

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS, ARTICLES. Latest copy date for No. 9 is Monday 8 May (NB: meetings/events taking place between 13th and 27th May can only be publicised if details are received by the above copy date)

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is Thursday 11th May. Come and help from 5 pm onwards. Folding session for Review no. 10 will be Thursday 18th May.

International

AUSTRALIA

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Road, Pialligo, ACT 2809
New South Wales: Black Ram, P.O. Box 238, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010.
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King St., Newtown, NSW 2042.
Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010.
Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic 3083
Libertarian Socialist Federation of Australia c/o 4 Roosevelt St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073.

NEW ZEALAND

The anarchist movement can be contacted at P.O. Box 2052, Auckland
P.O. Box 22-607 Christchurch
International Books, 123 Willis Street, Wellington
Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424 Dunedin.

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C.
Write for information of the group's activities outside the paper (of which Spring 1978 issue is now out).

U.S.A.

Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn 55407.
Missouri: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O. Box 380, Columbia MO 65201.
New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York 10012.
SRAF/Freespace/Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St., NYC 10012.
San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101.
Texas: Houston S.R.A.F., South Post Oak Station, P.O. Box 35253, Houston TX 77035.

WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK

Aarhus: 'Regnbuen' Anarkist Bogcafe, Mejlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.
Copenhagen: Anarkist0Synd. Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen.
Christiana: write Stof Christiana, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden: ABF Info-buro, Postfach 161, 761 Schwabisch Hall.
'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (Non-violent action), groups, associated with WRI; libertarian. For further information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19.
Berlin: Anarkistische Bund. Publishers of Anarkistische Texte, c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin, 44.

UK GROUPS & FEDERATIONS NEXT ISSUE

Meetings

SCRAM (Scottish Campaign to Resist the Nuclear Menace) PROTEST AT TORNESS (Electricity Board's chosen site for its first nuclear station in Scotland). March starting from Dunbar May 6th at mid-day, ending with Mass Rally on site Torness, 7th May. Further information from SCRAM, 2a Ainslie Place, Edinburgh 3. (Tel. 031 225 7752).

OR go from London with the Greenpeace (London) group. Leaving 10 pm Friday 5 May. Return coach fare £ 9. Send £ 2 deposit to Greenpeace (London), 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1 (if possible by May 2—first come first served. Enquiries (01) 387 5370).

MANCHESTER Saturday 13 & Sunday 14 May Conference for Women at The Squat, Devas St, off Oxford Rd., near the University Union. Saturday: work situations, lifestyles, child-care, sexuality, relationships &c. Sat. night social. Sunday: women and health, massage, Emma Goldman, women's writings... £ 1.50 in advance for 2 days (£ 2 on the day) including lunch both days. But if you want Sat. evng. meal, creche, crash pad, &c. arrange with Mary, 28 Brundretts Rd., Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester 21 (tel. 061 881 0477; or Denise 061 224 1614).

MANCHESTER '68 Club. Sundays at 8 pm. 30 April: Manchester film & video workshop. See & discuss films 'Moss Side', 'Women & Health', 'The Nose Bleeds'. 7 May: film 'Pano Won't Happen' about the Paris insurrection of 1968. Place: West Indian Sports & Social Club, Westwood Street, Moss Side.

LIVERPOOL. Liberty Hall. Sundays 8 pm. 30 April: Discussion on 'How the hell did I get into this?'. 7 May: West Germany—the model state. A member of the Campaign against repression in W. Germany speaks about the current position. Place: Everyman Bistro, Hope St. (mtgs. followed by a social and disco).

BLACKBURN. Friday 5 May. Picket of National Front rally to be held in the Public Halls, Northgate at 7 pm. Action Against Racism, P.O. Box 32, Blackburn, Lancs.

LONDON. Theatre of Contemporary Arabic Drama is presenting in association with the Chile Solidarity Campaign a play by Pablo Neruda: The Splendor and Death of Joaquin Murietta. Opening performance Sunday 7 May, 7 pm in Theatre Technis, 9 York Way, N.7 (Kings X tube). Thereafter until June 4 touring districts of London. For details and tickets contact Adel Darwish, T.O.C.A.D., 41 Brewster House, Three Colt St., London E.14 (tel. 515 6598) or Chile Solidarity, 129 Seven Sisters Rd., N.7 (272 4298/9).

LONDON Sat. 20 May London Solidarity Seminar: F.B. on 'The right to be lazy'. 2 pm in the Drill Hall, 16 Chenies St. WC1 (Goodge St. tube).

LONDON Sat. 20-Sun. 21 May. Greenpeace weekend. At Pax Christi Centre, N.W.5

(few mins. walk from Chalk Farm tube). 10 am start. Food provided but please notify Greenpeace (London) at 6 Endsleigh St. W.C.1. (tel. 387 5370) if attending.

SHEFFIELD (or thereabouts) Sun. May 7. Midlands region's picnic. For information contact Box 1A, 341 Glossop Road, Sheffield S10 2HD

Literature

PEACE NEWS will shortly be getting plenty of free advertising which may be very costly to them and to The Leveller. Keep abreast of developments in the Contempt of Court case in the week FREEDOM doesn't come out. P.N. is fortnightly, 15p. Subscriptions £ 5.50 per year; £ 3. six mos., £ 1 trial sub 5 issues from 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham. The Leveller monthly, 35p, £ 5 per year from 155a Drummond St. London N.W.1.

NEW LIFE No. 1, 8pp, Contents Italy (first part of a feature; Feminism; 'A bored guy's votes' & other articles. 15p (or donation) from Box 1 F.1., 341 Glossop Rd. Sheffield 10.

'Action for Survival' new community paper in Wolverhampton 'to fulfil the need for a channel of communications between local groups involved with major issues—disarmament and peace, the third world and the environment...'. Participation & support invited. 'Survival', 76 Coalway Road, Penn Fields, Wolverhampton WV3 7LZ (tel. 30741). Subscription £ 1 for 8 issues.

Desires

TWO Australian comrades seek living situations in commune(s) between Sept. and Dec. 1978. If you can offer us space and community for (part of) this time in return for work and/or other contributions, please write Dianne & Richard, c/o Reading University Anarchists, Clubs Office, Students' Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

Anyone interested in producing 'Every Boy's & Girl's Own Annual of Anarchism'? Ideas, copy, drawings &c. to Nick, Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield S10 2HP.

COMMUNITY SERVICES

SQUATTERS. Tower Hamlets Squatters Union, 2 Cable St., E.1. Advice & information. Office phone no. 480 6726. Meetings Mondays & Thursdays only, 6 - 8 p.m.

NAP. Newham Alternatives Project to help keep people out of prison. Offers advice, information, support to people due to appear in court from Newham, Barking, Redbridge and Tower Hamlets areas. Address: 56 Dames Rd., Forest Gate, E.7. Tel: 555 0289. Hours: Mon-Fri 10 am - 7 pm; Weds. to 10 p.m.

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anarchist fortnightly Freedom

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15p

It's OUR world!

CAPITALISM was always a system based on waste and savage exploitation of both raw materials and labour for private gain. It has been joined in the 20th century by Communism - a cynical perversion of the ideals of socialism producing grotesque misuse of power and natural wealth in the service of the state.

Anarchists, opposing both 'free enterprise' and state communism assert the time is overdue for

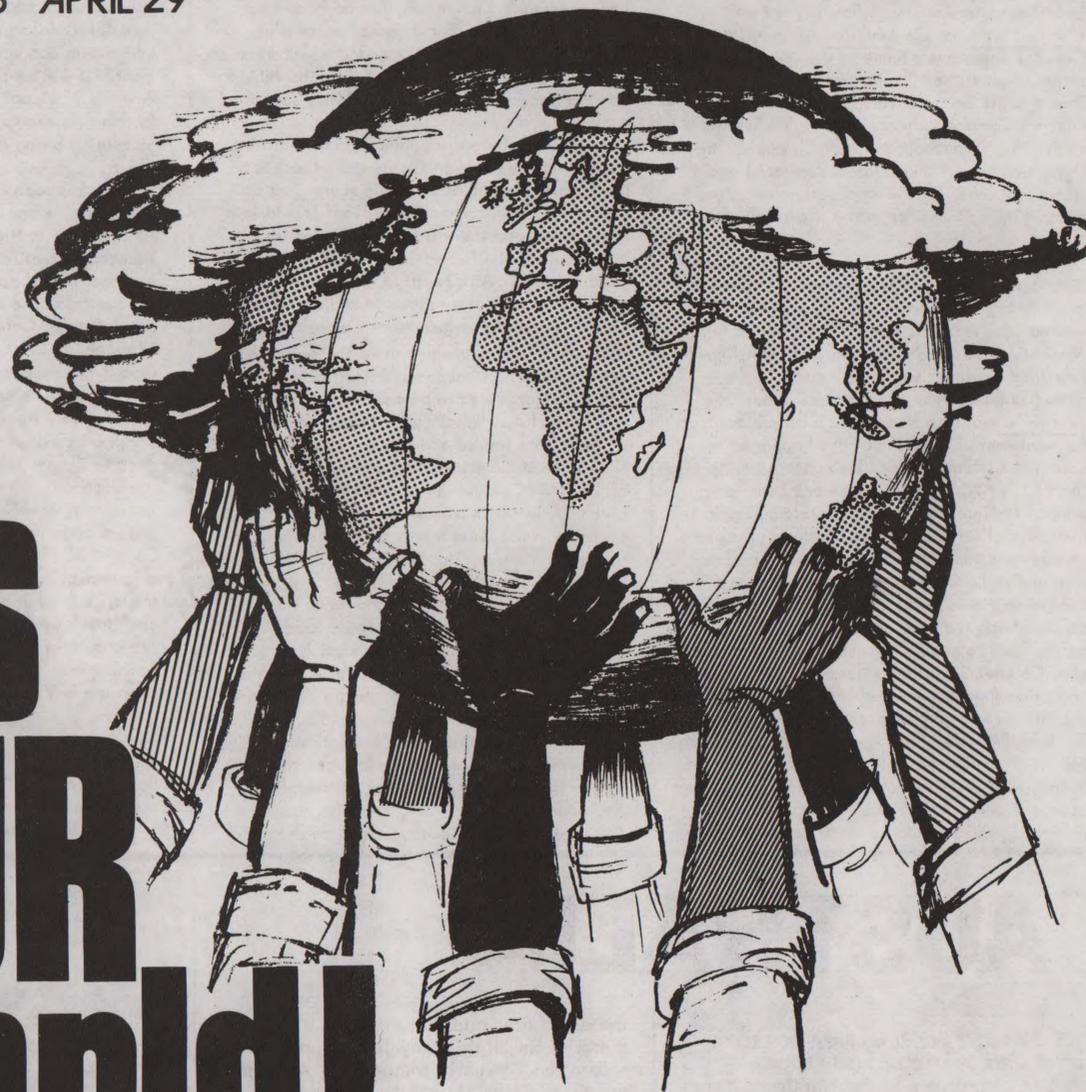
ordinary people to claim back the raw materials of the earth to use them for the benefit of all, without national or racial distinction.

Then we could use technology to avoid pollution, to husband our resources and make the best use of what we have.

The snag is, WE don't have it - our rulers claim it for themselves.

Time to take it back! Time to say loud and clear: This is OUR world!

Some time ago I had problems with printing the News section on time and so for quite a few months now I have only printed the Review section. Friends at Women in Print agreed to help out until I could sort my problems out. Hopefully by the time you read this the "feeding" problems will have been resolved. As a bonus the front page should also be in two colours. I would like to thank Women in Print for their help and wish them well in the future. Ian the Printer



THE FORBIDDEN NAME

THE CASE of Colonel Johnstone's name has progressed from mere tragi-comedy to pure farce. As was reported in our last issue (15 April), contempt of court proceedings have been begun against two left-wing papers (Peace News and the Leveller) for printing Colonel Johnstone's name as the unnamed prosecution witness in the committal proceedings against Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell under the Official Secrets Act. The main result was that Colonel Johnstone's name was immediately reprinted again in several other left-wing papers - including FREEDOM - as well as in the two original papers.

Among the papers which reprinted Colonel Johnstone's name was the Journalist, the monthly organ of the National Union of Journalists, which is traditionally edited by a Marxist. When the present editor, Ron Knowles reprinted Colonel Johnstone's name in the main front-page story in the April issue, the Journalist was also threatened with prosecution for contempt of court. But this happened to coincide with the Annual Delegate Meeting of the NUJ at Whitley Bay last week, where several motions were tabled protesting against this official attack on press freedom. Despite concerted attempts by Special Branch policemen and right-wing journalists to prevent a debate on the subject, the conference insisted on discussing the case on 19 April. The delegates chose to debate a motion which didn't give Colonel Johnstone's name, but Knowles and other speakers insisted on repeating it, and the motion was carried overwhelmingly.

Like "military intelligence", a "libertarian MP" is a contradiction in terms, but there are in fact some Members of Parliament who believe in press freedom; there are also many who are or have been journalists. What happened next

was that on 20 April, when the Leader of the House of Commons (Michael Foot) announced the following week's business, among the questions he was asked were four from left-wing Labour MPs (Jo Richardson, Christopher Price, Robert Kilroy-Silk, Ron Thomas) about press freedom, official secrets, freedom of information, and the attempted interference with the NUJ conference, which also gave Colonel Johnstone's name.

Although there are conventional limitations on what may be said in Parliament, there is no legal restriction of what is said there (just as there is no legal restriction of what is said in a law-court), and there is hardly any legal restriction on the freedom to report what is said in Parliament. As a result, Colonel Johnstone's name was immediately given in radio and television reports of Parliamentary proceedings; the authorities immediately warned the press that, despite what had happened in Parliament, it was still considered to be contempt of court to give Colonel Johnstone's name. This raised protests from Labour and Conservative MPs in the House of Commons the same evening, and on 21 April Colonel Johnstone's name was also given by several national newspapers (including even the Times) and it was made into the following Morning Star headline: "JOHNSTONE: The name only MPs may say!"

Later on 21 April, the Speaker of the House of Commons ruled that there is no absolute privilege in reporting what is said in Parliament, and the authorities issued a rather belated D Notice to stop the media continuing to give Colonel Johnstone's name. But the damage had been done, and the intention of the journalists and the MPs - to make the contempt of court proceedings contemptible - had been fulfilled. The authorities had tried to speed up the proceedings because of the

continued defiance by the papers involved; but the lawyers for the papers managed to slow them down at a preliminary hearing on 21 April because of the much wider defiance. The case is now due to begin on 2 May, and should be completely hilarious - except for the people who are in danger of suffering fines or imprisonment. It will be particularly interesting to see how the National Union of Journalists reacts to this rare example of official pressure on journalists being directed against their own union.

What is really farcical is that Colonel Johnstone's name has no importance at all. As is normal in the Western democracies, a tremendous public quarrel is concentrating on the most trivial point imaginable. (Compare, for example, the Profumo case or the Watergate affair.) Colonel Johnstone simply happened to be the intelligence officer produced at the Aubrey/Berry/Campbell committal proceedings to tell the court that it is contrary to national interest not just to divulge details of signals intelligence but even to discuss the existence of signals intelligence. The question of his identity is irrelevant, though interesting, but the authorities made the silly mistake of making an issue of it. The relevant question is whether a journalist - or anyone else - has the right to investigate what the state is doing in our name. The state's answer is NO. Our answer - and the answer of Aubrey/Berry/Campbell, and of Peace News/Leveller/Journalist, and of more people - is YES.

FREEDOM COLLECTIVE

A protest meeting has been hastily organised and the Conway Hall (Red Lion Square, WC1), has been booked for the 18 May at 7 pm. Speakers will hopefully include an anarchist comrade.

AUSTRALIA

THE LATEST big news here is an argument over aborigine land rights.

The aborigines in the Northern Territory, which is federal controlled, are really squeezing the big mining companies. By law they have to let the companies dig up the bauxite and uranium, which is right in the middle of their tribal lands, but the law can't stop them from building a big fence all around the mining towns and stopping miners from going in and out. The aborigines also have the right to charge as much in royalties as they can get for any mining. As they don't want the mines they're asking ridiculously high prices. And so the argument goes on.

The federal government can't change the law without being denounced as racist and yet must change it to get their share of the royalties. Queensland is trying all ways to get round the laws and now they are in dispute with their would-be allies in the federal government. The Queensland government want to take over

the aborigine mission stations in the north of the state; they just happen to be sitting on a bauxite mountain. At present the Uniting church has nominal control. The aborigines have said 'get stuffed' to the state government. The federal government, much to their dismay, have been obliged to rush through legislation promising the aborigines the 'right' to self-determination. They'll probably still have to sell the bauxite. However, time is on their side.

What most people don't realise are the wider implications of this struggle. If the aborigines can stymie the mining companies maybe Australia can be saved from being turned into the world's biggest quarry. The Utah mining company made \$90m clear profit last year from their open cut coalfields in Queensland. They pay the state government 9 cents a ton in royalties! While Australians should be out there with the aborigines, while there's still some land left to sit around on.

MAURICE BLACKBURN

LEVAL

WE have just heard news of the death in France of Gaston Leval, who will be known to FREEDOM readers in particular for his splendid work on the Spanish collectives. Gaston Leval first went to Spain in 1915 and, though a Frenchman, was in 1921 selected for the CNT delegation to the Congress of Trade Unions in Moscow. He returned disillusioned at the way events were developing in the Soviet Union. When he went from Argentina to Spain at the end of 1936 he felt that the most useful thing he could do was to participate in the social revolution and at the same time record for posterity what more than 3 million people were doing after governmental power collapsed. We hope for a full appreciation of Gaston Leval and his work in a future issue.

UNTIL today we had been cradled by an illusion: to write in an anarchist paper is a free act, not conditioned by the power system, indeed against it and its logic. Yet today we have been impelled to 'state our position' on the kidnapping of Aldo Moro because the (dis)information media give this subject priority.

Let's be frank; were it not for their obsessive campaign we should have given little thought to a christian democrat deprived of his liberty or five policemen deprived of their life, considering the thousands and thousands of prisoners and the yet larger number of people killed at work or by a 'policeman who tripped'. Instead we are impelled to write about an incident internal to the conflict between BR (Red Brigades) and today's ruling class without any effective involvement by the oppressed. The two poles of this conflict do not in fact wish for an active participation by the mass of people, but each, with the means at their disposal, seek consensus and legitimation for the directive role they want to play, or play in society.

If for the DC (Christian Democrats) and the other parties this is axiomatic, it could, to say the least, seem hazardous for the BR. It is not so. Many times the Red Brigades have explained that their initiatives should not be seen as 'exemplary actions' or in other words, model actions, complete in themselves, but that they want to show the majority of exploited people the ways to achieve liberation, ways they should carry out themselves, in person. In reality however, these actions form part of a strategy aimed at creating a crisis of the 'bourgeois state' or, in more topical terms, the 'imperialist state of the multinationals', in order to accelerate the revolutionary event that would allow for the establishment of a society directed by the 'workers' state', of which the BR are the armed prototype party. The BR are alien to us, like all aspirants to power. But being outsiders is a help, not an obstacle, in evaluating the enormous capacity for involvement of the mass media. The explicit objective was and is to isolate the BR still further from their outside supporters and from the population in general.

The sensational news presentation, the photographs of the dead, the interviews with police and passers-by, the 'reflections' of the intellectuals, the reinvention of the partisan war for the use and consumption of the 'citizen 1978' participant in the 'democratic state born of the resistance', the round table discussions ... in brief, an enormous apparatus moving in perfect synchronisation: everything is to be used to create artificially a climate of tension.

An example of the way this is done was given us by the utter distortion of the declarations issued at the Congress of Anarchist Federations at Carrara and at the meeting on 'The New Bosses' at Venice (see also last issue of FREEDOM-trans.). Little did it count that the comrades had denounced the terrorism of the state, legalised and institutionalised administrator of violence, compared to which that of the BR is insignificant. The word was to condemn the BR and so the meanings were twisted so that even the anarchists were used in the 'antiterrorist crusade.'

A crusade which has among its staunchest supporters the PCI (Communists) and the unions. The unions have used all their prestige to create a vast popular mobilisation with hundreds of thousands of workers taking to the streets; the colours of the christian democrats reappeared among them, all united in defend-

MORO AND THE MEDIA

ing the institutions. And the picture was certainly not altered by the dissenting fringe which had to enter into the logic of that strike and that spectacle to express its own different identity.

The PCI then profited from the occasion (spokesman the usual Pecchioli) to launch the witch hunt in the factories. Pecchioli was explicit: it is vital to eliminate from the factories the supporters of the brigades. An extremely serious declaration which, if carried into practice, could result in a large number of sackings in order to 'sterilise' the centres of production, cleansing them of any voice of opposition to the social contract and communist rule, pushing the revolutionary forces yet further into ghettos. ...

Here we come to a point which, if it arises out of these events, nevertheless has general connotations: the problem of communication.

The gulf between the means of communication that the power structure can use and the means at the disposal of the revolutionary groups has grown out of all proportion. The mass media create the news and opinion and anything which does not enter into the framework of the system is ignored or distorted. The action of the revolutionary groups thus comes up against an obstacle the greater in that the poverty of the alternative means of communication renders the message almost unintelligible. ...

The BR too with their sensational action

place themselves in the position of 'being news'; the mass-media do not ignore them, indeed they are obliged to dedicate pages and pages to their actions, their members, their ideology, their communiques. But in the very process of doing so there begins the operation of 'recycling' and distortion which, in a well orchestrated campaign, neutralises the message the BR intended to make.

It is clear that to become 'newsworthy' is not enough, because even by breaking down the wall of silence one cannot obtain a fair handling of information. On the contrary the result is almost always the opposite of what one had planned.

And so? Obviously we do not have a ready answer; to undo this Gordian knot is an undertaking not made any easier by the fact that the clean cut-off operated by the BR has not had the effect they hoped. For if the state to some extent has had to follow their tune, it is no less true that the restriction on freedom of action is internalised by people, and does not act as a stimulus to revolt and insubordination as the strategists of the BR like to think. Certainly the state is showing more of its true face, but the moulders of public opinion, playing upon emotive and pseudo-rational elements, are at the same time succeeding in justifying authoritarian development by presenting it as the only way to save 'civilised society.'

----- Translated and edited from *A rivista anarchica*, April 1978.

W. HUPPERTZ

AS briefly reported in the last issue of FREEDOM, Willy Huppertz, the German anarchist militant and founder of *Befreiung*, died on 12 March this year in Mülheim.

Born illegitimately in 1904 in Düsseldorf, Willy Huppertz was brought up with his grandparents and, being poor, had to start work as a child. At the age of 15 his grandparents had him apprenticed at a big workshop in Mülheim where he took part in a number of strikes and other activities by the workers. At the age of 26 he came into contact with an anarchist group in Mülheim and began his journalistic work on the paper *Proletarischer Zeitgeist*.

On 1 March 1933 he was sentenced to several weeks' imprisonment for 'anarchist activities'. He was arrested again in 1944 and held in a concentration camp near Berlin. When he refused to beat a Russian prisoner of war, having been ordered to do so by a camp official, his already meagre diet was cut by half, and had the Americans not arrived shortly afterwards he would have died of malnutrition.

In 1947 Willy and Luise Huppertz began publishing monthly the anarchist paper *Befreiung* (Liberation), typesetting the contributions, and printing and despatching the copies themselves.

During the heavily anti-communist Aden-

auer era investigations were initiated against Willy Huppertz (in 1955) in the Bavarian high court on charges connected with the 'propagation of anarchist ideas' and 'preparation of a highly treasonable undertaking.' The investigations were suspended in December that year for lack of proof, but two years later further investigations began for 'suspicion of endangering the state' and 'defamation. These proceedings were likewise suspended. In 1970 the editorial office of *Befreiung* was transferred to Cologne, where it is today, but Willy continued to provide the contact address and manage the paper's finances, now and then contributing articles. Fresh charges brought around this time against Willy Huppertz and three other comrades included 'disturbance of the peace', 'incitement of the people', 'defamation of the constitution', 'invitation to the freeing of prisoners' and offence against the press law. Police armed with submachine guns invaded and searched the premises.

During these years Willy took part in a large number of meetings, events, discussions and published three brochures on his ideas on the future 'society of free people.' He continued throughout his anarchist activities to work as locksmith in a big workshop in Mülheim.

Dec 10th: demonstration by 200 anarchists in protest against the murders of Gudrun Ensslin, Jan Carl Raspe, Andreas Baader and Ingrid Schubert, and the attempted murder of Irmgard Moeller. 500 police present. Demonstrators harassed, provoked, split up, then 8 comrades arrested.

March 21-23: magistrate Eugene McDermott, after hearing the routine contradictions in the police evidence, fined five comrades £35 and found Gerhard Sollinger guilty of assaulting a police officer, in spite of total lack of evidence. He is refused bail and sent to Pentonville.

March 24: beaten up in Pentonville by prison officer Craig, Gerhard complains, and then is put in isolation in C wing (punishment wing).

March 25: rule 43 invoked - no contact with other prisoners.

March 25-April 4: Gerhard on hunger strike. Governor's reaction: "we've had terrorists in here before and the only thing I decide is whether to burn them or bury them". An outside campaign set up which complains to the Home Office and uses graffiti and flyposting to publicise the beating-up.

April 4: Gerhard let out on bail.

April 7: SPG raid Covent Garden squats, meeting place of Black Aid who organised the demonstration.

April 11: probation officer on the case refuses to hand in report as he feels Gerhard is a political offender. A more senior officer is called in to make report.

April 13: date of final sentencing. Gerhard does not appear and now there is a warrant for his arrest. His two sureties stand to lose £100 each.*

The above list of events (see Freedom 2 April for a fuller report of the 3-day court case) is a typical example of police paranoia and provocation, and of a judge protecting the police in one of "our" courts of law. The whole process of provocation, arrest, bail, trial, fine and/or imprisonment is becoming a boring daily reality for the complete range of protestors - from the straight left at Grunwicks to anarchists at Grosvenor Place. But this process raises several questions that anarchists ought to deal with, or else we'll be faced with forever reacting, wasting our energy in courts and then getting pushed into isolation inside prisons once we end up in there.

We were at the demonstration, in the court, visited Gerhard in prison and we feel pushed through an isolating experience. How has it happened? Why must we go through this process every time?

*Friends involved in the demonstration are trying to raise money to pay the sureties and the fines. Please send what you can to Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

THE CASE OF GERHARD SOLLINGER

AN EXAMPLE OF THE ISOLATION PROCESS

DEMONSTRATIONS

On December 10th the police were well prepared to stifle any action by the demonstrators, but they also wanted to pick up the supposed ringleaders, presumably in an attempt to keep tabs on any potential movement in solidarity with the Red Army Fraction. Demonstrations in Britain offer very little scope for anarchist actions. They're either too small and peaceful (so nobody gets to hear of them) or they're too well contained, with the police out to provoke a few skirmishes and the usual arrests. Actions like 'Reclaiming the Night' have a lot more to offer. Organised clandestinely, it ended up with 300 women rioting through Soho and the police being completely unprepared. Unless demonstrations are of such a scale that the police can be confronted and anarchists can initiate mass action without becoming martyrs, we must start to choose our own places and times to express our anger.

We could start by accepting that demonstrations have limited effect, and so instead of going along to them and becoming frustrated (as well as standing a strong chance of getting arrested and photographed), anarchists could turn to smaller-scale actions elsewhere that are not only more satisfying but have a bigger impact. It's about time that we used a bit of imagination.

COURTS

There were a few positive aspects to the 3-day spectacle at Horseferry Road magistrates court - like the ease with which the eight defendants were able to expose the police witnesses as inconsistent idiots; like the display of solidarity amongst those in court - the defendants and comrades in the public gallery; like the general lack of respect for the farcical court procedures; and the graffiti in the lifts and leafletting outside the court. But looking back on this, it was a waste of time and energy. There's no point getting into legalistic games with magistrates, barristers, witnesses

etc. It's all on their terms and the outcome of such a case is set up in advance. The police, the law and the courts are weapons of the state and we shouldn't be lulled into forgetting this. It's too easy to expect "leniency" - we even sat up all night before the final day of the trial to produce a document with all the contradictions and lies of the police, but it didn't make any difference to the magistrate. Magistrates have the power to impose their biased decisions on cases, and it's not a coincidence that laws like the Criminal Law Act are designed to put more people through their courts - better described as processing plants for the state. What's more, there are individuals inside the court system like Eugene McDermott, reputed to be a sadist on a par with the notorious McLean and Springer, who many of us have seen performing at Highbury Corner magistrates court. We were crazy to expect anything other than the heaviest expression of control that can be dished out by a magistrate - which in Gerhard's case was imprisonment followed by deportation.

PRISONS

We know that the beating up and victimisation of people happens every day in Britain's prisons. We heard that the punishment wing in Pentonville - C wing - is always full. But there are some things that can be done inside prisons, like making contact with other prisoners, politicising cases and putting out information on the conditions inside. Once Gerhard had been put in isolation, he saw that his only protection was to get information to the outside so that people could make propaganda around it; try to effectively expose individual screws such as Craig (by graffiti and flyposting on local shop and pub windows); and to expose the political motivation behind his treatment (he was believed to be a member of the Red Army Fraction by the prison authorities, though we don't know where they got this piece of information from). It seems that the only possibilities for Gerhard to make

contact with other prisoners lay in his "accepting" the rules inside, thus keeping out of isolation. Once in isolation a prisoner has to rely too much on people outside, and communication is hard. This raises the question of what we should do when comrades are imprisoned, and the type of support and propaganda work we should engage on.



OUTCOME OF DECEMBER 10TH

It's becoming obvious that the state is escalating its grip on us in every detail in our everyday lives. The details of Gerhard's treatment serve to illustrate this, though we're not trying to make him into a martyr or hero.

Faced with getting a six months' prison sentence and deportation on April 13th, Gerhard decided to split. We are faced with a state that is steadily increasing its powers at every level: police (more laws, more police), courts (more is dealt with by magistrates now as a result of the Criminal Law Act), prisons (totally overcrowded), paranoia about "terrorism" (Suppression of Terrorism Bill). We too will be forced to decide sooner or later what position to take, whose side we want to be counted on. How much more experience do we need of police and courts and bureaucracy, and the isolation they force us into, before we see legal forms of protest as cul de sacs leading to brick walls?

M, J, B, M, A

απρίλης '78



αναρχική περιοδική έκδοση

TO RIGMA is a new anarchist magazine published in this country in Greek for Greek and Cypriot anarchists and libertarians. It is intended to serve as a point of contact and information among Greek and Cypriot anarchists abroad, many of whom are isolated because of linguistic and other cultural barriers. The paper contains theoretical analyses, news and information, comments on coordination etc. It does not, say the editors, represent any tendency - 'we cannot afford that luxury under

the present repression' - but it does aim at 'unity in diversion.' It is not a 'nationalist' magazine - 'many of us are part of British anarchist groups with whom we are sharing experiences' - but the repression and threats to the political existence of the anarchist comrades in Greece makes urgent the need for international support and coordination. Contact address: TO RIGMA, c/o Black and Red, Students Union, The University, Leeds, LS2 9JT.

MAYDAY ANARCHIST PICNIC - 1978

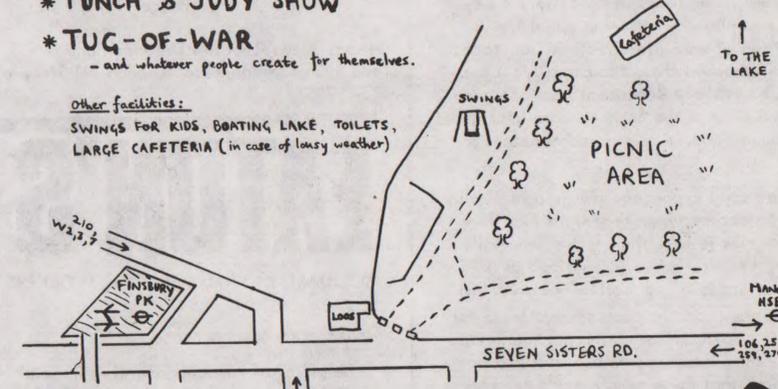
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DEDICATED THIS YEAR TO ALL PRISONERS ROTTING IN THE WORLD'S JAILS.

LETTERS

GREECE

Dear Freedom,

Referring to a letter which comments on my views on Kassimis (FREEDOM 18 March) signed by the (Greek) Leeds autonomous group and printed in FREEDOM's issue of April 13:

1) The authors of this letter conveniently avoid the real problem involved in the Kassimis affair, when they happily state that one is not concerned with Kassimis' beliefs but with his action as such. How preposterous such an argument is, is apparent to anyone who is not prepared to waste his time talking bullshit. You can't separate the act from its *raison d'être*, which in Kassimis' case is a concrete, well-defined ideology, namely Marxism; you can't just ignore the ideological structures that lie behind the activity of any political group—especially when it operated underground. The quality of the motives, the nature of the desired ends, those are the important things to be considered. That is why Kassimis' political orientation is a matter of vital importance and not simply a matter of 'labelling', as the Leeds group imprudently put it.

2) The Leeds group seems to be totally unaware of the contents of my letter (I wonder, did they really read it?) since they attack me for 'deliberately ignoring certain forms of anti-authoritarian struggle, including of course (1) the armed struggle' and for 'rejecting forms of practice' (meaning 'of course' the armed struggle). This is utterly inaccurate, because I did not reject, or even criticise, the validity of the armed struggle or the urban guerilla warfare, in my letter. I expressed no opinion whatsoever about the alternatives of armed insurrection, sabotage, etc., alternatives that, incidentally, I consider to be entirely dependent upon the general conditions of the State you are imprisoned in and upon the particular circumstances of your situation.

3) I can't say I appreciate the group's display of good intentions when they state that they don't want me to take their letter personally, for in it, I'm alternatively described as a 'Pope', a 'Stalinist', a 'coffee-bar anarchist' who 'sits back' and 'expects the system to fall by itself'. What strikes me, is not the malignant stream of insults contained in this letter but the fact that these people don't even know me (and I for my part hope to remain in eternal ignorance as far as their existence is concerned). But for their information, perhaps I have indeed been 'positively acting' (the way they have never acted and will never act) as an anarchist, since a time when there were in the whole of Greece no more than 15 samples of this rare species.

Let the members of the Leeds group find other ways to cure their bourgeois boredom—if they want to play out the role of the 'anarchist' let them do so without interfering and insulting other people, who have proved that

they remember that they are anarchists not only when it comes to writing letters but in the courtroom as well.

Sincerely,
A. J. Canellidis
(editor of Greek anarchist review 'Utopia')

CONTEMPT

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for the solidarity with us and *The Leveller* in your latest issue (v.39 no.6) but I'd like to correct one point. You say that the magistrate ordered that Col. Johnstone's name shouldn't be published; in fact no such specific order was made—the magistrates merely said that those in court who were given the name (i.e. the defendants and their lawyers) shouldn't pass on the information. That was not our source; we discovered the identity from public sources that Johnstone himself named.

I point this out since the absence of a specific order could be a part of our legal defence (which it's useful to have, alongside the more important political justification!).

Love in struggle,
Albert Beale
(Peace News)

Peace News/Leveller Defence Fund is
c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 (tel. 01-837 9795) 7

EATON'S

SOLIDARITY WITH EATON WORKERS

Dear Comrades,

A group of militants who live in Saint-Nazaire (Loire-Atlantique) and work mainly in metalworks and on the docks have asked us if we could help them to get in touch with British workers in Manchester.

There is in St. Nazaire a British plant (EATON) which produces clutches for motorcars. The workers in France suspect that their factory in St. Nazaire was recently established only because the factory in England was on strike. On March 14 there was a strike in St. Nazaire. The wages were low, productivity high. A worker was fired because he did not wear his protective glasses. The workers have to fill in forms which detail their production

hour by hour. The unions called for a half-hour strike but no one resumed work after that half hour. It was during that strike that the workers asked for information concerning the strike at Eaton's in Manchester.

If you can help us obtain any information or any contact with workers of Eaton we will be very grateful.

Fraternally yours,

Solidarité ouvrière,
99 rue Jean Pierre Timbaud,
75011 PARIS.

BIKES

I WAS horrified, as a keen weekend driver, to see your paper actively inciting hordes of drink-crazed "anarcho-cyclists" to take to the road to Brighton on May 6th.

You claim that a bike is "a feasible means of transport that doesn't fuck up the air for everyone else." That's as may be, but can you imagine the effect on your average family motorist, cruising at a steady 50 down the A23 with the wife and kids in the back (and God knows that's bad enough) suddenly finding himself confronted by 500 lunatics pedaling their way to a binge in Brighton?

I work hard all week and the car is one of my few pleasures in life. I dread to think what your anarchist society would be like for blokes like me. I suppose your commissars would confiscate my car and make me ride a bike to Brighton every weekend.

A. Driver

Purley.



MAY DAY

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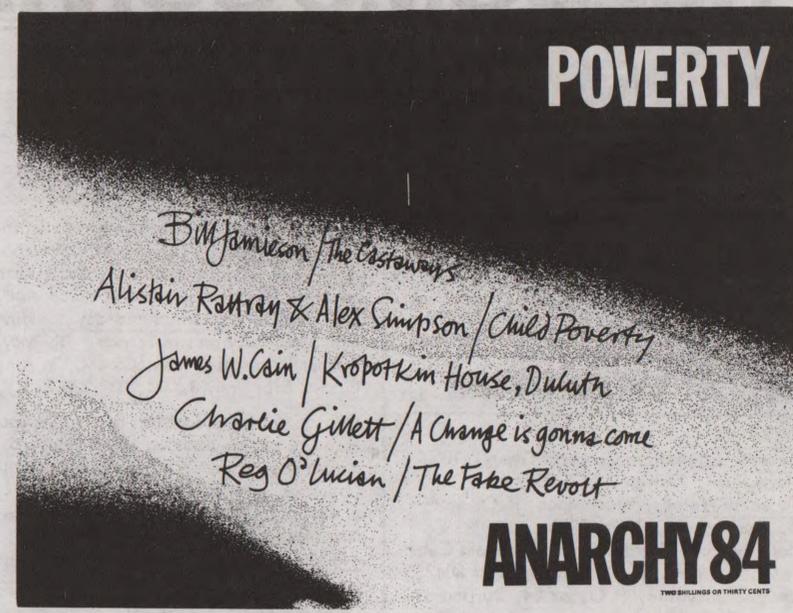
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Brixton Anarchist-Situationists meet every Sunday at 2 pm. Details from 674 6402.

Centro Iberico. Saturdays & Sundays 3-11 pm at 421 Harrow Road, W.9.

Anarchy magazine meets every Thursday 8 pm at 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. All welcome.

BIRMINGHAM. Libertarian Socialists meet Sundays 8 pm in The Fox & Grapes, Freeman St. (near Moor St. Station). Contact Peter Le Mare, 2 Florence Place, Ombersley Rd., Birmingham 12

PRESERVING THE CORPSE



LATE IN November 1913 the Princess Alexandra Volyntsev, accompanied by the traditional entourage of parasites, visited the premises of a St. Petersburg taxidermist. She was enquiring into the progress of work on a much-loved, and lately deceased, poodle.

The taxidermist, Nikolai Piskov, having answered the Princess's enquiries, ushered her from the workshop into his office for refreshment. As they walked through the intervening passage her eye caught what appeared to be the corpse of a child, aged about six or seven, lying amidst the parrots, cats and eagles. The Princess stopped and whispered to a lackey.

"Ah, you've noticed," said Piskov, beaming. "Magnificent, isn't it?"

The Princess was so distraught that she spoke directly to the taxidermist rather than, as protocol demanded, through her lady-in-waiting. "It's barbaric!"

"But why? The child was no less loved than your poodle."

"How did the poor thing die? Murdered I suppose?"

"Legally speaking, no. But morally, yes. The child died of hunger."

"These people are savages. What hope is there for Holy Russia?"

And so saying, the Princess swept out of the building and into her carriage. But not before Piskov had shouted to her, "No more savage than those who gorge themselves and their pets while children starve in the gutter."

The Princess, of course, had been tricked into making a fool of herself. Piskov's regret was that it had only been before those who were paid never to acknowledge this. The child was a waxwork. But Piskov was a more lively character, one of the leading spirits of the Anarcho-taxidermist Circle.

Little if anything, has previously been written about the place of the anarcho-taxidermists in the Russian revolutionary movement. April 1st saw the 100th anniversary of Piskov's birth and this is an opportune time to look more closely at the very sparse record of anarcho-taxidermist activity.

The anarcho-taxidermists viewed their trade as an ironic commentary on the state of Russia under the Tsar. A lifetime devoted to preserving what was dead. In Piskov's own words: "We mummify the corpse of what nature has decreed serves no useful purpose, holding off physical decay in the vain hope that this will mask the only too obvious spiritual rotteness."

They foresaw the inevitable revolution as the culmination of their everyday activities. "Today, comrades," wrote one in a privately distributed manifesto, "today we may stuff the pets of the class enemy. But tomorrow we shall reverse the perspective and our task will be to knock the stuffing from the enemy itself, poodles and all."

Piskov arrives equipped to mummify Lenin

A fragment of a description of one of their meetings, held in a bar, survives. By this account it was a typically cheerful occasion, the police only intervening to break up a brawl at the very end of the proceedings.

"Old Lusinov," says the writer, "always thinking of his work sits filling an empty vodka bottle with egg shells and stale bread. He says little. But Kitsov, young and passionate, demands we begin the expropriations forthwith. Later he asks for the loan of a rouble to buy me a drink."

Kitsov's demand did not go unheeded. Though the taxidermists saw themselves, proudly as tradesman, they were looked upon by an illiterate nobility as artists. This meant they were accorded the respect which included entry into the homes of the rich. None of the circle missed the opportunity to liberate some absurd, though valuable, trinket on each visit. The money thus raised helped finance the anarchist press and underground.

They also carried on their own ceaseless, if quixotic, propaganda, none more strenuously than Piskov himself. From the tiniest field mouse to, on one occasion, an elephant for the Moscow Museum of Natural History, Piskov made sure that his work carried the anarchist message into the heart of the enemy's territory.

Stitched close to the surface of every stuffed animal there were sheets of anarchist slogans and manifestoes. Scratched along the rusks and claws were demands for liberty; even the careful re-arrangement of feathers could be made to spell out "Anarchy".

Piskov's reputation as a taxidermist was such that the Tsar procured his services to work upon a particularly favoured eagle to hang in the imperial bathroom. One of Piskov's anarchist comrades was a miniaturist and so, as the Tsar bathed, the eyes of the eagle peered down on him with the message: "Death to the Tsar! All power to the workers and peasants!"

We know nothing about the fate of the Circle during the revolution and the Civil War that followed, save that Piskov threw in his lot with the Bolsheviks. There was little call for the skill of the taxidermist during this turbulent period. But it was to Piskov that the regime turned when Lenin, the Bolshevik dictator, died in 1924.

Piskov, as in the days of the of the Tsar, must have appreciated the irony. Could he have possibly failed to remember his anarchist ideas as he worked into the night mummifying the Bolshevik corpse for future generations to worship? He must have recalled one of his few recorded statements: "All taxidermists must be revolutionaries and all revolutionaries taxidermists. Stuff all leaders!"

Perhaps, if we were to examine the corpse closely enough, we might discover the Anarcho-taxidermist Circle had left its mark, even there.

H. H.

FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

29 APRIL '78

THE CRUISING SPIRIT

Nature Heals: The Psychological Essays of Paul Goodman; Creator Spirit, Come: The Literary Essays of Paul Goodman; Drawing the Line: The Political Essays of Paul Goodman; all edited by Taylor Stoehr. Free Life Editions. \$11.95 each.

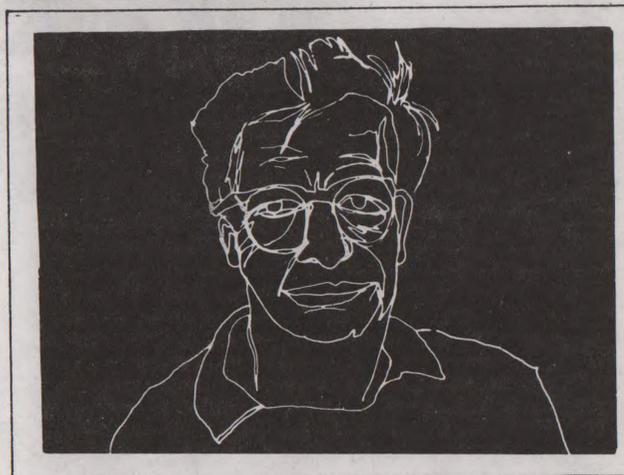
IT IS A COMMONPLACE of a powerful school of contemporary critical theory that the work of writing, once it has left its author's hand, takes on a kind of autonomous existence, and that we have to view it suspended in a neat artistic vacuum, detached entirely from its creator, whose life is irrelevant to his or her work. I have always thought this an aestheticist absurdity. Works of art and literature doubtless do derive from other works of art and literature, for all artists and writers are drawing on a collective heritage of myth and symbol, of form and artifice that has been developed over the millennia. But with whatever paradoxical sonority Malraux's voices of silence may echo from tradition to tradition over the centuries, the fact remains that each artist or writer works in a particular age whose temper creates the perimeter of their possibilities of expression, and each has a unique mind that sets its impress on whatever they create, on the form of their work as much as on their content of feeling and thought.

Some artists, to be sure, are so dominated by the search for form that their work presents a kind of impersonal surface behind which the maker recedes. But there are others whose personal natures refuse to be disciplined - even self-disciplined in this way - D.H. Lawrence was one of them, and Walt Whitman also, and Paul Goodman was certainly yet another.

The three volumes of Goodman's essays which I am reviewing are divided according to ostensible subject: Drawing the Line is classed as "political essays", Creator Spirit, Come, as "psychological essays." But although Taylor Stoehr has done a good editorial job of selection, the division just does not work; the boundaries between the three books melt and merge, because Goodman himself did not wish to run his life or his work in compartments. He was what he called "a humanist, that kind of Renaissance free-lance", and this polymorphous attitude gave its special colour to his anarchism and suffused everything he wrote with a searching mentality which restlessly cruised the world of ideas.

In a sense, everything Goodman wrote was a personal document. He wrote always with deep emotional involvement, and looking back over these essays, many of which I have read at odd times over the past thirty years and more, I have the recurrent sense of recognising a familiar and very idiosyncratic voice. Goodman was one of those writers - and what he says about his own motivations in Nature Heals bears this out - who appear to be intellectuals because what they eventually produce is a structure of ideas rather than a structure of fantasy, but who are really intuitives, gaining their strength by moving constantly to and fro between the conscious and the unconscious, so that thought is always infused with feeling, feeling in the end shaped by thought.

Out of this interflow, I believe, emerge both the faults and the virtues which are shown more clearly in these occasional essays than in Goodman's more ambitious and deliberately



shaped works like Growing Up Absurd and Compulsory Mis-education, which by now are accepted classics of libertarian educational theory. Many of the essays in the three volumes are tentative in their conclusions; some are merely collections of notes. The writer's impulse poses a question, but in working over the idea he does not necessarily close it off with an answer. Here, I think, Goodman was recognising his real nature as a writer, as a man, as an anarchist, his paradoxically constructive tentativeness.

I say this because I remember very well the kind of writing Goodman did in the early days of the 1940s, when he would send pieces for Now, which I was then editing. They were always typed on cheap yellow copy paper, for in those days Goodman was very poor, and they would be corrected and scored over with dark thick pencil so that the visual texture had a congestion that reflected the difficulty of composition. Goodman in those days was trying to write with the obvious logic of a political theorist, and the result was obscurely rather than clearness.

It was really by recognising his own nature to the full, and realising that the kind of unstructured, decently poor and personally liberated life he lived could be reproduced in his writing that Goodman found himself. And he did so, I feel, in a very direct way. When he tried to render his life into imaginative literature, into poems and fiction and drama, he was never quite convincing; there was something in the transfer that made material out of real life suddenly appear artificial. He did not possess the truly transmuting imagination. He wrote best when there was a sparking point of direct contact between himself and the world, and this made him a fine occasional essayist, expert at tracing the moral obliquities confronting a libertarian in an unliberated world, and highly aware, as an anarchist, of the way psychology reflects on the life of the creative imagination, and the way both reflect on the world of human relationships that for convenience we call political.

Goodman's anarchism - the anarchism of an age when a revolutionary situation may well produce a pseudo-revolution and usher in a world even worse than we have - is well known to readers of FREEDOM, whether they agree with it or not. He was one of those who saw anarchism as emergent rather than apocalyptic, as a matter of extending the freedoms we have and encouraging the elements of voluntary cooperation

(cont p. 15)

2nd ARTICLE IN A SERIES ON RACE

IMMIGRATION INFATUATION

It appears that when governments and politicians have nothing more exciting to occupy their time they pull out the used and dirty linen of immigration once more. Unfortunately this is not in order to wash them or throw them away, but to defecate into them again. In this occupation officials and politicians are in their element - the rest of us have to suffer under the weight of rubbish created by these great waste makers. In the past week a Commons' Select Committee (very select) recommended another end to immigration, and proposed checks on those already resident in this country (I wonder what that will mean in practice, and which specific groups will be effected? Maybe this will cover Saxon and Norman immigration as well, though I doubt it). This is yet another in a long list of significant, though detestable, outbursts which requires close scrutiny to realise its implications, in order to discover what the whole sordid affair of immigration control is geared to - race thinking.

U.F.Os (Unidentified Foreign Objects)

The concept of immigration controls is currently doing the rounds among a number of political professionals, while the bogey 'illegal immigrant' is presented anew. Talk abounds of tightening up controls on entry, extending police and DHSS power for purposes of 'tracking them down'. Of course, 'we' shall fulfill 'our' promises of allowing entry to 'dependants and exceptional cases' - aren't 'we' generous and trustworthy? Well, after all, 'we' are universally noted for our honest and seafaring racial characteristics. An Englishperson's word is his/her bond - as we all know - especially it seems the race word. As with being seafaring 'we' apparently cannot even cope with the so-called 'waves of immigration'. A stereotyped picture of the typical immigrant is created and manipulated by governments and parties for public utility. You mention 'immigrant' to most people and they primarily think of blacks (or browns, or even yellows) - with queues of wives and children trailing behind them. After all, all the whites are 'us', and 'we' have always been here haven't we? Don't all of you English white people agree that you have all been here for centuries?

The mere terminology employed has obvious connotations of race thinking - I prefer this term to 'racism', as the majority of the population does not possess a coherent racist argument but piece together snippets from what they have heard from various sources (parents, friends, politicians, television personalities) with their own weighted interpretations of particular experiences. Phrases such as 'different cultures' or 'foreign customs' (recently uttered by that bastion of English cultural traditions, the leader of the Parliamentary 'opposition') are simply euphemisms, but to everybody concerned are as effective as 'weird foreigners', 'alien infiltration', 'evil and degenerate influence', and so

on. Coupled with the correspondence between 'immigrants' and blacks we arrive at that prevalent English obsession - 'the alien black'. Never mind actual ethnicity, particular cultural traits, social origins, linguistic associations, or personality and individual variation, they are all visible, all-purpose enemies threatening our democratic and highly advanced British institutions.

The Myth about the Migrant

Apart from the falsity of race thinking (already discussed in FREEDOM, Vol. 39, No. 2) the falsities and implications of immigration control need to be exposed as well. This can be carried out in more effective ways than by simply listing endless statistics proving that white immigration (or various shades of white) since the war has been virtually as common as black immigration (with the arrival of many Irish, Poles, other refugee Eastern Europeans, Cypriots and Italians, among others), or that more recently these have outnumbered black people - with numerous arrivals from Australia, Rhodesia and other former British colonies. The term 'Asian' (as a side issue), a seemingly ethnic, unprejudiced concept, similarly to the term 'coloured' (an apparently polite method of discriminating between colours) is not merely inaccurate and misleading, but is positively insulting to the culture, values, social origins and self-definition of various groups of people. The myth associated with immigration can be discussed far more effectively through tracing governmental policy, and analysing its effects, rather than by showing, through figures, that in reality "we have nothing to fear", because (though "we are not alone" - U.F.Os again) there are after all "not that many of them here". The latter is the argument employed by numerous 'liberal' personages, but is very dubious and suspicious, as it assumes a limit which we shall exceed at our peril, and completely ignores the implications of such calculations - a sort of tolerant paternalism. However in reality, for situations of race relations (defined as a race problem) numbers are irrelevant. Whether there are a hundred or a million people in this country only matters substantially when they are racially defined, and treated accordingly by laws or social practice. We must remember that whatever the actual size of this mythically homogeneous population its existence can be used for various ends by groups and individuals willing to sacrifice human beings for their own economic or power aims - as has been clearly shown in Nazi Germany.

The falsity in this instance concerns the often quoted 'flood of immigrants' since the war, and the contradictions and incompetence in governmental policy, which contributed to creating a situation it apparently sought to avoid - a race situation. The machinations behind government intentions is often difficult to pinpoint, but it emerges, as I shall attempt to show, that a race relations situation was created and promoted by state decree. On purpose, you may ask - your guess is as good as mine. Remember, though, they need not be racists or racialists to participate in the process and growth of race thinking and practice, to encourage prejudicial attitudes and promote discriminatory

behaviour - though it often helps. It would be too simplistic and vague to accuse all politicians and civil servants of racialism, but it is useful to examine how this country's legislative and administrative monstrosity contributed to race thought and practice in Britain - specifically in relation to immigration policy since the last major race war in Europe (1939-1945).

The History of Racial Immigration

An important question to consider is why immigration of any great extent occurred when it did. Fairly extensive immigration of particular ethnic groups into Britain is not of course unknown - the Jews at the beginning of the century are a recent case in point. Immigration from the commonwealth countries at a rate of more than ten thousand people per year began in 1955. Previous to this a few West Indians had been involved in an overseas volunteers scheme set up during the war, and were employed predominantly in 'skilled' jobs in factories, chiefly in the Merseyside area. About seven thousand had also been used in the RAF, and were stationed in Britain. Although there had been no problems concerning the employment of black labour the scheme was disbanded in 1947, and most returned to the West Indies. The official view of black immigrants at this time was epitomized by the following remark from the Royal Commission on Population, which reported in 1949 that a systematic policy of immigration "could only be welcomed without reserve if the immigrants were of good human stock, and were not prevented by their religion or race from intermarrying with the host population and becoming merged in it." This type of attitude led the Labour government in 1947, at the time of acute labour shortage, to turn to the "displaced persons" of Europe, rather than to the colonies, for a new source of labour.

Between 1955 and 1961 an increasing number of West Indians came to Britain, they were mostly men. It is commonly believed that the reasons for this migration were primarily the poverty and deprivation of the 'sending societies', but adverse social and economic conditions in the Caribbean were a permissive factor, but not the major reason. The real impetus for migration came from Britain itself. During the years in question Britain was once again undergoing a period of labour shortage due to the deficiency of 'unskilled workers'. The state needed to attract replacement labour - it was this that directly stimulated the increase in immigration in the mid-fifties. Immigrants from the commonwealth proved to be the short-term solution to the labour shortage, as they were prepared to work awkward hours in unpleasant conditions of employment, whilst the indigenous population, generally, were not. The West Indians were basically cheap labour - while the government did not even have to pay their fare over. The fact that most of the new immigrants were male supports the notion that they were primarily responding to Britain's economic needs.

The origins of migration from the Indian subcontinent lay, once again, in the Second World War, when Indian seamen in certain British ports jumped ship and moved into the large towns to work in the factories. At the same time there was also a number of Indian doctors and students in Britain who arrived during the war and then stayed on. However the migration from India and Pakistan did not involve substantial numbers till 1961. The reason for this was not, as in the case of the West Indians, a response to labour shortage but a result of the fear that immigration controls would soon be instituted in Britain. Throughout the 1950s British governments had not considered any necessity for overall policy with regard to immigration, despite advice from some sources that legislation against discrimination should be introduced - even ignoring planners specially employed for the purpose, and who themselves operated on the level of solution by government pronouncement. With the arrival of greater numbers of Indian and Pakistani immigrants in the late 1950s the government became alarmed, and tried to persuade the 'sending societies' to institute controls. This immediately resulted in entrepreneur travel agents (operating in India and Pakistan) helping intending migrants to evade the new restrictions - thus a black market developed, and continued even after British government controls were established in 1962.

The affrays (commonly publicized, and still referred to, as riots) in the Notting Hill and Notting Dale areas of London also had far-ranging effects. The affair was presented as immigrant induced but most of the violence was directed at West Indians. It also enabled the government to attempt to persuade the various West Indian authorities to institute controls as well. But the latter refused, and the Westminster government used the riots and the Caribbean governments' reaction as a pretext for deportation provisions for commonwealth citizens "involved in serious crime".

By 1961, though, West Indian migration had reduced compared with that of the Indians and Pakistanis. However, there was now a demand in Parliament, and among certain pressure groups, for immigration controls to be introduced. This culminated in the Commonwealth

Immigrants Act of 1962. Fears that controls would be implemented led to evasion of forthcoming and then existing restrictions in Indian and Pakistan, and resulted in the authorities in those countries to remove controls completely. West Indian migrants, for the first time, began to come over irrespective of the economic conditions in Britain, and governmental decree. The situation of increasing immigration had been caused primarily by the fear of a lack of choice as to residence in the future, and the possibility of not being able to see families and friends again. So, paradoxically, the proponents of control had produced the very situation that they were trying to avoid. In retrospect it seems more than probable that many (if not most) of the new immigrants would never have ventured over here in the first place were it not for the political agitation that led to the imposition of controls.

The 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act provided for a selective system of control through the issue of employment vouchers, of which there were three categories:- a) for those who had specific jobs to come to, b) those who possessed specific skills or qualifications, and c) unskilled workers without definite prospects of employment. Not surprisingly overall priority was given to the first two categories, whilst the latter were dealt with on a 'first come, first served basis' - preference was also given to those who had served with the armed forces at some time. By 1963 the system was modified to ensure that no commonwealth country received more than a quarter of all class c) vouchers in one year. In fact they ceased to be issued altogether (albeit unofficially and underhand) by August 1964. The whole system discriminated severely against the West Indians, who only received 10 per cent of the c) vouchers issued, and even less of the other two divisions. No doubt this too contributed to a racial situation in Britain...

Results of Incompetence

The total manner in which the subject of commonwealth immigration was approached by all British governments since the war is one of the main reasons why we have a 'race relations situation' (race problem) today. For instance, Race Relations Acts were subsequently introduced, making racial discrimination in public places unlawful. These, if not directly adding to the problem, certainly exacerbated the situation, while also missing the root causes of prejudice and race thinking entirely. The state created a race situation not, as had often been unthinkingly stated, because it helped to introduce black people into this country, but because it singled out black people, whatever their origins, as a focus of special attention, as a group defined from the outside, who had to be specially controlled and manipulated. It helped to make the black and brown population into a curious mixture - presented as a threat to this society (and whose numbers had to be limited), but at the same time needed for purposes of cheap, low-grade labour. The underlying premise was that a person or a group could be used when it was convenient for government and industry, and then discarded when no longer seen as useful, and even blamed for social and economic conditions, which were and are largely beyond their control. It is like blaming the persecuted for creating the persecutor - and interestingly common accusation levelled at the Jews (examine anti-semitism, if you have the time).

The state contributed to the general hysteria and misinformation about black people. Dependents of the black labour force were as ever grudgingly received, while the arguments for repatriation began to germinate again. One of the overall effects has been to inculcate notions of the restrictions of the freedoms of the indigenous population, as a result of various race acts (Race Relations legislation), and has created images of "floods of aliens pouring into this overcrowded little island of ours." This picture is still manipulated by the press and certain politicians. The focus on black migrants, with appropriate legislation and controls, has prompted race thinking and race practice. It comes as no surprise to me to discover that those pathetic power seekers in their smug white skins (please pardon the racist undertones in this outburst) either consciously helped to create the 'race problem', or through typical incompetence enabled certain, racially self-defining groups like the National Front to grow and thrive among many ill-informed and baffled people.

The major point I am attempting to get across is that a small number of dubious characters in positions of authority are in situations where they can decide the fate of millions of people, whether directly or indirectly. This is the first issue we must challenge to obtain access to the causes of the race situation. It would be very revealing to discover what human and group relations consist of once power centres and controlling institutions are removed. At all times we must seek information, and the control of our own lives - the black population (and the brown, the yellow and those of the freckled skin) must be able to completely control theirs as well.

FILE TO YOU

NOTHING IS MORE capable of destroying the reputation than the definitive edition or the collected works. Talent like good food should be fed to the mob in small portions for if we gorge of the banquet then we go whoops on the carpet and all the limitations of the artist become a matter of onivous public interest. London is fortunate to have a number of major exhibitions by artists belonging to the school of These You Have Loved and rather than enhancing their reputations I would argue, nay state, it lowers them.

The collective works of any writer will remain unopened on the library shelves and it is only the jackal publishers hawking off the expired copyright gleanings in their booklist anthologies who will find a use for the noble dead and the same names and the same extracts will be repeated and repeated. And of the artists, always the same few works for while the Tories stand with hands on their wallets to sing Blake's Jerusalem the student left are stencilling a black and white version of Blake's watercoloured Nebuchadnezzar or God Judging Adam on the cover of the term's polemic condemning Blake to guilt by association. We move, or should move, through various emotional experiences and there was a time when I could quote Wilde's rambling rhyme by the measured inch and I laid flowers on his Paris tomb, but I love the man more because I now accept that he was a lesser artist and a humane clown so too with William Blake. I would walk the alleys off the Soho Berwick Market seeking the places where the mystic lived and stand with the gallery attendant in the fashionable Mayor Gallery in South Molton Street telling each other than Blake lived in this same Bond Street ripoff.



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But that ol' wheel goes full circle and I stand with Polish George within the Tate Gallery to pay homage to the collected works of William Blake and it is truly a magnificent exhibition but once more small and devil doubts intrude the mind. We have been fed over the years, and rightly, with the image of the simple mystic, childlike in his approach to his art. A man who literally communicated with the angels and who moved through life with the gentle innocence of one uncorrupted by the evils of the material world.

Yet here we have within this major exhibition the work of an artist who created a particular style of painting that formed a perfect marriage to his simplistic poetry and his dogmatic religious, aesthetic and philosophical assertions. Yet Blake was not God's Fool for he was a creature of his revolutionary times active in that small circle and when he wrote it was from an informed platform and when he produced his magnificent mystical paintings he was not the naive primitive producing heavenly manifestoes with faltering fingers but a trained artist deliberately and knowingly creating a particular style for a particular public. In 1797 Blake did a solid commercial line engraving advertisement for Moore's carpet firm and here is the man who knows his trade, while Blake's 1801 miniature portrait of his patron Thomas Butts

SIR

is the work of any good academic painter. If we view Blake's illustrations for Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Original Stories' created in the style of normal eighteenth century illustrators against his beautiful 'Songs of Innocence' illustrations produced almost within the same months then one must accept that here was an artist fully conscious of the fact that he was producing a particular style for a particular mood. Blake was fortunate in his friends and they paid him the ultimate compliment of copying him and one could state that the work of Samuel Palmer is no more than a pastiche of Blake's glorious woodcut illustrations for Thornton's 1820 'Virgil'. Beautiful handling of black and white, the moon mapped scenes have a depth that Palmer imitated but never improved on.

Yet within this exhibition one flaw, one fault, emerges by the very nature of the mass of work on display and it is Blake's shymaking approach to the sexual organs. I have long supped on the old tales of Blake and gentle wife seated starkers in the company of angels and who am I to raise the finger who sits in the Wellington pub drinking Guinness while the topless Go Go dancers grunt and grind, but too many times does Blake perform a Mary Whitehouse on the erotic zone for it to be accidental. His 1795 watercoloured 'Satan Exulting over Eve' is but an hermaphrodite in flight and to emphasise the particular he repeats the figure in his illustrations to his Milton's 'Paradise Lost'. It is a small point but valid for I feel that few if hardly any of the Grub Street hacks who have fed off the definitive and the collected works have mined this particular vein of literary gold.

Blake has been over exposed over the years by the politicians and the educationalists and it must follow that the iconoclast must move in. It is a worthy exhibition of a major artist and poet whom to many lesser men choose to patronise. Blake's place within our heritage is assured but the danger to that gentle man is that as with Shakespeare he will end up as cultural coinage.

But for the Town and his permissive frau quizzing glasses at the ready, heel and toe and low cut neck lines ready to bridge the years with Rowlandson's rakehells, doxies, drabs, the stage and politics in a world of cheerful immorality. It is curious that Rowlandson and Blake were born almost in the same year and both died in 1827 yet these two artists gave two utterly different windows onto their age. For Blake it was a mystical pessimism by a man seeking a social revolution based on narrow puritanic ethics and one would dread it as much as one dreads a Socialist Worker's conception of a socialist society, while Rowlandson offered, nay recorded, a seventeenth century version of a middle class Butlin's Holiday Camp. For myself I would choose Rowlandson for he is one of the few artists whose work I would cherish. These 120 drawings and watercolours on exhibition within the Royal Academy are from the collection of Paul Mellon and one must record some slight disappointment in that they do not contain any of Rowlandson's bawdy work. But having said that many thanks to Paul Mellon for allowing us to view the work of a brilliant draftsman and watercolourist. If that were all then there would be little to add but Rowlandson, as with every other artist, gave his own false version of his times. It is a world devoid of any social conscience, operating within no verifiable economy, brutal and hedonistic, randy as a dog in summer yet living out their lives as a communal society without private hate or public evil. Rowlandson is a brilliant artist and it was a pleasure to take the wine at the press view with Polish George in the images of the artist and in the company of the lovely Griselda Hamilton-Baillie for in this company here was Rowlandson in 1978 to the life my masters. Those who would seek yet more of the master's work then with the wine bibbing frau in tow and to Spinks, off Jermyn Street, by the Royal palace, and there among the gold and the silver of this expensive hock shop we viewed our reflections in these other Rowlandsons and



discussed the latest gossip concerning Brenda's sister Yvonne (Elizabeth II and Princess Margaret to those who believe that all the 20th century Rowlandsons no longer exist).

Yet the world waits and who am I to cry nay for there at the Serpentine Gallery in that fairyland of this Dingly Dell of the art world is wine, a buffet lunch and Sue Grayson, the Gallery Organiser. The wine and the food are good and Sue is very beautiful and very gentle so dare I cry enough to so much high ambition and so little talent yet I must for it is the same old rhubarb that the Bond Street galleries have been hawking for years. God knows, he cried, cutting another wedge of cheese and gazing in silent adoration in the direction of Sue as she floated through the chewing company, one wishes to praise, but the kiddies swing, the neat rows of sand, the wire and the iron girders have surely been played out and we my masters are the mete subjects for the brush and pen as we wait, wine glass in hand, for our turn to swing artwise on the children's swing within the Serpentine Art Gallery.

We are all the willing victims of the mass media and the mass media encompasses the poster industry and the pamphleteer and Polish George and I, glass in hand, made our final round of the State Art Galleries with the British Museum exhibition of lithographs from Manet to Toulouse-Lautrec which simply mean Toulouse-Lautrec and company. As always with the British Museum is a good exhibition but in the mass it demonstrates that Lautrec's work was limp and gutless. We endorse the erotic, romantic, diseased subject matter in relation to a few mass produced reproductions but when the whole body of work, in effect, is placed on public view it becomes rather mean and nasty and one feels that like much 20th century art products its acceptance is a dealers racket. Angela Flowers is moving to Convent Gardens, there are some very beautiful watercolours by K. Sopocko at the Polish Cultural Institute competing with Seago's magnificent landscapes at the Marlborough and Louis le Brocquy's studies of James Joyce at Gimpel's. A limited talent giving much pleasure but then one could type the same of Blake, Rowlandson and Toulouse-Lautrec.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

A SEMINAR is to be held at Erasmus University, Rotterdam from 3-6 January 1979 to discuss theoretical concepts concerning the relation between anarchism and law. People wishing to attend are expected to take an active part in the discussions, and one or more papers should be submitted by would-be participants before 1 October this year. The programme, reports, papers and list of participants will be sent to those taking part as far in advance of the beginning of the seminar as possible. Seminar fees will be US\$. 4.00 (app. £2 or 10 D. guilders), but participants should make their own arrangements for accommodation and meals. Subscriptions should be made in writing before 1 September 1978 to:

Thom Holterman
Faculty of Social Sciences
Erasmus University, Rotterdam
Burg. Oudlaan 50, Rotterdam
Tel: 31.10.145511 or 31.78.40737

The seminar will be conducted and organised by Prof. Henc van Maarseeven, head of the Constitutional Law Department of the Social Sciences Faculty of Erasmus University. The reason for holding a seminar on anarchism and law is given below:

ANARCHISM AND LAW

ANARCHISM as a political theory seems to be attracting increasing attention, not only in the social and political sciences, but also among politically active young people. In addition, the way the law is extending more and more into new fields and its increasing volume and detailedness is clearly one reason why society is becoming more complex.

Anarchism and jurisprudence are both concerned with political and social organisation, and law is one of the instruments for putting that organisation into practice in everyday life. Nevertheless, the relation between anarchism, jurisprudence and law is obscure. Does anarchism reject law and jurisprudence? People generally believe it does, but is this correct? Is it, in fact, true to say that all anarchism rejects law or that anarchism rejects all law? Is law incompatible with anarchism? Most people would say that it is, but are they right - is all law incompatible with all anarchism?

Put in this way, the questions suggest that anarchism is the negation of law and vice versa, in other words that the two are mutually exclusive. This approach to the problem is both oversimplified and stereotyped, using as it does only one concept of anarchism and one concept of law. To put it another way, the view which each has of the other is naive and lacking in perception. For jurisprudence, anarchism represents a descent into chaos, anomy and each for him/herself, and for anarchism law is no more than the command of the state, compliance with which is ensured by coercion or the tyranny of the state.

THE CONCEPT OF ANARCHISM

Anarchism can be seen as a generic term covering numerous variations on a particular political philosophy. The elements of this philosophy can be classified according to the importance they attach to the setting up of free organisations (an-archy) or the criticism of unfree organisations (hier-archy). Always there is an overwhelming concern with the presence of imposed power (hier-archy) or its absence (an-archy). From this fixation a multitude of themes have been developed. Anarchism can be achieved as part of a socialist movement, but it can also develop to become a political-psychological sketch of the rebellious human being, as Camus put before us.

Kropotkin in his book entitled *Modern Science and Anarchism* provided a reasonably satisfactory definition for the time in which he was writing of who anarchists are: 'The anarchists conceive a society in which all the mutual relations of its members are regulated, not by laws, not by authorities, whether self-imposed or elected, but by mutual agreement between the members of that society, and by a sum of social customs and habits - not petrified by law, routine or superstition, but con-

tinually developing and continually readjusted, in accordance with the ever-growing requirements of a free life, stimulated by the progress of science, invention and the steady growth of higher ideals.'

It was from this historical background that other forms of anarchist thought developed: anarchism as a theory of change with open-ended models in which evolution brought about by direct action has greater support than a historical idea of revolution; anarchism as paradigmatic thinking and no longer as utopian thinking; anarchism as a theory of popular participation and at the same time of innovation, whereby the organisation of society is based on the cooperation of equals and no longer has a pyramidal structure; and anarchism as an exclusively critical theory that has desisted from offering alternatives.



THE CONCEPT OF LAW

Law in the sense of the state's command is a comparatively recent phenomenon. As a body of rules developed by society of its own free will, structuring the expectations of its members, law is much older. As an institution, law presupposes neither hierarchy nor anarchy; in this respect it is neutral. It goes without saying, though, that a given law in a given society may no longer be neutral, but reflects the political and social situation present in that society. One can point to certain periods in western history when the concept of 'vertical' legal authority was scarcely in evidence; these were the periods of people's law. Similarly, there are plenty of examples of other cultures, in particular in black Africa, which have been based on custom rather than on laws enforced from above.

Jurisprudence has developed in far more directions and has fostered many more schools of thought than anarchism, and their history goes much further back. Besides a functional theory of law, there is a Marxist one; besides the theory of the 'Freirechtslehre' there is a theory of the legal consciousness, and besides the historical schools the cybernetic and systems theories.

NEW APPROACH

In the face of the old concepts, one can adopt a new approach based on the idea that anarchism can no longer ignore and avoid law and that jurisprudence can no longer disregard anarchism. Negation is thus replaced by the concept of a connection between the two. This results in two questions, each representing a different aspect of the same problem: first, is it possible to have an anarchist theory of law? Second, is it possible to have a legal theory of anarchism?

At this stage, the extent to which there can be said to be descriptive, explanatory, alternative, critical or development theories in relation to these questions has to be left out of account. The questions in themselves seem to be sufficiently relevant, both politically and socially, to merit devoting a seminar to them.

GOD BASHING

ONCE, in a well-known left wing bookshop the manager deplored the existence of free-thought literature and questioned the efficacy of 'God-bashing'. Given the Communist Party's frequent alliances with trendy left wing clergymen and the frequent attempts to identify communism with christianity it is understandable that they should soft pedal the anti-God campaign, so notorious in the Soviet Union in the heady early days of the bolshevik seizure of power.

At the same time it must be admitted that the whole idea of anti-religious propaganda (besides being a particularisation and a specialisation) has a curiously old-fashioned air in this supposedly materialistic age. That is why recent revivals of the offence of blasphemy have been so peculiarly shocking, as in this day and age they would seem to be anachronistic. God no longer seems to have the power to not be mocked with impunity.

The anarchists in their anti-authoritarian stand, which is basic, have always necessarily taken up a position against authoritarian religion and embraced scientific rationalism - as part of the socialist heritage.

Bakunin reversed the phrase of Voltaire, "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him", by writing, "If God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him." Humankind has, in accordance with Voltaire's truism gone on inventing Gods throughout history - making them in humanity's own image. Using the invention to justify every injustice, evil, slavery and tyranny which existed. Co-existent with this has been the human weakness and need for a comforting explanation of the human condition. Such explanations as depend on the acceptance of external authority, divine or human, must necessarily be rejected with the consequent abolition of such gods.

The contentions of scientific rationalism are in themselves insufficient today to maintain an anti-religious position, for such is the flexibility of non-conformist, disestablished modern christianity that it is quite capable of sawing off the branch on which it is sitting and remaining poised in mid-air. The attempts and necessity for survival of the protestant church and its ministers have made it intellectually flexible in the same way that the catholic church has always been politically and socially flexible in the cause of its own survival.

Indeed the foundations, the concept of rational man and woman have been undermined by the wide growth and acceptance of irrational doctrines. C.E.M. Toad once said as the figure of God fades away its place is taken by the hoarsely ranting figure with the lank forelock, toothbrush moustache and trenchcoat. The irrational basis of much which passes for political sense is obvious, whilst the waves of insanity which have swept over the world in the name of political and religious creeds are endemic.

CONT. FROM 14

GOODMAN

that still exist in our society. It was an anarchism always supported by a wide learning - for despite his personal bohemianism Goodman deeply respected real scholarship - and by a deep consciousness of the importance of modern psycho-analytical discoveries that he shared with other anarchists of our time like Herbert Read and Alex Comfort and Marie Louise Berneri. I am not quite sure at this stage whether it was Marie Louise and John Hewetson in England or Paul in the United States who first became aware of the writings of Wilhelm Reich and their value to an anti-authoritarian life view and life style, but all three were discussing him in 1945, and there are some excellent passages in *Nature Heals* which divide Reich's valuable insights from the eccentricities of his later years and from the vestigial authoritarianism he inherited from classic psychoanalytical doctrine. Goodman was also an excellent interpreter of the Gestalt tradition, and completely avoided the profitable charlatanism into which his one-time associate Fritz Perls eventually dragged that movement.

Everywhere in these three volumes (which are much too varied in interests and subjects for a detailed discussion in an ordinary review) the man Goodman emerges in all his personal oddity, irascible and kind, foolhardy and also weak yet so aware of it that weakness became a force of strength, prepared for poverty and obscurity but surprisingly graceful in his acceptance of a temporary modicum of celebrity, passionately

Psychology and psychiatry, being comparatively new sciences have purportedly unveiled irrational motivations for humanity's supposedly intelligent activities, which for a large part are self-destructive, leading even to the theory of humanity's collective death wish.

Even atheistic materialistic communism has exhibited parallels with religions: indeed, it may be said that communism itself is a religion. Its authoritarian aspects make easy the transition (or conversion) from communism to catholicism - or vice versa - one authority merely replacing another. The parallels of the worship of state and party authority are easy to see. The mystical doctrine of the dialectical process. The heaven of the classless, free society of the future - always placed well in the future. The doctrine of the transitional period with its resource to the christian idea of 'original sin.' Even the Old Testament belief in the chosen people has an echo in the 'historic mission of the working class.' The holy trinity of communism are surely Marx, Engels and Lenin. Its devils are numerous and replaceable. From Trotsky to the anarchists, from capitalists to the liberal bourgeoisie, from the Czar to Stalin and Hitler, there is no shortage of devils to blame for the evils and sins which plague communism.

State communism exhibits much of the requisites for power analysed by Dostoevsky in the fable of the Grand Inquisitor incorporated in his novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, where the inquisitor demonstrates to an all-too-human christ figure the need for miracle, mystery and authority. These three factors are present in all authoritarian religions and echo the exploitations of human weaknesses by religion from St Paul and the Buddha, from Confucius to Billy Graham; from Ra to Aimee Semple MacPherson.

But the miracle cult is also to be found elsewhere, in politics where the leader finds a solution to problems which have (within the current framework) no solution; in admass where advertised products have a miracle solution to human dilemmas; in the miracle of gambling, chance and opportunity of winning the pools or bingo. The miracle of progress through science.

The mystery of the dream world of fantasy in the popular fictions of tv, radio and popular songs. The mystery of royalty and the cult figures of popular hagiology. The mysteries of astrology, widespread superstition, the minor fundamentalist cults springing from christianity and the occult entanglements owing much to Eastern influences.

The authority of Big Brother, the deceiving comfort of sinking back into the arms of the true church, the party and the all-seeing state. The unquestioned authority of the nationalist or racialist myth. The authority of science, the doctors and the experts have replaced that of the priests. And as Ingersoll put it, "If we'd obeyed all the doctors said we'd be dead, if we obeyed the priests we'd be mad and had we obeyed the kings we would all be slaves." The authorities have changed somewhat, but the perils are still there.

These three threads are still weaving their nooses for humanity.

JACK ROBINSON

sympathetic to the rebellious American youth of the 1960s but thoroughly aware of the latent authoritarianism in some of their organisations, conscious of the good logic of Buddhist non-attachment yet always desiring because that was the human condition.

Goodman was a bisexual of some notoriety in New York, since he unashamedly followed his style of life (about which he talks openly in *Nature Heals*) long before Gay Liberation became a respectable cause, and even radicals in the 1940s and 1950s were embarrassed to be associated with this amiable and humane man governed by what seemed to them a strangely aberrant predilection for cruising and groping in public places. But Goodman believed above all in being true to the only self he had, and if he appeared to others a "sexual clown", as one good New York libertarian described him in my presence, he recognised the value and virtue of a clown's basic honesty.

I never met Paul Goodman, but we corresponded intermittently for thirty years until a month before his death in 1972, and I remember a seriousness, a passion and a charm in his letters that all appear again in these volumes. A writer so personal is rather like the hero of the old Gracie Fields song: "He's dead, but he won't lie down!" I think that might be a good epitaph for Paul Goodman, whose ideas, because of rather than despite the troubled tentativeness with which he expressed them, are likely to circulate productively for a long time to come. As I have said elsewhere, "He may well have been the only truly seminal libertarian thinker in our generation", by which I mean the generation he and I shared, the post-Read generation.

GEORGE WOODCOCK