

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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THE LESSONS OF STAMMHEIM



ANDREAS BAADER



GUDRUN ENSSLIN



JAN CARL RASPE

EVENTS CAN CERTAINLY LEAVE YOU BEHIND. The moment our review section went to the printers the issues of violence exploded. Now almost all the original members of the Red Army Fraction are dead. Eighteen months ago we were asked to believe Ulrike Meinhof had committed suicide when she was found hanging in her cell with bruises on her thighs and semen on her underclothes. When the Meinhof family handed her body to a forensic specialist from Hamburg he found that parts of the body had been cut away to such an extent that it was impossible for him to reconstruct what had happened. Now we are asked to believe that three others of the group have killed themselves, after terrorising their guards, operating a bomb factory, establishing telegraph links between themselves, smuggling in guns (one in 44 separate parts) and then, in the case of Andreas Baader, deviously and pervidiously attempting to discredit the German State by shooting himself in the back of the neck. While we should not deny to others the courage and the dignity of suicide, it was the German Federal Justice Minister himself who used the word "unbelievable."

FREEDOM's attitude to the Red Army Fraction has been stated before. The RAF are not anarchists as they themselves have said, a fact which the world's press seems unable to grasp. Yet RAF and anarchists are linked, in fact and myth. Even in the context of a military campaign we cannot accept the hijacking of innocent passengers, while Buback and Schleyer are fair targets.

We believe that the RAF are isolated, elitist and authoritarian. Yet these people have died fighting violence far greater than they have ever aspired to. The following piece examines the implications of these events.

EACH NEW STAGE in the tragic history of the Red Army Fraction has been accompanied by a neat and ironic and sometimes even eloquent comment in support of their thesis - a comment which has nothing to do with the humourless hypocrisy and tired jargon of their own public statements. Sometimes it is incidental, sometimes a carefully engineered part of their war, but it is always effective in its truth to those very few still dispassionate enough to see it. The most striking instance to me still is the fact that at the very time Ulrike Meinhof died, Lieutenant Calley, perpetrator of the My Lai massacre, got married as a free man. Again, the RAF's thirst and hunger strike in August in demand of an end to social isolation coincided with the German government's manifestation of support for the Nazi murderer Herbert Kappler when he escaped from a military hospital in Rome. Most recently of course there was the spectacle of mingled joy and relief at the deaths of Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl Raspe and Andreas Baader, contrasting with the mourning for Hanns-Martin Schleyer - a man who, yes, was murdered and cruelly (what murder is not that?), but whose SS youth and only nominally non-fascist middle age have brought him the homage and the pious tears of modern social democracy.

The reasons should be clear by now. No-one is feared or hated more than the opponent of the State. The governments of the world combined against the hijackers of the Lufthansa plane, the Soviet Union and East Germany

among them - and why, after all, the surprise? For some time the East European states who, on the whole, have escaped the wrath of the Red Army Fraction, have been urging the West Germans to be harder on their terrorists, and expressing blank incomprehension at their failure to destroy them. If the three Stammheim prisoners were murdered, and if Irmgard Möller barely escaped with her life, none would be less shocked than the governments of Eastern Europe.

Many anarchists would say, as with the case of Ulrike Meinhof, that the "if" is irrelevant. Either way - whatever the true story about the pistols - it was murder. (Indeed, one gathers that Dany Cohn-Bendit was almost lynched the other day in Frankfurt for daring to suggest the deaths might have been suicides). I have reservations about this attitude; it is facile and, in its logical implications, dangerous. It does matter if they were hanged and shot by government agents and if what Irmgard Möller says is true; and that the government knows this best of all is shown by their hurried invitations to foreign experts to attend the autopsies, and by the hurried resignations and sackings going on in Baden-Württemberg (the state with responsibility for Stammheim) under the implausible pretext of inefficiency, so that in effect those responsible are no longer answerable.

My argument may be a semantic one, but I do believe linguistic precision is a tool not to be discarded lightly, and if "murder" comes to

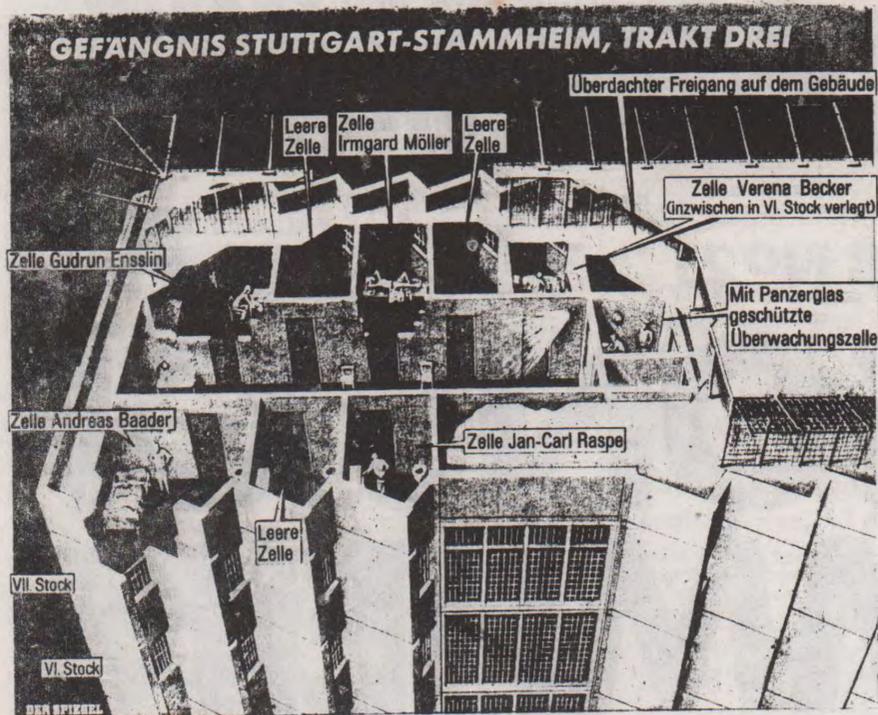


Diagram of the seventh floor of Stammheim prison, Stuttgart showing the location of the RAF prisoners' cells. These look on to a central space where they were allowed to meet for a few hours each day when not in solitary confinement.

mean just anything from imprisonment to execution, then that tool loses its power and ends by giving carte blanche to the ruling class.

Whether or not the three prisoners were actually killed, what is certain is that their deaths were directly connected with imprisonment, imprisonment per se as well as with the extraordinary conditions in which they lived. The penal system in Federal Germany as it now stands, down to the latest horrifying "contact restriction" law, was built block by block, clause by clause around the "Baader-Meinhof" group and had, and has, its own destructor mechanism. Sick jokes about the quality of their colour television sets (and materially these prisoners were privileged, compared to others) have always served as a pretext for ignoring the fairly subtle form of mental destruction which over seven years, first of solitary confinement and sensory deprivation, then of striking trial and other legal irregularities, and above all of social isolation - their exceptional isolation in one tiny group for reasons of state security - involved. That the effects of such isolation were serious enough is shown in the reports of the court-appointed professor, Wilfried Rasch who examined the Stammheim prisoners in 1975 and again this year, and found that their deteriorating faculties of speech, communication, memory and concentration, and deteriorating nervous condition could eventually, if allowed to continue, lead to death. In 1976 Rasch published an essay in a monthly for criminology and penal law reform, advocating that the top security prisoners be kept in groups of at least 15. But by August, with the killing of Buback, it was plain that the government had no intention of implementing these recommendations, and thereby, in the view of the chief federal prosecutor Rebmann, creating an unacceptable and unmanageable concentration or POW camp. As for the argument that the prisoners themselves rejected the idea of mixing with "common" prisoners, this ignores their fear that such prisoners would have been specially chosen as spies or would in any case have refused to consort with them - monstrous as, via Springer's press, they had become in the common mind.

This contrast in treatment between State terrorists and anti-State terrorists, as between "ordinary" and political murderers, supports the fundamental hypocrisy and latent fascism of social democracy in Germany, as in any country, but while proof of it has been hideously expensive to produce, the RAF have not had the effect they must have hoped for on those (whoever are they?) of whom they are the self-elected champions.

Jean Genet, the French writer, to the fury and chagrin of German commentators, (and through *Le Monde* no less) recently expressed gratitude to the Stammheim prisoners for exposing the violence of the State and the consumer society (it had not, apparently, occurred to him before). But as anarchists we should remember above all their mistakes, and through them, our weaknesses. I would list them in a rambling sort of way as follows, while warning readers that they are points that have been all made before.

During a recent visit to England I was fortunate enough to obtain some of your publications, but unfortunately the German frontier control decided that I had no right to read such books. Presumably they are now reading them!

Yours sincerely

Correspondent in Germany

- Although the RAF originated with the anti-authoritarianism of the student left, APO of 1968, their actions have failed to correspond to anti-authoritarian theory; on the contrary they have merely imitated (rather than deliberately parodied) the State. The anarchists have meanwhile not adequately developed their own revolutionary practice, and as a result, impatient for action, some of them have joined or supported authoritarian, RAF-type ventures, while others of us sit back and criticise (as I do at this moment). What is needed (see too the review section of this issue) is a strategy of action in which the imagination is appealed to, the aim clear, the methods consistent with that aim and not only technically clever but cunning, politically and psychologically shrewd. The RAF have lacked cunning. If they have succeeded in revealing the ugliness of the State it is an ugliness that most prefer to the uncertain beauty of the alternative as the RAF have, or have not, presented it. Thus they have themselves provided the State with fresh *raison d'être*. In their aim of revealing the vulnerability of the State, and perhaps carried away by their technical prowess, and irresolute about the targets of their guns and bombs, the RAF seem to have seriously underestimated the general - not only "bourgeois" - fear they would generate.

- It will be answered that the RAF's idea is to draw out the basic fascism of the "liberal" State. Presuming from their literature that the objective of the RAF is not an anarchic one, this may be the correct thing to do. An openly fascist state would in its turn provoke a popular front of left-wing resistance. But it is unlikely that the abolition of power itself would be brought nearer in this way. Smashing fascism does not mean smashing power. And power can only be smashed for any length of time if the alternative community structures are already being laid.

- This brings us to perhaps the most serious failing of the RAF since they came into being - the inability to combine legal with illegal activities, which was their original intention. The plan was to prepare and set up an efficient military network all over the country and beyond to service the needs of the "working class" once the Revolution had begun. With this class the RAF would cement relations on a legal as well as illegal plane, withdrawing from the centre of the stage when no longer needed. But the bombing campaigns and the start of the killings forced them into a twilight jungle which grew its own obstacles and preoccupations, victories and defeats, far removed from anything of import to the daylight world, let alone the factories. Workers who did join were not necessarily trusted to take part in the ideological discussion, were more or less left with opening and shutting doors if one is to believe not just police reports on crown witnesses (which one will not) but comments from members of the 2nd June Movement, whose composition was less middle class, and who seem to have been held in some disdain by the younger RAF. Some who joined the RAF, hoping to replace "verbal radicalism" by Action, began to realise that the RAF's kind of revolutionary struggle would take as long, and maybe even longer, than others, and had its own periods of unutterable boredom and routine, and isolation and pettiness. (There are some indications that Ulrike Meinhof herself had felt the need for giving more thought to what they were doing and wished to start a breakaway group, but by that time the jungle was already closing in on them).

- If anarchists are to succeed where the RAF have failed, they must know how to combine legality with illegality. While continuing to take part in environmental, ecological and social struggles and forming fresh opposition groups around specific and related issues, they should gain public attention by acts of

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One point to emerge is an official admission that Britain's SAS are ready to emulate GSG-9. The Home Secretary, Rees, let this slip, reportedly to the annoyance of the National Airport Security Committee. Until now the official picture of airport security is that it is operated jointly by the local and overt army units. The latter have been carrying out exercises at Heathrow for some time.

... It is ironic that only the law and order *Daily Telegraph* ignored the requests to suppress stories about the preparations for storming the hi-jacked plane in Somalia ... Sabotage?

OLD BILL STRIKES AGAIN

THE PROMISE of a police strike—made most vehemently by Tory MP Eldon Griffiths—may bring hope to anyone looking forward to a bit of mischief without Old Bill's interference but can we take it seriously?

Police Federation chairman James Jardine—who is more interested in securing a 10 per cent pay rise for his members than making a political point—forecast a "mass exodus from the police forces by people using their feet as industrial action". Which is even better news for anyone with long term mischief in mind. There have, in fact, been two police strikes in Britain. One in 1918, while the war was grinding to a close, and a second in the following year. Both failed. A Police Union formed in 1913 and operating virtually underground was crushed. A tame Federation was grudgingly allowed to form.

One of the founders of the Union—though arguing for the right of the police to organise like other workers—said he could never envisage a situation in which it would combine with other unions in a General Strike.

"But," say Reynolds and Judge in *The Night the Police went on Strike*, "he added that the police were often forced to act with unreasonable favouritism towards the employer against the working class."

This recalls a more recent episode in 1968 when the Paris police, following days of battering by rioting students and facing a working class upsurge, warned a shaky Government that their loyalty was not limitless.

All of which suggests that policemen the world over have a keen sense of what side their bread is buttered on and won't hesitate to pull out, or at least make threats, when their masters' confidence weakens.

Organised labour generally in 1918 and 1919 was reluctant to aid the police strikers. Claims that the police were fellow workers were ignored when not openly derided. "Once a scuffer always a scuffer," one Liverpuddlian shouted during a meeting appealing for support. Are policemen workers? ask Meltzer and Christie in *Floodgates of Anarchy*. "Clearly yes," they say. "But..."

And it is this "but" that was neatly summed up by Judge Neil McKinnon at the Old Bailey last week. Sentencing six men for attacking two police officers he said: "It is no good setting about a police officer because, behind him, stands the police force, behind them the army, navy and air force, and behind them the whole State.

"You can't fight the State. I can't and you can't."

His argument could, and should, go further. Behind every civil institution of the State—behind the Inland Revenue and every Whitehall and Town Hall bureaucrat—stand, immediately, poised, the police.

We come into a world where the State already exists. It waits for us with open hands. By the act of our birth we are deemed, mysteriously, to have freely signed a contract with the State. It will protect us and all it asks in return is our obedience.

To refuse is illegal. To contemplate refusal is accepted. Even to speak, quietly, of refusal is tolerated by many liberal States. But to act. That is something different.

If you have not been persuaded by the education system and the communications system that it is absurd to refuse, the police are there to convince you. And, as the judge said, behind every truncheon there is a gun.

"What is a policeman?" ask the Situationists in their analysis of the 1965 Los Angeles riots. "He is the active servant of commodities, the man in complete submission to commodities, whose job is to ensure that a given product of human labour remains a commodity with the magical property of having to be paid for instead of becoming a mere refrigerator or rifle."

The police are the State's chargehands. They hustle workers into line and help, along with the other institutions, to preserve a system in which someone other than the worker gains from his or her labour, from his or her life, in which the worker can only be a loser.

But the police are also wage slaves themselves, as their present struggle indicates. They consume in much the same way as the "average" worker and his or her family. They face the same restrictions. Their lives are as little their own as ours are.

What do they gain? It isn't money.

"Surely there is a prestige element, is there not, which would keep people in the Force?" a Metropolitan Police Commissioner was asked. "To the idealist, yes, sir, but to the realist, no. In fact he will argue the other way, that a policeman is looked down on, that in his neighbourhood he is regarded with suspicion. It is difficult to make friends."

That was in 1960. It is likely that in 1977 he is further despised as being corrupt as well. No longer that mythical decent man doing a dirty job in difficult circumstances he is now regarded as a dirty job himself. Part of the problem rather than the solution.

"They contain explosive contradictions within themselves," argues Norman Mailer. "They are more responsible than the average man, they are more infantile. They are attached umbilically to the concept of honesty, they are profoundly corrupt. They possess more physical courage than the average man, they are unconscionable bullies; they serve the truth, they are psychopathic liars."

They are a hopeless case. Despised by the public they claim to serve. At war with themselves, hardly knowing which of them is bent and which straight. Not even favoured by the

State whose guardians they are, so terrified is it that if policemen are given a decent wage the whole system may come tumbling down. A policeman's lot is not a happy one. The death of the State would not only end our misery, but their's as well.

HARRY HARMER.

ANARCHIST STUDENT CONFERENCE

The anarchist Students Network have circulated the following provisional agenda for the Conference in Exeter on Saturday/Sunday November 5/6:

1. Nuclear Power.
2. How to fight Fascism—is the usual left approach of street fighting the best, or the only, way to fight?
3. Criminal Law Act—now the act (the criminal trespass bill) has been passed, how do we fight it?
4. Propaganda techniques. For the last few years the Left in Britain has been getting stronger, and even the anarchist movement has been growing slowly. How do we put anarchist ideas across to most people for whom politics is a choice between labour and Tories?
5. A practical guide to direct action (or, How do we fight the State). Tactics on demonstrations, squatting and so on.
6. Pacifism vs. violence. Even if we didn't suggest this it would come up. Can a truly anarchist society be achieved by the use of violence? Is violence even justified in self defence. Is violence against property a different thing from violence against people? Make up your own mind and choose your own path, but listen to the arguments.
7. Future co-ordinated action. If the ASN is to be anything more than just a grand sounding name, then we have to be able to mount concerted campaigns—with or without NUS backing. . . .
8. One of the things that will probably come up is 'Why have an ASN at all?'

"Obviously, all the above are just suggestions . . . they aren't timetabled in any way, and the whole conference is flexible. If people arrive on Friday night as we hope they will, then we should have at least a day and a half of discussion to take us through to Sunday dinner time. . . . Even so a day and a half isn't very long. We would prefer this conference to restrict itself to practical matters. . . ."

"Exeter is a small town, the university is easy to find. Hitching is good on the M5. Just follow the M5 till you see the Exeter sign, and you're nearly there. Crash pads will be provided, kip sacs are necessary. . . . Food available but must be paid for. "If you are thinking of coming, please write and let us know."

✓ This item was inadvertently held over from last issue. Because of shortage of time, if you have not already arranged to attend we advise telephoning Exeter Anarchists Collective on Exeter 52857 (Devonshire House, University of Exeter, Stocker Road, Exeter. The comrades hope participants will arrive Friday evening. ✓

CHILDREN



OUR FEATURES on White Lion Street Free School and Kirkdale School continue to be followed by reminders that these are not isolated experiments. In 1974 we were carrying ads, in Contact Column for a proposed free school in Southampton. The Delta Free School tells its continuing story:

'In the summer of 1974... a terraced house, almost a burnt out shell, was found in the Newtown area of Southampton, and after a lot of hard work the school was opened, with four kids, in November '74. The school at present has seven children aged from twelve to fifteen, although numbers change quite often. There are two full time workers, with several part-time helpers. The school is legally independent, it is a trust and is applying for charity status. It is backed by the A S Neill Association, which supports and encourages alternative education nationally, and also by donations from other charitable bodies.

The kids at the Free School have the chance to choose what sort of things they learn. This may range from reading, cooking, or motor cycle maintenance to observing the city and its environment. The school considers that education should be part of the community as a whole, rather than separate. There is no specific time-tableing, so it is the decision of the children as to how they occupy their time. The workers at the school are there to help the kids in what they are doing, to introduce fields of investigation and to provide encouragement, support and friendship. . . .

Everyone who starts at the school has a one month trial period, to find out if we get on together. . . . As part of the group, you are expected to help make and keep any rules that are necessary.

From parents—we welcome any skills you have to offer and your general involvement in the school. We also need a contribution for the cost of dinners each week. . . . From both full and part-time workers we need a deep commitment to the school. Full time workers should commit themselves for at least one year.

At free school children control their own education. Here they are free to grow in their own unique ways. . . . Our education is about children growing up in society... so as to enable them to use their potential as people, to control and influence the events that occur around them. . . . Allowing them the freedom to follow their imagination, forming new ideas and understanding old ones. Delta Free School is the whole nature of learning; something that continues for a lifetime.

If you have something to offer, whether it be yourself, money or equipment, or if you are just interested, please contact us at Delta Free School, 43 Mt. Pleasant Road, Southampton.'

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At the other end of the map, the first issue of Glasgow People's Press devotes its front page to Barrowfield School, set up four years ago by parents who were unhappy about the education

their children were getting in State schooling. They asked people at Jordanhill Teacher Training College to help them set up a community 'free school': "The key to the success of Barrowfield Community School is the way in which everyone is totally involved. The kids themselves help to run the school. A maths lesson is likely to involve doing the school accounts or adding up the cost of their latest fund raising activity. The chance to improve their English comes through writing the Newsletter... The kids are involved in a variety of community projects including the local nursery and play-scheme. Each kid is an individual and there is a lot of emphasis placed on the particular needs of each kid. A high premium is put on finding out what type of work the kids are interested in. . . . job experience on a day release basis included—and finding them a suitable job when they leave school."

But the school faces the same difficulty as White Lion. The authorities (not specified by Glasgow People's Press as other than 'Strathclyde Region') refused to pay for the qualified staff, who had been unable to draw any pay since funds ran out at the end of 1976. "They worked for six months while on the dole, but when the summer came couldn't prolong the situation any longer. The school would have certainly closed if the parents had not stepped in."

The children returned to school after the summer holidays, with their parents as teachers. Anyone wishing and able to offer help or support can get fuller information from Glasgow People's Press, SOURCE Information Service, 57 Allander St. Glasgow, G22 (tel. 336 4341)

CHILDREN

MAKE WASTE SPACE This is the motto of
PLAY SPACE The Action Handbook
just published by the

Fair Play for Children campaign. It is packed with information practical, legal and inspirational about seeking out and acquiring suitable sites or premises for play groups, as well as advice on who to approach for support and how best to do it, and lists of existing organisations that can give help. The handbook costs 50p (post 7p) and can be obtained from Fair Play for Children Campaign, 248 Kentish Town Rd. London NW5. They can also supply leaflets from other organisations doing similar work.



GRUNWICK

The Grunwick Strike Committee is still asking for people to go on Monday mornings. The next BIG mass picket will be Monday, November 7.

BE THERE

F.L.A.G.

The next FLAG meeting will be at 12.00 on Saturday, November 5 (when else?) at Freedom Bookshop.

ANARCHIST FILM COLLECTIVE

POLITICAL FILM making doesn't need to be a militant activity exclusively to assorted Marxists, Women's Groups or Trade Unionists. Anarchists have in the past relied on the written word to disseminate their beliefs and publicise their struggles, but very seldom have they used audio-visual or cinematic technology to mark their presence in society.

In order to remedy this serious lack of activity in the cinematographic field, some London anarchists would like to set up an Anarchist Film Collective, with the aim to produce films (Super 8 or 16 m/m) related to our activities, past and present struggles, etc. . . . If you know about film-making or would like to be involved in this type of activity, please contact Claude, Anarchist Film Collective, c/o Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

CNT cameraman in action at an anarchist meeting in Madrid.



THE ULTIMATE CLOSED SHOP

This continues the debate begun by Claude in the last issue of FREEDOM

WITH PREDICTABLE monotony, the 'super-heroes' of the political world and all the aspiring nobodies of the union bureaucracy have been voicing their opinions on the closed shop issue with varying intensities of bad breath.

Diehard reactionary Conservatives, awash in their crocodile tears over the loss of individual freedom, raise the tattered flag of 'true blue tory' liberty and croak indignantly at the socialists and the union men. The latter retort with gruesome tales of 'parasites' in the workplace; workers who reap the benefit of union activity but keep their wallets tightly closed when it's time to pay their dues.

Beneath all the platitudes and paper-thin facades of both the right and the left, as usual it is vested interest and privilege that rattle the voice boxes.

The Union bosses are all for it; with total monopoly of a strictly regimented work force, their power is only increased, to be used by them to pursue their own poverty-stricken goals to the detriment of the working class. The government is largely for it; so are some bosses and even a few thinking Tories. With all the workers under the thumb of 'King Scanlon' and his cohorts, bargaining and negotiation becomes so much simpler; once agreement is reached, the union chiefs can offer their pacified workforce on a plate... at least until the next round in the annual game of 'Let's-haggle-over-pay' and allied pastimes.

The majority of capitalists are against it because they're more greedy than sensible. They don't see why they should give beads to the natives when they can bash them over the head with a club instead. So they try to thwart the unions at every turn, in a forlorn attempt to cling onto their ill-gotten gains. Ultimately, this breed of boss is doomed to extinction, unless they learn to cooperate with, and accept, the might of the unions.

So where do we, as anarchists, stand in regard to this issue? Unpalatable as it is, we must agree with the staunch Tories and reject legislation to enforce closed shops. It is unacceptable to coerce any individual into a union, or into anything else for that matter, and so attempts to do so must be fought tooth and nail by people who believe personal liberty and freedom to choose is an inalienable right of every human being. Workers who refuse to join unions might very well be parasites, if they do derive benefit from a campaigning union without paying their subs. But parasites have always existed and will exist in whatever society we care to think of. So if they cannot be persuaded to join the union voluntarily, they are best left alone and treated with the contempt they deserve. To enforce membership would be to commit a crime far worse than the sin of being an antisocial individual.

But, the views of the Conservatives which happen to coincide with ours, fail to

But, where the views of the Conservatives happen to coincide with ours, they fail to take their own arguments to the logical conclusion:

They say: 'Why should a worker be forced to pay union dues when he did not want to be a member in the first place?'

We say: 'True, but why should a person pay taxes to the state when he doesn't want to be a member of that either?'

They say: 'Why should an individual be forced to join a union, when he abhors the political direction that union is taking?'

We say: 'True again, but by the same argument, why should a man have to be a member of the state and be ordered around by a government he doesn't want, and his money spent in a way he doesn't like?'

So when people criticise the idea of Trade Union closed shops in industry, let us hear them attack the state with as much vigour and eloquence; for is not the state the greatest closed shop of them all?

D.G.H.

READERS MEETING

COMRADE READERS

A new spirit is in the air. New groups are forming all over the place, viable local federations are appearing. Sniffing these signs FREEDOM girds itself for changes.

Accordingly we are calling a Readers Meeting. Come along with your ideas. If you can't come send a letter (as soon as possible, please)

Some points you might care to comment on:-

- 1) Format. Should we adopt a larger "newspaper" format? If so should this include the revue material?
- 2) Mix of items. What about the current news/revue mix?
- 3) Style. Ever since the original FREEDOM in 1886 the term "not agitational enough" has been bandied about. Comments please. And what do you mean by "agitational"?
- 4) Distribution. Suggestions please.
- 5) Anything you think important.

We would like to draw your attention to last autumn's extended correspondence on the role of FREEDOM.

READERS MEETING

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 19th. 7.30
"ROEBUCK" TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD.



"THIS IS THE BIT THAT MUMMY LOVES."

A CHILD OF OUR TIME

PLEA FOR A PRISONER

HAPOTOC, the international prisoners' help group, has issued the following report:

NOREEN WINCHESTER is a 20-year old girl serving a 7-year sentence in Northern Ireland for killing her father who had been raping her for years.

Noreen, the eldest of a family of 8 children, was born on 19 November 1956. Her home was at 17 Hunter Street, Sandy Row — a Protestant sector of Belfast.

When she was not yet a teenager her mother, an alcoholic, went mad and was put in a mental home. Soon after, she was raped by her father, who was a drunkard. He threatened to kill her—as well as her 4 sisters and 3 brothers—if she told anyone about it. He continued to rape her over the following years, together with two of her sisters, Sandra and Ellen.

Then one evening in the spring of 1976, Noreen and one of her sisters, desperate to end their nightmare, drove a knife into the father's neck, killing him instantly. Terrified at what they had done, they then dragged the body, with the help of 14-year old Norman, one of Noreen's brothers, to a nearby trench, hoping it would appear like a sectarian assassination. But the police soon found out what happened; and Noreen was charged with the murder of Norman Winchester, aged 37.

At her trial early this year, she was found guilty of manslaughter. The judge showed her no sympathy. It is reported that he literally took the father's side, saying of Noreen that 'she had been a willing partner for years' and that 'she had plenty of occasion to tell the police about the incest'. He then sentenced her to 7 years, saying 'This is a court of justice, but it is also a court of mercy; and this is one of the cases I feel this court should lean towards mercy.' But Lord Justice McGonigal—a notorious reactionary—did not show any justice nor mercy so far as Noreen Winchester was concerned. He even tried to cover up his act of injustice and unmercy. For it is also reported that he direct only the bare details of the case be published. And the cowardly

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press in Britain and Ireland have followed the judge's directions. They do 'not want to get involved in a sex case'. And they are afraid that their reporters might be barred from further court proceedings, if they criticise the court and the judge which sentenced Noreen.

This whole case stinks. Noreen Winchester was not a 'willing partner' but a helpless victim. To anyone knowing Ireland, this is very easy to grasp. Children in Ireland are brought up to be absolutely obedient to authority—be it Church or State. Sex is a taboo subject. Sexual drives in children and adolescents are not supposed to exist. Natural sexuality is repressed in the course of growing up. In the Sandy Row area of Belfast incest is common, as is the case also in other ghetto areas, Catholic as well as Protestant. This is only to be expected, since the men and women of these ghettos are sex-repressed emotionally sick individuals—which is one reason why such savage hateful passions abound in such places. These ghetto people turn readily to drink. And since it is almost impossible to have an extra-marital affair without it being publicly known, incest is often the only outlet when marriage partners grow weary of each other. The daughters of such families, like Noreen's, find themselves in a trap. Loyalty to the parents and family as a whole, the habit of keeping up a good front, and innate conditioning to obedience-to-authority backed by threats, all make it impossible for a young girl to ever contemplate exposing her father in the case of incestuous rape. In fact, so far as Noreen is concerned, not alone was she subject to threats from her father, but after his death his relatives threatened to kill her. . . .

Right now, we can all begin helping Noreen by writing* and demand that she be pardoned and freed NOW! And, secondly, we can send a card of support to Noreen Ann Winchester, A1 Wing, Armagh Prison, Armagh, Northern Ireland.

* to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, Whitehall, London SW1. The Northern Ireland Office refused to comment on or even to confirm any of the facts reported or whether any appeal is pending. But since they declined on the grounds that they do not give information on anyone in prison, this can presumably be taken as indication that she is indeed at the present time in prison, HAPOTOC's address is P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, The Netherlands. —EDS.



STOP THAT KANGOUROU



ANTI-NUCLEAR protesters picketed Australia House in London last Saturday afternoon to draw British public attention to shipments of uranium ore to be unloaded this month at Tilbury Docks from the container ships Act One and Kangourou.

These ships were loaded in Australia in a military style operation in which police used violence against anti-uranium demonstrators. According to the latest news from that country 450 persons were arrested last Saturday in Brisbane during more anti-uranium mining protests held in that city. Clashes with the police were also reported in Sydney and Melbourne docks during protests against the shipment to Europe of uranium ore.

All over the Western world people are showing their concern about nuclear policies imposed upon us in the most secretive manner by capitalist governments.

In Europe violent confrontations took place recently between the army and police and demonstrators protesting against the erection of new and more dangerous nuclear power plants.

In Britain the Windscale complex has been up to date free from militant anti-nuclear action, probably because the anti-nuclear movement has been espoused lately by tamed and reformist groups of ecologists and pacifists hoping to change the British Government's deadly nuclear policy by peaceful protests.

Considering that nuclear oblivion is the biggest threat held over our heads by the might State, anarchists in this country should reconsider their passive attitude in relation to the anti-nuclear movement emerging again in Britain.

The fight against the nuclear menace is too important to be left to the care of ecologist and pacifist groups alone. This nuclear danger must be stopped by militant action instead of symbolic poses, as was the case last Saturday in front of Australia House.

Claude.

In Brief

West Germany is prepared to make a "symbolic gesture" in reparation for the bombing of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War. As yet an embassy spokesman "cannot say" what form this will take.

... In Spain the "Anticomunist Apostolic Alliance" has threatened to unleash their Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini and Francisco Franco commandos unless a well-known fascist is released.

... The Shah of Iran has described the recent university disturbances there as "black reaction" and "counter-revolutionary". As we are led to believe that they were instigated by SAVAK (the secret police) he's probably right.

... Chinese students will no longer be required to "go to the countryside" and exams are to regain importance. A recent Peking broadcast says that there is nothing wrong with "relying on experts" if they are performing work or research which cannot be done by the masses.

... Back home "Young National Front" is to apply for membership of the British Youth Council in order to obtain government funds. All major political parties, including the CP, are members. The Front also have a new magazine Bulldog for schoolchildren, who are being encouraged to draw up lists of "Red" teachers.

... A teacher has been reprimanded by the Inner London Education Authority for refusing to take his pupils to "wave at the Queen".

... Precocious Tory brat William Hague was seen in many press photos wearing an "I am a NAFF Freedom Fighter" badge.

... A group of anarchist/feminists in South London have succeeded in getting the Catford branch of Tesco's to withdraw a line of men's underpants which read "Your Friendly Neighbourhood Rapist." The branch manager feels they have "no sense of humour."

... And finally a Danish radio producer has been sacked from his job for setting the story of the Red Army Faction to the music of Beethoven.

STAMMHEIM

Cont. from Page 2

outright disobedience - occupation and vandalism and theft of certain property, for instance, where this has a social, political or moral meaning that is clearly understandable and can attract support and sympathy from parts of the population. Well, obviously these are not new tactics, but what I mean to stress with illegal actions of whatever kind is that, to succeed, they must be able to put their message across in a way that can touch a chord in people. Even if, as they will, they infuriate and "alienate" others.

- In this respect what strikes me about the RAF is their awful solemnity. They have always been like that, at least in public, and may not be able to help it, but it is a real weakness. In a letter in the last issue of FREEDOM B.J. Clifton asks for an exploration of the "idea of lampooning and ridiculing." I agree with him that, if successfully worked out, this could prove irresistible ... any tactic which ridiculises is a powerful one.

What must be hoped for, now that the three last members of the original Stammheim group have been destroyed - and I mean destroyed - is that the RAF will see that the obsession with Stammheim, however natural, and in the circumstances inevitable, means the liquidation of those on both sides of the wall, and that the strategy of opposition must take new directions. Far be it from this writer to offer advice to an organisation for which she has little sympathy - as distinct from respect for the courage and the suffering of individual members - yet, of course, the RAF actions and the heavy response to them, concern us all, and our German comrades in particular, and unless the vicious spiral ends the outlook for anarchism is hardly an optimistic one.

Until now many anarchists, and rightly, have been careful not to get drawn into the hysterical rejection of the RAF displayed by many of the extra-parliamentary left-wing groups. Left wingers have lumped them with the RAF as crudely as any of the establishment papers. (According to a certain SPD person quoted by The Guardian "Marx said in 1878 that anarchists are agents provocateurs of reaction; it is still true today.") On the other hand anarchists have remained critical of the RAF in their own terms. The result is a not unfamiliar one. They are unpopular with everybody, left/right and RAF alike.

This suspicion from both sides tends to reflect the integrity of the anarchist position - one that is difficult but essential to maintain. It also points to the urgent need of anarchists to develop forms of action that are distinctively theirs. The best achievements of anarchism, of the Provos and Kabouters, of Fritz Teufel's APO and of 1968, and of the metropolitan indians today, must not be allowed to disappear without trace. Baader and Ensslin and Raspe, who came so far from these traditions, are dead. We shall remember them, we may learn from them; we cannot follow.

GAIA



LEGAL SCIENCE

Dear Friends,

Many people have stated in recent times that anarchism—used here as a generic term—is the subject of renewed interest. As a political theory for a given sort of social organisation, anarchism has been described, lauded and criticised in a wide variety of ways. One aspect, however, has received very little attention, namely the relation between anarchism and legal sciences. People such as Elzbacher in the past and Cättepoel in our day have done excellent work in this field, but a great deal of research still needs to be undertaken. It is for this reason that the Constitutional Law Section of the Social Sciences Faculty at the Erasmus University in Rotterdam intends to tackle the subject and if possible to bring about some advances in this field. A modest research project has been set up entitled "anarchism and legal sciences", and consideration is also being given to organising a conference or seminar on this subject to take place in the autumn of 1978.

We are taking as our basic premise the statement that anarchism has both a too naive and a too limited view of the law. It is too naive in supposing that "bourgeois" or socialistic law would allow itself to be dispensed with without more ado and too limited in concentrating in general on the imperative concept of law and in particular on criminal law. Quite apart from this, anarchism gives the impression of having a set and preconceived view of the law of contract (Proudhon) and custom (Kropotkin). The above can be reduced to three questions:

- What criticism does anarchism make of the law?
 - Does anarchism have a set and preconceived view of the law?
 - If so, what can legal sciences do about anarchism's preconceived view of the law?
- It is to answering these questions that we shall be directing our studies.

Since it is not our intention that the work should be done in isolation, we should be grateful to know whether the relation between anarchism and legal sciences is also being studied elsewhere and if so, how. It may be possible to devise some means of cooperating with or participating in our project. We shall be pleased to supply further information on request. Anyone interested should contact me at the Constitutional Law Section of the Social Sciences Faculty at the Erasmus University, Postbus 1738, Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

Thom Holterman.

CLOSED SHOP

Dear Freedom,

However much I can sympathise with Claud's experiences under fascism, I feel that he could be over reacting to the closed shop in Britain.

Accepting the present bureaucratic state of British trade unions, I can see how the closed shop guarantees income and status for these incumbents and 'deflects from their [the T.U.'s] origins as expressions of workers' power. But this state of affairs, although maintained by, is not established by closed shops, since most unions I've come across are extremely beuacratic and based on (largely inactive) geographic branches.

Being (I think) aware of the dangers of the closed shop I can see how a voluntary 'grass roots' agreement on the basis of factories is acceptable so that in the event of a strike the workers suffer the least possible hardship (this is the argument I hear for the closed shop) and also that the only plausible alternative that I can think of—occupation—has been outlawed by the criminal trespass law.

The workers now have the choice of fighting the forces of the law or establishing a closed shop to retain their industrial muscle. I think this has to be explained when opposing the closed shop.

I have only worked in small anti-union or open shops so I would like to hear an opinion from anarchists already working in a closed shop situation and (if possible) practical alternatives.

I.W.

Fraternally,
Jeremy Gould

BRISTOL. Anyone interested in forming group contact Bob, Flat 4, 14 Westfield Park, Redland, Bristol.

Press Fund

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FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME new, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next issue (No.22) is MONDAY 7 NOVEMBER

No charge is made for use of the Contact Column. All items for insertion must however arrive by the above date—and if possible earlier. Frequently valuable publicity for events is lost by comrades not taking into account our fortnightly schedule.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is THURSDAY 10 NOVEMBER. Come and help from 2pm onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to 8 pm for informal get together while folding FREEDOM or despatching.)

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, Newadd Caerlaan, Victoria Terrace, Aberystwyth

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

CAMBRIDGE, Raphael Salkie, Queens' College, Cambridge.

CORBRY Anarchist write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY write John England, 48 Spencer Avenue, Earlsdon, Coventry.

DORKING Libertarian group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodwyn, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814)

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

EXETER Anarchist Society, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, University of Exeter

LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa

LEEDS, Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7

LEICESTER, c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester.

MANCHESTER contact Al on 061 224 3028

NEWCASTLE anarchist group, 91 Beaconsfield St., Arthur's Hill, Newcastle NE4 5JN

OXFORD, Martin Harper, Keble College

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

READING University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, University of Reading

SHEFFIELD (1) Tikka, 4 Havelock Square, (2) Anarchists-Situationists, Flat 1, 1 Victoria Road, Sheffield S10.

THAMES VALLEY, Adele Dawson, Maymeade 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974)

WESTON-super-Mare, Anyone interested in forming group contact Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road, Weston-s.-Mare, Somerset.

LONDON FEDERATION of Anarchist Groups: Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper TOLLINGTON Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533).

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N5 (tel. 359 4794—before 8 pm).

Brixton Anarcho-Situationists, 8 Heywood House, Tulse Hill, SW2 (tel. 674 6402)

Clapham, 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961)

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Rd., E.6. (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St., Angel Alley, E.1. (tel. 247 9249).

Hackney Anarchists—contact Dave 249 7042

Kingston Libertarians, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564).

London Workers Group, Box W. 182 Upper St. N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only): Desmond Hunter, 4-Swinton Street, WC1.

South London College, Knights Hill, West Norwood (tel. 674 7886).
Zero tel. 555 6287.

KENT ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Canterbury: (1) Steve Dawe, 12 Claremont Place, Wincheap, Canterbury; (2) University: Dave Norman, Univ. of Kent Anarchist Group
Keynes College, Univ. of Kent, Canterbury.
Sevenoaks: Jim Enderby, 70 Bradbourne Road, Sevenoaks.

MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION: Sec.

Louise Crane, 13 Arden Terrace, Braunstone, Leicester (tel. c/o Sid & Pat Leicester 864511)

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION

6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (387516)

(monthly mtgs., newsletter.)

ANARCHIST STUDENTS NETWORK for information write Exeter University Anarchists (Exeter group)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen: Mike c.o A.P.P. 167 King St. (tel. 29669). Also for Dundee, Fife, Edinburgh.
Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St., G.22 (tel. 336-7895) Also for Port Glasgow and Stirling.

International

AUSTRALIA:

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Rd., Pialligo, ACT 2809.

New South Wales: (see Sydney)

Sydney: Fed. of Aust. Anarchists, Box 97, Broadway, 2007 Australia. / Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst 2010. / Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books, 417 King St., NEWTOWN, N.S.W.

Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists c/o SRC, La Trobe Univ., Bundoora, Vic. 3083.
Libertarian Soc. Fed. of Aust. c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073.

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted via P.O. Box 2052 Auckland
P.O. Box 22-607 Christchurch
International Books, 128 Willis St., Wellington
Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin.

U.S.A.

New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, G.P.O. New York City NY 10012
SRAF/Freespace: 339 Lafayette Street, New York City, NY 10012

MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 370, Columbia, MO. 65201.

SAN FRANCISCO: Free Socialist, P.O. Box 1 1751, San Francisco, CA. 94101.

EUROPE

Denmark, Anarkist-Synd. Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, DK 1455 Copenhagen.

Germany: (Anarchist Federation of Baden)
ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwabisch Hall, Germany.

Meetings

EXETER 5/6 November. Nat. Conference Anarchist Students Network, in Devonshire House, Univ. of Exeter, Stocker Rd., Exeter. Try to arrive Friday evening (reception desk Devonshire House from 7 pm). If you have not already arranged attendance with ASN, please telephone in advance Exeter 52857.

ABERDEEN 5/6 November, Scottish Lib. Fed. conference. Public sessions on Welfare State sexism, unions and autonomy, Guy Fawkes &c. Contact Aberdeen group.

LONDON 5 November F.L.A.G. mtg. at Freedom Press 12 noon

MANCHESTER 6 November "Revolution needs a revolutionary army—or does it?" Discussion-debate on 60th anniv. of Russian Rev. 8.30 pm sharp, '68 Club (West Indian Sports Club, Westwood House, Moss Side, Manchester 14. Adm. 35p.

AT EASE—Counselling service for military personnel needs new counsellor in London for Thursday evening sessions. A training session for new counsellors takes place Saturday 29 October. Anybody interested contact At Ease, c/o 1 Elgin Ave., London W9 or phone (01)-870 5996.

LEFT WITHOUT MARX? Libertarians interested in a study group on Marx contact Left Without Marx, 15 Marcham Rd. London E11 3LE

Desires

I'm looking for a room in a shared house, in South London. Man, aged 25. Please contact Freedom, Box M.

BELFAST. For a Belfast anarchist contact: B.A.C., c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (correspondence only).

PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES libertarian group. Enquiries c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1 90X.

ANARCHIST GAY LIB group—to put anarchist ideas across within the gay movement. Anyone interested in forming such a group contact Alan Bray, Flat D, 23 Gt. James St., London WC1 (tel. 405 8850 Fri. evngs./weekends).

Literature

NEW from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications c/o Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd. London N1 90X: *The Tay Bridge Disaster*: 3 Poems by Wm. McGonagall. Profusely illustrated. 50p (10p post). Usual terms to the trade. Read the Awful Truth!

GLASGOW PEOPLE'S PRESS (nos. 1 & 2, 10p + post) holds regular libertarian forums Tuesdays. Contact through Glasgow group.

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ANARCHIST ANCESTOR

WILLIAM GODWIN has never really received a balanced treatment—considering him for what he really was as a writer and thinker, either from the anarchists or from their opponents, and this, I have always felt, was because the conclusions he reached in *Political Justice* put him very much out of sympathy with his time, which after all was the end of the eighteenth century, and yet do not fit very neatly into the pattern of anarchism as it developed during the later nineteenth century. If one judges him merely on his rejection of government, Godwin approximates to the classic definition of the anarchist. But his extreme distrust of any kind of social organization that seemed to limit personal autonomy prevented him from exploring with much enterprise those variant patterns of co-operation and mutual aid which the classic anarchists, from Proudhon through to Kropotkin and down to the present day, have developed to present a theoretical and to some extent a practical alternative to authoritarian conceptions of government.

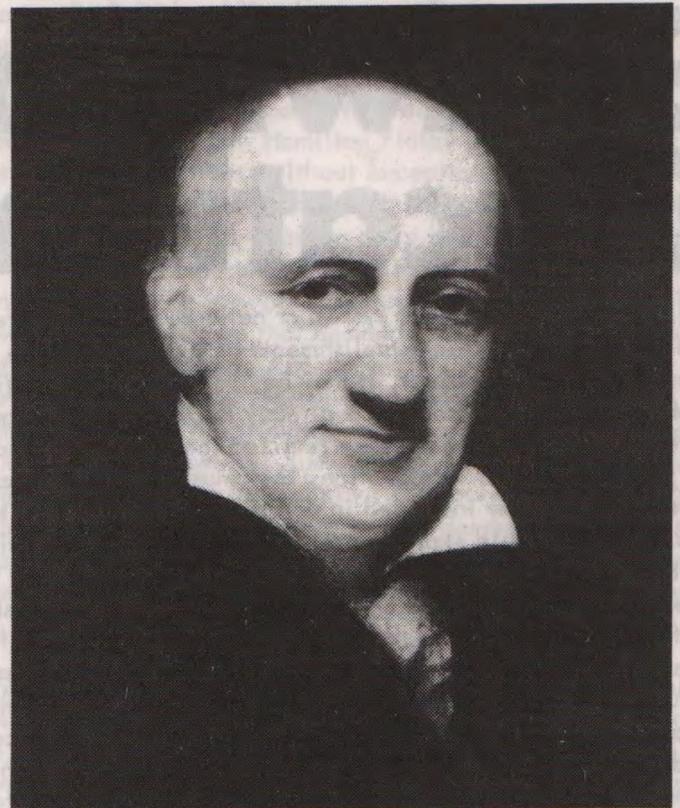
Of the anarchists themselves, Proudhon mentioned Godwin but in a way which suggested that he did not read him. Kropotkin was probably the first actually to read him, but in doing so he tended to emphasize the aspects of Godwin that came nearest to his own anarchist communism and to ignore the rest. Later anarchists have acknowledged Godwin as a kind of ancestor but have been rightly critical of his failure either to develop a model of the co-operative society or seriously to consider how to achieve the revolutionary changes needed for society to abandon both the state and the capitalist system by which property-owners exploit the wealth of others, a system of which Godwin was unusually conscious for an eighteenth century man. The modern anarchists most attracted to Godwin have in fact been men rather like him—writers sharing the interests in literary creation that made Caleb Williams a minor classic among English novels, and sharing also—largely for artistic reasons—Godwin's distrust of movements and organizations. Here and there individual anarchists were attracted to Godwin for special reasons—Herbert Read, for example, because of the sketch of a libertarian form of education which Godwin developed in *The Enquirer*, but on the whole he has seemed as remote from the movement in our time as his elaborate periodic prose seems from the language of contemporary anarchist propaganda. That is unfortunate, for there are some libertarian arguments nobody has ever put so well as Godwin did. I doubt, for example, if anywhere in anarchist literature there exists a better concise exposé of the role of the state in education than Godwin made in *Political Justice*.

If anarchists tend to have neglected Godwin—as they neglect Tolstoy—because he does not fit neatly in the mutualist-communist progression that runs from Proudhon to Kropotkin and beyond, other political thinkers have been inclined to misunderstand him completely, so that reasonably sympathetic non-libertarian discussions of his work, like that in H.N. Brailsford's *Shelley, Godwin and their Circle*, have been rare indeed. Godwin's thinking is unacceptable to conservatives, liberals and state socialists alike, and the apologists of such schools have not neglected to misrepresent his view and to make heavy use of the *argumentum ad hominem* through bringing up such ambivalent aspects of his conduct as were revealed in his relationship with Shelley.

§

All this makes John P. Clark's *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin* both an unusual and a welcome book, since what Clark sets out to do is to study Godwin's writings for what they say, without attempting to distort in order to suit any ideological stance of his own and without dragging in biographical arguments of dubious relevance. In the process he destroys many of the accusations of inconsistency, while at the same time he shows how Godwin's position was constantly weakened by his

extreme individualism, which prevented him from supplementing a successfully destructive criticism of existing political systems—and of any any imaginable political system—with an alternative social model based on an understanding of the natural affinities that shape human relations.



Clark begins with a discussion of Godwin's philosophical bases, and shows convincingly that, even though the conclusions Godwin reaches were distant from those of Jeremy Bentham, he still fits squarely in the utilitarian tradition, with its goal of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'. What he fails to analyse in this context is Godwin's place in the English dissenting tradition, which really explains why he carried utilitarian arguments to a different end than the authoritarian Bentham; if Godwin had not been reared as a Sandemanian, with the extreme emphasis on the autonomy of individual judgment which that sect proclaimed, he might very well not have become the great proto-anarchist he was.

One aspect of Godwin that Clark discusses at considerable length is his necessitarianism—or determinism as later thinkers would term it. I have always found it very hard to understand how a doctrine by which all our actions are determined by circumstances that have gone before can allow for the autonomy of judgment, which implies freedom of choice, and even Godwin was obviously puzzled, for in his later writings he stressed the fact that we are all—whatever our beliefs—intensely conscious all our lives of possessing the freedom of will, and—with what one can hardly define as other than sophistry—he grants that the illusion of freedom is itself a factor in the pattern of necessity. Godwin, of course, was not the only anarchist to be caught up in the logical maze of necessitarian thinking; perhaps we are fortunate in the late twentieth century to live after the existentialists made their powerful critique of determinism.

Clark proceeds from Godwin's philosophical premises to examine his political thinking, drawing not only on *Political Justice* but also on later and minor works, showing in a very interesting way how Godwin's

thought constantly evolved and amended itself, so that what we really have to consider is never a static body of doctrine. Finally, he compares Godwin's arguments with those of later anarchists, whose work he had read with care and understanding, and he concludes that anarchism, in its theoretical evolution, has in fact moved away from the flaws which Godwin's extreme individualism inevitably introduced into his teaching.

I have not read an account of Godwin's teachings that does more justice to them while remaining soundly critical, or that more clearly relates his thought to the anarchist tradition without assuming any historical link until recent times. *The Philosophical Anarchism of William Godwin* is in fact unrivalled as a modern exposition of Godwinism that takes into account the whole of his writings, and so shows him as an evolving thinker. Libertarian readers can ask for no better or fairer a discussion of the most important ancestor of anarchism.

GEORGE WOODCOCK.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL ANARCHISM OF WILLIAM GODWIN by John P. Clark. (Princeton and Guildford: The Princeton University Press £ 12.50)

Godwin on Education

The injuries that result from a system of national education are, in the first place, that all public establishments include in them the idea of permanence. They endeavour, it may be, to secure and to diffuse whatever of advantageous to society is already known, but they forget that more remains to be known. If they realized the most substantial benefits at the time of their introduction, they must inevitably become less and less useful as they increased in duration. But to describe them as useless is a very feeble expression of their demerits. They actively restrain the flights of mind, and fix it in the belief of exploded errors. It has frequently been observed of universities, and extensive establishments for the purpose of education, that the knowledge taught there is a century behind the knowledge which exists among the unshackled and unprejudiced members of the same political community. The moment any scheme of proceeding gains a permanent establishment, it becomes impressed, as one of its characteristic features, with an aversion to change. Some violent concussion may oblige its conductors to change an old system of philosophy for a system less obsolete; and they are then as pertinaciously attached to this second doctrine as they were to the first. Real intellectual improvement demands that mind should, as speedily as possible, be advanced to the height of knowledge already existing among the enlightened members of the community, and start from thence in the pursuit of further acquisitions. But public education has always expended its energies in the support of prejudice; it teaches its pupils, not the fortitude that shall bring every proposition to the test of examination, but the art of vindicating such tenets as may chance to be established.

The idea of national education is founded in an inattention to the nature of mind. Whatever each man does for himself is done well; whatever his neighbours or his country undertake to do for him is done ill. It is our wisdom to incite men to act for themselves, not to retain them in a state of perpetual pupillage. He that learns because he desires to learn will listen to the instructions he receives, and apprehend their meaning. He that teaches because he desires to teach will discharge his occupation with enthusiasm and energy. But the moment political institution undertakes to assign to every man his place, the functions of all will be discharged with supineness and indifference. Universities and expensive establishments have long been remarked for formal dullness.

...the project of a national education ought uniformly to be discouraged on account of its obvious alliance with national government. This is an alliance of a more formidable nature than the old and much contested alliance of church and state. Before we put so powerful a machine under the direction of so ambiguous an agent, it behoves us to consider well what it is that we do. Government will not fail to employ it, to strengthen its hands, and perpetuate its institutions. If we could even suppose the agents of government not to propose to themselves an object which will be apt to appear in their eyes not merely innocent, but meritorious; the evil would not the less happen. Their views as institutors of

a system of education will not fail to be analogous to their views in their political capacity: the data upon which their conduct as statesmen is vindicated will be the data upon which their instructions are founded. It is not true that our youth ought to be instructed to venerate the constitution, however excellent; they should be led to venerate truth; and the constitution only so far as it corresponds with their uninfluenced deductions of truth. Had the scheme of a national education been adopted when despotism was most triumphant, it is not to be believed that it could have for ever stifled the voice of truth. But it would have been the most formidable and profound connivance for that purpose that imagination can suggest. Still, in the countries where liberty chiefly prevails, it is reasonably to be assumed that there are important errors, and a national education has the most direct tendency to perpetuate those errors, and to form all minds upon one model.

—from *Political Justice*.

Deserts on Earth

ON AUGUST 29 this year, scarcely noticed by the media or the revolutionary press, a conference began in Nairobi about the continued spread of the deserts which is accelerating and could threaten the future of about six hundred million people. This is not a new problem—it is as old as power-structured urban society itself. Chinese civilisation thousands of years ago created perennial problems of flooding by denuding nearly all its high land of cover. The granary of the Roman Empire was North Africa, and as the wealth in the form of grain gravitated towards Rome the area of desert greatly increased. In ancient times Mesopotamia and many other places repeated the pattern. Apart from the use of wood as fuel, large areas of forest were felled not to smelt iron for ploughshares but to manufacture weapons to arm the competing power structures. Today of course this powering is done by declining quantities of fossil fuel fuels; the trees are now destroyed to provide the mountains of paper required by the swollen bureaucracies of the modern oligarchies who largely assault the mind in order to continue their rule.

PHYSICAL POWER

Mankind has acquired physical power that has increased his impact on the environment many times; in addition the growth of population with its concentration into larger and larger urban areas places a greater and greater strain on the granaries of the earth without the return necessary to sustain those areas. The comparative damage that can be done to people and the environment by the tank as opposed to the horse, and the bulldozer to the machete, when harnessed to power-structured society is now becoming so evident that even those in power are becoming uneasy. But they still would like to think that such structures can be retained without the consequences.

TRANSPORTS OF DEATH

Until the growth of mass transport many small civilisations existing in semi-arid areas of the earth where they had achieved a relationship with their environment that gave them a viable but hard existence, had escaped the notice and attention of the expanding civilizations of the West with their unsavoury mixture of Christian ethics and commerce, epitomised at its height by Victorian Britain, so sure of its intellectual and moral superiority. There was never such an arrogant or hypocritical society. The missionaries went forth to tamper with the life styles of strange peoples, the merchants followed, supported by the soldiers, and in many cases they departed leaving an unhappy mess. Not only did the Europeans of the Victorian era leave a larger, more poverty-stricken population, but they destroyed the infrastructure of community life and left behind a native political leadership thoroughly Europeanised in its attitudes. The number of communities unaffected by the dominant cultures grows smaller. In spite of the pretence that European Christian capitalism stands for sturdy individualism the tendency is towards worldwide uniformity. Earlier this year there was a book published called *Pilgrims in a Strange Land: Hausa Communities in Chad*, by John A Works, jr. (Columbia University Press, \$18.75). Chad is an area in which the march of the deserts has been particularly spectacular. The Hausa have always mixed missionary zeal (in this case of a Muslim flavour) with merchandising. As the author says on page 169 of the book:

The association of pilgrimages and some form of commercial activity is well documented. The focus of public piety became a center for buying and selling as well, whether it was in Benares, Compostella, Rome, Jerusalem or Mecca. Merchants, traders and peddlers flocked to these markets, where a wide assortment of products reflected the diversity of the assembly. From a trade which probably found its base in the sale of souvenirs and provisions, a much larger commerce

(cont pg 14)

THE SOVIET UNION —

sixty years on

THE BOSS CLASS is faced with one eternal problem. How to increase labour productivity. They see the answer in ever bigger factories employing more and more workers servicing the ever-longer conveyor belts.

For the worker - boring, repetitive and meaningless operations. Alienated from the commodity he produces (he probably never sees the finished product) and alienated from his own labour he becomes, to use Marx's celebrated phrase, the mere "appendage of the machine".

I admit I have not said anything particularly original. These ideas are the common knowledge of the libertarian left who see them realized in the majority of industrial disputes, which are not about wages increases but about workers demanding the right to be treated as people.

The "managing" of alienated workers was first tackled seriously by the capitalists in the America of the 1930s. Frederick Taylor produced his "theory of compliance", arguing for measures that would identify the workers' interests with management interests. Taylorism introduced time and motion study, and piece-rate payment. Workers everywhere saw it as symbolic of intensified capitalist exploitation.

In Detroit the "Hawthorn Experiment" went further in making the workers "happier", and hence more productive. Work times were varied, flowers were put on the work benches, factory colour schemes changed, informal groupings encouraged within the existing management structure.

Since the Second World War "alienation" problems have caused up to 90 per cent of all disputes. Only a stupid employing class could ignore this, and hence the mass of "industrial relations" legislation combined with the creation and rapid expansion of social science faculties in universities, the vast army of "social workers" and "social scientists" employed by the state and the private employer class.

As opposed to the West, where "human relations" have always been openly discussed, even if in a disguised form, the Soviet Union has claimed to be "socialist", to have eliminated class struggle, and hence to be free of these "capitalist" social problems.

On 19th July "Soviet News", organ of the Press Department of the Soviet Embassy in London, printed an article authorized by the Soviet Trade Union Central Council, entitled "Tackling the Problems of the Conveyor Belt". The article breaks with the established "party line" for it admits that Soviet workers are alienated, and reaches an all time record for absurdity in its claim that Soviet sociologists are solving the problem - by the extension of piecework!

The article reports that "monotonous and meaningless work" on the assembly line is creating serious personnel problems, especially with young workers who are "the best educated in the history of the Soviet Union". Steps have been taken to eliminate monotony by integrating operations, alternating jobs and rhythms and playing functional music. But in spite of these "socialist measures", the workers are still unhappy. There is a need to "basically change the organization of work on the assembly line".

STOP-WATCH WATCH MAKING

About ten years ago the First Moscow Watch Factory abolished the assembly line and introduced piece-work. Immediately production increased by 30 per cent, but this was incidental. More important the "shift to individual work" appears to be a blueprint for solving the contradictions of the "relations in production".

The eulogy to piece-work is so ridiculous, so pathetic that I must quote or I'll be accused of exaggeration:

"The shift to individual work has increased the possibilities for solving many social problems. The assembly workers themselves plan their working time. Each of them works at a tempo that suits her best. If a worker gets tired, she can take a rest without it affecting the progress of continuous operations. In addition, the individual regulation of the working rhythm removes the problem of monotony as well. Finally, it eliminates the compulsory nature of the work."

PARTY LINES ON ASSEMBLY LINES

Sixty years ago the Bolsheviks were rather touchy about piece-work. Taylorism had been described by the pre-revolutionary Lenin as "the enslavement of man by the machine". But having established their dictatorship, the Bolshevik leaders were soon openly adopting capitalist management techniques. A few months after his seizure of state power Lenin argued that "only the de-classed petty bourgeois intelligentsia does not understand the chief difficulty for socialism is guaranteeing the discipline of labour."

On 3rd April 1918 the Central Council of Trade Unions decreed that the "threat of economic disintegration" obliged them to apply "all efforts to raise labour productivity, maintain labour discipline and to fix norms for every category of worker based on the use of piece rates". The following June all major industry was nationalized; the decree saw the state as the main employer and all labour as "social service". "Controlled" piece-rates were no longer an emergency measure but the most rational method of payment. In August 1924 the Party Congress passed a resolution calling for "an extensive use of incentive forms of wage payments by the introduction of direct and unrestricted remuneration

of labour by piece-rates."

This resolution was passed by the tiniest of majorities reflecting the ambivalent feelings of the rank and file to the overt use of capitalist management techniques. Opposition to the Bolsheviks increased intensely in the years that followed as evidenced by the repeated government attacks on "labour wreckers" during Stalin's dictatorship. In the mid-1930s *Pravda* and *Izvestiya* were full of stories about secret opposition cells organising resistance to "Stakhanovite" methods, i.e. intensified work and payment by results.

So the campaign for piece-work is by no means new to the Soviet economic system. What is new is its being offered as a "solution" to a now admitted problem of worker alienation. The article suggests that the Soviets are tackling their "social problems" in much the same way as Western capitalism: "The staff of the department for scientific organization of labour includes a factory sociologist. Lectures on social psychology and the sociology of labour are being given for executives. The high level of mechanization and automation is matched by an equally high level of sociological research, which is helping to solve the social problems of production."

The Soviet bosses are dropping all pretence of representing a "different" society.

BOB POTTER.



ARTHUR MOYSE

"AND SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE RANKS AND FILES I SAY LET US THANK OUR LEADERS BY SINGING THE CONFERENCES HYMN, 'O PROMISE ME.'"

Italy

IN THE Italian monthly *A—Rivista Anarchica* (August/September 1977) P.F. takes a nostalgic look back fifteen years, at one kidnapping with a good outcome. The article is here paraphrased by S.B.

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ON THE MORNING of the 28 September 1962 the Spanish vice-consul in Milan, Isu Elias, was kidnapped by four young Italian anarchists. This was the first politically motivated kidnapping in Italy, specifically against Franco's fascist regime in Spain. It was carried out in an attempt to save the life of Conill Vallas, sentenced to death after being found guilty on charges relating to bombings in Barcelona in which there were no casualties, only property was destroyed. Other courses of action such as demonstrations, and even trying to have the Archbishop of Milan send a telegram to Franco appealing for a pardon, had failed. So these young men, who had in fact met Conill Vallas (and two other comrades sentenced for 30 years in the same trial) in Spain that year, took direct action against the Spanish state. Inside two days of the kidnapping Conill Vallas was pardoned and the two other comrades had their sentences commuted to 20 years. (All three are now free.)

want to shake the passivity of the German working class by a series of acts of civil war; terrorism will bring repression in its train; the State



THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

A look at the reporting of terrorism & kidnapping

Almost as importantly, at the ensuing trial in Milan (three of the kidnapers were caught within two weeks, the fourth got into the courtroom on day one of the trial and presented himself) the press came out (mostly) in sympathy with the anarchists and their cause, due to the obvious injustice of the Spanish government and in view of the exemplary way the hostage had been treated. Consequently they were only sentenced to seven months. Moreover, anti-Francoist feeling grew, with many demonstrations against the regime, the anarchist movement was given free propaganda and was reanimated, and some of the groups that sprang up then were the ones that exploded in 1968.

It was altogether a very successful example of direct action, showing what can be done to save the lives and further the cause of those who fight against repressive states.

France

OUR COMRADES of the French federation have achieved their aim of publishing *Le Monde Libertaire* weekly (8pp, 3F) instead of monthly. Much patient work and generous support over the past year have gone into this labour of love. It seems a pity that the impact of the weekly anarchist paper on public sale should be lessened by devoting the whole, large format front page to a recapitulation of this effort and appeals for continued support. Whereas what non-anarchist readers want to learn from an anarchist paper appears on the back page: This is an anarchist interpretation of the manoeuvrings of the ruling coalition and of the uneasily allied opposition as exhibited in their recent conferences; and a statement in bold type "Terrorism in the R.F.A. (Red Army Fraction)".

A number of anarchist papers currently publish features on this subject, of which the *Monde Libertaire* is outstanding in refusing anarchist influence and connection to the RAF, commenting that 'the French press has commented profusely on the Schleyer affair but seems to have given up adding the epithet "anarchist" to the terrorism of the RAF'. The article, by Jean Barrau, continues 'The fate of the Bubacks and the Schleyers leaves anarchists indifferent but they state that "urban guerrilla" looks more and more like a settlement of account at the top, between military high commands. The RAF has never concealed its aim: Taking its inspiration from more or less well learned lessons from Lenin, Trotsky, Mao and Che Guevara and the example of the Tupamaros, they

becoming more and more a police-state, there will be a stronger and stronger popular reaction. . . and the nucleus of professional revolutionaries will have every reason to hope.' Jean Barrau describes this as 'the infantile strategy of fanatical theoreticians who do not understand that terrorism is efficacious only when supported by popular agitation, a wave of strikes and confrontations between the working class and the forces of the State' whereas the real situation is that the average German, manipulated by the press and television, harassed by the deployment of the police forces, feels directly menaced by the Baader-Meinhof group and sees terrorism as Public Enemy No.1. As evidence of this he cites a public opinion poll which showed 79 per cent of the population finding the government too "soft"; 60 per cent deciding that that the government should not liberate terrorists in order to save hostages' lives; and 67 per cent in favour of reintroducing the death penalty for terrorists. The summing up again attributes the origins of such groups to Leninism which desires to take away the power of the State—only to instal a new dictatorship; and predicts that although whatever the outcome of the Schleyer affair the Schmidt government will not survive it, without a popular uprising it will be followed by 'strong government' and an increasing tendency to fascism and the police state. 'The courage and spirit of sacrifice of the RAF do not suffice, in our eyes, to excuse their lack of political awareness.'

In contrast, *Monde Lib* is unequivocal in its solidarity with the group who set off an explosion causing considerable damage at a quarry producing cement for the nuclear reactor of Malville. Besides reporting the expected reactions of the Isere chamber of commerce and of *Ordre Nouveau* (a fascist-type political grouping) the article, by Bernard Lanza, castigates the Left as exemplified by the CGT (General Confederation of Trade Unions, under communist influence) and the Communist Party, closely enough followed by *Force Ouvriere*, for their denunciations of the anti-nuclear activists. The CGT chastises the 'retrograde ideas' which result in appeals for the destruction of Malville and Bernard Lanza says, 'An act of sabotage, which aims at halting or at least delaying the construction of this insane fast-breeder reactor, an act of sabotage which attacks solely material while respecting the integrity of persons, putting no life in danger—of this we can not but approve, and we declare ourselves wholly in solidarity with the anti-nuclear militants who have claimed responsibility for it.'

ALSO FROM PARIS comes *Front Libertaire*, which started life as the organ of the OAR (Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists) and which

over the few years as well as progressing to a much more professional production of its journal has changed its name (like the British ORA), and Front Libertaire is now the organ of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire. It has always concentrated largely on industrial struggles, but has widened its horizon to include anti-nuclear power, alternative energy, feminism, and the other fields covered by the 'revolutionary left'.

The current issue (10-25 October) gives extensive space to a manifesto appearing over the name of Noyaux Armée pour l'Autonomie Populaire, presented without editorial comment. NAPAP ascribes its naissance (helped by recruits from defunct Maoist groups) to disillusion with the fragmentation and inactivity of the left in France and dissipation of the impetus of 1968 and to an assessment of the Italian left: —on the one side, the French left drowned in innumerable sterile ideological quarrels; on the other side of the Alps a certain part of the extreme left which had developed within itself a militant experience rich in strategic lessons; for the first time within 'European leftism' the need for a real anti-capitalist strategy triumphed over senseless ideological discussion. . .

In a highly articulate document they list the crimes of the state and the capitalists not only within the factories but in housing where property speculators gobble up the old districts, where police repeatedly evict squatters ('Is the solution for them to take refuge in hard drugs or the pacifism of despair? The Molotov cocktail is sometimes a more convincing argument...'); high rents, fuel and entertainment prices, the young joint-smokers and delinquents on whom the terrorism of the State and capitalism impose a panoply of drugs (e.g. alcohol &c) to support morale in dreary work etc.

Their first priority is the building of workers' autonomy. Not, they state, by creating numerous NAPAP groups centrally directed but by plunging into the dynamic of the movement, not to seek to take the lead, to be the armed sector of any party whether such violent action receives applause or cat-calls. They claim the 'execution' of the 'boss's policeman' Tramoni in answer to the killing of the worker Overney and several attacks on the proerty of motor car manufacturers. They eschew being a new 'Baader group', having assessed the 'politico-military practices abroad which lead the "specialist" combatants into a solitary and suicidal struggle against the apparatus of the modern state', but the use of the rifle or the P38 remains the sole argument of resistance and attack that the multinationals and the bosses can never "recuperate"... And they promise that should the Left of the "common programme" find itself the next government, NAPAP will combat the future rulers of a State capitalism with the same arms that they use against the liberal capitalism of Giscard.

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Fronte Libertaire in publishing the announcement of the weekly Monde Libertaire wishes success to the comrades of the F.A. while hoping that it will be more lively than the monthly and above all will implicate itself more in the class struggle. How many workers involve themselves in struggles of groups such as NAPAP? The workers also may be indifferent to the fate of the Bubacks and the Schleyers, not shocked by the 'execution' of a 'flic privé' or upset at plastic bombs at their workplaces so long as it doesn't cause them to lose wages. But surely the experience of the RAF, the SLA, the IRA, and countless others shows that they are not convinced by the actions of minority groups acting on their behalf by such means?

North America

WE HAVE new issues of those excellent North American papers, Open Road (issue 4, Fall 1977) and Fifth Estate (Vol. 12 no. 9 August 1977).

Open Road contains a piece on "Italy, The streets are up for grabs". This examines the turmoil of the year and looks to a resurgence now that the summer holidays are over. The spontaneous outbursts are chronicled sympathetically.

Unlike '68, the new movement has accepted no leaders and no mediation by political organisations, even those of the Ultra-Left (which includes the anarchists).

Yet, to conclude, the writer quotes A—Rivista Anarchia:

The autonomia have some hard political decisions ahead. They need to get organised (maybe federated, is a better word) and they need to decide on some political goals, their own attempt at a political programme involving self-management of the universities was stillborn and the occupation ended.

Another piece covers the Carter administration's policy for defusing guerilla activities. 'Gone is the Nixonian brand of sensationalism, which, after all, only tended to draw the public's attention to the why's and wherefores of guerillaism.' The article looks in particular at the way the authorities have played down the activities of the urban guerilla George Jackson Brigade, which, it is said, has begun to project and 'increasingly anti-elitist, non-rhetorical, non-vanguardist and non-dogmatic consciousness with clear pro-feminist and pro-gay positions'. The piece also reports the new regime at Walla Walla State prison and wonders, along with the prisoners, which promises the new, liberal administration will choose to keep.

A piece is devoted to the wave of pie attacks, as individuals take up the heroic lead of the Youth International Party, the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho Marxist) and the Revolutionary Three Stooges Brigade. Open Road and Yipster Times are calling for an International Week of Piery, November 4-11.

A review in the same issue criticises a film, "The California Reich" which 'while certainly not a pro-Nazi film, does not really confront Nazism'. The makers, apparently, tried to produce 'an objective account of contemporary American fascism, unfettered by editorial comments or opposing viewpoints. The reality of the Nazis would make "The Californian Reich" objectively anti-fascist'; which seems similar to Martin Walker's book The National Front. Under the headline 'Don't watch fascism; fight it', the writer has no doubts about necessary tactics. 'Just note that during the recent battles between English anti-fascists and the fascist National Front, thousands of police rallied around in defence of the Front. One should also note that the English comrades stopped the fascists from marching and injured 115 cops in the process.'

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Fifth Estate also has several 'direct action' pieces, apart from the latest instalment of their quarrels with Black Rose Books (down to slightly over two pages this time). The centre spread covers two examples. In the recent black-out in New York, thousands of people took the opportunity to acquire some consumer goods (over \$1billion's worth in fact) and the police were helpless. The writers point out 'The left, all of it, has spoken only of the high unemployment, the police brutality, has spoken of the people of New York as objects, and pathetic ones at that! The gleaming achievements of the un-mediated/unideologised have all pigs scared shitless.' The other half, lifted from a Mexican paper, is an account of 'anarchists' in Spain, who have been disrupting political meetings by stopping the participants of 'solemnity and hollow rhetoric' even going so far as to 'scorn their co-religionists in the CNT!.

All the above is largely reporting. Fifth Estate also has an analytical article "On Terrorism and Authoritarianism" by 'Muswell Hillbilly'. This is concerned with the 'objective' effects of guerilla tactics, whatever their intentions.

While I can strongly sympathise with the desire to act, to do something that will blow the whole system apart (since I have felt it myself) I believe that terrorist groups such as the SLA participate in and help perpetuate the authoritarian separation between 'theory' and 'practice' and that between 'professional revolutionaries' and everybody else. This division is inherent in the hierarchical chapter of our society, it is a reality that must be confronted, it cannot be blown away by egalitarian ideology. It isn't a question of better tactics but of better understanding of the social processes in which we participate, from which effective action can and must follow. As far as I am concerned the problem has yet to be definitively resolved, but a critical understanding of past activity is a beginning.'

Muswell decides that 'The SLA was far from being a unique example. Both their desire to be the informal teachers, leaders and directors of revolutionary insurgency and their inability to go beyond the authority and social distortions of the present have been shared by many populist and anarchist, as well as Marxist, groups in the past.' He then compares their situation with that of FAI militants in Spain, pointing out that when these joined the government many others went along with this reversal, due to 'the authoritarian character of /their/ admiration. Muswell does contradict himself on one point, first concluding that 'Durutti and his fellow anarchist-communist comrades' (although in fact Durutti himself was dead by this time) did not 'sell out' and later condemning 'this obvious betrayal'.

Both papers also have extensive coverage of that vastly greater violence, nuclear weapons.

D. P.

'A Man's A Man'

Book Review

A GUIDE TO THE PERPLEXED, E. F. Schumacher (Jonathan Cape, £ 3.95)

ANARCHISM HAS ALWAYS been a sort of secular religion. To some anarchists and some religionists this would seem to be blasphemy, but it seems to me anarchism is about eternal values without the boss. The acceptance of an outside authoritarian figure in nearly all religious thought has made the institutions of religion tools of the secular states that have been the main instruments of destructive materialism, which has been a feature of human hierarchical societies. However, to discard religion, is it necessary to disregard a very large area of human experience and the wisdom that goes with it?

Schumacher points out that while much of science is concerned with that which can be measured, it also tries to deal with areas that cannot be measured, creating a pseudo-science that is having disastrous effects on modern man and his environment.

He goes on to show that philosophy since Descartes has been obsessed with 'a mathematic model of the world'. This obviously restricts study to a small part of human experience—that of related quantities.

I am not at all sure that Schumacher is right when he says that science in the past was science for understanding. It was largely mixed up with religious obscurantism which played a considerable part in the highly manipulative politics of power.

Without a doubt science has become increasingly manipulative in modern times and increasingly concerned with the material aspects of modern life. The pseudo-sciences of psychology, sociology, etc. have undoubtedly replaced institutional religion in manipulating human beings in the interests of ongoing power structures.

Schumacher says there are four fields of knowledge:

- 1) What is going on in my own inner world?
- 2) What is going on in the inner world of other beings?
- 3) What do I look like in the eyes of other beings?
- 4) What do I actually observe in the world around me?

These propositions can be further simplified to

- 1) = What do I feel like?
- 2) = What do you feel like?
- 3) = What do I look like?
- 4) = What do you look like?

A lot of religion, particularly Eastern religion, is particularly concerned with self awareness as a stepping stone to understanding others and the place people have in society around. Much of the noise, the medication and the manipulation of modern society is designed to dim that inner voice that has so often provided the grit in the works of the juggernaut of power.

In fact the anarchists are the modern pilgrims to chart the way into creating new relationships between people and communities so essential if the destructive power of authoritarian society allied to technical power is to avoid the final solution.

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"Are we equally familiar with directing our attention to where we want it to be, not depending on any 'attraction' and keeping it there for as

developed. Chaucer's merchant, as a prototype for the commercially minded traveler, was no stranger to the pilgrim roads

Among the rest a Merchant also came

He wore a forked beard and a beaver hat,

From Flanders. High up in the saddle he sat,

In figured cloth, his boots clasped handsomely,

Delivering his opinions pompously,

Always on how his gains might be increased.

Of course at one time the commerce was partly in slaves to the East and the Europeans carried on with the trade to the West. This aspect of human bondage has largely disappeared. On the edge of the Sahara a large element of the Hausa economy was centred on cattle raising, and with the increasing urbanisation of Africa the commercial expansion of the

long as we desire? The truth of the matter is that we are not. Such moments of full freedom and self-awareness are all too rare. Most of our life is spent in some kind of thralldom; we are captivated by this or that, are drifting along in our captivity, and we carry out programmes that have been lodged in our machine, we do not know how, when, or by whom" says Schumacher (p.79).

Anarchism is the only social answer to the relationship of the individual with society precisely because it is the only non-manipulative ideology. If anarchism is enforced it ceases to be.

A god in heaven presupposes a God on earth. This does not exclude the idea of a universal intelligence, a rich pattern of relationships that is so obvious in nature.

This rich pattern is being ruthlessly destroyed in a blind pursuit of material expectations far beyond our needs. Vast populations are divorced from their source of life, and are buried in vast mausoleums of noise, dirt and fluttering images on TV screens. As Schumacher so rightly says, the art of self culture is actively discouraged.

"...you cannot love your neighbour unless you love yourself;
...you cannot understand your neighbour unless you understand yourself."

On another page he observes that there have never been so many experts devoted to solving problems. Yet we have "more and bigger problems than any previous generation could boast". The book appears to be largely a cry of anguish for humanity caught in an artificial jungle of our own creation.

Anarchism is the only concept that can reconcile equality and liberty for it has an inherent belief in fraternity, which Schumacher recognises as "a human quality beyond the reach of institutions".

Education presents the classical example of a divergent problem, and so of course does politics, where the most frequently encountered pair of opposites is 'freedom' and 'equality', which in fact means freedom versus equality, equality versus freedom. For if matters are left free, i.e. left to themselves, the strong will prosper and the weak will suffer, and there will be no trace of equality. The enforcement of equality, on the other hand, requires the curtailment of freedom—unless something intervenes from a higher level. I do not know who coined the slogan of the French Revolution; he must have been a person of rare insight. To the pair of opposites, *liberté* versus *égalité*, irreconcilable in ordinary logic, he added a third factor or force—*fraternité*, brotherliness—which comes from a higher level. How do we recognise it as coming from a higher level than *liberté* or *égalité*? These can be instituted by legislative action backed by force, but *fraternité* is a human quality beyond the reach of institutions. It can be achieved, and indeed is often being achieved, but only by individual persons mobilising their own higher forces and faculties, in short, becoming better people. 'How do you make people become better?' This question is constantly being asked, and it merely shows that the essential point has been missed altogether. The idea of making people better belongs to the level of manipulation, the same level at which the opposites exist and at which their reconciliation is impossible. (p.139).

ALAN ALBON.

Hausa has placed a larger and larger burden on the semi-arid areas in which the cattle are raised, the Sahara moves south, the lakes are getting smaller, and the process is repeated all over the world in one form or another.

UN CONFERENCE ON DESERTIFICATION

The advance of the deserts is largely a man-made phenomenon, as it always has been; this much is accepted by the UN conference, and given the resources it is possible to reverse the process. It is being done in highly organised and disciplined countries such as China and Israel. It is done by the imposition of a uniformity that for mankind may make the cure worse than the disease. However, if the burdens placed on such peripheral communities by the imposition of cash orientated economies were eased, as a report in the Guardian suggested (29 August):

(cont p9 16)

The Blacklist

OF MY INNOCENCE I have never been able to understand how men and/or women can be expelled from a non-card carrying organisation. One knows it is false but one likes to assume that there is no closed shop in the arts in the 'free world'. What it means in effect is that monopoly capitalism on the penny ante level operates a black list, and this was the fate of Roberto Sebastian Antonio Matta Echaurren the Chilean painter born in 1911 and known to the Bond Street hucksters as Matta. A surrealist painter with an international reputation, he was expelled from the Surrealist group in 1948, which meant that he was excluded by the New York school and barred from exhibiting in the galleries of Pierre Matisse, Sidney Janis, Maeght and various other art loving till bashers. To blacklist an artist with an international reputation is a rather futile gesture for if there is a market then there is a willing dealer yet one doubts if he ever knew of it, for in effect it is as if Joe's cafe in the Bethnal Green Road were to hang a notice on their steam-stained window stating that on no account and never would the Pope of Rome be served. Matta survived the dealers' curse and hung with the flower of the broad brush and canvas brigade, ending up via UNESCO as South America's favourite son. Cuba, Peru, or Chile. Name it and Matta's brush was at the service of illustrating the revolution for the bemused eyes of the militant left reared on the heroics of Rivera's deified peasantry and Rockwell's *Saturday Evening Post* covers. For Matta's paintings, erotic and savage, rejected recognisable objects of daily living for a fantasy world of organic shapes lost in a highly coloured space world of mindless meaningless machine parts.

Matta has long toured the international kulture circuit, painting for the Angolan liberation movement, playing guest to the late President Allende and the living President Kaunda, protesting the Chilean junta culminating in 1975 with President Echeverria of Mexico exhibiting Matta's paintings as a visual manifestation of support to the Russell tribunal on the Chilean junta's exhibition of political murder in the cause of law and order and a stable dollar. The Hayward Gallery is exhibiting three of Matta's huge canvases behind the title of *Matta Coigutum* and I can do no more than quote the lad himself who states that "*Coigutum* is an attempt to represent living man as a solar system with several suns (sex, intelligence, love, spirit, karma) all of which at different moments of life change or transfer the central light to each other." Matta's huge canvases are doomed by their sheer size to hang in the secular political temples or as a backcloth for the banqueting halls wherein the well-heeled Establishment wine and dine for suffering humanity, but for those who like their paintings neat but not gaudy then within the same Hayward Gallery is an exhibition of American Painting from 1908 to 1935 under the banner of *The Modern Spirit*.

It is an enjoyable exhibition yet in some way disappointing, for too many beloved myths go down the drain. Like old and fondly remembered films filling a 1977 television screen we are forced to accept that, like Hollywood, it was distance that lent enchantment to the eye and too much of the American avant garde work of that period was no more than a pastiche of European work. Some few years ago in London there was a brief summer of Australian painting when the Town and his bored frau went native at the sight of all that brown outback and those corrugated lavatories and it made the Bond Street dealers in their cutaway jackets feel terribly butch, but the mood passed and the Town and his yawning frau were left with some rather bad paintings. So too with this exhibition of American period work. What the American artist offered was a view of a new society crude, rude, raw or pious according to its geography and the artists of that period such as Robert Henri, the anarchist who with Bellows worked with the anarchist Ferrer school, John Sloan the socialist art editor of *Masses*, and others who gave a realism, a sense of social awareness and a new value to an old subject that the European artists had no market for. There is much that one enjoys in this exhibition but too much that one feels is missing. Only one Ben Shahn and nothing of the Mooney or Sacco and Vanzetti works and only one work by William Gropper. In the end, time—and there is no other critic—will judge this period of American artists by the Ash Can school, the quietism of the American small town recorder and the artists of political and social protest. And because of these artists, American painting as such will be accepted but for the secondhand European avant garde it is loo time in the West and a pulling of chains.

I am not a biased man, it is simply that I am always right and if I praise or condemn it is because my heart is pure my intentions honourable and my entrance free of cost. It could be that this was the reason I found the exhibition of *British Painting 1952-1977* at the Royal Academy an exciting and enjoyable way of spending a pleasant hour. That and the

AROUND THE GALLERIES

free wine and game pie on press day and the cry of the 'buffet lady' "You're like animals like animals" as we fought for the wine and the game pie. It is a cliquish coterie and selective but an enjoyable ramble down Bond Street's memory lane admiring so much that is pretty pretty and aesthetically second rate. THEY talk of the last 25 years of British painting but much of the best work in this exhibition is from the brushes of the geriatrics who in effect have been painting their same painting for almost half a century. Gear, Hitchens, Hillier, Ardizzone, Burra, Coldstream, Heron, Hilton, Minton, Tunnard and Pasmore and others were slapping on the old Prussian blue when Griselda Hamilton-Baillie the beautiful P.R. was but a bonny bouncing babe. And all that this

and the Pink list

pleasant exhibition demonstrates is that for all the bullshit of the group manifestos the British public, buyers and browsers, are conservative in their approach to art and politics but I like it I like it.

At the Serpentine Gallery lost in the fairyland forlorn of Kensington Gardens is the work of Ian Hamilton Finlay and with the best of wills I cannot accept it for almost without exception Finlay's work is no more than an idea handed to a craftsman for execution. Every carving, every screen print, every tile appears to carry the name of the craftsman and I would hold that, to me, almost all of Finlay's conceptions are of minimal importance for be it sword, or crown, carved cross or stained glass window it is the craftsman that demands praise. But it excites and one cannot ask more than that. And there is Penny Slinger at the Mirandy Gallery with her series of magnificent collages for she has wit and talent and Penny arrived in the slightest of draperies guarded and body bound in coils of weaving jewelry. Rumour, the Town's frau tells me, has it that Penny flared out of the Belgrave Pat Seale's gallery on Private View night because Penny was asking what was deemed impossible sums for her work and she resurfaced days later beautiful, charming, witty and talented at the Mirandy and I trust that for the town's sake she sells her wares.

Some years ago a sad group within the ICA tried to form an Artists Union, and I still have one of the few paid up cards, but they seemed unable to define what an artist is. A painter is someone who paints and a poet is someone who writes poetry be it indifferent, bad or simply bloody awful and comrades there is no other criterion. If one has the will and the guts to perform then they have earned the title be it a one-legged ballet dancer or a high wire walker with delirium tremens. William McGonagall can claim to be ranked among the world's worst poets for his doggerel broke every poetic rule yet I honour and respect the man. Jim Huggon has reprinted three of McGonagall's poems on the Tay Bridge and I wish that he had made it a quartet with the "Famous Tay Whale", but with its seven full-page period illustrations this sixteen-page tribute to McGonagall is worth your 50p. McGonagall's style and faults are demonstrated in his first two opening lines

Beautiful Railway Bridge of the Silvery Tay!

With your numerous arches and pillars in so grand array but never mock him comrades for were you on the demonstration that was a hopeless flop? In 1891 three students from Glasgow University decided to publicly take the piss out of McGonagall and now their patronising display of clerk's learning is remembered with contempt. McGonagall walked from one end of the country to the other offering his poems and workmen gave of their small wage to help him. His stuff is rubbish but in heart if not mind he was a poet. I mock the bad work at the Hayward and the Royal Academy but one thing I do not deny, and that is their claim to the title of artist. If only the best was produced there would be no art and no craft.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

THE HAYWARD GALLERY Matta : American Painting
ROYAL ACADEMY British Painting 1952-1977
SERPENTINE GALLERY Ian Hamilton Finlay
MIRANDY GALLERY Penny Slinger

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WILLIAM MCGONAGALL: *The Tay Bridge Disaster*. Three poems, published by Jim Huggon 50p (post 10p). From Housman's Bookshop, 5 Calendonian Rd., London N.1. or Freedom Bookshop.

