

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

DECEMBER 4 '76

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TWELVE PENCE

Ireland p 4. Poland - an opposition forms p 5. Man Ray p 9

IN THE ALPHABET SOUP

"FREEDOM", said Rosa Luxemburg, "is freedom for other people." It is depressing to find that one's constant necessary pleas against the infringement of other people's civil liberties is often on behalf of those whose concern for the concept of liberty is minimal and some of whom would, no doubt, liquidate the anarchists if they came to power. However one must be alert and draw the lessons of any infringement of those minute civil liberties which we still retain.

The latest audacity of the Home Office is the apparently irrevocable decision to deport Phillip Agee and Mark Hosenball, American journalists, on grounds of 'national security'. It cannot be denied that if Agee and Hosenball have been doing their chosen function of exposing the security system assiduously, their expulsion, whilst legally questionable, chronologically tactless and humanely indefensible, is hardly unexpected.

It would be naive to expect such activities to go unquestioned even if Messrs. Agee and Hosenball's concentrated on American CIA activities. States have a natural tendency to defend each other—they have to hang together or else they will hang separately.

The department of amazing coinciden-



Mark Hosenball

Phil Agee

from "TIME OUT"

ces will note that these proposed deportations follow the election victory of Jimmy Carter, the departure of the CIA chief and Britain's vetting by the IMF. Paranoid minds will see in this a plot; more prosaic minds will see a natural tactlessness of governments in this stupid intervention.

The position of aliens is always vulnerable. Even if it's not trouble about work permits (which at least didn't bother Agee and Hosenball), behaviour must be impeccable and political activities beyond reproach. Unfortunate aliens have been trained as nurses and deported when work for nurses failed to materialise. Aliens have been deported for minor criminal convictions and unorthodox political opinions—remember Rudi Dutschke? They are indeed hostages to

fortune.

And yet governments for obscure political and diplomatic reasons have been known to grant 'political asylum' (blessed phrase!) to highly unorthodox political refugees. Usually they are in rebellion against regimes for which the host state has little particular affection. Apparently such strictures do not apply to the U.S.A.

One would feel happier in supporting Agee and Hosenball were their criticisms of State security set-ups more wide-ranging and based on a recognition of the perpetual necessity of all states, East and West, to maintain the skull-duggery of a security-espionage system whether the C.I.A., the K.G.B. or M.I. 5 or whatever alphabetical goulash it shelters behind.

However "nobody's perfect" and such expulsions with broad generalisations, unsubstantiated charges with no right of reply; meaning at least the destruction of a way of life and domicile and at worst the exposure of Agee and Hosenball to the possibility of legalistic revenge by the U.S. authorities throw doubt - if doubt were still absent - upon the impartiality of the British legal system.

J.R.

Knocking On Heaven's Door

THE NATIONAL UNION OF Mineworkers' claim for retirement when their members reach 60 seems a modest one. Modest when the nature of the work is taken into consideration and also when many other people retire at 60 who would be the first to admit that their daily working lives have been far less arduous and dangerous than the miners'.

Compare your friendly bank manager who retires at 60 on a nice pension and can then sign on, and because he can claim there is no similar work available receive unemployment benefit.

But then bank managers are hardly working class and their sum total of labour as managers really does not add anything to the real wealth of the country. Coalminers, however, are even lucky that they are still working for the National Coal Board at 65. Lucky they haven't already met their death or con-

tracted some complaint that prevents them from working. As it is, most miners have to give up working the coal face long before retirement.

The NCB has offered the union retirement at 62 for underground workers with 25 years' service. The union wanted 60 by next January and 55 by June 1980. The Board says that if they agreed to the miners' claim it would cost at least £100m in the first year and also cost £10m tons in coal production. It would also mean the employment of an extra 20,000 miners in 1977.

What we are concerned with here is costs. Profits are paramount in an industry which was nationalised after the private owners had milked it and fought tooth and nail against decent wages, conditions and safety regulations. Nationalisation was supposed to have meant "ownership and control" by the

people, but instead the bosses only changed and became government appointed.

Throughout the sixties Lord Robens used a Beeching-like axe, closing so-called uneconomic pits and moving miners and their families to different areas. During this period of cheap oil the labour force was reduced, but with the increased price of oil, coal suddenly became important again. But, as is usual in a capitalist society, those very peop-

Demonstration

STOP THE DUBLIN HANGINGS!
JUSTICE FOR THE MURRAYS!
SATURDAY 4 DECEMBER. Assemble
2.00 p.m. Speakers' Corner
(Marble Arch) for a March to Kilburn
followed by Meeting.

REPRIEVE, RETRIAL FOR
NOEL AND MARIE

The Terror of Death

AT THE PRESENT moment about a thousand men and women are probably under sentence of death in many parts of the world. That is to say, they have offended by some presumed act against the laws of their State and must in consequence be disposed of by a State official duly paid and employed for such a purpose.

In the United States it has recently been decided by the Supreme Court in their infinite wisdom that execution (by whatever form it takes) is not incompatible with the Bill of Rights for it is not 'a cruel and unusual punishment'. Hence several of the United (sic) states who with great delicacy had hitherto refrained from executing about 400 erring citizens (including some rapists and kid-nappers) felt free to consider afresh executing such citizens who have been waiting in 'Death Row' (some for years.

One particular inhabitant of 'Death Row', Gary Gilmore, under sentence of death in Utah State prison has, to quote early reports, decided 'to die like a man' and has urged his option of a firing-squad death. (Joe Hill the syndicalist died the same way in the same state, accused of a hold-up murder.) This bravado, at the same time as testifying to the awful terror of waiting for death testifies to what has been known for some time; that many murderers are in fact would-be suicides, or of those who hold their lives at nought and whose rash mad act of murder is an attempt at self-destruction. Later Gilmore fully endorsed this view by securing drug-overdoses and he and his girl-friend essayed a suicide pact. Now Gilmore waits for a death which he embraces or for 'mercy' which he repudiates for himself.

They do these things differently in Europe. Eire, once known as the Irish Free State, a state young in years but old in the barbarism of its justice, is at the time of writing still considering whether Noel and Marie Murray shall die for the murder of a police officer as is the legal penalty. That the officer was off duty and in plain clothes is beside the point, or as they say legally *ultra vires*.

One understands that the Irish legal system is more complex than most and the legal gentlemen playing such elaborate cat and mouse games with human lives are, in fact, reviewing their own verdict. No doubt Irish politics have entered this case and the recent farcical change of president of Eire has added a further knot to the net in which Marie and Noel Murray, and Ronan Stenson, are enmeshed.

This case drags on and induces parallels with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the anarchists falsely condemned and executed for murders in Massachusetts, USA, which dragged on for six years. The complacent can refer to the 'mills of the law' and to the fact that no opportunity is lost or time spared to find out the truth and to uphold justice. Anyone

with knowledge of the law's cumbrous processes and dilatory procedures will substantiate that this ritual is only aiming at a semblance of justice and that truth soon gets lost beneath a mountain of verbiage. The Baader-Meinhof case (which still goes on despite the aimed- and asked-for death of Ulrike Meinhof) is another example of the law's delays.

And all to what purpose, this terror of slow death to end the terror of unpremeditated deaths? It is to deter. Long after the occasion of the offence has passed the sordid ceremony of the eight-o'clock drop makes the score even. But the State by its dragging out the ritual vengeance creates more bitterness and enmities than the act which it was meant to avenge.

What deterrence can there be for an act committed thoughtlessly and in the heat of the moment? What deterrence can there be for an act committed with suicidal aims? — Death in such cases would be welcomed as a bride, as a fulfilment. There have been anarchists who felt that their deaths were a small thing to pay for the death of a tyrant or (as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case) to expose 'justice' for the sham and mockery that it is. One cannot feel that the Murray executions would serve even the State's purpose.

If the purpose of such deaths were to make the lives of policemen safe — from the circumstances of the Murray case it is obvious that the fact that the victim was a policeman was not known to the person who shot him. In the political atmosphere of Ireland (North and South) it is obvious that human life has very little value — when compared with weightier matters such as whether one believes in the Virgin Mary or in salvation through grace; or whether an imprecise geographical boundary should exist or not.

Only the restoration of the value of human lives and the worth of individuals, starting (but not finishing) with the Murrays will restore Ireland to sanity.

Jack Robinson

Miners *CONT'D*

le who actually produce the real wealth or, like the miners, claw it from under the earth, had little or no consideration given to them. That is, until they used their industrial muscle in the winters of '72 and '74. They then set an example in direct action that not only showed where the true strength of the working class lies, but also brought down the Tory Heath government.

There seems little doubt that miners will vote for industrial action, and it would be ironic if such action did bring down the present Labour administration. True, there can be few on the NUM executive who would like to see this happen. But although the leadership might not like it, feelings are running high among the rank and file. Leaders

like the NUM president, Mr Gormley, see no connection between politics and trade union affairs. During the '74 strike he kept stressing this point. But whether he likes it or not direct action by trade unions does have political consequences.

In Britain the overwhelming majority of the leaders of the trade unions are also members of the Labour Party. The trade unions gave birth to this same party and their members pay a political levy. Such a link-up hardly makes the trade unions independent. Other political parties and groups have different policies but their aims remain the same in that they seek control of the unions and their memberships.

However, the miners are an independent lot. Their comradeship is of the highest and their close-knit communities have grown up on tragedy, struggle and mutual aid. The miners know what they want and are prepared to use direct action to get it. If miners can retire at 55 in 'totalitarian' countries like Poland and Spain then it doesn't say much for a 'democracy' if people in the same industry have to work until they are 65.

As we all know, the miners' job is far from a picnic. Even if earlier retirement was won I shouldn't think there would be a stampede of recruits to take their places from among the unemployed. Who can blame them! It wasn't the people of this country who decided to use coal as a source of energy, but a minority who purchased land to exploit men, women and children and the natural resources for their own personal profit. But it seems our society has more compassion for the pit pony than for human beings. They at least can now spend a few years in pastures green, but the miner is exploited until he knocks on death's door.

Coal mining is such a dangerous job that we should give serious consideration to whether it should be done at all. The community at large should make that decision and if coal is needed then it should be made as easy and as safe as possible. It should be organised so that people spend only a few hours below ground and also that such unpleasant work be shared as widely as possible. There are other sources of energy which can be used, nuclear excluded, to supply people's needs. In a society where people make the decisions that affect their lives, anarchists feel that different choices would be made. Control would be among people instead of power groups. Decisions would be made that satisfied needs instead of profits and industry.

Obviously this choice affects the whole of the working class. It lies within their power to change the present exploitative economic relationships to make free associations of producers and consumers who produce goods and maintain services for the benefit of all.

PLUTONIUM and PLUTOCRACY

... OR "OUR EXPANDING ATOMIC STUPIDITY" which was the title of an issue of *Rude Health* published by the Kingston Clinic in the forties ...

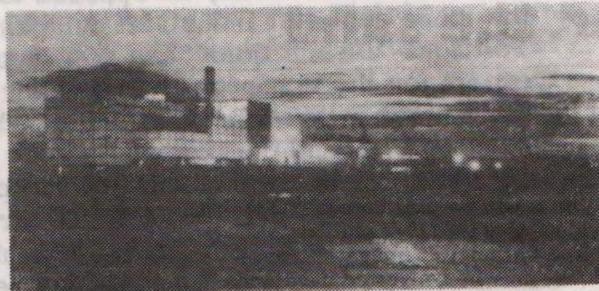
That atomic stupidity is still expanding in 1976. As a speaker at the Alarm against Nuclear Technology demonstration at Trafalgar Square on 20 November observed, Pluto had something to do with Hades and the devil. I would take it a step further and point out that the word also occurs in plutocracy, and this alliance of power, wealth and plutonium is what it is all about.

In the early days of the industrial revolution the powerful and privileged invariably lived to the windward of industrial pollution and escaped its worst effects. Radioactive material is quite indiscriminate and this is making even the plutocracy falter in the drive to get more power from nuclear sources. In Sweden the social democrats were defeated on this very issue and the new president of the USA is reported to be very alarmed at the prospect of its development in that country. The Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution said, "We should not rely for energy supply on a process that produces such a hazardous substance as plutonium unless there is no reasonable alternative."

In Germany a demonstration of 30,000 against a nuclear site on the Elbe erupt-

ed in violence.

The Trafalgar Square demonstration was organised to block development of a processing plant at Windscale in Cumbria and supported by a vast spectrum of environmental, civil liberties, libertarian, peace and women's movements. It was predictably not a mass demonstration and except for one speaker held with impassioned middle class restraint.



Prototype Fast Reactor at Dounreay.

It is necessary to break through the blanket of ignorance about the subject amongst the mass of the people and to indicate the connection between privilege and power and the development of human debasing techniques. The trade unions should develop a wider perspective such as that of the Australian building workers and not be so shortsighted as to support the development at Windscale because of 2000 jobs. This sort of high technology makes fewer jobs, not more, and might ultimately deprive

the unions of a large number of members.

Even in capitalist terms the high cost of investment per worker can only inevitably result in more unemployment among the unskilled. In capitalist society, in spite of the environmental dangers, the vast interests of the nuclear lobby acquire a momentum that can only be resisted by militant and Committee of 100 type activity.

The dangers to the whole of society (not only in terms of physical menace) and to the possibility of ever developing a free society are so immense that it is my opinion that this matter should become one of prime concern.

It is an issue that presents a danger to all people, irrespective of class and colour, in that once embarked upon on a large scale its consequences are irreparable. The Cornish nationalist who spoke at the meeting said that a resistance committee had been formed that will go to almost any lengths to prevent Cornwall becoming a nuclear dumping ground. This is the spirit of freedom and the real essence of human progress. The only spirit that will prevent human society drifting towards a new dark age.

A.A.

MURRAYS

AT THE TIME of writing we are still waiting for the Supreme Court in Dublin to announce its decision on the Murrays' appeal. The verdict is expected any day now, and whichever way it goes, the defence group are asking people to go to the Irish Embassy (Grosvenor Place, S.W.1.) from 5 p.m. onwards on the day of the announcement. Even if there is a reprieve, Marie and Noel still face 35 years in gaol, and so the Defence Group intends to continue the campaign no matter what the verdict.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

In London on Saturday 4 December a march and rally has been organised (see front page). The march will be followed in the evening by a benefit concert of Irish folk music at Jackson Lone Community Hall (Highgate tube) at 7.30 - admission 50p, or 30p claimants.

The weekly pickets are still going on but more people are needed if these are to continue and have any effect. The London Defence Group still meets every Friday (8 pm) at Rising Free bookshop, Drummond St, N.W.1.

The Libertarian Student Network called a day of action on 24 November, and there were activities in Leeds, Bradford, York and Brighton. In Coventry, the Allied Irish Bank was occupied, this being reported on the front page of the local newspaper, and covered on television by ATV Today, a regional news programme. There were also pickets and leafletting in Leicester, Birmingham, where one person was arrested

for refusing to take down an effigy from a lamp post, and in Colchester where the council offices were occupied after leafletting in the town.

The London Defence Group also leafletted the "Peace" march on 27 November, the attitude of the marchers to the Murray case being largely one of indifference or hostility. The Murray Committee in Dublin has been actively harassed by supporters of the peace movement, and Murray posters have been torn down or defaced with religious slogans of the "Jesus Loves You" variety. Several group members were arrested in Dublin for giving out Murray leaflets on a recent peace march.

At the Trafalgar Square rally on the 27th (incidentally the first demonstration about Ulster allowed there for 5 years), the Peace marchers were allowed to display their banners and distribute leaflets, while counter-demonstrators, including Murray Defence Group members, were prevented by the police from doing exactly the same thing, resulting in about a dozen arrests.

If the "Peace" movement is really asking for peace in Ireland and the abandonment of violent methods by all sides, then it should surely be against capital punishment and the torture used against the Murrays. One would therefore expect it to give support to the Murray Defence Campaign, but not only has the "Peace" movement refused point blank to help in any way, it has actually done its best to harass the campaign, especially in Dublin.

P.W. & G.I.

Demo in Strasbourg

ON SATURDAY 20 November the Anarchist Federation of Baden (South Germany) organised a demonstration in Strasbourg (France). A statement was delivered to the European Commission for Human Rights requesting the release of the Murrays.

After this 40 demonstrators went to the cathedral of Strasbourg and demonstrated for the release of the Murrays and Ronan Stenson. A leaflet which had been written in three languages was distributed.

The demonstration was soon broken up by the French police. They pretended the demonstration was not licensed and that we were foreigners demonstrating abroad. We were asked, why did we not demonstrate in Germany. So we explained to them that there is no European Commission for Human Rights in Germany.

We hope that the Commission for Human Rights will deal with the Murrays' case.

Paul

Don't Forget

The March On

Saturday

Face Lift

THAT WELL KNOWN international conspiracy, the Statesystem, has recently been giving a face lift to some of its manifestations. Few nations are strong enough to be completely self-reliant and a gesture of "goodwill" goes a long way towards mollifying public opinion amongst one's associates. Many influential countries make a point of presenting themselves in a liberal light and it smoothes relations if there is less overt repression to upset home susceptibilities. These gestures are purely cosmetic. The attention of the concerned liberal can then be diverted to the distressing practices of somebody else (unfortunately, the world being in the state - !! - it is, there's always a contender for the succession handy). The CIA, or whatever, can then get on with running the client state.

Spain has a particular interest for us. Here was demonstrated the correctness of our dreams and of our paranoia. The experiment was crushed and 40 years of repression followed. Now the iron front is beginning to crack. The resurgence of opposition has been met with vicious retaliation, but continues to grow. After the long overdue death of Franco the restored monarchy had to defuse this situation quickly. The leaders in Spain are well aware of the advantages to themselves that would come from full membership in the capitalist club, but the EEC's democratic cons-

science balks at his. So far the right wing rearguard has prevented more than high words but now elections, no less, are to come. Adroit manoeuvring by King Juan Carlos and his advisers has resulted in the Cortes, set up by Franco to endorse his directives, voting itself out of existence. This is not to be taken literally of course. The same individuals will retain their influence. They are now busily setting up a suitably rigged system. Disproportionate representation will be given to sparsely populated rural areas, as opposed to the more socialist industrial centres. Political "associations" are now legal except for those who won't play their tame parts in the charade, such as the revived CNT and the communists. However, innumerable restrictions prevent these new associations from carrying out effective action. Soon a Spanish people, mainly too young to remember the thirties, will be faced with the old dilemma. Should they take part in the farce of the elections or should they ignore it and guarantee a victory for the Right? To us, as anarchists far away, the answer seems obvious. To many in Spain it will probably look very different.

Chile recently achieved the dubious distinction of being listed top torturer by Amnesty International. Now Chile's patrons, the CIA, are insisting on a spot of whitewashing. Accordingly all but 18 of the regime's political prisoners have been released and even these, who are "especially dangerous to national security" can go if they leave the country. We are assured that those already re-

leased can remain "without difficulties" and that the government wants them to have the "same opportunities as those of all other Chilean citizens". Wonderful. Opportunities like that I can do without. It may be surprising to learn that Chile had only 322 political prisoners, but we must remember that most didn't have the "opportunities" to live long enough to enjoy this outbreak of mercy. Such an extravagant gesture is unlikely to prove contagious and in the festering swamp of Latin American politics we can be sure that others will carry on the old tradition. For instance, I could mention Uruguay. Or, perhaps, Argentina. Or Brazil. Or . . .

Many other countries are in a state of change, some more profound than surface gloss. Rhodesia is about to lose its white masters and become Zimbabwe. I fear that the standard infighting amongst contenders for power, in the name of the people, will then take more sinister forms than verbal bickering. What are the prospects for anarchism in these places? Unfortunately, low. Faced with these levels of repression the opposition itself becomes authoritarian. In the absence of other viable tactics terrorist campaigns are waged. The alternative, if it succeeds, turns out to be as vicious as its predecessor. Spain, with its libertarian tradition, is a possible exception. Here freedom has a chance. DH

A section on Iran, deleted from this article, will be incorporated into a later piece.

The Peace People

Our item "To Live in Peace" in our last issue (20 Nov.) evoked criticism from comrades in Belfast, whose views are expressed in the following article.

TO LIVE IN PEACE is the hope of everyone in Ireland, North and South. Unfortunately different groups, classes and segregations within classes each have a different conception as to what this means, once they go beyond the mere rhetoric of the Statement. To an army officer it means the soldiers in his command can carry out their duties unmolested; to the British Government it means a return to ballot politics; to the privileged classes it means social, political and economic stability to enable the invisible hand of the market to do its work and make them richer at the expense of others; to the working people of the North it can mean anything from a return to a privileged sectarian position, to a truly free and classless existence. But what does it mean for the "Peace People" ?

As they have consistently refused to outline the content of a peaceful Ireland their interpretation of peace can only be understood by an analysis of what they have said (and are saying) about "violence". Firstly, they equate violence—almost exclusively—with non-State terrorism; their earlier incursions into a condemnation of State violence (specifically by the Army) has proved to be too "divisive" and has been conveniently

dropped. Peace means—in their own words—a return to the rule of law, with the power of coercion residing in only "the legitimate forces of law and order", i.e. the British army, the R.U.C. and the U.D.R. Enough said on that score. However, an even more disquieting feature is their persistent refusal to even understand and recognise "violence". To imply by definition that the State is incapable of violence is surely either the hallmark of reactionary liberalism, OR effective propaganda by the Government itself! For instance, violence for them does not include premediated murder by upholders of the "rule of law". They have consistently REFUSED to openly state their opposition to such murder plans devised by the Irish State in connection with Noel and Marie Murray.

To imply (as you do), that the Peace People can be paralleled with the CND is logically impossible. A campaign aimed at re-directing government policy is in no way in congruence with a movement which aims to create a situation in which government policy can be more effectively carried out. Stability to enable effective repression is NOT an aim of any movement with the interests of the "People" at heart.

To imply that only Paisley, B. Delvin (sic) and the Provisional IRA condemn the Peace People is to be wholly mistaken on the nature and content of their

support. Firstly, they have the backing (or even the original impetus and initiative and finances) from the British Government. As long as the "Peace People" direct their anger at non-Government terrorists this support will continue. They also have the support of the trade union bureaucracy (dominated by Official IRA and CP), and as long as the Peace People direct their anger at those forces which are trying to expose the hypocrisy and opportunism of these two groups, then they, too, will continue to support them! But what of the people, the masses, the working people of Ireland? Certainly frustration, confusion, and a genuine hatred of paramilitary authoritarianism has pushed many into the Peace People's ranks (with efficient and comprehensive media propaganda to make them feel they are part of an almost universal movement, helping to keep them there). However, ALL forces of the left in Ireland, embracing all those working people in Ireland who have been able to resist the ideology of submission to the forces of capitalism (or law and order—pick whichever sounds best!) are fervently opposed to the Peace Movement. They quite rightly ask themselves: Where is "peace" when our lives will be dominated by an even more effective British Government

As anarchists, surely we must oppose ANY move which would enable a more effective level of repression to be implemented. However, does this mean (as the press are implying) that all those opposed to the Peace Movement are →

poland

AN OPPOSITION FORMS

AT THE TIME OF writing the Workers' Defence Committee in Poland have distributed three communiques to the world and are on the point of issuing a fourth.* Publicity abroad has been widespread, especially in that the communiques are the first known equivalent of Russian samizdat documents to appear in an East European country outside the USSR. Yet more important is the relationship between workers and "intellectuals" that has emerged since the summer riots on an unprecedented scale. (In 1968 the latter were on their own, in 1970-1 the workers). The result has been constant harassment and intimidation of all concerned - police raids, interrogations, enforced military service, abductions, unemployment, violent disruption of meetings, even attempts at character defamation of the more well-known. For instance, Jerzy Andrzejewski, the novelist, was accused of being the author of a letter to the Union of Writers urging sexual liberty in Poland... Consternation!

Drily Andrzejewski answered that "There are many things wrong with Poland, but the lack of sexual freedom is certainly not one of them."

The Committee's typewritten bulletins contain a detailed description of the events of Ursus and Radom, the number of people jailed - in often very overcrowded prison cells, like those of Bialystok - sacked and beaten up, being made in some cases to pass between two lines of militiamen who struck at them with their cudgels. There are also lists of police and court officials most active in the repression, and so forth. But what emerges most vividly is the extent of financial hardship suffered by hundreds, and in fact thousands of working families after the riots took place, when jobs together with social security were lost on a massive scale, and costly legal proceedings had to be faced. Relying largely on their own pockets, and on contributions from students, farmers, priests, workers' circles and even an occasional public collection, the Committee aimed, where the most tragically hit area, Radom, was concerned (an estimated 2000 workers had been arrested, thus automatically becoming unemployed) at reimbursing those affected with between 50-80 per cent of their normal wages. So far they have failed to reach this objective. In Ursus the Committee was by October in touch with 144 people and

peace people

necessarily supporters of Provisional policy? Surely not—to oppose a return to unmolested State violence, to oppose a return to stable capitalism, to continue the struggle for a free Ireland does NOT necessitate capitulation to the harmful policies of the Provisional IRA. And likewise, no capitulation to the Peace People!

Salud. R

giving regular help to 89 families, though calculating that 1000 workers had been dismissed from work. At that time, despite earlier optimism, only 14 out of the 144 had been reinstated in their jobs. Meanwhile some of the families were visited by people who were either security officials or posing as such, alternately cajoling them and warning them to sever all contact with the Committee - even trying to deprive them of the monthly allowances, their sole source of income, that had been paid them by the Committee.

This close alliance between workers and intellectuals is remarkable if only for its novelty. Whether it will lead to anything beyond mere - but crucial - material and moral solidarity is another matter. Certainly it is a mistake to describe the workers, and much of the press have, as burning their Party cards and lighting their victory fires out of simple and straightforward rage at not having more of the cake. What happened at Szezecin during 1970/1 (as the BBC's recent reconstruction documentary showed) is alone sufficient to dispel the view that the workers were not also interested in a much greater degree of industrial democracy, with full access to information. The "Ruch" affair of 1974 showed the real, if ragged, aspirations of workers, plus a few students and priests, towards an anti-authoritarian socialism. This year, though it had hardly any publicity, workers' committees were reported to have been disbanded. But the situation is one far more of potential than actual revolution, while courageous and dedicated to their present work as they are, most of the known supporters and members of the Workers' Defence Committee are reformers acting within the "evolutionist" tradition of post-October 1956.

In the past neither tendency of this evolutionist movement has borne much fruit. The "revisionists", Marxists hoping to change the Party from within, foundered on the Dubček experience in Czechoslovakia, while the ZNAK "neo-positivists" - non-Marxists, Christians and civil rights campaigners hoped for change through careful manoeuvring entente with the Gomulka regime, and virtually destroyed themselves in the process.

The failure of this double attempt to get reform from above, has led to the present "new evolutionism", seeking support for change from "below", in a slow move towards a democratic socialism which, while questioning the official rites of Marxism-Leninism, appears to base itself on no concrete ideological alternative.

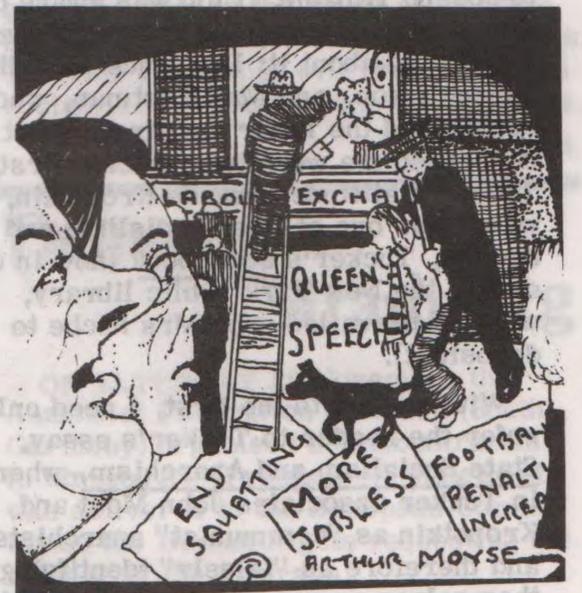
Of course it would be naive to hope for a revolutionary insurrection in Poland at a time when Polish revolutionaries could expect little or no support from neighbouring countries, and leave Poland vulnerable once more to Russian tanks or whatever. At the

same time it is eminently reasonable to expect that within the more open framework that both workers and intellectuals are now fighting for, a truly revolutionary movement would be able to prepare itself much better than it can hope to do now and in a way sophisticated enough to deter invasion.

By giving our support to the Defence Committee, either independently (within the CBA?) or by taking part in the union campaign to be launched in December, we can play our own small part in helping to create such a framework. More details of the campaign will be given later.

* A fourth communiqué is already circulating but is a fake. In the prevailing circumstances it will be a real feat for the Committee to get the genuine one distributed.

GF



'IS THAT WHAT YOU MEAN BY SOCIALISM, PRIME MINISTER?'

CHALK FARM FORUM

ON FRIDAY November 26 an Anarchist Forum was held in the Enterprise Pub (opposite Chalk Farm Tube). This meeting was not "under the aegis" of the London Federation or any other existing group. There was a good turn out (about 30) including comrades from Anarchy, Black Flag and your correspondent. A number of foreign visitors (from France and Germany) were also present. The meeting began in an upstairs room with loose discussion on a variety of topics and finished in a more social vein, spread over much of the pub. The meeting didn't "achieve" anything, and couldn't have been expected to. However, it was a social success and a follow up will occur on December 5 (Saturday, this time). Go along, I'm sure that any "direction" you wish to impart will be welcome, as long as you don't become too dogmatic. And at least you can have a convivial drink.

CORRESPONDENT

LETTERS

more on tucker

I had always assumed that anarchists were gentlemen, or, if you prefer, gentlepersons. But the tone of Mr Nicholas Walter's letter has cast some doubt on this assumption. I refer specifically to his slur on the late daughter of Benjamin Tucker, in the first paragraph of his letter in the 11 September issue.

If Mr Walter will read the letter I originally wrote, I inferred that because I didn't want the matter brought up to a court, I prevailed upon Mrs Riche to let the matter drop. Mrs Riche was not herself an anarchist, and never professed to be. What she was concerned with was the reputation of her father, and the cause to which he had devoted his life. But she herself was not involved in any way in any action (other than typing his letters in Nice) that concerned anarchism.

Now, to the matter of Tucker's attitude towards World War I. Mr Walter quotes from a letter, presumably sent to Joseph Labadie. I too was aware of that letter, and queried two individuals then living about it: Lawrence Labadie, Joseph's son, and Max Eastman, who considered the letter a satire. What concerned me were two factors: first, Tucker's attitude towards Kropotkin, which was one of intense dislike; and second, Tucker's scrapbook (now in deposit in the New York public library, where I prevailed upon Mrs Riche to deposit it).

With regard to the first, I need only refer the reader to Tucker's essay, State Socialism and Anarchism, where in Tucker associates John Most and Kropotkin as "communist" anarchists, and therefore as "falsely" identifying themselves as anarchists at all. This is but one of the many references to Kropotkin in Tucker's articles, and correspondence, which I had an opportunity to examine.

With regard to the second factor, Lawrence Labadie who made a point of describing Martin as "unreliable", noted that this letter was not in existence: ergo, it could not be verified. That it was "reprinted" in Instead of a Magazine and partially in Madison's Critics and Crusaders, did not impress Labadie (Lawrence, that is) at all.

I should note that Mr Walter's comment about Tucker being in France at the time should be corrected; in the correspondence it is verified that due to the efforts of Brand Whitlock, American ambassador to Belgium at the time, and a close friend of Tucker in America, he secured a passport for "Mr and Mrs Tucker" (the one and only time the appellation of "Mrs" was used by Tucker) to go to England in March, 1915, where he was to stay at Henry Boole's home for the duration of the war.

Eastman, on the other hand, adopted the attitude that Tucker, even with his deep love of the French, would never have attacked "the Germans" as a group;

he had too many friends of German origin, including his long-time associate, George Schumm. Therefore, Eastman considered the letter either a "forgery" or, as he stated in his article in Masses for June 1917, a satire. In either case, Eastman felt that Tucker would not place himself in favor of any group at that time. And, having the same feeling, I felt the same. If I'm wrong, the issue will have to be proved by other corroborating material, and my careful reading of the entire 26 volumes of the Scrapbook as well as his letters, and these conversations, pursuant to my study of Tucker, have led me to believe that Tucker "opposed" the war, regardless of his private opinion of the French. I may be wrong, but I would be in good company.

Sincerely
Irving Levitas

NW replies

Irving Levitas takes my two genuine queries about Benjamin Tucker as deliberate insults, and his replies bring more heat than light to the subject.

It was not clear from Levitas' original letter that either he or Tucker's daughter was opposed to taking legal action to prevent American libertarians from reviving Tucker's paper Liberty. I was puzzled about how such action could even be considered in such a case, and I am still puzzled that the daughter of a well-known anarchist should want to use the law to protect his memory.

It was not clear from Levitas' original letter how Tucker's attitude to the First World War differed from Kropotkin's; nor is it now. I quoted Tucker's letter supporting the war, which is virtually identical with Kropotkin's letters and articles on the issue, and I am still puzzled about the attempts to throw doubt on it. Circumstantial evidence that Tucker disliked Kropotkin or liked some Germans is both irrelevant and unconvincing. Kropotkin also disliked Tucker and liked some Germans; the problem is not whether their views of the war were consistent with their other views, but whether they were similar to each other. Conjectural evidence that Tucker's pro-war letter was a satire is ingenious but equally unconvincing without any direct evidence. Levitas may have talked to many people and read many documents about Tucker, but he cannot claim that Tucker opposed the war unless he can produce some contemporary testimony to refute the contemporary testimony of the letter.

I am glad to be corrected about Tucker's movements; but the fact remains that he lived in Allied countries where the anarchist movement was debating the war and that his only known contribution to the debate was pro-war. It may not be gentlemanly to suggest that the leading anarchist individualist was as inconsistent about the First World War as the leading anarchist communist, but in the absence of new material it is surely fair comment. Levitas doesn't mind being wrong if he is in good company. Most anarchists prefer the truth, even if it is uncomfortable.

darien

Dear Editors

Very glad to read that somebody else has "discovered" Georges Darien, that grossly underrated writer.

Paul Hammond's article gave me some ideas for a possible speech at Central Hall, Westminster next Saturday on behalf of Bukovsky and Gluzman. Bukovsky served one of his many prison sentences for possessing a book by Djilas. I doubt if Darien was ever translated into Russian...

Incidentally, the whole town of St. Nazaire is in a state of "permanent paroxysm" - on Bukovsky's behalf!

David Markham

godwin

Dear Comrades

A footnote to N.W.'s review of "Political Justice."

A year after his successful novel, "New Grub Street", George Gissing published another in 1892 - "Born in Exile." This, on his own admission, contained many autobiographical elements, not the least that the hero found himself at odds with the society into which he was born, hence the title.

The significance for us is that the hero was called Godwin Peak, because "Political Justice" was his father's favourite work. Gissing assumes in his readers a familiarity with Godwin's work that would hardly be the case today. This seems to indicate a wider currency in late nineteenth century England than N.W. allows. I seem to remember references to Godwin in early books of Wells and also in other late nineteenth century writers.

If it is only in the twentieth century that "Political Justice" has fallen into obscurity, the current Penguin edition may help to remedy that undeserved fate.

Yours fraternally
Geoffrey Barfoot

plankton

Dear Comrades

My name is Chris McMahon and I am a railway worker in the small railway/freezing works town of Balclutha (in the south island of New Zealand).

I recently read Colin Ward's Anarchy in Action and there found the address of your publishing group. Booksellers here seem unwilling to accept orders for your magazine... FREEDOM is regarded by libertarians in this country as the most important anarchist paper at present being published.

I am one of a small circle of friends who meet occasionally to (sic) about politics. There is no anarchist tradition in this country aside from parts of the hippie movement and the coalminers' union at the turn of the century. ➡

plankton *CONT'D*

Most of my generation's awareness and political consciousness was developed during the period of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations. We became "instinctive" revolutionaries before we learnt about political philosophies. Our first experience was being on the wrong end of police fists. Our second was the arrival out of nowhere of Marxist "organising committees" which proceeded to run and eventually wreck the fledgling movement.

Because there is little public knowledge of anarchist ideas (and the state education system doesn't seem inclined to help!) and because there are so few of us here, we often feel like plankton in the Pacific Ocean. On the other hand we don't seem short of work to do!

Peace and Freedom
C. J. McMahon

freedom

We do not usually publish letters telling us how good we are, but the following is a succinct reply to some of the letters we do nearly always print:

FREEDOM:

Your paper is certainly one of the better papers I have encountered. Papers like _____ and _____ place more emphasis on attractive graphics, but FREEDOM provides more information. _____ does not seem to stress the philosophical, historical or cultural aspects of anarchism, unlike FREEFOM. Writers in FREEDOM such as Arthur Moyses provide insightful analyses which other papers fail to provide.

Love and Anarchy

Texas.

Henry Weissborn

(We deleted the names of our contemporaries mentioned by H.W. —Eds.)

peace people

The extract below accompanied the article on The Peace People on page 4 of this issue. We include it here with MC's reply. EDS.

Belfast, November 1976.

THIS IS written in reply to your short and misinformed article on the Peace People (Nov. 20th, Vol. 37 No. 23). You can either print this as a letter, or (hopefully) print it as a revised policy. The people of Ireland fighting for a social revolution do NOT want to be isolated from comrades in Britain, but this seems to be happening as more and more groups seem to totally misunderstand the 'peace movement', and give it "tacit" support, as you now seem to be doing. The following article is written by an Anarchist, and I urge you to reconsider your confusing attitude to the Irish struggle...

MC. replies

Dear R.

I was aware I was uninformed on the Peace People, and FREEDOM will remain uninformed on what comrades within the situation in Northern Ireland

are thinking and feeling if they don't tell us, so thank you for your critical letter.

(Regarding your introductory remarks, FREEDOM frequently contains articles which are not the views of the collective. Only "editorials" signed "Editors" are expressions of policy, and they appear rarely. My contribution was my personal view; it appeared because no-one in the editorial group felt it objectionable enough to exclude.)

I was aware of the difference between CND and the Women's Peace Movement (now Peace People) in that the former was directed against their government and the latter's campaign against warring private armies from their own communities. The parallel is that both started out from a single deep desire shared by people widely separated in other circumstances of their lives. The decline of CND is clear enough indication that the wish was not enough for the attainment of the end. The Peace People's campaign may prove as insubstantial. But although the bishops and the other establishment spokesmen get most of the publicity for their hel-the-security-forces statements and a woman speaker only wants to get back to her kitchen, I thought it likely that the spectrum of support would be wide enough to include many people who know that filling the prisons fuller or even a few hanging will not eliminate the fact of an oppressed minority.

I have no quarrel with your definitions of what 'peace' means to those in the categories you list, but you have omitted one. To the Republican Irish Nationalist it means standing the status quo on its head so that the Protestant bigoted majority of a divided Ireland becomes the minority in a Catholic bigoted united Ireland. And that is the fear that has stiffened the generations of Ulster people throughout this century. (Your revelation that the Trade Union bureaucracy is dominated by the Official IRA and the Communist Party came as a surprise. I recall the one outstanding and totally successful instance of Peoples Power exercised by the trade unions—and it was by Protestant Loyalists to block the possibility of legislative 'power sharing' by the Catholic minority's "representatives" of the time.)

The N. Ireland conflict is one of the many in which there is no side for the anarchist to join. We are the smallest majority of all. Most people in most of the world feel no urgent and immediate need to dispense with God and the State. And they are the people. All that anarchists could and can do in N. Ireland since the beginning of the present round of troubles is to maintain a clear and persistent voice against religion and privilege and nationalism. Even though we inevitably join in the struggle of a people deprived because they are of a different race, colour, culture or religion than the rulers, those people in this case being the Catholic minority in N. Ireland.

I am glad you are there to make a voice heard by the Peace People and

those they are addressing that to allow the interested parties who have climbed on this handwagon to revert to the status quo will not do, and could lead further on the road to the total police state. But the daily dreary slaughter of IRA man/RUC or other loyalist paramilitary, the picking off of a soldier, is a long way from the spontaneous riot of Free Derry; the execution of an informer the same as a government carrying out its grisly ritual of legal murder. If the paramilitaries confined themselves to killing each other, like Chicago bootleggers of the '20s or gang-killers in the East End, the people at large might leave them to get on with it. But with the bombs in pubs and the booby traps in streets which catch an unfortunate 'hazard of war' casualty, does it merit outright condemnation if a large number of people make an attempt to step out of the vicious circle? Therefore I think the emphasis you place on opposing the 'Peace People' is overstressed.

£ KO'D

THE POUND used to enjoy international respect, now holidaymakers find it difficult for it to be accepted at all. For those who see these things as a symptom of our decadent modern times, which could be prevented by a spot of flogging and hanging, here are some interesting stories.

There is a firm which makes teatowels in monetary designs, coloured appropriately for each denomination. Harmless enough, you may think, and a source of foreign currency from those who enjoy such things. Not so, it appears the company in question has been informed that this contravenes the particular piece of legislation which protects us from forgers and that they must stop producing them. So next time your change includes a 3 foot by 2 foot note, made of Irish linen, be careful, it may not be an official one.

Other items which contravene this legislation have been produced by the National Party, in the shape of mock pound notes, somewhat amended. When informed that they were breaking the law (which must have been a traumatic revelation in view of their stated attitudes to that institution) they immediately produced full size posters of the offending item. Nice one, chaps, we could do with enterprise (free enterprise?) like that on our side.

Adapted notes are also on sale in Amsterdam. To quote the Mirror: "On the back a naked woman cavorts in an unusual sexual pose." The Dutch embassy has said, "We certainly don't condone anything that makes fun of British currency. It's in enough trouble without these jokes." Still, the Queen's portrait has problems of its own. The Design Council has been running a competition for souvenirs, designed for the Queen's Silver Jubilee next year. The shortage of originality and the poor quality of the reproductions of Her Majesty have meant that they have had to postpone the closing date. It's good to know that our souvenirs will display an appropriate standard of taste. D.

FREEDOM:

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 16 December. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding session and informal get together.

WE WELCOME News, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Saturday 4 December, and for news section is Saturday 11 December.

PRESS FUND

11 - 24 November

LONDON N8: V.P. 70p; ABINGDON: P.B. £ 1; POOLE: P.M. 70p; BANGOR, N.I.: J.T. £ 10; YORK: M.B. 70p; VIRGINIA WATER: I.W. 84p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; LEEDS: G.L. 37p; BROOKLYN, NY: A.P. per P.A. £ 12.50; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M.G.A. M.G.A. £ 40; COVENTRY: P.T. 85p; WOL-DURHAM: M.S. £ 2.

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name

address

Murray Benefit

MURRAY DEFENCE GROUP Benefit Concert. Sat. 4 December. At Jackson Lane Community Hall, (Highgate tube). Irish Folk Music. 7.30 p.m. Adm. 50p (30p for claimants).

no comment!

PLANNERS ARE TRYING to work out where they went wrong in drawing up a new road scheme for King's Cross. A team from the GLC spent months drawing up six schemes for the area so that residents could choose which one they wanted. But the residents have rejected all six and have chosen a scheme which they designed themselves-

A GLC official said: "Both our scheme and the tenants' will be given equal consideration. It's difficult to say why people like their scheme rather than ours. We won't know for sure until the results of the survey have been processed."

Evening Standard, 24.11.76.

CONTACT

THE LIBERTARIAN Student Network is now functioning. If you want to hear more please contact Peter Baker, A06, Allesley House, Rottes Residences, The University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL

PAMPHLETS wanted. F.A. Ridley's The Papacy and Fascism and The Jesuits. Also books/pamphs/ dealing with organised religion from historical standpoint. They will be used for a political book in progress. Kindly state cost & return address. Larry Shull, P.O. Box 3421 Tucson, Arizona, 85702, USA

CHRISTIAN Anarchists in London? If so—please contact Doug Truman, 166 Cleveland St. London W.1. Flat 18.

220 CAMDEN HIGH ST—eviction has not yet taken place. The Bailiff is a Mr. Harris—an ex-hangman

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front. Box 1976 c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St. London NW1.

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

MEETINGS

LONDON Wed. Dec. 8 Public Meeting on RACIALISM, speaker Dave Clark (ex-editor Race Today). 7.30 pm at Livingstone House, (Room 23), Livingstone Rd. Stratford E.15 Organised by East London Libertarians

Anarchist Forum. A gathering of anarchists of all tendencies at the Enterprise Pub, Chalk Farm, at 8 pm on Fri. Dec. 10. Other dates to be decided. These mtgs are not under the aegis of FLAG or any existing group

EAST ANGLIA. Conference in Cambridge on Sat 4 Dec. to discuss co-operation and activity among libertarians in East Anglia. All welcome. SAE for details to Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

BWNIC Study Group mtgs at 3.30 pm at 9 Monmouth House, Westhill Road, S.W.18 Dec. 4 and every fortnight thereafter.

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner, Marble Arch. Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Latham Rd. E.6. Phone Ken on 552 3985 for details

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

SOUTH-EAST LONDON Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Ring Georgina 460 1823

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group. Regular Sunday mtgs. soon. For info. contact Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Rd. Moseley, B'ham 13

COLCHESTER area anarchists/libertarians interested local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd. Colchester for mtg. details.

NORTH-WEST Anarchist Federation, for mtgs. activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Rd. Bolton, Lancs.

The National Abortion Campaign is holding a BENEFIT DISCO to raise much needed funds on Sat. 4 Dec. from 8 pm until 1.30 am at the Basement, 29 Shelton Street, WC2. Admis. 50p

NEW YORK:

FREESPACE Alternative U., 329 Lafayette St New York, NY 10012. Lectures Fridays 8.15 pm in W.R.L. Building (212). 228 0322.

Dec. 10: Sam Dolgoff "Spanish Anarchism Before & After Franco"

LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB Lectures Thursdays 7.30 pm in Workmen's Circle Center, 8th Ave and 29 St. (S.W. corner). Free admission, coffee & cookies.

Dec. 9: Murray Kempton "Radicalism as a career"

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH Anarchists c/o Students' Union Laura Place, Aberystwyth

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

CAMBRIDGE anarchists contact Ron Stephan, 41 York Street, Cambridge

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN17-21A

COVENTRY. Pete Come, c/o Students Union Univ. of Warwick, Coventry

DURHAM. Martin Spence, 11 Front Street, Sherburn Village, Durham

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians contact Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 8

LEICESTER, Peter and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Road, Leicester (tel. 549642)

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St. Oxford

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

THAMES VALLEY anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Congress Rd. Maidenhead, SL6 3EE (tel. 0628 2974)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen Blake, c/o A.P.P. 167 King St.

Dundee Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl. (tel. 452063)

Edinburgh B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1522)

Fife "Haggis" c/o Students Union, University of St. Andrews.

Glasgow C. Baird, 122 Benmeray St. Milton, Glasgow G22 (336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

OVERSEAS:

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Anarchist Group, 32/4 Condemine Court, Turner ACT

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

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

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

NEW ZEALAND

Anarchists resident in or visiting New Zealand contact Christchurch Anarchists, P.O. box 22-607, Christchurch, New Zealand

PRISONERS

The STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1

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

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY protest letters to the Justice Minister, 72-76 St. Stephens Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR

NEW

from FREEDOM PRESS

MAX STIRNER'S EGOISM

by John P. Clark

A new study of Stirner's work and critique of his philosophy

112 pages, paper £1.50 (post 20p)

(Cont'd from last issue)... Before the young volunteers had arrived our old lady had been reconciled to her meagre existence... their visit though had stirred up memories, long since buried by time... these memories surfaced during their stay but they hadn't mattered then... now that the volunteers had left and as the days passed when they didn't return, our elderly lady could take the white paint and the memories no longer... the meals on wheels... day by day... dead... She wanted it to the heads of the volunteers, whether or not they said it was such a pity, especially as they had just painted her rooms with that nice white paint! In the Printer thanks ex-printer Dick Ellington of Oakland, USA for his fraternal letter.

FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

December 4'76

MAN rAy — by angharad owen

is dADa DEAd ?

"Dada is the international expression of our times, the great rebellion of artistic movements, the artistic reflex of all these offensives, peace congresses, riots in the vegetable market, midnight suppers at the Esplanade ..."

DADA MANIFESTO 1918

MEANWHILE . 58 YEARS LATER !

IT IS HARD TO DEFINE DADA for dada was anti-definition. There was no central idea or direction and it modelled itself on whatever chance offered, differing in each city; in Paris breaking the barriers of language, in Berlin, where the revolution in art joined forces with the social revolution, soon becoming an anti-art international. It was a mass of contradictions which were overcome by the incredible enthusiasm that characterised all that the dadaists did.

This enthusiasm and affirmation of life was the expression of their rebellion and aimed itself at the overthrow of the existing art forms. It saw in the bourgeois art establishment of the day an enemy of the creative spirit and prisoner of the object, anti-life rather than life. Dada set out to explode art and ideas of art. The dadaists meant it when they said nothing is sacred and that all known forms of art were walls which had to be broken down, even the dadaist form itself. Dada wanted to enrage the people, sew confusion and at the same time destroy the myths. It mystified itself and yet sought to demystify the rest of the world, attaching the greatest importance to the everyday object, willing to experiment with photomontage, abstract poetry, etc, and to use shock tactics with happenings in theatres and galleries and above all to invent, to try to produce a new perception.

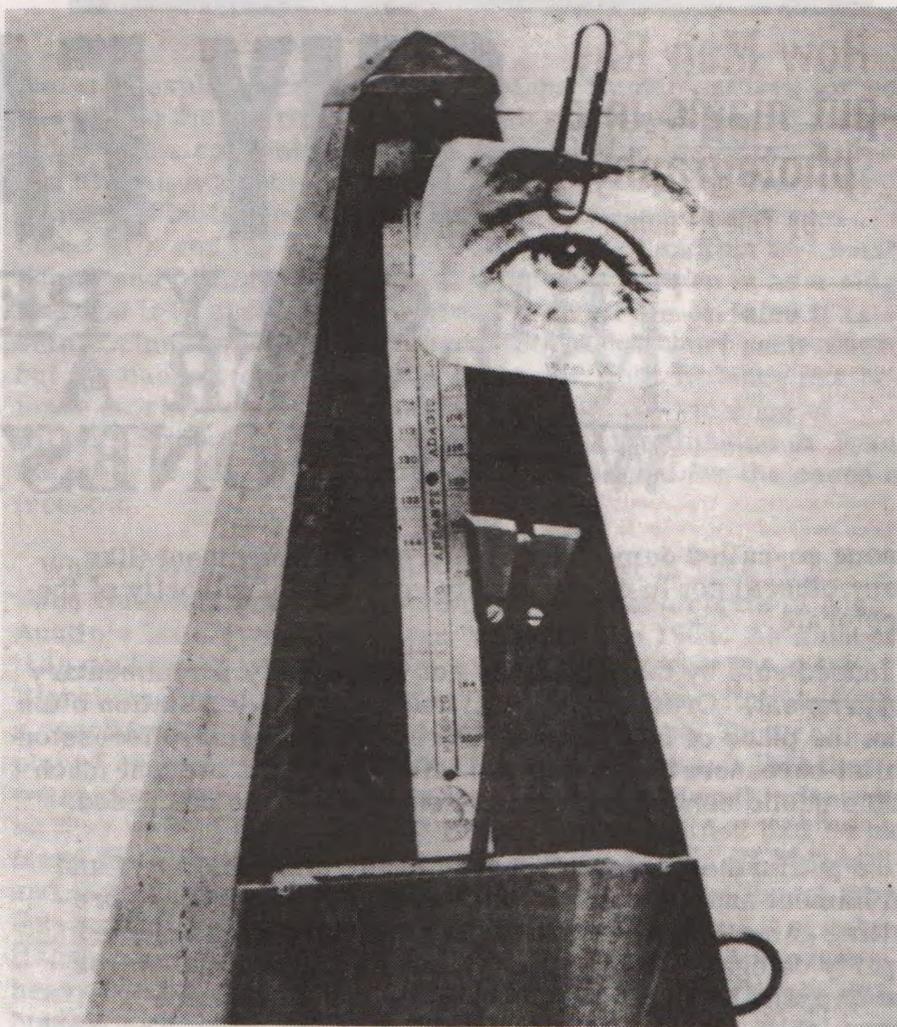


Man Ray was a member of the dadaist triumvirate in New York along with Francis Picabia and Marcel Duchamp. Picabia, a volatile Cuban, believed passionately in destroying the traditional roles in art and was the energetic, oratorical force behind New York dada. His friendship with Man Ray sprung from a mutual love of chess; together with Man Ray he invented a series of "nonsense" objects using wheels as the linking theme.

Duchamp, whose painting "Nude descending a staircase", caused a furore in the New York art world, with its total abstract quality - a figure reflected through prisms of light, each defining the movement of descent rather than the figure - visited Paris in the twenties with Man Ray. It was while they were there that they became influenced by Andre Breton, the poetic declaimer of surrealism and author of the movement's manifesto, published at this time and carrying such libertarian slogans as "Open the prisons - let humanity out!" and "Down with all governments!"

Photographer, painter and, as the dadaist historian Hans Richter calls him - "tireless inventor" - Man Ray was born in Philadelphia and died in New York a fortnight ago aged 86. His extraordinary powers of invention he used to transform useful objects which surrounded him into useless ones, a process of liberation - from their defined and restricted usage - to show what you might call their "human" side. It sets them free. It is because these things are useless that we find them moving. The humour of the useless machine is Man Ray's discovery. He breathed life into inanimate objects. The starting point of Man Ray's ideas was that objects are beings like us because they are.

At the dada exhibition in Paris in 1957 he showed a metronome with an eye clipped on, under the title of "object to be destroyed."* Some people put the dadaist ethic into practice and shot at it and Man Ray's last exhibition in Paris two years ago bore real dadaist scars.



An example of Man Ray's inventiveness was the rayogram - photography without a camera. By placing objects on a piece of photographic paper and lighting them from a particular angle he created new poetic possibilities.

As the surrealist Andre Breton said, "He plays an incalculable game; he shows the way to things never seen before; he is the rock on which the foreseeable comes to grief."

Note

"Object of Destruction" (1923) featured the eye of Ray's assistant at the time, Lee Miller, who is married to the English surrealist Roland Penrose. It was destroyed by a reactionary student, whereon Ray created another version, this time entitled "Indestructible Object." Needless to say he had been quite unperturbed.

The Redundancy of Guy Fawkes

WHEN THE ALREADY ONCE postponed State opening of Parliament took place, there occurred the equally vestigial ceremony of searching the cellars beneath for traces of gunpowder, laid by some modern Guy Fawkes. But they had no need to fear, the cellar Guy Fawkes occupied is gone. The train is laid and primed in the chamber of Parliament itself. Guy Fawkes is redundant, and has been for years.

One is not referring to the menace to Parliament from the Other Place. This is grossly over-stated since the Government has power to over-ride the lords' veto. Nor can one attach importance to the myth of the left-wing caucus seizing power in the party to achieve communism in our time. One has known of "nine and ninety leaders of revolt", including Stafford Cripps, a virtuous and strict Chancellor of the Exchequer; John Strachey, a frugal Minister of Food; Harold Wilson of whom little need be said; and our present grand total of unemployed is presided over by Michael Foot, member of the Tribune group. Responsibility and office are known and tried ways of taming rebels.

The general crocodile tears of Press and Opposition are for the decline of Parliamentary Democracy; it is possible and has happened many times in history to have Parliamentary democracy - indeed, Guy Fawkes' original mission took place at a time when Parliament had decided to absent themselves from Westminster for long periods.

Indeed with that talent for auto-destructive art, notable

ment, the Labour party is more genuine in its regrets than the Tories but is just as impotent as the party without power.

There is undoubtedly a reluctance by the Tories to take power. They have no more relish for unpopular nostrums for incurable diseases than the Labour party. Even the election of Mrs Thatcher to the leadership is a cry of despair from that most male-chauvinist of parties. In their despair in the post-Heath period the party adopted a gimmick. The Tories share Dr Johnson's wonder at women preachers and performing dogs - not that they do it well, but they do it all.

But the factor which has produced the qualitative change in British parliamentary democracy is the more obvious emergence into public affairs and governmental policy of the trade unions as a power group - the Fifth Estate as they have been described. A grouping strong enough to determine economic affairs, to pre-empt working conditions (the closed shop and on the docks, for example) and to put forward proposals for nationalisation.

At the same time this union group (the TUC) feel responsible enough to talk and on the same footing (vis-a-vis the Government) as the employers. This is not the first time this has happened; in 1928 (after the supposedly revolutionary 1926 strike) Sir Alfred Mond and Ben Turner established a Joint Committee to promote consultative and advisory machinery between employers and unions.

This association, despite the theoretical enmity, has grown

GUY FAWKES

THE ONLY PERSON EVER TO ENTER A PARLIAMENT WITH HONEST INTENTIONS

among so-called democrats, the present government (like many others) got in on a minority vote from a minority of the electorate.

Indeed rule by the Cabinet is not necessarily parliamentary government. Orders in council and delegated legislation often take the place of full, frank and free parliamentary discussion whilst bureaucratic control and official secrets prevent much of the public concern being mentioned, let alone discussed.

To put further screens between public and parliament and parliament and power, the party system is the modern prevailing game. One has not elected a man, one has elected a party delegate - not even a voters' representative unless one happens by coincidence to belong to the same power-group lobby which may have subsidised one's MP. The most fearful crime an MP can commit is disloyalty to the party whips - not disloyalty to his electors, which takes place daily. Particularly when the Party's parliamentary majority is narrow.

We have seen the ironic situation of the Labour party national executive deciding to petition their own government not to make public spending cuts. We have also seen a Labour government stating that they would ignore the democratic vote of a party conference, not for the first time, as the supporters of Nuclear Disarmament will recall.

Basically there is a similarity between the parties in their priorities and in their remedies. Both pay homage to capitalism and greater productivity, both are convinced that inflation is the primary enemy; both regret the necessary unemploy-

ment alongside the power of the Trade Unions who have become a vested interest in the preservation of the status quo - only for more of a bigger cake. At the same time one suspects that the consumer (who can be at the same time a trade unionist) is the predestined victim of the unholy alliance.

With this has grown nationalisation - a decidedly mixed blessing - notorious for the nationalisation of public utilities, which by their nature were non profit making (otherwise they would not have been allowed to be nationalised). At the same time "public accountability" made it necessary to pay compensation and if possible show a profit - which could only be done by cutting down the public service.

The framework of the corporate state has been erected in a compliant Trade Union leadership allied to bureaucratic boards of nationalised industries. At the same time technological development and know-how have created a managerial class with their specialised functions and overall control.

There is no Tory or Liberal objection to this managerial nationalisation. As for the left they welcome the technological centralisation. No party seems to recognise that power is falling into the hands of a class responsible neither to voters, parliament or cabinet, and will, if its power is unchecked, relegate voters, parliament and cabinet to the computer print-out waste bin.

Guy Fawkes has been made redundant.

by jack robinson

Be intolerant, be free!

By Paul Hammond

PART TWO **introducing Georges Darien**

By this time Darien had discovered the writings of the American radical Henry George. In his book *Progress and Poverty* (1879) George proposed (after Quesnay) the social remedy of a single tax on land. He believed that both labour and capital had to be freed from the "incubus" of rent. A single tax, amounting to the whole or almost the whole of economic rent, would enable community-created value to be returned to the community.

In autumn 1903 Darien wrote the first in a series of articles called "The Land and the Army", for the libertarian journal *L'Ennemi du Peuple*. Edited by Emile Janvion, its contributors included Miguel Almereyda (father of cineaste Jean Vigo), Zo d'Axa, Descaves, the art historian Elie Faure, Jules Laforgue the symbolist poet, and Domela Niewenhuis. A collection of these articles has recently been reprinted in France.⁵ The journal's existence revolved around an Anti-Militarist Congress held in Amsterdam in July 1904. Darien, who was the British representative, participated in the congress while predicting its failure. (Many of the participants changed their tune in 1914 and supported the war effort). Darien was against the anarchist and socialist emphasis on anti-militarism, a thesis he had developed in a book written in collaboration with the anti-clerical freethinker Joseph McCabe, *Can We Disarm* (1899). The rich, he said, wanted their standing armies, a consequence of the Franco-Prussian War, to disarm. Using "intelligent force", he thought, these already armed proletarians could take power. The army was, indeed, "our sole means of deliverance". Socialism played into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Militarism, he stated, is the negation and caricature of the "Military Spirit". The European governments aware of the danger of keeping standing armies, wanted disarmament and a return to volunteer armies instead. Let there be war between France and Germany, Darien said, this can be turned into civil war. Darien went on to criticise the "oppressed" people. There is, he observed, no excuse for accepting slavery. Industrial and scientific developments will not lead inexorably to revolution. It is the Individual, the small group, the Hors-Peuple, who will make and head it. The masses are an invariable backdrop to this process. The obstacle the Individual meets is indolence. In remaining the Enemy of the People the Individual can cause a number of the "pitiabile units" that make up the mass to transform themselves into Individuals. This is the only way out. Darien concluded:

It is absurd to rail against authority. It is more reasonable to make use of it, that is to say, to act. In what way In the way indicated by Kant. In the sense of a harmony as complete and rapid as possible between the free tendencies and the social tendencies of man.

L'Ennemi du Peuple folded in October 1904.

Gottlieb Krumm, *Made in England*, a novel in English, appeared in 1904, and in 1905 Fasquelle published *L'Épaulette*, about the ups and downs of an army officer. Both were failures. Darien's resignation gave way to decision: from now on he would devote himself to the theatre. *Le Parvenu* (The Upstart), a not unsympathetic play about Napoleon on the eve of Waterloo, preceded *Biribi*, drawn from his novel and written with Marcel Luras (1905). *Biribi* was a success, but his next two plays, *Pain du Bon Dieu* (The Good Lord's Bread) and *La Viande à feu* (Cooked Meat) were not. Darien became obsessed with proving himself. A frothy comedy, *Le Souvenir* accomplished this. Audiences were surprised to find that the author of this trifle had written *Le Voleur* and *La belle France*. *La Faute obligatoire* (The Obligatory Fault), full of black humour, described the seduction of an innocent waif seeking asylum in a House of Refuge For Unmarried Young Girls. Darien's melodrama *Non! Elle n'est pas coupable!* (No! she isn't guilty) defending Mme Steinheil, accused of her

husband's murder and implicated in the death of President Faure, got a cold reception in May 1909.

An older, more subdued Darien now returned to the ideas of Henry George. In November 1909 he created *Terre Libre*, "an organ of trade-union action", aided in this by Janvion, ex-editor of *L'Ennemi du Peuple*. In his play *Les Mots sur le Mur* (The Writing on the Wall) of 1910 Darien put forward George's single tax thesis. In July 1911 he set up the Single Tax League, with its paper *Revue de l'Impôt Unique*. It failed two years later. Meanwhile in 1912 Darien stood unsuccessfully in local and parliamentary elections on the single tax ticket. When the 1914 War began he hoped to see an end to people's apathy. He believed that the various monarchies would collapse, to be replaced by a confederation of republics. He welcomed the revolutionary wave in Russia and Germany, but could still write in 1919, "I hate all flags, including the red one."

On 19 August 1921 Darien died. Emmanuel Quesnel, who had been in "Biribi" with him forty years before, observed that Darien would have passionately approved of the neglect his work still receives.

Take what you need

George Darien's books are about ideas, political ideas. This gives his work relevance in 1976 - at a time when capitalism in all its forms is going through a remendous crisis - for those people who want TO BE READY. Because they are repetitious, delirious even, reading his books is an exasperating experience. At best he is the equal of Rosa Luxemburg, at worst the peer of the Fabian G. B. Shaw. Darien's work is riddled with the contradictions of his period. Its backcloth is the contest between the clerical-militarist forces of reaction, bourgeois radicals and reformist social democrats for control of the French Republic. Its wider setting is the slide of the capitalist nations towards imperialist world war. A direct response to his epoch, some of his ideas have been buried in dust, others still shine brightly. This is all we can expect of a political thinker: that he be less wrong than the others.

Take what you need' A mentally uttered "yes" greets Darien's criticism of the dogmatic economism of the reformist Second International. But his dogged exposure of Henry George's ideas, worthy only to inspire the Fabian Society, elicits a firm "no." Darien's concept of revolutionary defeatism, drawn from his dialectical concept of militarism, bears a striking resemblance to the Bolsheviks' "turn the imperialist war into a civil war". This is a "plus." Yet Darien's notion of a new party, the French Revolutionary Party, based on "the land", is a "minus." Darien's awareness that the co-opting of the trade unions into the bourgeois state, proposed by the social democrats, would lead to their passing into the counter-revolutionary camp, to become "buffers between the rich and the immense mass of disinherited", is admirable in its foresight. However, his belief that the French Revolution was engineered by the Roman Catholic Church is patently absurd.

In his novels and plays (and even in his essays) Darien chose an ideal form, melodrama, to express himself. Melodrama suited his purpose. It is a kind of discourse understood by all classes, since one of its strategies is a blatant playing on any audience's known sympathies. Melodrama has its origins in the historical novel, hence it is a perfect form for the discussion of historical problems. Darien discussed history as it was being made, the recent past and contemporary events. Melodrama has an imaginary structure (chance meetings, heightened dramaturgy) fitted for throwing people together so they can talk abrasively about life: every character meets

continued on page 14

Book Reviews

UNQUIET FLOWED THE DON!

George Woodcock

Paul Avrich. Russian Rebels 1600-1800. Norton. Paperback reprint, \$3.95.

WE OWE A GREAT DEAL to Paul Avrich for his various studies of anarchism in Russia, yet I am inclined to think that his most valuable book may well be his account of libertarian predecessors, Russian Rebels 1600-1800, published in 1972 and now appearing in paperback.

Anarchism is at once an international and an intensely regional tradition. Its basic doctrines are held in common, but they are in fact so few and simple, and so insistent on the link between liberation and decentralisation (or, if you wish it the other way, between tyranny and centralisation), that we are not surprised to find anarchism expressing itself in sharply localised forms and according to regional traditions of action and reaction that antedate its origins.

Even Marxists, monolithic though they may be in tradition and theory, and so wedded to the pursuit of power that only the naive believe, for example, that Italian Communists are more libertarian than their Russian counterparts, are unable to escape from the non-Communist traditions that form the background to their actions. As authoritarians they follow in practice the local patterns of authority. Stalin becomes an autocrat in the tradition of Ivan the Terrible, not of Robespierre; Mao conquered Tibet to reinstate the boundaries of an Imperial China once ruled by the Manchu Sons of Heaven; a Marxist Britain fighting a new Hundred Years War against a Marxist France is not too absurd a fantasy when one considers what has passed during the last decade between the heirs of Stalin and the heirs of Mao.

The main difference is, I suspect, that while Marxism finds itself unwillingly forced into accepting localist traditions as necessary for the pursuit and retention of power, anarchists have always been willingly regional. Which is not the same as xenophobic, for few movements have shown themselves more willing to learn from people of other backgrounds and races: the Spaniards from Proudhon and the French syndicalists, the western European groups in general from Russian teachers like Bakunin and Kropotkin. But the fact remains that the final result has the inalienable stamp of place, of locality. It is impossible to imagine anything among anarchists resembling the rigid orthodoxy imposed on Communists of all lands and languages by the Comintern during the 1930s. Whatever he may absorb from men of other places, the anarchist is in the best of all senses a local patriot, and this means not only remaining devoted to the interests of the intimate groups to which he belongs by affinity and calling, but also to the traditions of freedom that are endemic in his particular society. Thus the English libertarian is likely to remember John Ball and Winstanley and the Levellers, the Americans to think of Tom Paine and Thoreau, the Spaniards of the agrarian communities of mediaeval times, the Italians of the great free cities of the renaissance, and the Russians of the very people of whom Paul Avrich writes so vividly in Russian Rebels, the leaders of the great popular revolts of past centuries, Stenka Razin, Pugachev and their lesser-known counterparts.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the first Muscovite dynasty of the Ruriks came to an end with the Time of Troubles, and the Romanov dynasty emerged to consolidate its power in a turbulent and half-settled land, there were in fact many popular revolts. Some of them were blind rebellions by oppressed peasants rising against the imposition of serfdom. Others were wars of resistance by non-Slavic tribal peoples of the Volga and the great south, fighting against the submersion of their traditions by the Muscovite state and the Russian Orthodox church. Yet others were revolts - violent or pacific - by religious sectarians who wished to follow undisturbed the peculiar forms of behaviour they valued.

But the really great revolts, which aroused alarm in Moscow and later in Peter the Great's capital of St. Petersburg, were organised movements that shared certain important character-

istics. Mostly they were led by men who - like Pugachev - posed as lost heirs of the tsar, or by others - like Stenka Razin and Bolotnikov more than sixty years before him - who claimed to represent such pretenders. Always they were uprisings of the unorganised outer provinces, where men could still enjoy a great deal of rather tempestuous freedom from authority, against the encroachments of the power centres in Great Russia, the physical and spiritual heart of the Empire. Always they united a disparate array of discontented people drawn from all parts of Russia - runaway serfs, fugitives from the law, disgruntled priests, Old Believers, oppressed peasants, tribal peoples, a few disaffected gentry, and even - in the final great rebellion under Pugachev - the early Russian proletariat, workers in the pioneer factories established in the Urals during the eighteenth century to manufacture - among other things - cannon and small arms for the imperial armies. But always the leaders of the revolts were Cossacks, and Cossacks formed the vanguard of the unwieldy armies with which Stenka Razin and their like, marching under the horse-tail banner, dominated large areas of the south Russian countryside and even many of the towns.

This, of course, presents an image somewhat different from that which developed during the nineteenth century when, their great rebellions crushed, the Cossacks accepted the role of Praetorian guards for the tsars. The original Cossacks were men from all over Russia who fled to the Don valley and other regions beyond the power of the Muscovite sovereigns and there established direct democracies, governing themselves in the great assembly of the Host, electing their own atamens, agreeing in common on their laws, and establishing the rule that any men who entered the areas under their control became automatically free; it was their most sacred law that no man who fled to them should ever be given up to his pursuers.

It was the development by the Cossacks of a simple social order suited to their desire for liberty that made them the natural leaders of the great revolts against attempts by the Muscovite tsars to spread their rule into the peripheral rulers and later against attempts by Peter the Great and his successors to impose the structure of a modern state on the traditional social forms of peasant Russia.

When conscious anarchists emerged in Russia, from Bakunin onwards, they recognised the resemblances between their own ideas of a popular revolt from the lower depths, from the peripheries of society, against the centre, and what Stenka Razin and Pugachev had actually done. Bakunin might, largely for effect, praise Razin and Pugachev for their exploits as bandits, and elevate the bandit as a type of rebel, but essentially it was the free organisation of the Cossack Hosts, and their attempts to create effective direct democracies wherever they went, that appealed mostly to him and that mark the genuine affinity between the Russian anarchists and these earlier rebels. As recent history has shown, Bakunin was not so wrong as the Marxists argued in seeing in such risings from the depths and the outskirts of society the forerunners of modern revolutionary movements.

Paul Avrich draws out these relationships in his book, though he does not exaggerate them. He makes the even more interesting comparison between the Cossack rebels and Makhno who - operating more than a century after Pugachev in the Dnieper region of the Ukraine - was given Stenka Razin's title of Batko and not only adopted very similar tactics (which failed when it came to static positional warfare) but also, whenever he liberated a town or a small city, induced its inhabitants to gather - as Razin had done - and decide in assembly how their own lives should be ruled; Makhno, of course, represented the traditional decentralism of the outlying areas opposed to Muscovite centralism, now represented by the Bolsheviks. Avrich makes a final interesting point when he remarks that the operation of the Ural arms factories by the workers to supply Pugachev's forces provides an early anticipation in practice of anarchist doctrines of workers' control. ➡

FALLING APART

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF URBAN CIVILISATION, by Elaine Morgan. (Souvenir Press, £3.60).

THIS IS A BOOK of great clarity, humour and interest, and it is easy to read. I must declare my bias as the conclusions and ideas are those which have been going through my head for many years. Many of the propositions are self evident and are becoming daily more so. Urban areas have always been the centre of power and privilege into which more and more of the rural population were sucked, by force in early times, by economic pressures later, and by Hobson's choice still later.

Those of us who had radical parents were encouraged to take advantage of grammar school education in order to lift us from the drudgery of manual work which even by radicals was regarded as something inferior. A secure white collar job in which one tackled nothing dirtier than a piece of paper or heavier than a pen.

Like Elaine Morgan, I came to look at urban civilisation from the outside, for radical views rapidly removed me from the office to which a grammar school education had propelled me, and into agricultural work, to which the war had restored some measure of prosperity. For war to some extent restored the priorities, as without food all other human activities came to an end.

All surges of urban and industrial activity are preceded by an upsurge in agricultural activity, for that is the SOLE source of surplus upon which it can be based. The post war boom is no exception. The decline now proceeding is due to the limits being reached, particularly as that agricultural upsurge was fuelled by the same oil that fuelled the economic boom.

anarchism and agriculture

In July 1964 I contributed an article "Anarchism and Agriculture" in *Anarchy* 41 (Freedom Press, 15p) which began with the following statement:

If it has any meaning, anarchism is a concept which is accepted because it is more in line with human aspirations than an authoritarian governmental social structure, that is, a concept that will serve man's future as a part of the ecological structure of organic life on the earth. Man must take a shorter look at what is above his head and a longer and deeper look at what is immediately beneath his feet, and I do not mean the tin of his automobile, or the concrete of his cities. The first essential for a stable civilisation is a stable, non-exploitive agriculture, an agriculture which not only nourishes a community of men, but will continue to do so indefinitely. Unless this is achieved, industrialism and its techniques will merely be illusions which, if they do not achieve the total demise of life on this planet through modern warfare, will achieve the same end by starvation.

Elaine Morgan states:

Over the last century the tide of wealth and influence as well as the tide of power flowing into the world's largest cities and conurbations has been so powerful that the sense of being peripheral—of belonging to places that

Unquiet Flowed...

Avrich does not try to minimise the vast brutalities perpetrated by both sides in the Russian revolts, but more than any previous writer he makes sense of the rebellions and shows their participants as whole and comprehensible human beings, distorted perhaps by the limitations of their times, but often, unlike their opponents, trying to transcend them.

Alan Albon

are haemorrhaging population and youth and hope—has not been confined to rural population. It has spread to towns, to once-prosperous and declining cities, to whole economically blighted regions both urban and rural, and it has been growing more acute.

But, this is both a problem and a feature of a power-based society with its hierarchy of privilege. Here in this book is an example of multilateral thinking that should also be a basis of anarchist thinking. Personally I have never thought the modern and urbanised industrial technology which by its very nature is exploitive could ever be a basis for a free society. Freedom means choice, the larger the economic bases the less choice.

The writer refers to current observations that in cities that have got so large that many people cannot escape, their behaviour becomes like that of people in a zoo. Indeed, anti-social behaviour can be induced in animals by keeping them in conditions similar to those that prevail in large cities. However, she thinks the parallel is taken too far, as a city has no bars and the city is a zoo which attracts migrants as a lamp attracts moths.

In spite of individualist contentions, collective activity is responsible for the development of the human race and we ignore our biological entity at our peril. The development of man as a collective animal with his co-operative activity is the positive side of that development; the accumulation of power and privilege in the urban areas is the negative side of urban life which lures a lot of people from the point of productive activity. The collective

The collective of the beehive is one of mutuality with the plant world, for while the hive accumulates wealth the bees assist fertility. Indeed towns before the era of mechanical transport did this in the form of manure from horse transport, building up large areas of superbly fertile soil for the remarkable variety of fruits and vegetables around towns. Paris was a great example of this.

The growth of villages and settlements was a direct result of the development of agriculture and it was upon their wealth that urban development proceeded. It was when such centres became the focus of power and privilege the rural areas became in effect the slaves of the town and their muscle power became the source of the surplus required to develop and strengthen that power. Every urban civilisation without exception is based upon surplus agricultural production and its decline coincides with the melting away of such production.

The urban mind demands more and more and modern society also persuades people that they want more and more. This is O.K. as long as the cage that enraps us is large compared with the number of occupants:

...at some point the beneficiaries of the work become separated from the performance of it. Somebody got the bright idea: 'With crops like that, if he'd only put his back into it he could grow enough for two and the second could be me.' Predatoriness in some form or other was not only, as in Wirth's Model, one of the consequences of urbanism, it was the genesis of it.

Elaine Morgan says there were in the town King and priest and merchants and the idea that trading increases wealth. Trading may stimulate production, That is probably true but once could also say that it started the syphoning of resources away from the point of production. This had the effect in the case of agriculture of removing fertility, particularly when the products are transported a long way from source. The consequences both in ancient times and recently has been the creation of deserts. In moder times, of course, crops can still be produced by the use of artificial fertilisers but this too has side effects unless there is some means of maintaining the organic content of the soil. ➔

The book points out that the greed of king, merchant, priest stimulated civilisation and while there was ample resource of muscle power and material to fall back upon the impact of man on the biosphere was minimal.

The situation is now vastly different. The population has grown in consequence of the ability, with the discovery of fossil fuel, to exploit resources at a rate never before conceived. Whole nations in which the wealth has spread sideways exact an ever increasing demand on basic raw materials and food, with all the attendant pollution and waste that this implies. It is a fact that if every citizen of the world consumed at the same rate as the average American all basic raw materials would be exhausted by the year 2000.

Agricultural growth has a future. However, growth in production per acre and the industrialisation of agriculture results often in a fall in acreage production. The author draws attention to the parallel between the decline of Rome and modern urban states, and perhaps it would be a good thing if both Marxist and orthodox economists considered them and asked the question: Has industrial growth a future?

parasitic culture

The centuries that followed the fall of the Roman Empire remain 'dark' to the historian in the sense of largely unchronicled and 'dark' to the archaeologist in the quality of the relics they left. To a highly cultured man character like Sir Kenneth Clark this is the touchstone of the quality of life. "I should believe," he says, "the buildings." The scarcity of good architecture and high class artefacts in the Dark Ages certainly establishes that nearly all Europeans—instead of as in earlier periods only perhaps ninety-eight per cent of them—lived in shoddy dwellings with shoddy clothes and tools. It might have been that the heart was still as loving and the moon was still as bright, but those things have no traces for historian to decipher or for archaeologist to dig up.

The moral of course is that the surplus value for such large artefacts could have come only from the productive part of the human race whose lives were probably made harder and nastier in their cause. At the end of the Dark Ages however emerged several agricultural innovations which gave the industrial revolution its initial dose of surplus value. Such innovations were unspectacular and slow.

In the Middle Ages there were towns which did not have so many parasites and despite their shortcomings gave something in return for what the countryside around provided.

Capitalism was an urban manifestation and Marxism was born in the same cradle and they have this in common, that they share an exploitive attitude though to different things.

communist manifesto

Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier cultures had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

Both Marx and Adam Smith regarded urbanisation as basically a good thing. However, one cannot escape the limitations of the earth and when coal was found it was burnt with gay abandon to create the dark satanic mills and sulphurous atmosphere, and in domestic use "throwing it into their capacious fireplaces by the bucketful (which was rather like burning the yield of ten years' growth of an acre of timber to heat one small room between teatime and supper)".

Modern urban capitals not only attracted the wealth of a rural hinterland; they also sucked on wealth from industrial areas leaving little in the areas where it was created.

Authoritarian-based power-structured society with trade as its life blood, the arteries are fitted with one-way valves. For anarchists this book is an important work because it queries whether megalopolis can ever be the basis for a sane society, let alone a free one, and the criticisms are logistic. A mass of people has to be managed, and self-management is only feasible in small groups where the source of wealth is real and adjacent and susceptible to understanding management. "Mother Earth's" dugs are running dry and plutonium has its own intractable problems and will increase all other problems many fold.

The farmer regards rearing a cow to the point of production as a necessary cost, the economist still does not regard the work of rearing children in this light. Yet probably human power will prove to be the safest and most adaptable form of power for the future; after all, a man on a bicycle is more efficient than Concorde for all its technical sophistication.

Small is beautiful, agriculture is essential; towns could be small and beautiful and industry could be the servant of people and geared to renewable resources.

The book shows that many people are uneasy about the way society is going and although it utters warnings has a warm optimism.

introducing

CONT'D FROM P.11

Georges Darien

every other character; all shades of opinion are expressed. Melodrama encourages and emphasises the clash of ideas. (*Das Kapital* takes the form of Victorian melodrama, it has been said). The melodramatic character lacks a psychological dimension: he is an orator, not an actor. Orate, philosophise, harangue the audience, this is what Darien sets out to do.

The image of the thief remains a pertinent one. Darien undertook to answer the question "who steals from who". In so doing he described the *modus operandi* of capitalist society, Marx's "war of all against all". But he never resolved the contradiction that the thief, "the eternal representative of individualism", could not negate capitalist society, a society of thieves, because he was (to himself at least) only an intellectualised by-product of it. When Marx and Engels criticised Stirner for his metaphysical conceits, demonstrating how his position was opposed to a mass-type position, were they not speaking too of the abstract notion of the thief as society's redeemer? Georges Darien put his faith in words. Which makes the double irony in this thought all the more bitter: "Words - these Ceasars of modern, free, enlightened society - for which men perish" (*La belle France*).

NOTES

1 Printed in December 1897, published in 1898, *Le Voleur* was reprinted in 1955 by J-J Pauvert, Paris; and again, as a cheap paperback, by Editions 10/18, Paris, 1971.

2 Alfred Jarry, *Exploits and Opinions of Doctor Faustroll, Pataphysician*, in A. Jarry, *Selected Works*, Johnathan Cape, London, 1965, p. 185.

3 Jean-Francois Revel, p. 11 of the preface to Georges Darien, *La belle France*, J-J Pauvert, Paris, 1965; an abridged reprint of the 1901 edition. Some "useless repetition" on the subject of political economy and Marxism was left out. In fact about two-fifths (not one-fifth as Revel claims) of Darien's book is excised. Some of his most incisive (and embarrassing) thoughts have been lost.

4 Auriant, *Darien et l'inhumaine comedie*, L'Ambassade du Livre, Brussels, 1966.

5 Georges Darien, *L'Ennemi du Peuple*, Editions Champ Libre, Paris 1972.

NOW YOU SEE IT NOW YOU DON'T

by arthur moyse

EACH SOCIETY defends its authority in its own fashion and persecutes that specific minority that they believe undermines that authority. The American State persecutes men and women for their clearly defined and proclaimed political beliefs, the Russian State for a man's use of poetry, the Irish State for objecting to the way a man kneels to his particular God and the British State for any sexual behaviour that deviates from the native norm. There will be the pedant who will cry "What of the hounding of the late Lenny Bruce!" but Bruce was destroyed by the State for using his randy act as a political platform and it would appear to the biased outside observer that one can literally get away with murder in Those United States as long as it is non political. The American homosexuals were nothing more than a gay gag on the American scene until the time of the Korean war drafts and it was then that they were held to be a political security risk, and these unfortunate men were persecuted if they declared that they were homosexual and persecuted if they did not declare that they were homosexual until in the end they had to fight a long and tortuous legal battle to be accepted in America's This Man's Army as gun-toting homosexuals. Only the British with a puritan tradition of 350 years attack the sexual act as an enemy in its own right. To discuss, to photograph, to paint or to perform and then to communicate will bring into action the full majesty of the Law, the poisonous headlines of the national sewer press and the simulated rage of the self-appointed guardians of the nation's morals. Treat the act of fucking as Whitehall farce, seaside comic postcard or 'Carry on Britain', always implied but never observed, and it will be allowed as corn for the intellectual lumpenproletariat irrespective of the wage level, but treat it with wit or understanding and the Fuzz in Saville Row suiting is banging on the door as agents of the private police informer ever seeking to be insulted. Weep no sad tears for Genesis P-Orridge whose Prostitution exhibition filled the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Brenda's Royal Mall, but have every sympathy for and give every available help to those within the ICA who had the courage to mount the Prostitute exhibition for the law in the shades of the Director of Public Prosecutions is already sniffing around the front office with a view to a death.

But despite the vapours and the protestations within and without the ICA it is the cinema that is the mirror of the age for it is the only communal art form that requires the artist and the technician and detailed planning in its need to come to terms with the political, religious and social mores of the society of the day. The artist, the back street actor and the poet of the duplicator are as effervescent as the morning mist for come the heavy breathing of the State and they are gone, but the film as an art form is hooked to an audience over which the makers have no control for they are absentee landlords to an absentee audience. Nudity as a part of public entertainment is now acceptable but the government, ever on the alert to protect our morals, are pushing their bill through Parliament to make it a punishable crime to fuck before a paying audience which means, for those so interested, that it is back to the Soho basements or peeping through the bushes. The homosexual, as with the negro, is no longer relegated to the role of comic feed, and if Hazan's 1974 film of Hockney's gay games, *The Bigger Splash*, Buckley's 1974 *Saturday Night at the Baths* or *The Boys in the Band* were aimed at the mackintosh brigade, films such as *Sunday Bloody Sunday* gave a balanced view.

Violence is and has always been part of entertainment, deplore it if one would, but it is interesting to note that the film makers, and that means money money money comrades, are tentatively exploring the exploitation of the act of incest. The Bible and *Oedipus Rex* have always provided an out for those who wish to explore this form of family get-together but with the exception of *Souffle au Coeur* and the mind-deadening *Mourning Becomes Electra* it has never been considered box office potential. In 1976 Brian De Palma directed *Obsession* as a good run-of-the-mill horror film and most of the critics have chosen to compare it unfavourably with Hitchcock's films, yet what I found of extraordinary interest was the fact that a father was to marry his daughter with the daughter aware of the relationship but, come the dawn, the

father becomes aware of the relationship and they melt into each other's arms as father and daughter.

This incestuous relationship was but a sub plot and one assumes that the producers are waiting to see if they dare shift the action to its logical centre which is the family bedroom. Only Roman Polanski has chosen to portray the result of this relationship in his film *Chinatown*. A well made private eye thriller, made in 1974, with a well realized background, it had John Huston as a father who rapes his daughter and becomes the father of her resultant child. Polanski has a good

Jack Nicholson

Chinatown



claim to explore the darker side of our human natures for he has known the horrors of the Polish ghetto and the awful knowledge of the concentration camps in relation to his own kith and kin. In August of 1969 Polanski's wife Sharon Tate was murdered by the followers of Charles Manson in a sexual blood bath and the American press wrote of sadism and masochism and bestiality with mass whippings thrown in as a sideline and it is claimed all on video tape. True or false it is unimportant for in these matters people only hurt each other, but the danger for others lies in the fact that violence can be made morally acceptable and this is what the violence of Hitler's State was about, the brutality of the Russian or Spanish State or the daily murders in Holy Ireland for the cause of freedom.

Where Polanski comes into the act is that in 1968 he and Gene Gutowski bought the option of the screen rights of Alex Austin's book *The Blue Guitar*, published in 1964. As a novel it is doubtful if it would ever have won the Nobel Prize for literature but its plot was of an incestuous love affair between a beautiful girl and her blind brother. Columbia Pictures played around with the idea but the front office felt that the peasantry were not ready for this new type of family planning so they walked away. In 1969 Roger Vadim decided that he had found the right play and offered to buy the rights off Polanski and Gutowski for Vadim had already produced one incest film, *Spirits of the Dead*, with Jane and Peter Fonda but that relationship laid an addled egg and they were looking for a more heavy breathing story line. It is curious that Jane Fonda was hoping for Edna O'Brien to write the screen play. With Gutowski hoping to produce, Vadim hoping to direct and a film budget of 1,800,000 dollars, plus Peter Fonda and Jane Fonda playing out the incestuous relationship between brother and sister for the amusement of a paying audience, it seemed that a trinity of money, art and a major scandal was ripe for the waiting world, but Charlie Manson ruined the whole caper by playing for real with a fashionable essay in mass murder. Incest as a theme has as much right as any other theme to be explored either as comedy or tragedy, but for two wealthy and fashionable mummies to play it before the camera cannot be justified if their names are Peter and Jane Fonda—enjoyed, titivated but never justified... but what one brother and one sister and one spectator do is, one must accept, a purely private matter and maybe Charlie Manson was not a case but had a case.

now you see it...

We are all the victim of the huckster's drum be it the collection of tourist junk at the Hayward Gallery, all Hollywood camp as Indian Sacred Circles, to its ghastly film counterpart The Return of a Man Called Horse at London's Odeon. Leicester Square, wherein Mexican film extras gaze in awed wonder at Richard Harris as My Lord John Morgan hangs by his tits from a tent pole to prove his manhood and it is all as phoney as the collection at the Hayward. If any among you doubts that we are victims of the huckster's drum then accept that in the British Museum's Museum of Mankind by the Town's fashionable Burlington Arcade there is an exhibition of Indian Art running in harness with the crowd-collecting Hayward Gallery exhibition and I counted only four people in the Indian Room of the Museum of Mankind. Same feathers but no white man beating tribal drum presswise.

In 1969 Andy Warhol was part of the Fonda/Polanski international circus and Warhol's films such as Nude Restaurant and Flesh camp giggle time for the Hollywood affluent, but death and the slammer have taken their toll. Polanski as a director still excites, Jane and Peter bore and Warhol still makes the fashionable galleries for like Genesis P-Orridge he is part of the contemporary culture, a man without talent who at £15,000 a canvas can amuse the monied mob. Andy's latest work is now on exhibition at the Mayor Gallery, off the Bond Street art mart. An orderly arrangement of stickies for postal packaging, Fragile. Handle with Care, neatly framed and highly priced they give the lie to a tough group of international clowns who can be condemned, abused or jeered at but never ignored, for without them our living would be terribly boring and we would have no criterion to prove our own smug worthiness.

BOOKSHOP NOTES

BOOKSHOP OPEN Tues-Fri 2 - 6 pm
(Thursday until 8 pm)
Saturday 10am-4pm

COMPARED with his two contemporaries—Kropotkin and Bakunin, each a giant in their different ways—Alexander Herzen has tended, somewhat unjustly, to be overshadowed.

He came from a similar background, the early nineteenth century Russian Aristocracy, and, like Kropotkin and Bakunin, dedicated himself selflessly to the libertarian revolutionary cause—living like them, largely in exile, often imprisoned, and being an activist as well as a theoretician.

He has not attracted the attention of later writers, scholars and activists in the way that the other two did; in view of at least some of that "critical" attention he might count himself fortunate! But possible one of the reasons for this is that others would find it difficult indeed to do a better job of telling of his life and struggles than he did himself—not narrative merely, though that is vivid enough, but analysis also.

His book, My Past and Thoughts: the Memoirs of Alexander Herzen, has recently been published unabridged. (A useful but now supplanted abridgement by Dwight MacDonald has been available for some time.)

This book is in four volumes (hardback) comprising some 1900-plus pages and is a marvellously written story not of Herzen alone, nor only of that illustrious circle of revolutionists in which he moved, but of the vast canvas of upheaval and revolt, success and failure that was nineteenth century Europe. It costs £10.50 (plus £1.35 postage) for all four volumes, which sounds expensive, but when considering the price of some books today—books not as important as this one—£2.50 odd per hardback volume is not a particularly high price to pay.

Also still available is E. H. Carr's The Romantic Exiles (£0.63 plus 26p

postage) which tells the story of Bakunin, Herzen and Ogarev (another neglected nineteenth century Russian libertarian and revolutionary); as well as Michael Confino's important Daughter of a Revolutionary (£4.50 + 55p post) which concentrates on Herzen's daughter Natalie and her relationship with the Bakunin/Nechaev circle. Both these titles also have much to say on that controversial figure Sergei Nechaev, about whom not only Confino, but also Arthur Lehning in his ever-growing Bakounine Archives (not, sadly, available in English), have done much to dispell the mists and myths of prejudice—both pro and con.

It is surely time that some enterprising English translator and publisher took on the daunting but invaluable task of making the whole of Lehning's work available in English; at present there is only his edition of Michael Bakunin's "Selected Writings" (£2.25 + 23p), a fine work but also a tantalising foretaste of what could be to follow.

Another writer, not yet favoured with a real study of his life and work, who was at different times an anarchist, a Trotskyite and a Bolshevik, is Victor Serge. Recently his novel Conquered City (£3.95 + 47p) has been published in English for the first time. The city of the title is Petrograd/Leningrad in 1919-20 under virtual siege, physical as well as ideological, from all sides and persuasions—it is these tensions and conflicts and Serge's awareness (in 1932 when the novel was written) of the eventual failure of revolutionary hopes and dreams, that give the work its power.

Penguin have issued in the recent past a number of Serge's works in paperback, but the only one available at present is his well-known The Case of Comrade Tulayev (£0.38 + 23p)—intrigues, fears and betrayals in Stalin's Russia of 1939: a fictional work again, but fiction that often contains deeper truth than mere fact.

Finally from Serge, we have his Year

One of the Russian Revolution (£3.95 + 70p), translated and edited by Peter Sedgwick. This is a marvellously produced book, copiously illustrated from contemporary photographs—it is more 'factual' than the previous two discussed here—a highly critical history of the first twelve months of the revolution, setting records straight in a way that only Voline and Arshinov did at that time—Makhno, of course, was busy doing things other than writing at the time. Serge shows that "Stalinism" really began long before Stalin.

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Now in a totally different vein, available again, this time an American import, we have the first three volumes of Unicorn Books' excellent Survival Scrapbook series; beautifully produced, and copiously illustrated throughout, they are useful alternative guides to doing-it-yourself and self-sufficiency in Shelter (No. 1), Food (No. 2) and Energy (No. 3) and cost £2.75 (plus 26p postage) each.

Sadly, of increasing relevance these days is Peter Lawrie's On the Dole: Your Guide to Unemployment Benefit (£0.76 + 11p). It's as well to know what (little) you are entitled to, where and how you can get it, and what hassles you will meet en route, and this little book tells you all.

Finally, a pair of seasonal titles. Housmans World Peace Diary 1977 (£1.05 + 11p) including a 64-page international directory of Peace Organisations—an invaluable guide; and the War Resisters' League's (U.S.) 1977 Peace Calendar £1.95 + 17p, entitled What did you learn in school today. It incorporates a page-a-week diary with a copiously illustrated text by a vast variety of writers, including Postman and Weingartner, John Holt, Bob Dylan, Krishnamurti, Doris Lessing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Rosack and many, many more, on the liberation of education.

J H