decree, of every inhabitant, so that things will be made easier for the chemical giants.

Workers for industry is the slogan of our industrial age. With the trade unions more concerned about wage packets, differentials and the right to work (an arguable proposition where big, advanced chemical plants are concerned) than with the safety and the health of their members, there are very few of us to insist that the slogan should be the other way round.

With the biggest single "honeypot" of chemical processing power in Europe, Teesside has not begun to tackle the nightmare problem that is now reality for Seveso. Again according to *New Scientist*, "so many installations are being concentrated in the Seal Sands and north Tees area that the cumulative consequences endanger acceptable contemporary standards". Even with greater regulation and control - in other words, with greater bureaucracy - the easier opportunities afforded to multinationals with Britain's entry into the Common Market, and as a consequence "the sheer number of waste emissions into the river from the various chemical plants" could always produce a "cocktail mix". And what happens to all the waste is another matter again.

After Seveso can even the head of Hoffman-La-Roche go on saying that Accidents Will Happen, and just shrug? He can and he did. And in this country as in most others, the chance of properly debating these profoundly serious "cost/benefit" issues is slim indeed, and will remain so. Only those who work and live in the chemical areas can do anything fundamental to prevent such nightmares happening again, to them and to their community. They must ask, and get the answers to, basic and vital questions that the unions rarely touch upon. Just what are they producing? Is it really necessary, and what are the alternatives? How many jobs are really involved and for how long? And above all, what is the effect on their own minds and bodies, and what is the effect on those of their families and friends?

It all sounds deceptively simple and childish. Perhaps that is why nothing has been done.

G. F.

**Footnote:** To be fair, it should be noted that some unions have begun to take up the problems of environment; for example, the Birmingham Green Ban Action Committee, including unions and community groups, and the Australian Building Labourers' Federation, from which the Birmingham committee derived their ideas.

MEN THROWN into Government by a revolutionary wave have never been able to accomplish what was expected from them. And this is unavoidable. Because in the task of reconstructing society on new principles, separate men, however intelligent and devoted they may be, are sure to fail. The collective spirit of the masses is necessary for this purpose... During a revolution new forms of life will always germinate on the ruins of old forms, but no Government will ever be able to find their expression so long as these forms will not have taken a definite shape during the work of reconstruction itself which must be going on in thousands of spots at the same time... It is impossible to legislate for future. All we can do is to vaguely guess its essential tendencies and clear the road for it.

PETER KRUPOTKIN

# The Queen's Pleasure

EXCEPT FOR the lunatic fringe, man in relation to mankind is but digit in a stuttering endless table of computerised statistics. All emotions, all agonies, hopes, ambitions, loves or fears finalised in the common soil, all expectations of immortality realised in the single recurring zero 0000000000000000

Only a Christ or Donald Neilson as banner bearers for the lunatic fringe cannot be itemised in the clerk's columns but a rose is a rose, the cat that slept in the warm sun in Cleopatra's court and the peasant who coaxed the green shoot from the reluctant soil ten thousand years ago form but a single mote of the alien dust that will settle on the covers of these Prison Reports on my table. It is a hackneyed and usable cliché that statistics can never communicate the human misery contained within those neat and ordered columns, therefore comrades let us play the poet and seek life among the dead letters of the Law.

At this particular moment in time there are 41,704 people held in Brenda's prisons and the unconvicted and unsentenced 6,029 prisoners is an all time high record in the bolts and bars Olympic, with 1,300 from the distaff side. The Report makes much of the training of the prisoners, the various educational outlets and the various community projects that individual or groups of prisoners are involved in, and the photographs within the Report are very nice as the rank and file say when viewing the foreman's holiday snaps in the governor's time. New uniforms for the guards have an airline come-fly-with-me appeal, old ladies smile out of windows as a prisoner does whatever one does to flowers and the chaplain smiles over the shoulders of two prisoners and into the camera. I do not doubt, I do not dispute that with a passive prison population much of what this Report states could or should be true but over the long year the entertainment, community and cultural activities can be but a very small part of a prisoner's life, for twelve photographs and a page of small print can lie by compressing time. Of the religious situation one has to report that 24,190 C of Es lead the list\* with 9,459 R Cs fighting for second place but it is interesting to note that there are 48 Christian Scientists, 682 Muslims, 315 Sikhs, 70 Quakers and 97 lads from the Salvation Army with 3,578 belonging to the "No Religion" Group. This is the television picture of Brenda's prisons as a matey Butlin type of institute that every State would wish to propagate, and at £80.00 a week to keep an unwilling guest Joe Citizen of the middle brow and the permanent middle distance can feel that he is getting his monies' worth liberalwise, but in 1975 there were fourteen suicides, with a verdict of 'misadventure' on a prisoner who cut his own throat.

So much for the Report, for at the moment of typing the Government has hacked off £2,000,000 from the prison services and much of this is used

as overtime payment for the guards. It is the guards in the crowded Pentonville Prison who have been the first to take militant action with a Work To Rule and this now makes nonsense of the whole of the Prison Report. For within Pentonville visitors are now allowed once a month instead of once a fortnight, prisoners are locked in their cells all day Friday, Saturday and Sunday with the result that the alarm bell now rings every day, seventy people now have to use the one lavatory, voluntary groups are finished at the moment, baths and laundry changing is once a fortnight instead of once a week and already there has been one mass sit down in protest.

It is the HMSO Prison Statistical Tables that present a version of truth in relation to Britain's Prisons in the lined, graphed and closely documented pages wherein the printed word is secondary. There are 1,034 men serving Life Sentences with four women held for life in Closed Prisons while Table 5.1 records that four women between the ages of 30 and 50 are imprisoned for "sexual offences". Of murder and GBH the Report shows that it is a field for young bucks for after 60 it is peace brother peace, and the same it seems can be read of buggery and rape. Only Table 6.1 gives hope for the aged with four men over 60 years of age held for bastardy arrears while for women in that age grouping it is for non payment of rates.

There is and always has been a romantic ring to the words Courts Martial (but only with the 's' on the end of Court) but I doubt if the 32 youths held in Brenda's prisons in 1966 for Courts Martial offences found it romantic, but in 1975 only the guards give the corridors a military tread to mark the presence of three Service prisoners. Yet what I found so very odd in these tables is the documented information that in 1966 there was a single, solitary woman held behind bars as a Courts Martial prisoner. Ten years ago, and one wonders who she was and what she did that the full measure of the State in all the magnificence of its military might and splendour should fall on those dainty shoulders. Was she late on parade, did she murder her C.O., did she throw her pudding on the dining room floor? We shall never know for now she exists as only a single '1' in the columns of Adult Females aged 21 and over. But the laughter becomes mute when the pages turn to the tables of 9.1 for here are the punishments and the escapes and the infractions. Violence against the guards ranged from 51 in 1972 to 9 assaults in 1975 but the attempts to escape reached a new high with 396 men trying to go over the wall last year, and I am only quoting the Closed Prisons. Of the women there was no case of assault on guards last year but in the Closed Prisons 64 women tried to fly the nest. Violence, damage to prison property and all that goes with any overcrowded group of people increase as more and more people are forced into the packed cells.

# STONE

It is in the final four pages of the Report that the true misery of any prison system is shown with 13 suicides among the men and one among the women (and my figures are for 1975) and without exception in Closed Prisons while 7 men died of that mysterious "Non natural causes". Ankle straps, special cells, body belts, restraint jackets, protected rooms are documented and these occur only in Closed Prisons with 1581 males being so treated in 1975 and 88 females being physically restrained.

It is so easy to play the smug liberal with these figures when one knows that if these figures were published by any psychiatric hospital they would not be deemed worthy of comment for among these sad statistics are included men and women who are a physical danger to themselves and their fellow men and all we can demand on their behalf is that their treatment shall be humane and always open to outside witnesses. Too many children, too many old people have been brutally treated in community Children's Homes and Old Folk's Homes for us to accept that in a closed

# PETRA KRAUSE

PETRA KRAUSE abandoned the hunger strike we reported on in our last issue (7th August) on July 19th, because, as with the first such strike of last year, the authorities refused to give way on any of the points she demanded (mainly to do with the barbarous conditions in which all are detained in the Zurich prison).

These points, however, have been presented formally to the Swiss federal government in the form of a petition. Because of this the government will be forced to examine the denunciation of its prison system. In the meantime it has nominated a commission of enquiry into the condition of detainees in Swiss prisons, and in particular of those held in solitary confinement. The commission, which has already started its work and which has well-known progressives amongst its members, has recognised the unconstitutionality of some of the means and procedures of detention.

Another effect of the campaign of solidarity with Petra Krause has been an increase (from three to thirty) in the membership in the "League of democratic doctors", an organization which helps detainees who otherwise would remain at the complete mercy of the authorities.

Meanwhile Petra Krause, although her weight has gone to 35 kilos, is in a good state of health and has seen the date of her trial fixed - it is to be held before the end of the year.

Source: Umanità Nova, 31.7.76

# WALLS

compound, despite good intentions, some brute fool will not use violence beyond the medicinal and some small safeguard is and always that witnesses shall be free to witness and to gossip outside the gates. We can read Jessica Mitford's The American Prison Business wherein among the classic horrors the point is made that "reforms may strengthen the system in the long run by refurbishing the facade of prison and thus assuaging the public conscience" to those who say 'abolish prisons', such as Waskow of the Policy Studies in Washington who called for the closing of all prisons and "a fenced off town (or farm)"; or in other words an American sunny Siberia. Solzhenitsyn and George Jackson give us how they feel as prisoners within their own particular society, and we the gentle reader by the last page accept it as no more than an entertainment for unlike the statistics we are uncommitted. I walk the streets at midnight because at 62 years of age I appear to be physically strong enough to defend myself, for like it or nay the great debates on the abolition of prisons seem to stem from well policed residential areas. In isolated communities people are forced to police their own societies and within a society such as the Tristan da Cunha of ten years ago, moneyless and self-supporting, the 'crimes' of the metropolitan mainland could not exist, but those who wave a happy hand crying "tear down the prisons and open the gates" really mean fetch the tough hospital orderlies and build more padded cells. For when Warden Hocker of San Quentin said that 90% of USA prisoners should be freed it still left 10% inside as dangerous to the community, and if they were transferred to barred hospital wards then there would be no more prisons, only men and women in prison. Among all the great debaters I alone have no solution to this problem be it a closed or a free society, only that we should struggle to reduce 'crimes' carrying imprisonment and that imprisonment should carry all the amenities of the outside world and that the barred gate shall be the only barrier between the citizen and the citizen prisoner. For in any society the roles are always in danger of becoming interchangeable and as long as this happens we should not play the hypocrite by coining pretty names for public and private prisons.

Arthur Moyses.

\*Don't let this fool you. If you do not state you've got no religion you go down as C. of E. willy-nilly. After all, it's the State religion. J.R.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE PRISON DEPARTMENT 1975, Statistical Tables. (HMSO £1.25).  
REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE PRISON DEPARTMENT 1975, (HMSO £1.40)

## How Did She Die?

On May 9th, 1976 the world learnt that Ulrike Meinhof, one of the leaders of the Baader-Meinhof group had "committed suicide" in the specially-built maximum security prison in Stuttgart in which she had been held for many months, both before and during her trial.

Since then a number of facts have come to light which throw serious doubt on the official version of events. These facts raise important questions not only for political dissenters but for all concerned with civil liberties.

Was Ulrike Meinhof's death really due to suicide by hanging? Or was it due to reflex cardiac arrest, as a result of pressure applied to her neck by another person? Was there a sexual assault or attempted sexual assault on Ulrike Meinhof before her death? The implications of a positive answer to either of these questions will be obvious to all.

Two post-mortems were carried out on Ulrike Meinhof's corpse. The first was the official one conducted in the presence of a judge and public prosecutor on May 9, 1976. It was performed by medical experts called in by the authorities. Lawyers and medical representatives of the dead woman were denied the right to attend. A report of the findings was issued by the Stuttgart Health Office (Department of Forensic Medicine) and was signed by Professors Rauschke and Mallach. The second was undertaken, two days later, at the request of the family, by Professors Werner Jansen and Jürgen Schröder, of the Institute of Forensic Medicine of Hamburg University. They did not have access to all the tissues available to those who had carried out the initial autopsy, nor to the clothing or other relevant material (such as photographs depicting the position in which the body was found, etc.).

Both reports have come into the hands of the Solidarity (London) group, who feel it essential that the findings be publicised as widely as possible. Both in what they say - and in what they don't say - the documents are deeply disturbing. In raising these matters the Solidarity group wish to avoid the usual manipulatory (and ultimately self-defeating) distortions of evidence and the ghoulish wallowing "in the blood of the martyrs" that characterise so many churches and political groups. Ulrike Meinhof's politics were not theirs (nor ours), but this is not the concern. The fundamental issues are much greater than any individual or group.

The official post-mortem report mentions that Ulrike Meinhof's body was found with her left heel still on the chair on which she had allegedly climbed to hang herself. In other words there had been no substantial "drop". If this was suicide, the mode of death would most probably have been death from asphyxia, rather than from the more customary dislocation of the upper cervical spine, such as occurs in judicial hanging. One of the most important features of strangulation asphyxia is obstruction to the return of blood from the head. The hallmark of such obstruction is the presence of haemorrhages in the conjunctivae of the eyes. Both post-mortem reports specifically mention that no such haemorrhages were found. Nor was there any evidence of protrusion of the eyes or of the tongue, or of cyanosis (blue discoloration) of the face, such as is commonly seen in asphyxial deaths. Although the hyoid bone at the root of the tongue was fractured, there was no bruising in the neck, at the site of the indentation made by the "towel-rope" with which the prisoner allegedly hanged her-

self. These negative findings are unusual, to say the least, in anyone who has died from asphyxia. They are, however, compatible with death from vagal inhibition, i.e. with death from pressure on the carotid sinuses in the neck which may result in reflex stopping of the heart.

There are other disturbing facts, of a positive kind. Both necropsy reports mention severe congestion of the external genitals and bruises on both calves. Both mention an abrasion, covered with blood clot, on the left buttock. The Jansen-Schröder report also mentions a bruise on the right thigh. Examination of the prisoner's underwear at the time of the initial examination revealed suspicious stains. Tests for seminal fluid were officially described as positive, although no sperms were found (Official Report of the State Prosecutor, Criminal-Technical Laboratory - Kriminaltechnische Untersuchungsstelle - May 11, 1976).

Deeply disturbed by these findings, by the arrest of Ulrike Meinhof's defending counsel (just as he had got onto some of these facts) as well as by a number of discrepancies and contradictions in the official evidence, which will be gone into elsewhere, a sub-committee (the Justiz-kritische Ausschuss) of the German Writers' Union is planning a conference in Stuttgart on August 26, at which it is hoped to air these issues and to ask for an international investigation (in order to avoid possible pressure on German citizens, willing to give evidence of a technical nature).

Taken from a leaflet published by Solidarity (London) c/o 123 Lathom Road, London E.6. on August 13, 1976.

Another discrepancy in the original official version of Meinhof's death was reported in the Observer on Sunday (15 August). The official autopsy says that "Frau Meinhof was dressed in dark corduroy trousers, a shirt with its sleeves rolled up to the elbows, and dark woollen socks. Yet later in this report, Rauschke and Mallach found a dried-up saliva track three to four millimetres wide on the skin running from breast to navel. Salivation is a feature of death by hanging or strangulation; the trace on the skin, however, suggests that Frau Meinhof was not fully dressed when she died."

A report in New Society (12th August) says positively that "The official autopsy, it has now been discovered, also found traces of sperm on the body which, together with the blue discolorations often found on victims of rape, would seem to point to actual, or attempted sexual assault."

And the Newsline (10th August) reports that: "...two days after the death the cell was completely renewed. The barred window from which Ulrike is said to have fastened the towel was newly painted. Normally it is done every ten years... The mark on her throat is not that caused by a piece of towel, as the authorities say. It is more like an injury from a piece of wire."

# POLAND

RADGM—the unofficial story

SINCE OUR last report on the trials of the workers following the riots in Poland this summer, a fresh report has been received by the international press, notably by the German papers Neue Zürcher Zeitung and Die Welt, and the French Liberation. It was subsequently denied by the Polish authorities but, in view of the nature of the report, such a denial is only to be expected.

Earlier official accounts mentioned the death of two workers at Radom, crushed in the riots by a tractor trailer when trying to barricade the streets. The unofficial eyewitness account claims that at least 17 people were killed and buried unceremoniously in a mass grave. Hundreds of others were wounded and doctors reported that the casualty wards were full. The report confirms mass dismissals of workers from their jobs and their consequent deprivation of social security provisions.

According to this account, which has also been carried by the BBC external services, the riots at Radom began on 25 June, the day after the announcement of the price rises. At the "General Walter" weapons and ordnance factory, which was reputed to be "politically reliable", the early shift workers decided to go on strike and, bearing red flags, went to the local weapons store to arm themselves, but found it had been emptied. They were soon joined by women workers from the Radoskor shoe factory (the largest in Poland) and other workers from the railway repair yard, tobacco factory and other smaller enterprises, as well as by children from the local schools and housewives.

The demonstration reached the local party headquarters where Janusz Prokopiak, the first secretary of the Radom branch of the party, refused to listen to the workers' request to transmit a resolution to the party leader, Gierek, demanding the cancellation of the food price rises and improvements in working conditions. His deputy, Adamczyk, came out to face the workers instead. A woman with a small child called to him that she earned 2200 zloty a month, not enough to feed the child — how much did he, Adamczyk, earn? "Adamczyk answered sarcastically that if the woman was so concerned for her child, she should not have brought it to the demonstration, at which the woman threw herself at Adamczyk in a great fury. A worker in overalls then shouted to Adamczyk that he received only one set of working clothes a year, although he had the right to four, and then demanded, 'How much did the party secretary's suit cost?' When Adamczyk refused to reply, he supplied the answer himself, 'About 6000 zloty.' At that point, a voice in the crowd called out that Adamczyk should

have the clothes taken off him and this was duly done, so that the party secretary fell into the party building in his underclothes," under a hail of stones.

After this incident the party headquarters were invaded. The gate was smashed down with a tractor, and the demonstrators were further angered to find the number and variety of luxury goods that the building contained, such as export quality ham. The furnishings were wrecked, files and carpets thrown out of the window and the place set on fire. Slogans such as 'Down with the traitors' party!' were written across walls. Many of the workers burned their own party membership cards in the streets.

The storming of the party headquarters was followed by that of several other official buildings, including the police station. The first secretary's villa was set on fire and the firemen prevented from extinguishing the flames. Barricades went up throughout Radom and petrol poured from a tanker all along the main street and set alight to stop the advance of the police.

Reinforcements to the militia units, and shock troops (the Goleznow) were summoned from Warsaw. Some of them were said to be drugged convicts. Firearms were apparently not used but in the ensuing street battle, the security forces used special riot truncheons and hand grenades against the rioters, who armed themselves with butcher's knives, among other weapons. The police also eventually used tear gas. The battle went on from noon till almost midnight. During this time the demonstrators were filmed from a helicopter.

Among the dead were a pregnant woman, a child and a young doctor, and the body of a young man was found on the roadside several days after he had been arrested. About 75 policemen were wounded, eight of them seriously. The following day the emergency tribunals were set up. At Radom about 400 people were tried, at Ursus about 200. By the end of last month more than 58 people had been sentenced in group trials, later followed by a number of individual cases. The party headquarters and police station have been sent anonymous letters of protest.

The names of the group of seven convicted at Ursus, charged with derailing an electric train and pushing it onto a gap in the railway tracks are as follows: Miroslaw Chmielewski (21), Grzegorz Zielonka (32), Eugeniusz Dzielak (30), Czeslaw Milczarek (27) —all workers from the agricultural machine factory of Ursus, the Warsaw suburb; Jozef Jaworski (29), a kiosk vendor; Miroslaw Karbowisk (22), unemployed; Wojciech Czarnecki (35).

Miroslaw Chmielewski is considered leader of the factory strike in Ursus, and when earlier, in May, a fire had broken out there he saved many people from the flames. The prosecutor asked for a 10-year sentence, but he was given 5. At Radom the sentences were harsher still, but the names of most of the other prisoners are not yet known.

You can send letters of protest to: Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party, Warsaw Henrik Jablonski, Chairman of State Council\*, Warsaw (\*nominal head of state).

Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Minister of Internal Affairs, Warsaw.

Piotr Jarostwicz, Prime Minister, Warsaw.

## TRICO STRUGGLE

THE STRIKE by 350 men and women production workers at the Trico windscreen wiper factory in Brentford, West London is now entering its thirtieth week. This dispute by predominantly women workers is because the women are being paid almost £7 a week less than five men who do exactly the same work. It is an important strike not only because women workers are having a hard struggle in their fight for equal pay, but also because Trico are the main supplier to the major car manufacturers.

### BACKGROUND

For more than ten years the production workers were separated into two groups: 120 men on night shift and the women on day shift. As is the case in most industries, the night shift workers were on a higher piecework rates of pay, plus higher overtime premiums. This the management justified by stating that the night shift workers were more flexible workers, i.e. what they produced was special customer orders and not the ordinary wipers produced by the day women workers. During the economic "crisis" last year the night shift was phased out as trade fell. All but 25 of the men accepted redundancy pay, then 20 of those left were placed in a special category of shift work which was a mixture of day/night work. The remaining five joined the women on the day shift.

However, although they lost their night shift premiums, the five men are still being paid the higher piecework rate which works out at £6.64 per week more than their women colleagues get for exactly the same work.

The management regard these five men as a special case and argue that the higher rate of pay only applies to these five and when they leave or move to another job, it will disappear. The union see this as "equal pay in reverse" for when new workers are employed they are employed at the present rate of pay of the women, which is obviously much lower than that of the five men.

The whole attitude of the Trico management has made the women all the more determined in their struggle, and when the eventual compromises are worked out between management and

union one hopes they will be in a much stronger position to fight from.

In the 5-year period of implementation of the Equal Pay Act, Trico only belatedly decided to change its pay structure within the last year. As was to be expected, the management didn't use the higher night shift rate as the rate for equal pay, but a daytime rate lower than this. Even so, this lower rate for men was higher than what the women were getting paid; it was the rate of pay for a job classified as a capstan operator, on which women very rarely work anyway. By paying the women this new rate of pay, Trico then classed this as "equal pay". Thus a new situation arose around which much of the present dispute is being argued; the women are being paid £6 less than five men who are doing the same work but at the same pay as the capstan operators, who are not even production workers but work in the factory's engineering shop.

Although the management are quite willing to take the case to the Equal Opportunities Commission (quite understandable in view of recent cases) the women are most reluctant as they argue that these bodies are biased against women in equal pay cases.

Figures released by the Equal Opportunities Commission last week reveal that the tribunals have ruled against women applicants in 104 out of 145 cases. Also, out of 22 cases brought before the Sex Discrimination Act, 16 have proved unsuccessful.

This bias against equal pay for women is surely a reflection of the more general struggle of women for equal rights within society. It is surely not necessary for a writer in an anarchist journal to state again that Tribunals like these, backed by the judicial system and legislation from Parliament, are not the place to fight for a better society. For the women workers of Trico, the workplace is where the struggle has to be fought.

Francis A. Wright.

### High Court of Justice



"With a bent jury he's a dead cert to be acquitted while they're waiting to be indicted for bribery and corruption."

# CROFTERS' NEWS

WHEN BY the 1880s the landlords of the Isle of Skye caused the socio-economic condition on the island (and in the rest of the Highlands) to become intolerable the crofters rebelled. On 17th April, 1882 a contingent of the Glasgow police sent to deal with the crofters, who had defied a sheriff, marched from Portree to Braes, and in a narrow defile were met by the Braes crofters. Sticks were used and there was some stone-throwing. No life was lost, but much blood was shed. The police won that battle, and the crofters' rebellion on the Isle of Skye was crushed when the Government sent gunboats to overawe the unarmed crofters. The last battle worse than the troubles in Ireland at that time was fought on British soil.

Now the Isle of Skye rebels again. And the crofters are on the march again.

The landlord, Mr. Olaf Martin, has applied to the Scottish Land Court to increase the rent of his 67 crofts in the isolated district of Husabost. This application has angered the local crofters, who were given three rights after the 1882 rebellion: a fair rent, security of tenure, and compensation by the landlord for improvements made by the tenant.

The average rents of crofts are under £10 a year at the moment. And considering the payments made over the decades it becomes clear that the crofters have long since paid for their croft land. And the crofters have now enough of the oppression of landlords, in particular and in general. The Highland Clearances have not been forgotten.

The Husabost crofters will again be on the march, this time supported by exiled Skye men and women from all over the country. Their anger will be demonstrated on August 28, when they intend to gather at the monument on the hillside at Glendale which commemorates the 1882 crofters' rebellion.

As an anarchist I hope the crofters' rebellion will be successful, and I would like to see the crofters eventually go back to their community system as before the Highland Clearances. Then the crofters will occupy the hill-pasture in common and will divide the arable land into portions, to be re-allocated at regular intervals - usually annually - so that each man/woman gets his/her turn of good and poor land. And in addition there will be no lairds (landlords) any longer.

Abraham.

# LETTERS

## ISRAEL and the ARABS

Dear All,

I don't know if your correspondent, Mr. Javsicas, is serious, I can hardly believe he is. However libertarian the better Kibbutzim may have been once, all their members have to be ready to serve in the Israeli forces in imperialist wars, and this is why Avraham Ben Yosef felt it necessary to leave Kibbutz Sasa & Israel.

G.J. says the Arabs have rights in Israel. What rights? I have a maternal grandmother who was Jewish may go to Israel and immediately claim Israeli nationality; an Arab of similar age, forced in youth to flee from Palestine under guerrilla threats to his life, but who has returned to Israel since the establishment of the state would even now still be deprived of nationality; even though I have never been there and he left only for a few weeks.

The attempt to label all who criticise Israel as supporters of Stalinism is merely to use the traditional Stalinist method of argument and shows how bankrupt his general case is.

Fraternally,  
L.O.

## Campaign to Repeal Immigration Act

Dear Comrades,

THE CAMPAIGN aims to unite U.K. and Immigrant workers in the fight against a racist and divisive law which robs immigrants of their basic rights. We shall be holding a series of public meetings in Central London every fortnight as from September 9th, at which prominent representatives of the Labour Movement will be speaking. We also hold ad hoc meetings every Thursday at 7.30 at Inter-Coop, 31, James Street, W.C.2. (Covent Garden Tube) to which anyone interested is very welcome. Affiliation to the campaign costs £2.50 for organisations and union branches and £1 for individuals: to be sent to C.R.I.A., 92 Tavistock Road, London W.11.

Yours fraternally,  
Marie Stewart.

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# CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next review is Monday 23 August and for news section Friday 27 August (earlier because of Bank Holiday Monday).

## VANDALISM MARS UMBRIA FESTIVAL

"PERUGIA — The third annual Umbria jazz festival ended on a chilly note this year with 20,000 fans sitting on a mountain top on a cold, rainy evening waiting for headliner Herbie Hancock who never appeared.

Hancock's no-show on Sunday night capped a week of vandalism, political hooliganism and bad weather which have plunged the future of the festival into doubt. There have been calls in the regional assembly of Umbria either to reduce the festival's scope next year or cancel it altogether.

'The returns are not all in, but we expect that the festival cost us about £35,000 which includes all artists' fees and damages,' says Luigi Nuzzace, an official at the Umbria tourist office. 'Because of the violence and damage, I cannot say whether we will have a festival next year.'

The Umbria festival was a six-day, six-night event that moved daily to a different town and village in the Umbria region north of Rome. All the concerts were free-paid for by the region's ruling socialist-communist administration and this year's stars included Sarah Vaughan, the Stan Getz Quartet, Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers, Dizzy Gillespie, Sam Rivers, the Cedar Walton Quartet, Don Pullen and Enrico Rava among others.

Because Umbria accedes to the demand of political activists "for free music for the people" it expected to avoid the troubles that have plagued so many music presentations in Italy. But having got their free music, the extremists turned on a local supermarket and a train station for free food and free transportation.

They 'liberated' food from a supermarket and later demanded a free train trip to the festival site. There were several arrests which, in turn, provoked demonstrations.

According to reports here, the reason why Hancock refused to perform was because he objected to playing for a non-paying audience, even though he himself was being paid. Hancock apparently argued that free audiences come to an event no matter who is playing and do not respect the individual artist."

From Music Week August 14th.

## PRESS FUND

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THE BOOKSHOP WILL BE CLOSED ON FRIDAY 10th SEPTEMBER.

### MEETINGS

LONDON 21 & 22 August Brit. Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign national meeting of supporters at the Pax Christi Centre, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Road, N.W.5. (near Chalk Farm tube station, on bus routes 24 & 45). Starts 2pm Sat. Details from BWNIC (London Group) c/o 5 Caledonian Rd London N.1. (send SAE). Creche, crashpads  
ITALY 24-26 September. An international conference of Bakunin studies will take place in Venice. Many scholars have already agreed to participate. All comrades interested in the initiative, and wishing either to send suggestions or financial contributions, or to participate in/be present at the conference, are invited to get in touch with Nico Berti, C.P. 541, 35100 Padua, Italy.

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

EAST LONDON Libertarian Group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Lathom Road, E.6. Phone Ken 552-3985

SOUTH-EAST London Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina 460-1833

KINGSTON Libertarian Group interested persons contact Pauline, tel. 549 2564

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

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.

LONDON BWNIC. Tues 3 August London supporters mtg. 7.30 pm at 6 Endsleigh St. WC1.

Monthly mtg. Tues 7 Sept 7.30 above address. Details of both from BWNIC (London group) c/o 5 Caledonian Rd London N1 9DX

### GROUPS

ABERDEEN c/o S. Blake, 167 King Street

BATH - during vac. write c/o Freedom.

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group, Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13

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

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

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephan, Botany School Field Station, 34a Storey's Way, Cambridge (tel. 52896)

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

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

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

DUNDEE - term time

DURHAM - term time

EDINBURGH - term time

FIFE - see West Fife

GLASGOW, Jim McFarlane, c/o Charlie Baird, 122 Bemeray St., Milton, Glasgow G22 8AY

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 and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester, tel. 549652

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street, Oxford

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

ST. ANDREWS - term time

WEST FIFE write John Deming, 164 Apin Crescent, Dunfermline

Proposed Yorkshire Federation - interested individuals or groups please contact Leeds group

### OVERSEAS

#### AUSTRALIA

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

Melbourne Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne. New South Wales P. Stones, P.O. Box 25, Warrawong, NSW 2502.

Sydney Fed. of Aust. Anarchists and "Rising Free" monthly, Box 92, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

#### NEW ZEALAND

Write to the movement c/o Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607, Christchurch.

### PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS/PUBLICATIONS

NORTHANTS A. S. Neill Association group now forming. Contact Susan and Terry Phillips 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

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

SUMMER CAMP. Travelling companion please. Can leave any time. Willing to go on train but prefer hitch (speak French). Ring Val, 01-348 5394

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front, Box 1976, c/o Rising Free 142 Drummond Street, London NW1  
BACK ISSUES of foreign anarchist/syndicalist papers available. Contact Box CA1 Freedom.

### PRISONERS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.  
MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY - watch 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, etc. Box 252 240 Camden High Street, London, NW1

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## SPANISH ANARCHISM NOW

### Situation & Prospects

THE FOLLOWING article is translated from the May 1976 issue of *La Lanterne Noire*, an independent French magazine of anarchist critique. The article is the work of Freddy, a collaborator on *Frente Libertario*, the organ of the FIJL published in Spanish in Paris. We omit the first two paragraphs which are comments on the French press's treatment of Spanish anarchism (the British press doesn't treat of it at all).

#### 1967-1970: FIRST SYMPTOMS OF EXISTENCE OF A MOVEMENT

It is particularly difficult to date with precision the libertarian renaissance in Spain. It is better to speak of symptoms. From 1966, but above all in 1967 and 1968, numerous groups, making implicit or explicit reference to anarchism, developed an anti-authoritarian practice. The best-known of these groups remains the "Acratas" of Madrid University. Theoretically rather close to situationism, the "Acratas" survived in a closed circle, since their privileged terrain was the University. Claiming autonomy above all else they practiced savage verbal interventions and circulated particularly virulent "anti-tracts". The imagination of new forms of radical challenge and cultural subversion came up against a double power represented simultaneously by the institution of the University and its cops and by the "responsible" student organisations dominated by the marxist-leninists. The lenino-stalinist dogmatism practised by the numerous sectarian and competing chapels, each seeking hegemony, partially explains the "anti-authoritarian reflex" of the "Acratas". Although in a huge minority, these autonomous groups, without any coherent theoretical formulations and with no links among themselves, shook up the monotony of the university by introducing a joyous revolutionary radicality into it. When the repercussions of May 1968 were felt in Madrid, the "Acratas", also called "Independientes", experienced spectacular growth. The recession of the struggles and the normalisation imposed jointly by the Institution and the reasonable Left were to put an end, partially at least, to the irreverent "madness" of the anti-authoritarians. Once the taking into hand had been started, the "Acratas" slowly but surely retreated into theoretical elaboration or the search for artificial paradises. Theorizing marginalism as an existential choice and a break with the boredom of the university, they sank into oblivion, even: if the anti-authoritarian groups which subsequently developed in the University frequently referred to their "ancestors" and often adopted their forms of action. Although a passing phenomenon, the anti-authoritarian student "pronunciamento" marked an important stage in the formation of libertarian consciousness-raising which was not slow to reach other social levels.

Parallel with the appearance of anti-authoritarian groups inside the University, there was evidence of the blossoming of a libertarian tendency inside the workers' movement, including the Workers' Commissions. Many young worker militants, who had often made their first passages of arms in Christian organisations (HOAC = Workers' Brotherhoods of Catholic Action, JOC = Catholic Working Youth) or in the Workers' Commissions, rediscovered libertarian practice, based on the refusal of leaderism or hierarchy, though their daily struggles. Present in factory or neighbourhood commissions, these militants declared themselves to be both anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic and demanded workers' autonomy. In March 1969 some anti-authoritarian workers launched in Barcelona the magazine *Que hacer?* ("What is to be done?") subsequently taken over by Leninists. They also

tried to set up an anti-authoritarian pole, under the name "Plataformas", inside the Workers' Commissions, which are dominated by the Spanish Communist Party. This interesting project also failed because of political manoeuvrings. At this point the GOA (Autonomous Workers' Groups) were formed. A grouping of anti-authoritarian workers, the GOA had no precise affiliation. Though they refused all theoretical a-prioris, they were often regarded as anarcho-syndicalists because of their practice. The relations of collaboration which the GOA maintained with more specifically anarchist groups led to their being considered as in a way the working-class branch of Catalan anarchism. This assimilation of the GOA to anarchism was completely gratuitous. The GOA brought together both libertarians and anti-authoritarian Marxists. These latter felt the application of the term anarcho-syndicalist to be an insult. The GOA never got away, moreover, from this initial ambiguity. It was even to be one of the principal causes of their break-up. The contribution of the GOA to the development of an anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist consciousness was very far, however, from negligible. After their disappearance, some of their militants were to become the animators of the Catalan anarcho-syndicalist current.

At the moment when the GOA were advancing the idea of workers' autonomy and linking up with the libertarian tradition of the Catalan workers' movement, other groups made their appearance in Catalonia and in other regions of Spain. Contrary to the GOA, these groups took a position clearly related to anarchism and claimed the name. Whilst defending the idea of autonomy, these specifically anarchist groups formed of both students and workers, were confronted with the difficult problem of the lack of co-ordination and of structures. Clandestinity imposes its rules and these, to say the least, do not favour the confrontation of criteria in the question of organization. A key-question, the problem of organization and of structures, provoked the most discussion inside anarchist groups. The principal and most influential ones were in Catalonia (especially in Barcelona), in Valencia, Madrid and Zaragoza. Irregular publications flourished a little everywhere: *Tribuna Libertaria* of the "Negro y Rojo" group in Barcelona, *Tierra Libre* of the "Bandera Negra" group of Valencia, *Accion Directa* of the group of the same name in Zaragoza, and many others. Groups formed and broke up, were born and disappeared of natural causes, or under the blows of repression. The presence of both students and workers inside the same groups was not without its problems. Activism and mass work, spontaneism and organization did not always accord. Some autonomous anarchist organizations asserted themselves negatively by the rejection of all organizational projects; others proposed to start up again a specific organization of the FAI type; others still felt themselves closer to the anarcho-syndicalism of the CNT and talked of reconstructing the class organization before the specific organization. From then on, despite the rigid norms of clandestinity, a debate between the different tendencies started up. Bitter at certain points, often confused, it was nevertheless to contribute to clarifying the situation. We will return to it later on.

#### THE EXILE: Internal struggles and a new departure

At the moment when the harbingers of a renaissance of the Libertarian Movement in the Interior were appearing, the classical organizations of the "historic" MLE (CNT-FAI

in exile) were sinking body and soul into a state of profound degeneration. Exile had a lot to do with it. Cut off from the reality of struggle, the classical organizations became inert bodies whose militants were turned into simple subscribers. Internal frictions and fights between tendencies succeeded each other until they became the raison d'être of the Organization. In exile, the CNT and the FAI were no more than a sad caricature of what they had been in a more and more distant past. The unmoveable bureaucrats of the MLE proclaimed themselves the depositories of an inalienable "anarchy" and watched over the Temple. These anarchists by divine right, guardians of orthodoxy, went to war for a "yes" or a "no", against those who, in their eyes, displayed "deviationism". A first conflict opposed the ruling bureaucracy to the youth sector (the FIJL, Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth), supported by a good number of older militants. All who criticised the "Stalinist" methods employed by the bureaucracy or questioned the immobilism of the apparatus were irremediably and without distinction considered "heretics" and condemned as such. In the most authoritarian manner the bureaucracy expelled the "kill-joys" with all the force at their disposal, and even went so far as to get active local federations on the Index... Reacting against this state of affairs, many militants entered into open struggle against the bureaucracy. The birth of Frente Libertario in July 1970 occurred in the context of this movement of anti-bureaucratic organization. From the start Frente Libertario wanted to get off the beaten paths and was more interested in the libertarian renaissance in Spain than in the paralysing routine of the classical movement. In the editorial of its pilot issue (No. 0, distributed only to militants), the following phrase appeared:

The paper wants to be a support to the comrades in the Interior. It is them - and not us - who have to find the appropriate form of organization; in trade unions, autonomous groups, or as seems best to them...

Breaking with the managerialism practiced by the bureaucracy of the "official" CNT, Frente Libertario did not present

#### 1971-1973: DEFINITION OF FIELDS and birth of an organizational project

Politically, the year 1971 was to allow libertarian groups of all tendencies to develop large-scale militant activity against participation in the official trade union elections and against tourism. New groups were in gestation, others were in crisis. The GOA were multiplying into an important movement, which was not to stop progressing until 1973, the date of its split into multiple tendencies.

A desire amongst the majority of libertarian groups to get out of the "swamp of small groups" in which they survived, became apparent. Several plans for organization were put forward, but a number of groups refused to take up a position and rejected what would sooner or later imply the constitution of an organization. This anti-organizational reflex, a major contributor to atomization, has several explanations. The new generation of libertarian militants was in large part made up of young people who came out, at least many of them did, of the Communist Party, or small Marxist-Leninist groups (Trotskyists, Maoists). Extremely sensitive to the problem of bureaucracy, they reacted against their "experience of militancy" by scorning all projects for organization. Though healthy in itself, this reaction was, however, extremely negative. The simplistic procedure which consisted of assimilating organizing with bureaucracy sank a number of groups into marginality. Spontaneists par excellence, these groups/families transformed themselves into small local societies leading an autarchic existence.

At the extreme opposite of this tendency, some groups aspired to constitute (or re-constitute) a pure and hard specific organization, irresistibly bringing to mind the "historic" FAI. To this end, a meeting of Catalan autonomous anarchist groups took place in November 1972. Formulating the project of reconstituting the FAI, the groups present at this meeting (rather few, it's true) defined the broad outlines on which the Organization would rest. Conscious of the atrophy of the Movement some groups exaggerated the importance of structures and ended up by considering the Organization as an end and not a means. In reaction to the organizational

itself as another organization, but as spokesman of a broad current of opposition to the dominant dogmatism and conformism. A reading of the first numbers of F.L. shows that the main centres of interest of the editorial group were the following: opposition to those who consciously or unconsciously (bureaucracy--silent majority) kept the MLE in the situation it found itself in, direction of all its efforts towards the Interior by maintaining or developing contacts with libertarian or anti-authoritarian groups without aspiring to impose any line upon them.

In its first phase, F.L. effectively maintained contact with all the groups of the Interior (GOA, specific groups, libertarian students, anarcho-syndicalists, etc.). In July 1971, however, that is, exactly a year after its birth, there appeared for the first time in F.L. the idea of the reconstruction of the CNT, which was later to take on its own importance. The following sentence appeared in the editorial (entitled "Esperance" - Hope) of No. 11 (July 1971): "Without ignoring the traps and the difficulties which threaten, the really important thing, is to contribute effectively to the reconstruction of the CNT, and to the development of libertarian propaganda in the whole peninsula."

Subsequently this idea was to recur very frequently in the pages of F.L. before getting popularised by certain groups in the Interior. Whilst feeling more in agreement with the anarcho-syndicalist tendency, F.L. did not cut itself off from other autonomous groups on the one hand, and on the other did not sink into the triumphalist rhetoric of making believe that there was a coherent and firmly rooted movement. The columns of F.L. were open to the specific anarchist groups, and the GOA, and the anti-authoritarian students to make themselves known and to put their viewpoint. In the debate in Spain between the partisans of a federation of autonomous specific groups, the anarcho-syndicalists, the councilists with their project of anti-authoritarian organization of a "new type", and all the small groups which had no clear ideas but were fundamentally anti-organizational, F.L. had options. They were more and more anarcho-syndicalist...

void, they fell for the opposite extreme. There was no follow-up to this attempt to reconstruct the FAI.

It is always difficult to get a clear idea of what, in clandestinity, one tendency represents in relation to another. The capacity for militancy can only be judged approximately. On the level of numbers, the anarcho-syndicalist groups were progressing more rapidly than the others. Their dynamism, their desire to stick close to the reality of workers' struggles and their hostility towards intellectualism were their principal characteristics. The anarcho-syndicalist militants were mostly young people of diverse origins. Some had passed through anti-authoritarian groups and had left them so as not to sink into activism or depression, others had been militants in the GOA or were still militants in them whilst participating locally in Workers' Commissions, still others, coming from Christian workers' organizations, from the Communist Party, or from the extreme left, had been radicalised by contact with social reality. Amongst many of these young anarcho-syndicalist militants could be found a sort of fascination with the CNT of yester year, still present today in the collective memory of the proletariat. Very critical of the "historic" errors of the CNT, and also of the bureaucracy in exile, these militant workers linked up again, by means of their practice, with the essence of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism (the book by Juan Gomez-Casas, Historia del anarcho-sindicalismo español played a major role in this raising of libertarian and anarcho-syndicalist consciousness). The anarcho-syndicalists of today, like those of yesterday, do not form a homogeneous whole. There are "radicals", "possibilists", anarchists anxious to be present in workers' struggles, libertarian syndicalists, in fact all the tendencies which always had the key to the door of the CNT (at least, before the bureaucracy slammed it in their face!). Rooted principally in Catalonia, the anarcho-syndicalists collaborated with the other libertarian groups and tendencies, but they became more and more critical of the "anti-organizationalists" (the super-anti-syndicalists) and the "super-organizational" specific groups.

In April 1973, an assembly of anarcho-syndicalist groups took place in Catalonia. Whilst not representative of the entirety of groups, this assembly nevertheless brought to-

gether numerous Catalan groups and militants or groups from Zaragoza, Madrid, and Cadiz. For the first time, groups in the Interior defined an anarcho-syndicalist strategy and put forward the idea of the reconstruction of the CNT. The long term project of these groups was to call a national Congress to reconstruct the CNT. For the immediate future, the priority task consisted in establishing contacts with all groups which accepted the project. To this end, a national Commission and regional Commissions charged with co-ordinating the different anarcho-syndicalist networks were set up. To facilitate debate between different libertarian tendencies, groups which had come together, decided to publish an internal discussion bulletin (Opcion). On the propaganda level, the publishing of an information bulletin (CNT Informa) and a theoretical magazine (Accion anarcho-sindicalista) was announced.

An important event, this assembly of anarcho-syndicalist groups, marked the commencement of a process of regrouping. Through having managed to present a coherent project for organization, the anarcho-syndicalist groups reaped the rapid benefit of the militant support of a series of groups which gradually came together in their ideas. After this

assembly, all the libertarians were to define themselves by reference to the anarcho-syndicalist tendency. Whether for or against, nobody was indifferent. Frente Libertario, in its October 1973 issue, gave great importance to this project of reconstructing the CNT, echoed the assembly, and openly supported the decisions taken. The "official" CNT was silent, and for good reason... The autonomous anti-syndicalists criticised those who "were adopting forms of organization from the past," and continued to theorise about the spontaneity of the masses. From then on, it is to be noted, however, that many of these autonomous groups, subsequently abandoned these positions and evolved towards anarcho-syndicalism. The assembly had the merit of clarifying the situation and of defining fields. It did not put a final end to the confusion reigning, but it contributed to putting a brake on the slow disintegration of a movement pulled between the cult of spontaneity and the need for efficiency. Many causes were to slow down the process of formation of anarcho-syndicalist organization. Amongst them, a special place has to be given to the activism of certain groups (MIL, GAC amongst others) and its corollary, police repression.

TO BE CONTINUED IN THE NEXT ISSUE

THE THIRTIES

# TODAY... THE STRUGGLE

I DID NOT get to Spain; perhaps my political maturity was insufficiently advanced, perhaps I was too conventional, too much of a pacifist; but I know that we discussed the pros and cons of the war, and in the Everyman Cafe and in the late-night milkbars 'we measured out our lives with coffeespoons'.

This unheroic memoir is prompted not just by the 40th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War (every day is the anniversary of everything) but by the plunges into nostalgia of the book-world, the media and the galleries. There is a craze for harking back to a past which seems to get nearer (or is it me?) but nostalgia, like everything else, ain't what it used to be and the Spanish Civil War and the Thirties have assumed a glamour and a patina of romantic self sacrifice for the proletariat - national and international - which seems to me a pose.

Particularly have these feelings been aroused by the exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery, Trafalgar Square, of "Young Writers of the Thirties" (25th June - Nov. 7th) which centres on W. H. Auden, C. Day Lewis, Christopher Isherwood, Louis McNeice and Stephen Spender. The exhibition itself is competent and interesting and worth a visit (it is free) for the detail about these writers of the Thirties. It is what it does not say, and the omissions, which make it curious and mildly dishonest. I will skip over the homosexual implications which infuse the whole Berlin scene although this question is never honestly raised and it of the strengths (and weaknesses) of the group.

The influence of Communism on the writers of the Thirties was clear, unmistakable and acknowledged but this Communism was Stalinist, totalitarian, all-embracing and perfidious. Some of the writers of the Thirties were innocent do-gooders who for idealism had been caught up in movements and manoeuvres, but others were using the apparatus knowingly for their own advancement.

George Orwell, exasperating as he could be on some subjects, and wrong-headed as he was in his attitude to the 1939-45 war, fought clearly for what he believed in. When his book The Road to Wigan Pier was published (and commissioned) by the Left Book Club in 1937, the publisher, Victor Gollancz felt it necessary to include an apology in the preface, mainly for Orwell's criticism of the Soviet Union. This criticism I defended to the best of my ability in my LBC discussions. The Left Book Club was the nearest I ever came to the Communist Party, and although I retained (in 1937-8) some little faith in the Soviet Union it was eroded and finally shattered by the Barcelona May Days, the Moscow trials and the Nazi-Soviet Pact and dismemberment of Poland.

This was not the last of Orwell's brushes with the totalitarian left and when I was asked by fellow-travelling intellectual X which side (of the Government side, naturally) I supported in the Spanish Civil War and replied, to his indignation "The P.O.U.M." he then replied, "After what they did in Barcelona?" Further discussion was useless.

I was at the time a member of the Independent Labour Party who supported the P.O.U.M. It was no accident that they were being infiltrated by Trotskyists. But it was almost by accident that George Orwell

joined the P.O.U.M. contingent in Spain and was enabled to write one of the most truthful books to come out of that mendacious war.

Orwell (who finds little mention in the Young Writers of the Thirties exhibition) was subject to continuous derogation. According to L. E. Weidberg (of the S.P.G.B.) the New Statesman perpetually refused to review Homage to Catalonia and played down (in the interests of unity) the fate of the anarchists in the Civil War. Perhaps because of this, Orwell's book was remaindered, as were a number of Secker libertarian and Trotskyist books. Many anti-Stalinist books of repute were denied publication during the 1939-45 war or, what is worse, were published by right-wing publishers and book clubs. The publication of Trotsky's biography of Stalin was delayed till after the war, when Trotsky was dead, killed by the O.G.P.U.

Orwell, however, provided one more service for Gollancz who, in 1939-40, found the Left Book Club with its Communist orientation rather an embarrassment. Orwell together with Strachey and Gollancz compiled an appeal\* to Communists and fellow travellers in the Club to support the war -- which the Communists were opposing as an 'imperialist' war at the time. Despite a false move by Pollitt who originally supported the war (until he heard from Moscow) the C.P. opposed the war until Hitler invaded Russia.

No word of all this in the exhibition although Auden and Spender were patrons of the Left Book Club and contributed to the 'choices'. Auden edited Poems of Freedom and wrote in Christianity and the Social Revolution. Spender wrote Forward from Liberalism.

Apropos W. H. Auden, Orwell vilified him in a not-undeserved phrase as a 'gutless Kipling'. But Orwell was occasionally wrongheaded and quoted Auden's rather pretentious poem "Spain":

Tomorrow for the young, the poets exploding like bombs,  
The walks by the lake, the weeks of perfect communion,  
Tomorrow the bicycle races  
Through the suburbs on summer evenings. But  
today the struggle.

Today the deliberate increase in the chance of death  
The conscious acceptance of guilt in the necessary murder,  
Today the expending of powers  
On the flat ephemeral pamphlet and the boring meeting:

Orwell acidly comments, "The second stanza is intended as a sort of thumbnail sketch of a day in the life of a 'good party man'. In the morning a couple of political murders, a ten-minute interlude to stifle 'bourgeois' remorse, and then a hurried luncheon and a busy afternoon and evening chalking walls and distributing leaflets." He then goes on to analyse the C.P. attitude to the 'necessary murder'.

I am inclined to think that Orwell (the passage is from Inside the Whale) misunderstood and that the phrase 'necessary murder' referred to

\* The Betrayal of the Left (1941).

[Cont. on P. 12]

war, but it is significant that the stanza is omitted from the exhibition catalogue and the wall quotations. However this is not the first censorship of Auden. His poem "September 1939" is later republished with the 'anarchistic' stanzas left out.

Knightley in his book on war correspondents (The First Casualty) exposed much of the Spanish war propaganda of Koestler, Cockburn and Hemingway wherein they, for no doubt the best of motives, suppressed and invented stories for the sake of unity and morale but were acting at the behest of more sinister figures like Katz and Kostov who were working for the Comintern.

The Thirties exhibition ignores the primary dilemma of pacifism which was the problem of the Thirties. The Spanish Civil War posed that question, and a cataclysmic about-turn by the Soviet Union in making a pact with Nazi Germany shook the world of the 'lefties' to its foundations. It was this which drove Auden and Isherwood to America; and Day Lewis to follow his rejoinder to Huxley's pacifist pamphlet ("What Are You Going to Do About It?") "We are not Going to do Nothing" with a war poem of disillusionment concluding "While we who lived by honest dreams/Defend the bad against the worst".

The exhibition also ignores an interesting development in the Unem-

ployed Workers' Movement in the Thirties which moved over to non-violent direct action by staging sit-downs and coffin parades in Oxford Street and ordering tea for the unemployed at the Ritz.

Much has been written about the Spanish Civil War, much by renegade 'revolutionaries'. For example, Philip Toynbee who admits he was a Communist when he went to Spain was in fact editor of a Labour Party paper The Town Crier in 1937-39 which attracted and was contributed to by 'lefties' such as W. H. Auden, R.H.S. Crossman and Robert Melville; Toynbee as the editor was a crypto-Communist and as I remember was active in a campaign to get a Labour candidate, Frank Pakenham, elected to some parliamentary seat (Pakenham is now Lord Longford).

One of the main indictments against the Communist Party and the Soviet Union is not merely the opportunism and power politics of the Communists, nor the bloodstained history of the Stalinist era and the NKVD - one has come to expect such - but the gross betrayal and disillusionment of those men of talent such as those of the Thirties who, lacking political judgement, were decoyed by the Party and its fellow-travelling lackies into the dead-end of Communist power politics.

Is it any wonder that they reverted to religion, mysticism, reformism and bourgeois acceptance of the status quo?

Jack Robinson.

## The People's World

THE CONSEQUENCES of the growth economy and questions as to whether it is possible to continue are now percolating into the columns of the capitalist press. In the "Financial Guardian" of July 30th Harford Thomas says we may have to face a radical switch from the growth economy. The article begins with the following two paragraphs:

The great energy debate will almost certainly develop into a great re-appraisal of much else besides.

In drawing us all into the question whether we commit countless future generations to the hazards of plutonium power, Mr. Benn opens up a still bigger question. If we do not have the energy supplies to sustain the kind of industrial consumer economy we are struggling, not too successfully, to manage now, then ought we to be looking for an alternative and perhaps more satisfactory, if simpler, lifestyle?

In the recent discussions on the plutonium age, on television and in the press, the supporters mainly involved in the programme ask us to believe that there is little danger in the use of this substance which potentially is unequalled in its danger to human existence. The arguments that it could be less polluting than fossil fuels indicates that the pro-nuclear power lobby is climbing also onto the ecological band wagon.

However, one of the purposes of anarchists is to arouse a spirit of extreme scepticism, particularly of experts, who are notoriously shortsighted, particularly when motivated by capitalist economics. Only recently there seems to be some doubt as to the safety of earlier waste deposited in the sea by the USA. There is also the case of the poison gas in Italy, where a dangerous teratogen (a fetus-damaging chemical) was released from a factory and caused skin complaints. The thalidomide case is well documented.

As technology becomes more powerful, so without a sceptical and critical population the dangers become greater.

For there has not only to be a radical switch from growth economy there has to be a revolutionary change to an economy of human dimension and within human control -- a situation in which pregnant mothers take dangerous drugs in order to cope with what should be a happy and creative situation indicates the unsatisfactory nature of modern life.

A privileged society will always be unstable because armed force is ultimately required to sustain it. No privileged society can be safely trusted to operate the dangerous techniques that are now associated with high technology operating within the context of present society.

Probably the development of agriculture has had the greatest effect on the natural world as it has resulted in a vast reduction in Earth's covering of trees and shrubs; it also has resulted in the exposure of the soil structure to climatic conditions without vegetable cover.

In an article on these matters in the Guardian of 28 July, Anthony Tucker says:

Climatologists are convinced that the only certainty about our climatic future is uncertainty. We must expect extreme variability in weather patterns in Britain and in the rest of the Northern Hemisphere for as far into the future as we are to look. And drought-ridden farmers (or chilled farmers, depending on which bit of Britain we are talking about) are likely to be the first sufferers.

For the fact is that the highly complex and carefully contrived technology that we call agriculture is ludicrously vulnerable to climatic change and narrowly tailored to a climatic pattern

that may now be only historical.

Of recent years the appearance of the East Anglian countryside has been dramatically changed as farmers employ larger machines and fewer men and have made larger and larger fields. The effects of the industrialisation of agriculture that a market economy ignores. Certainly those farms which have retained some sort of organic balance have weathered the drought in better shape. In fact I recently heard of a 2½-ton yield of Spring barley to the acre by a farmer who uses vast quantities of farmyard manure.

As the article quoted above points out...

The point is that the cleavage between agriculture and forestry which is vaguely believed to be essential to a modern agricultural system, is not only synthetic but damaging in several senses. Trees, particularly the leguminous varieties, offer balanced protein/carbohydrate crop yields that are certainly 10 times the best that can be expected from cereals and which are insensitive to aridity down to a rainfall of around 25 cms. a year (about one third of Britain's 10-year average).

It is contended that anarchists are mystical and utopian, but while all the necessary human activities are unbalanced by an irrational, antiquated financial system geared to power and privilege the whole population will face the prospect of danger and disaster.

Tucker concludes:

Someone somewhere needs to wake up before food rationing (by price or otherwise) follows water rationing as a demonstration of the inadequacy of the old systems in a new situation.

The tragedy is that the media that affects the mass of people fails to import the information and by its nature fails to stimulate the spirit of scepticism and criticism that will overrule the dangerous activities of those in power.

Alan Albon.

Dear Editors,

Martin Spence thinks it a good thing that "the anarchist tradition is linked to the socialist tradition" (FREEDOM, Letters July 24). I do not. I think it is one of the worst things to have happened.

The socialist aim of making some collective body - State, "Society", or Commune - the owner and provider of the means of life expresses the wish to put a new authority over the individual in place of the old. Under capitalism the individual has to submit to the domination of the collective. Socialism would make us all into proletarians. The control of my life would be vested in an abstraction called "the community" and the interests of this abstraction would be interpreted as superior to my interests. Everything would be for the "common good" - nothing would be for my good.

Socialism is a doctrine of indiscriminate solidarity, having for its ethic the obligation of each to work for the benefit of all and to put all products at the disposal of the collective. Socialism is thus a herd-philosophy. Its consistent application would deny all freedom of choice. Even if there would be no formal laws in a socialist society to enforce the subordination of the individual to the collective, there would have to be a socially sanctioned system of moral coercion to achieve the same end.

Anarchism stands for leaving the individual free to provide for himself what he needs and it therefore not a complement of socialism but its opposite.

Anarchism is an individualism, not a socialism!

S. E. Parker.

#### UNFAIR TO TOLSTOY

I defer to no one in my admiration for Arthur Moyse's debunking of the cult figures of the art & culture world but he is going too far with his denigration of Tolstoy. Admittedly Tolstoy as presented under the auspices of the Soviet Government as at the B.M. or as enshrined at Yasna Plyanna is pretty awful to contemplate since Tolstoy was opposed to everything the Soviet government stands for. Therefore I did not go to the exhibition since I guess that it kept out some of the embarrassing anti-State and anti-Church manifestations.

True he was a Count, an ex-officer and an ex-rake; he was cranky in many of his ideas (e.g. What is Art?), he was an un-Orthodox Christian, a non-resister, a patriarchal anti-feminist (he was appalling to his wife, but he knew it).

He had the usual dilemma of the wealthy who happen to be radical. If he gives away his money (Tolstoy sponsored several good ventures, he liberated his serfs, founded a school, subsidized the Doukhobours to Canada, released his works from copyright, etc.) he is sneered at as being 'patronising' and 'able to afford it'; if he is tight-fisted he is only behaving as a capitalist bourgeois would.

He saw the errors of his ways (he leaned over too far for some by his

# LETTERS

non-resistance, vegetarianism and anti-smoking). I cannot agree with his practical Christianity, or his non-resistance. He, although being anti-state and anti-patriotism, disagreed with the anarchists purely on the question of violence.

He was alas, as we all are human although he appears to have practised sainthood. The harsh material world demanded compromises, as it always does (otherwise why should we seek to change it?). Tolstoy could not understand other people, particularly his family, not being committed to his revolutionary brand of Christianity. It was his wife, poor woman? who had to do all the preparing and publishing of his manuscripts --and she safeguarded his copyrights and royalties.

War and Peace, to name his masterpiece (the title is in fact Proudhon's), is a great novel analysing the pity, futility and stupidity of war and the states who wage it. Arthur must have had bad sherry (or none!) at the B.M.

Jack Robinson.

#### UNFAIR TO TUCKER --

Comrades :

I read the article in the 12th June 1976 issue of FREEDOM by Jack Robinson on "Right Wing Anarchism" with great interest, since my doctoral dissertation was on Benjamin R. Tucker, the great protagonist of individualist anarchism.

To associate Tucker (or even Spooner or Warren) with the "right wing" anarchists is so to twist the facts as to make the relationship ludicrous. Neither Warren, or Spooner, or Tucker ever defended capitalism, and their opposition to the state was because they felt that the state protected capitalism. Warren founded a colony, "Modern Times", to protest the growing power of the state and its comforting of capitalism; Spooner refused to pay tribute to such a state, and Tucker, no friend of Emma Goldman or Alexander Berkman, attacked Carnegie and Frick for having created a situation that impelled Berkman to shoot Frick. That speech to which Robinson refers, "On Anarchism" (and I agree with his verbal chastisement of Horowitz for diluting the original title) was also an attack on capitalism, so much so that John R. Commons considered it the most effective speech of the session, which was devoted to the evils of capitalism.

The right wing group defends capitalism, and if it means anything at all, when I was researching my book on Tucker, and worked with his documents at the home of his daughter, Oriole Tucker Riome (now deceased), she was vehement at the use of Tucker's name to defend Ayn Rand and her coterie. When one of that Rand group tried to "re-issue" Liberty, the periodical Tucker had founded and carried single-handed for over forty years, using that name to propagate Rand's ideas, she literally blew up, and I was requested to carry the case to court if necessary. Fortunately, the matter was settled out of court; at least, no further issues using that name were published.

In my doctoral, I interviewed many men who

worked with Tucker, and they unanimously agreed that the Rand interpretation of individualist anarchism was a travesty and insult to the name of the founder, B. R. Tucker, so, if one can ask, "What's in a name?" the concept of individualist anarchism is anti-state, anti-capitalist, anti-socialist (Marxian variety, of course), and even anti-union, on the grounds that such "collective" action deprived the individual worker of his right to disagree. It was truly an anarchist idea; when Tucker broke with Kropotkin on the issue of World War I, Tucker against the war, Kropotkin for it, he stated then, and would state now: No one has the right to demand the life of another man, and, by extension, no one has the right to impose any collective action on that man.

Sincerely,  
New York. Irving Levitas.

#### HAS ANARCHISM CHANGED

Whilst having little to quarrel with in N.W. N.W.'s criticism of George Woodcock (Vol. 37 nos. 8, 9, 13 & 15) I'd like to take up one point. He writes that 'Herbert Read played no part in the anarchist movement after he accepted a knighthood in 1953'. If one thinks narrowly of an anarchist movement in being associated with one or other of the publications or groups in existence this might be true, however Spanish anarchists never took the same preposterously condemnatory attitude as regards Read's knighthood as did British anarchists (with a few exceptions like Albert McCarthy). His writings were published overseas and were read by many anarchists whom he influenced.

One anarchist he influenced after '53 was myself. He wrote to me in 1961 having returned to Britain after being seriously ill and needing to go overseas to recuperate. He came back for a Committee of 100 demonstration in Trafalgar Square. "I had to withdraw after four hours: my strength was giving out and the members of the Committee who were with me insisted on my leaving. I wish I knew what to do. I agree that there is no answer for the world but anarchism, but I begin to think that the world must die before it can live again. I will do what I can while I have strength and life, but our action is limited by our rejection of violence. Our only hope is in gentleness, suffering and sacrifices, forces that work surely but, alas, so slowly. Thank you for your faith: I hope to be worthy of it."

Also to say Read's writings 'had some influence' is a gross understatement. As regards education, the philosophy of anarchism and art Read had a profound and lasting influence greater than any other anarchist except Kropotkin in Britain. N. W. is surprised at times that revolutionary anarchists who are not pacifists are so enthusiastic about Herbert Read - but he does not see that it is not pacifism we object to but certain pacifists who, unlike Read, turned on libertarian comrades when they were in trouble over a trial. I personally disagree with Read over violence as I did over his accepting a knighthood - but his ideas have been a greater influence on me than anybody else's.

Alex Comfort too is under emphasised by N. W. and the brilliant book Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State is not mentioned.

Incidentally to back N. W. against Woodcock, that anarchist march in the 1963 CND demo had a banner leading the way held by Peter Turner and I - two people very much of the 'old' and 'new' anarchism.

Yours,  
J. W.

# RETURN TO INFINITY

FROM THE BEGINNING man knew that he was the supreme and only master of the universe and beyond, answerable only to a known or unknown god. All earthly authority and animal death was but a moment's phase, one fractured link in the eternal chain that locked man to his particular Godhead. To suffer and to die was accepted as an inconvenience, for the reward be it primitive or sophisticated was eternal life. The still earth was man's throne in the centre of a circling universe of moon, of sun and stars, and the smallest he was great in the company of his god. Galileo took that fractured link and demonstrated that the chain was but an illusion, halted the sun in its circling path and made man's earth no longer the throne of heaven but dust in a dusty universe, and man was no longer the ordained master but the creature of the mechanics of mindless time.

One doubts if the bishops, the porters in the market place, the peasants in the field or the entrepreneurs of the day gave the matter much thought but ideas are absorbed into the general culture like soap and cigarette advertisements and are regurgitated by the poet and the painter as the accepted social or political mores of the day. And man accepted his minor role in the clockmaker's universe until in the twentieth century man crossed space and stepped upon the wasteland of the moon. This was one of the great and magnificent adventures of mankind but still he was Galileo's bonded creature —until in 1976 man landed his first small craft safe and recording upon the surface of Mars and man was now on the edge of the known universe, with Mars but a launching pad into deep space. And in 1976 the sun is no longer the centre of man's universe, and with primitive pre-Galileo man we are once more the supreme and only master of the great and awful infinity of space. For this day the scientist, the mystic, the engineer and the smallest he looks beyond the sun and when men step onto the soil of Mars they are no longer the creatures but the questing captains reclaiming their primeval right.

And the artist and the poet ever trailing must rethink his style and subject matter. All our culture has been no more than a record of the trivial of each succeeding age for after the Galileo concept of man's limited place in a sun-centred universe there was no place for the heroics in poetry or in painting. The Courtauld Institute is one of those vast Bloomsbury buildings holding 'national treasures' that one assumes no one ever visits and at the Samuel Courtauld Centenary Exhibition one asked of the passing tourist where it was and dutifully attended the Press View. Sam made his money in silk and in 1922 he went in for cheque book collecting, a vice that afflicts many an unfortunate rich man. When an American goes in for this form of collecting the European intelligentsia jeer at his transatlantic vulgarity but on the European mainland it is an acceptable form of high-minded cultural patronage. Sam went in for the French School and on the walls of the Courtauld are his gift to the Nation and on their behalf I accept. It is a truly magnificent parade of old favourites and these you have loved, for here are Manet's "Un bar aux Folies-Bergere" and his "Le déjeuner sur l'herbe", Renoir's "La loge", a Seurat, Cézannes, Renoirs, Monets, Gauguin, Dégas, Van Goghs, Picassos, Daumiers, Lautrecs, Modiglianis -- you name it and Sam bought it. Heaven forbid that I should knock any man's collection but when Sam went in for cheque book collecting these French paintings had, almost without exception, been circulating in the dealers' grubby hands for at least thirty years and in that time they had already acquired their reputations, therefore I am cynical whenever a rich man buys a known work of art and tells me of his taste. Let us have no illusions concerning this matter for the painter is and has always been the hired entertainer of the wealthy and Sam bought most of their work when they were under the sod or in that great studio in the sky, but the Town and his cultured frau can be grateful that Sam bought these works on our behalf before some American industrialist or oil-stained Arab moved into the act, cheque book dealer orientated.

But to view these Impressionist and Post-Impressionist paintings one has to pass through another gallery full of the late Sam's loot and here are the magnificent works of Rubens, Granach, Luini, Bellini and Van Cleve. Mostly of the 16th century, but be it Granach's Adam or Rubens' Christ or Luini's Madonna they portray man, be he saint or peasant, as a master of his known universe answerable only to a known and revealing God. It is in the context of these two rooms that one is made aware of how man has trivialised himself and in effect apologises for living, for after the world of Galileo became accepted man accepted himself as no more than a lesser animal and the artist reflected that belief. The Impressionist

period will over the years become less and less important and these paintings will be accepted as pretty, sentimental and charming trivia of an age that had lost faith in itself. For the cry: "There are no great demonstrations now" is no more than man looking for a cause to defend and if need be die for, and the world of Leonardo and Michelangelo offered such an age while Same and Cezanne proclaimed that we are but worthless pleasure-seeking speaking animals in a world without faith, hope or future and when man steps onto the soil of Mars then the great

heroic rebirth must of necessity take place for before us stretches explor-able infinity and the poet and the artist will find in that subject matter a new stature. So be it. So be it.

And with the Town and his frau in two we make our way to the Little Theatre in St. Martin's Lane to pay our 65p and drink beer out of a plastic cup and eat broken bread and cheese and watch Francis Sargent, Trish Swinney and Gordon Pitt act out John Heywood's 16th century French farce John John. A priest shagging a peasant's wife and an amusing interlude between the heavy handed Elizabethan Court dramas, it is still, comrade, part of the age of faith, and as a counterpoint to Sam's collection one is grateful for mediaeval Tudor. For Heywood churned out 200 plays that ranged from the well known Arden of Fever-sham to the lightweight farce of John John and in this age of mass-communication/mass-reproduction, time is becoming a porridge when old and new wars, Elizabethan farce and Soho pornography merge into the collective mind. When there are no great causes to be fought or talked then it is that the dealers and the collectors become creatures of importance, for nostalgia is a sad thing for it weeps for an age of heroics and of innocence. Therefore with invitation in hand it is to the American Embassy and American Folk Art. One avoided the offered turkey and the cranberry sauce but allowed the smiling lay priesthood of the American State Department to shake one's hand in triplicate and then a pleasant exhibition of naive rural craftsmanship of the American Golden Age of moms and applie pie and Saturday Evening Post covers that exist only in the sorrowing heart. But we drank the pints of ice water

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GALLERIES : The Courtauld Institute : Centenary Exhibition §  
United States Embassy : American Folk Art § Victoria and Albert :  
American Art 1750-1800 § They Hayward : Kitaj--The Human Clay,  
Arts Council Collection, Bryan Wynter § The Tate : Latham, Moon  
and the long late Colman § During Library, Kennington : Spy and  
Ape cartoons -- Vanity Fair.  
THEATRE : The Little Theatre, St. Martin's Lane : John Heywood  
"John John".

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that drowned the whisky and gazed with affection at the crude carvings of scrimshaws, stern boards, weathervanes and whirligigs in the bright flat colours and soaked up the ice water seeking the whisky. In the context of the Embassy exhibition one bows the knee to the exhibition of American Art 1750-1800 : Towards Independence at the Victoria and Albert Museum (sherry and orange juice). As always with the V & A, extremely well laid out with a good keepable catalogue (£ 5.00), it moves on from the crude artistry of American Folk Art to the work of established craftsmen working for a prosperous American entrepreneur society. European orientated, it is the work of skilled workmen literally waiting for the seaborne boats to arrive to copy the fashions of the European capitals. Within every settled and prosperous society the craftsmen set up their stall and here is their work. Functional, pleasant on the eye and now part of the American heritage.

But the Town and his slightly bored frau calls, for ice water is pee-making and the American Home Beautiful 18th century is limited in its appeal, so it is to the Hayward and The Human Clay, selected by Kitaj, the Arts Council Collection and the work of the late Bryan Wynter. Wynter was the most English of artists and his gentle Cornish paintings, just after the war, are regional work at its best, a haunting recollection of a poet's vision of a well loved place. Of the rest, the academic trivia of our time but with an extremely good essay by Kitaj in his "Clay" catalogue.

With Latham, Moon and the long late Colman at the Tate offering the same only different and Harry Harmer's Lowry-styled recollections of Kennington at the During Library, it is to the National Portrait Gallery and Vanity Fair and all the wonderful originals of those magnificent Spy and Ape cartoons from that 19th century "Private Eye", Vanity Fair. No betting shop, no judge's chambers is complete without one on its wall. From Oscar Wilde to Gladstone, Ape and Spy touched the forelock and gently mocked their betters and judge and pub and high class knocking shop still display them so maybe you were right Sam, so play it again Sam, play it again.

Arthur Moyses.

# Common Sense

Thomas Paine: Common Sense. Edited by Isaac Kramnick. (Penguin, 60p).

THOMAS PAINE's anonymous pamphlet Common Sense, which was published in Philadelphia in 1776 and was very influential in the American Revolution (and which was discussed in the last issue of FREEDOM, 24 July 1976), has been reprinted in a paperback edition to mark the Bicentennial of the Declaration of Independence.

Paine in general and Common Sense in particular are well worth re-reading, and it is good to have a cheap new edition in the excellent Pelican Classics series, but it must be said that the opportunity has been bungled. Isaac Kramnick, who teaches politics in American universities (and is married to Miriam Brody Kramnick, whose bad edition of Mary Wollstonecraft's Vindication of the Rights of Woman in the same series was reviewed in FREEDOM on 23 August 1975), has provided a long introduction which fills half the book and says much about the American Revolution and Thomas Paine but not much about Common Sense. He gives little bibliographical information, apart from mentioning that he has used the enlarged second (he means third) edition of February 1776. This is in fact the practice of all previous reprints, but he doesn't refer to them, possibly because any comparison

would draw attention to the worst feature of this reprint.

Common Sense, which is only 20,000 words long, has usually been reprinted together with Paine's other writings on the American Revolution -- especially the dozen anonymous essays known as The Crisis, which were produced from 1776 to 1783, printed over the signature "Common Sense", and published as a 65,000-word book in 1702. (See, for example, Hypatia Bradlaugh Bonner's cheap edition of 1909 or the more recent Doubleday Dolphin paperback edition.) So this unsatisfactory edition contains less than one-third of Paine's most important writings on the American Revolution. He also wrote many other important letters and articles on the subject, and a satisfactory edition would have included all this original material in a proper book rather than offer a slim volume half filled with editorial material.

Nor is the editorial material particularly good. Kramnick writes for American readers, with far too many facts and figures about people and events, and with a far too narrow interpretation of Paine's ideology -- which he mechanically defines as "bourgeois radicalism". A much better discussion of Paine in general and of Common Sense in particular appears in the Pelican Classics edition by Henry Collins of Rights of Man (1969). (It is incidentally rather disturbing to learn that Isaac Kramnick has also edited the forthcoming Pelican Classics edition of Godwin's Political Justice -- a job which should have been done by George Woodcock or someone like him.) It is to be hoped that Paine's third masterpiece, The Age of Reason, will soon be reprinted in paperback and will be properly edited when this happens. Meanwhile it is sad to record the failure to make his writings on the American Revolution available as they should be.

N. W.

"WHAT SORT OF WORK WILL ONE DO?" -- asks an American social worker.

"WITHIN the last year I have been laid off twice. The first time the mental health center in which I worked received a whopping budget cut that cost the jobs of seventy-two workers. The second job was with a family health center that lost its funding completely. Since then, I have found another job. But, like my co-workers, I face uncertainty and frustration over further layoffs and the growing alienation of the work.

Although I always knew of the inherent contradictions of the social service system, in the past an attempt was made to find solace by contending with the social ills of society and the needs of individuals. But now there is a whole new ball game if you work in a public or private social-service institution. Your job is, more often than not, there to save money by denying indigent clients what are the obvious necessities or services that make life bearable. This in turn is a source of personal and group frustration. And in order to go against it, a social-service worker has to learn how to break the rules, to lie, to cheat, and to forge documents in the interests of the client. To do this within reasonable bounds is not considered unethical by workers, for it alleviates a lot of hassle for themselves and the client.

This approach originates from a worker's identification with the client instead of with the institution he or she works for. Although it is an immediate answer, it does nothing towards creating real change in altering or eliminating the institution.

At this time, especially in New York, social-service workers must take a look at why they are working in a particular institution. Social-service workers have always faced the dilemma of whether they are more or less culpable than the next person for working in a certain job. Now, though, more than ever, there are limits to what sort of work one will do, because it becomes more repressive each day. However, we must realize that almost all work is alienating and repressive in this society. This is not a consolation but a fact.

To channel the ever-increasing frus-

tration into sources of strength, new forms of relationships need to be developed. No longer can I accept the cliché "organize." For it is almost as alienating as being unorganized, when it is within the framework of a hierarchical union, vanguard party or caucus. I for one have to relate to others, not only on a group or organizational level, but as individuals. For our own personal lives are as important as our political work. If we enhance ourselves through closer ties with others, we in turn heighten our awareness of alienation in our work as it is today and the need to struggle against it."

---T. F. Irwin (in Against the Grain (New York), Summer, 1976.

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[Cont. on P. 16]

# THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

FIRSTLY, A couple of corrections. In the "Through the Anarchist Press" of July 24th, I said that the title of the Barcelona "counter-cultural" magazine Ajoblanco was "apparently old anarchist slang". According to a collaborator on the magazine recently passing through London, it is nothing of the kind, but the name of a Spanish regional dish. Apparently the founding editor of the periodical was casting around for a title for the new magazine when he went out for a meal with friends and was served up with a dish called "ajo blanco" (literally "white garlic" -- hence the name.

And in "Through the Anarchist Press" of July 10th, a typing mistake placed Robert Reitzel's arrival in America in 1820, whereas he arrived on those shores in 1870. Two more issues of Equality (no. 7 of which featured the article of Reitzel) have arrived since that error. No. 8 is devoted to a pen-portrait of the German poet and anarchist-revolutionary, Erich Muehsam, and to a review of recent literature relevant to the history of anarchism. There is apparently now a B. Traven Newsletter (available from T. L. Ponick, 332 Waccaman Avenue, Columbia, S. Carolina 29205, USA). Equality No. 9 is devoted to another portrait, this one of Abba Gordin, a major figure in Russian anarchism, who through experience, arrived at a similar analysis of Marxism in his book, Communism Unmasked, to that of Jan Waclaw Machajski. Both of these A4 broadsheets are available from The Kropotkin Society, Post Office Box 2418, Evansville, Indiana 47714, USA.

From further north-west and across the border, comes one of the best put-together and printed first issues of an English-language anarchist periodical for years. Open Road (the title is derived from the poem by Walt Whitman, via Emma Goldman, who had intended to use it for the magazine which she called Mother Earth when she discovered that "Open Road" was already be-

ing used by another periodical) is being produced by a "collective of politically active people based in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada".

The first issue runs to 32 large pages, with colour-printed covers, and contains articles on a host of topics -- the national liberation struggle in Timor, the MIR in Chile, the Lip factory occupation, "industrial guerillas" in present-day Argentina, a long interview with Martin Sostre, the conversion of the remaining members of the Symbionese Liberation Army to anarchism whilst in jail, a tribute to Phil Ochs the protest singer who recently committed suicide, an interview with Holly Neav, one of the "new wave" of protest music, the American Indian Movement, urban guerillas in Seattle, reviews of a forthcoming translation of Abel Paz's biography of Durruti, of Franz Oppenheimer's The State, and a book by Jack Scott on the history of the IWW in British Columbia.

Some of the material will be familiar to avid readers of anarchist broad sheets and duplicated bulletins, but a lot of it is original, particularly the more local material. The editorial group seem to cherish some "third worldist" illusions: "The Open Road will provide critical support for established popular-based libertarian movements in the Third and Fourth Worlds where no significant libertarian trend exists or seems likely to develop. We will also draw on living examples of revolutionary social reconstruction, such as in China or Cambodia, in an attempt to discover what new forms of social relations are possible when a new society is being built."

Since "significant libertarian trends" are rather scarce in this part of the First (or is it Second) World, will Open Road support the Scottish Nationalists? And do they really believe that "new forms of social relations" (presumably not in a pejorative sense) are being built in China or Cambodia by the dik-

tats of the military bureaucracies which preside over those countries?

Despite these reservations about the editorial policy, Open Road is a magnificent achievement. The collective will mail a copy to anybody who takes the time and the interest to write to them, but the production and distribution are a costly business, and donations and offers of help in distribution will be most welcome. Address: The Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

A much more typical first issue, and one from much nearer home is The First Blackeye, printed and published by Blackeye Collective, 6 Stockley Avenue, Bolton, Lancs. It too has an article on the Symbionese Liberation Army - a review of David Boulton's book The Making of Tania: The Patty Hearst Story, which comes to much more ambivalent conclusions about their political activities, rather than Open Road's acceptance of their prison conversion to anarchism (an experience also undergone by Martin Sostre). Blackeye also has parables, articles on "Anti-politics", "Brain Control", "Woman -- the fight to live", "Education for domination", etc.

Blackeye is duplicated, as is the latest pamphlet from the New Zealand "Anarchy" group. This is an attack on the "work ethic" by Giver Robb entitled "Anarchy in Albert Park", being his experiences (not doleful) of life on the dole.

In the same line as Open Road is the first pamphlet produced by the Bratach Dubh Collective (c/o Andy and Veronica McGowan, 83 Langside Terrace, Port Glasgow, Scotland), Anarchism and the National Liberation Struggle, a translation of part of an article by Alfredo Bonanno in Anarchismo No. 7, which advocates critical support of national liberation struggles by anarchists.

D. L. M.

[Cont. from P.15]

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