

WE WELCOME News, reviews, articles, letters, cartoons, etc. Copy deadline for next issue, Monday, 6 November. Send to Editors, FREEDOM, 84b Whitechapel High Street (Angel Alley), London E1.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE: Thursday, 9 November.

Groups

- ABERYSTWYTH.** Mike Sheehan, 2 South St. Aberystrwyth
- BRISTOL City.** 4 British Road, Bristol BS3 3BW
BRISTOL Students. Libertarian Society, Students Union, Queen's Road, Bristol 8.
- CAMBRIDGE.** Raphael Salkie, Queen's College, Cambridge
- Cardiff Anarchist Group: Write c/o 108 Bookshop, Salisbury Road, Cardiff.
- CORB.** Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.
- COVENTRY.** John England, 48 Spencer Av, Earlsdon, Coventry
- DERBY (and environs)** Anarchists/Libertarians. All two of us welcome collaborators. Contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 368678
- EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians,** Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex
- EXETER Anarchist Society,** Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter
- HASTINGS.** Steve, 18a Markwick Terrace, St Leonards-on-sea, Sussex
- HIGH BENTHAM.** Ask at The Dragonfly on Market Day (Wednesday)
- HUDDERSFIELD** anarchist group: meetings every two weeks. For details phone 0484-38156 (Polytechnic students' union).
- LEAMINGTON & Warwick,** c/o 42 Bath St. Leamington Spa
- LEEDS,** Box 101 'Leeds Other Paper', 30 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2
- MALVERN & Worcester area,** Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern, Worcs.
- MANCHESTER.** See NW Federation
- NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.** Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG
- NORWICH Anarchist Group,** c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St (tel: 582506) or 15 Scotholme Av, Hyson Green (tel: 708302)
- OXFORD - suspended during vacation**
- PORTSMOUTH - change of address pending**
- READING University anarchists,** c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.
- SHEFFIELD** Autonomous Anarchists. Write to Sheffield Libertarian Society, P.O. Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE
The groups at the above address are: Sheffield Autonomous Anarchists, Black Cross Group, IWW, Syndicate of Initiative, John Creaghe Memorial Society
- SWANSEA,** Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea
- THAMES VALLEY** Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd, Maidenhead (tel: 062 2974)
- WESTON-super-Mare,** Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd, Weston-super-Mare, Som.
- WILTSHIRE.** Comrades in Swindon wish to start an anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get in touch with

Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

FEDERATIONS

LONDON
Anarchist Communist Assn, c/o 182 Upper St, Islington N.1.
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor Av.
Tel: 359-4794 before 7 pm.

Freedom Collective, 84b Whitechapel High St (Angel Alley), E1 (tel: 247-9249)
Hackney Anarchists. Contact Dave on 249-7042
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston upon Thames (tel: 549-2564)
London Workers' Group, Box W. 182 Upper St. N.1. (Tel: 249-7042)
Love v. Power, Box 779, Peace News (London office: 5 Caledonian Road

West London Anarchists, 7 Pennard Road, W12

KENT

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road
Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Road

MIDLANDS

Secretariat: c/o Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Av, Derby DE3 3BY, tel: 0332-3686 678

Groups in the Federation include Corby, Coventry, Derby, Leamington/Warwick, Nottingham, Oxford, Sheffield (all separately listed), Birmingham. Also:

LEICESTER. Contact: Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester, tel: 0533-21250 (days) or 0533-414060 (nights).

Newly formed

NORTH-EASTERN ANARCHIST FEDERATION
Secretariat: Leeds Anarchists, Box 101, 30 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2. Publishes mthly bulletin.

NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION
c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester M1
Newsletter & quarterly meetings. Contacts in other areas.

MANCHESTER SOLIDARITY group has also recently reformed and now holds regular monthly meetings. Our members are involved in a number of local groups and activities which takes up much of our time but we intend to arrange some occasional 'readers meetings' to discuss specific 'Solidarity' politics. For further information write to: SOLIDARITY (Manchester), c/o 109 Oxford Rd, Manchester 13.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION
Secretary: Nina Woodcock, 17 Cheviot Cres., Flintry, Dundee.
Aberdeen: c/o A.P.P., 163 King Street
Glasgow: c/o Box G.P.P., 146 Holland Street, Glasgow G2 4NG

ADDITIONS TO GROUPS:-

LEICESTER. Anarchist group. Lyn Hurst, 41 Briarfield Drive, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21250 (days)
0533-414060 (nights)
Bookshop. Blackthorn, Highcross St, Leicester. Tel: 0533-21896.
Libertarian Education. 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester. Tel: 0533-552085.

CHELTENHAM Anarchist Group. Contact JERRY at 73093.

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Meetings

RELEASE THE 6 BENEFIT.
Classical guitar, Julian Wright.
Music by Hector Villa-Lobos, John W. Duarte, John Dowland, Terence Croucher, Alexander Tansman, JS Bach, Moreno-Torroba, Isaac Albeniz, Francisco Tarrega.
At Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Monday, 30 October. 7.30 pm. Tickets £1.00. Unwaged 50p.

Independent Workers' Groups - What Are They? A public meeting organised by London Workers' Group. 30 October. Rising Free. 8.00 pm.

Direct Action Movement. Anarcho-syndicalist Conference. 11/12 November
Sat. 11. 10.00-1.00 (small) Conway Hall. 2.00-6.00 Holborn Library small hall.
Sun. 12. 10.00-6.00 (small) Conway Hall. Creche, socials etc. More details from Box W., 182 Upper St, Islington, N.1.

Press Fund

5 - 18 OCTOBER 1978 incl.

WALTON ON THAMES, JW: £5.80;
LONDON ECL, SD: £1.00; LONDON W5, JH: £1.00; CHELTENHAM, JL: £1.00;
LONDON SE5, JL: £1.00; GWYNEDD, MB: £1.00; YARDLEY WOOD, MW: £3.85; WOLVERHAMPTON, JL: £1.00;
JKW: £0.10; ABERYSTWYTH, MS: £5.00; WOLVERHAMPTON, JL: £1.00;
JKW: £0.10 (again!); HULL, NB: £0.30;
NY, USA, WTS: £0.50.

TOTAL	£ 22.15
PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED	ED £920.21
TOTAL TO DATE	£942.36

TYPEWRITER FUND

11 September - 4 October 1978

TELFORD, MA: £0.80; ABINGDON, MB: £10.00; WIMBORNE, DM: £2.40;
GLASGOW, WB: £1.00; HEBDEN BRIDGE, KC: £2.80; WOLVERHAMPTON, JL: £1.00; NEW ORLEANS USA, JC: £5.00; MANCHESTER, GL: £4.00;
WESTERN ONTARIO CANADA, AB: £19.00; HUDDERSFIELD, MN: £0.80;
CARDIFF, BJC: £2.50; LONDON W2, TO'D: £10.00; IN SHOP, B: £1.00;
ANON, £1.00.

TOTAL	£ 61.30
PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED	GED £320.00

TOTAL TO DATE	£381.60
TARGET	£1000.00

STILL TO GO	£ 618.40
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Freedom Press
IN ANGEL ALLEY
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
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PHONE 01 247 9249

ASTRID PROLL



WELL, the ingenuity this paper referred to in its last issue has already come into play. While no-one was looking, asleep, away or drinking in the bar, an Order of Council was 'laid before Parliament' on 2 October, making a fundamental change in the extradition treaty between Britain and West Germany and having direct relevance to Astrid Proll. Lawyers seem only to have discovered it by accident. All of a sudden a UK citizen may be extradited should the Home Secretary (as he invariably does) see fit.

Contrary to FREEDOM's earlier report the Suppression of Terrorism Act came into force only this week, and thus too late to cover Astrid's case; but this has not (and will not) stopped the authorities from getting what they want by simply changing the rules a bit.

Meanwhile, the Friends of Astrid Proll are continuing to produce press releases and pamphlets as well as to picket Bow Street Magistrates' Court every Tuesday from 10 am onwards. Their pamphlet 'Astrid Proll. The case against her extradition' is available from 'Friends of Astrid Proll', 109 Backchurch Lane, London E.1. Cheques to FAP, Acct. No. 50062315 Coop Bank, Leman St, E.1.

You can help by affiliating to the campaign, either as an individual or as an organisation; making public statements of support for Astrid, passing union resolutions; sending donations; writing to papers, MPs etc., speaking on radio phone-in programmes, putting up posters at your place of work, collecting signatures for F.A.P. petition.

Persons Unknown

'Persons Unknown Huddersfield' are preparing a petition to the Home Secretary protesting about the conditions under which Iris Mills is being held and demanding her immediate transfer to Holloway. Copies of the petition can be obtained from: 173 Yews Hill Road, Lockwood, Huddersfield, HD1 3SP.

down under

ABOUT 30 people turned up at British Airways on Thursday, 6 October. Groups of 'unknown persons' (mostly masked) picketed in protest at the forthcoming conspiracy trial and lack of bail for the six British 'dissidents'. Graffiti denouncing the growing British police state, and stickers denouncing the Anti-Terrorist Squad were abundant. Anarcha-feminists, IWW General Defence Committee local no. 5, black flags, sandwich board posters and signs announced to passers-by and BA employees the six names and the falsehood of the 'conspiracy' charges. Some songs (to be collected for the forthcoming Black & Red songbook) were sung, statements deep and profound warbled, and generally morale stayed high.

Police began to move in, so due to our mobility we moved on into the street, against the oncoming traffic. We put down the present State elections and celebrated the Pope's death (at whose hands?) as we arrived at St James (a busy) railway station. Short but precise speeches were made to the commuter crowds and then we marched on to the Sydney Town Hall. As it was late night shopping many leaflets were given out. A car load of cretins tried to run through the crowd but we were able to dent the offending commodity a few times as it passed. The owners complained to the POLICE who then found us again. After an exciting chase a woman was captured for 'offensive behaviour'; she was later released on \$50 bail! As police numbers grew we decided to disband, especially to get our comrade released.

PETER VERIL (Sydney Anarchists)
THE Persons Unknown case continues much as before. Trevor Dawton has had his bail extended for a further three weeks. At the hearing where this occurred (no other bail in sight) the magistrate indicated that it was about time the police made some moves towards committal. Something is expected at the hearing this Thursday (26th). Even after committal it will be several months before continued on page 2

German Autumn

THE phrase 'autumn in Germany' (Deutschland im Herbst) is no longer so innocent sounding as it was once. It has acquired a special meaning. It has become synonymous with that rapid and tragic chain of events which began back in August 1977 when the prisoners' group in Stammheim was deliberately broken up by the government. The hunger and thirst strike that followed led in its turn to the desperate effort to liberate them through the kidnapping of Schleyer; then came the Mogadishu hijacking and the deaths of Gudrun Ensslin, Jan-Carl

continued on page 2



a.b.c TRIAL

THE prosecution in the ABC trial continues to enjoy itself playing at Secrets and Conspiracies. They are obviously so full of it that they just can't see how ridiculous they are. Even the cheapest TV series wouldn't try to get away with a script like this. Personally I don't find these things entertaining on televis-

continued on page 2



autumn in germany

continued from page 1

Raspe and Andreas Baader, as well as of Schleyer, and of Ingrid Schubert (above) in a men's prison in Munich a few weeks later.

The terrifying climate of that German autumn can be illustrated not only by the self-muzzling of the bourgeois press during the government crisis, but by the frenzied witch hunt against the left radical and anarchist groups, the 'sympathisers' and the 'sympathisers with the sympathisers'. These 'spiritual terrorists', as even liberal Catholic writers like Heinrich Boell were dubbed, were held responsible for the whole development of urban guerrilla war.

But what above all gave that autumn a touch of classic Greek tragedy of the highest order was the row over the burial of the three Stammheim prisoners in the sacred ground of Stuttgart cemetery. It was an astonishing row which can be par-

alleled only with the Sophoclean drama of Antigone. (Save for the ultimate refusal of the Stuttgart mayor, son of General Rommel, to play the role of Creon and leave the bodies outside the city walls).

A year has passed and autumn has come to England. Even though - with the already distant exception of the Angry Brigade - no revolutionary group has yet engaged in armed conflict with the British state, in order to destroy it. Where Britain is concerned it has not been necessary to await such groups. The increasingly repressive nature of the regime here is due to the realisation by the state of the growing weakness of its economic and political, social and moral credibility. As anarchists we are still, perhaps, light years from convincing most people of the viability or even the beauty of our ideas. Yet the malaise with the 'democratic' system is unmistakable. In the process liberal posturings have become

a luxury for modern government.

In Federal Germany (as the centre pages of this issue show) the legislative is being continually used to rubber stamp practices that are in flagrant conflict with post-war constitutional principles. In Britain, where use of the law has always been more economical, the government doesn't need to whip backbenchers into endorsement of its policies but can merely do so through general (mal)-practice, as in the case of the police, or through an 'exchange of notes' between governments, as in the case of Astrid Proll (see separate news item). Autumn in England has established itself well and truly. But winter follows autumn and, to use another phrase, we must make sure that it'll be a 'Winter of Discontent' - a winter that we can use to develop a revolutionary offensive out of what seem at this moment to be positions of pure defence.

A.B.C

continued from page 1

ion and even less when real consequences could follow. The succession of military witnesses clam up on anything that could be called a fact. One couldn't bring himself to confirm that the Government Communications Headquarters is in Cheltenham, even when shown a recruitment booklet with the address and a photo. 'Secret' now appears to be a retroactive description. A 'secret' is, from this moment in time, whatever the government chooses not to want to talk about. It doesn't matter that everybody knows all about it, if we say it's a secret, then it is. This megalomania is really reaching alarming proportions.

Star of the week has been our old friend Hugh Johnstone. Hugh is shy, as we all know, so we must be grateful that in the public interest he managed to stand up in full public view. Well, some of the time. The court kept going in camera or without a jury, or whatever, all to save the good colonel's embarrassment. He discussed the 'crucial role' of Signals Intelligence, without which 'other services are blind and deaf'. Now, get this one: "Without contradiction by any expert, I can say that SIGINT is the key component in the overall intelligence effort". Of course, he has no fear of argument.

The case continues, as they say.

persons unknown

continued from page 1

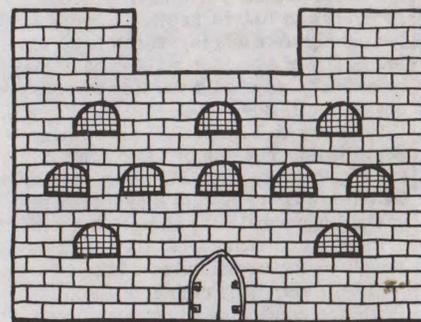
the trial. Our comrades have now been in maximum security, category A, for up to five months. Taff still has stomach problems. There are also still problems with his mail. One good point: Iris is now allowed a visit after the weekly court appearance.

Routine harassment of support groups goes on. In Manchester an old address was burgled. Money was left behind, but papers were obviously looked through. In Liverpool a member of the local group had occasion to phone the local radio station from a pub. He was told to hang up, as it was a bad line, and he would be phoned back. After a few minutes he became worried and left the pub to walk to a phone box 150 yards away. A car pulled up and six plain clothes police leapt out and body searched him in the street. Mail from the London group to Liverpool was delivered opened. One comrade sent two letters containing Persons Unknown and State Research pamphlets to addresses in Germany. One arrived, the other didn't. A while later the second address received an official notification from the local state that their mail was being intercepted and some material confiscated, as a 'person unknown' at that address was 'suspected of supporting a criminal organisation'.

£1000 Demolish a Prison Fund

Every £5 received in
donations to

Persons Unknown removes one brick



in support of RONAN IRIS
TAFF STEW VINCE & TREV
PERSONS UNKNOWN desperately need money.

The bank account is at rock bottom. The money is used for books and food for the five inside, postage, publicity, printing and propaganda. Rush your donations to Persons Unknown (London), D. P. F., Box 123, 182 Upper Street, London N.1. Every issue of FREEDOM will carry news of how much we have received.

WHITE LION



WHITE LION Free School is facing another manifestation of the constant cycle of money problems. Last summer the School nearly had to close (see FREEDOM vol. 38 no. 13, 9.7.77). All they really needed was for the Inner London Education Authority to pay 'capitation', the sum per pupil provided to state schools. However, ILEA refused to do this, seemingly because they resented freedom. All schools had to fit into the state system, and White Lion Street was lumped in with prestigious 'independents' like the public schools, to be squeezed out. They were prepared to provide money for the school to be used as a dumping ground for non-attenders and the like, but the school was proudly defiant - they were a school and in effect a community centre. All the pupils lived within a few hundred yards. They weren't going to see their achievement converted into a convenient dustbin for the system's failings. They were in real trouble; their sources of funding were drying up and they said that they would have to

close in the summer.

This is the tragedy of free schools, and indeed of alternative projects in general. Those concerned wear themselves out trying to keep the venture financially viable. Everybody acknowledges the achievements, if somewhat patronisingly. And then, when the collapse comes, not smugly, "See, we said it would never work". Time has taken a heavy toll on free schools. Three have closed this year. Liverpool, Manchester and Leeds are in desperate trouble. London is now down to two - White Lion Street and Kirkdale (see FREEDOM vol. 38, no. 15, 6.8.77). The Community School in North Kensington is to become part of ILEA's 'Disruptive Pupils' Scheme'. ILEA still want to undermine the other two in this way. Kirkdale, in Sydenham, has the usual problem of premises; their building is owned by a housing association which wants to redevelop it. They avoid the immediate financial crisis to some extent by means tested parental contributions. At present they

have 35 children and four teachers.

White Lion Street has 37 primary and secondary and 15 nursery children. They have just been refused ILEA money again and said that they would have to close at Christmas. But now things look more optimistic. They have received £8,000 from the Cripplegate Foundation and a further £1,000 from the anonymous donor who helped save them last year. With new enthusiasm they have painted the front door and portico (an impressive structure; the premises are listed as of historic interest). They have also won the support of Islington council. The social services say that they would leave a huge gap if they had to close. The council have put their weight behind a recommendation that the school should receive a three year grant under the Urban Partnership Aid Scheme. The final decision will be made on 6 or 7 November and things look bright. It seems that this inspiring project has been saved.

D. P.

THE LAST ANTI-NUCLEAR FESTIVAL



25th DECEMBER 1978 - 7th JANUARY 1979
ALMOST FREE THEATRE · 9 RUPERT ST. W1.

- street theatre events
- inflatables
- films from many countries
- photo exhibition
- slide shows
- silent video movies
- lectures by eminent speakers
- plays, music
- books, pamphlets, badges

H.A.G.

THE Hastings Anarchist Group continues its record of militancy. They have their own weekly newsheet (HAG News/Poison Pen) and they've been involved in many local issues. They print exposures of local dignitaries, survival advice and relevant news. Recently they were involved in disrupting a council meeting over redevelopment plans for their last remaining local cinema. They've sent FREEDOM a range of reports, a letter, the newsheet and the local paper. As they say, "We all know the capitalist press distorts the news but it really brings it home to you if you're actually involved".

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NEW RATES

One year	£ 6.00 (\$12.00)
Six months	£ 3.00 (\$6.00)
Five issues	£ 1.25 (\$2.50)

In several earlier articles, including 'Night Falls on Germany' (24 December 1977) and 'The Agit Case' (27 May 1978), FREEDOM has reported on the attack being carried out against the left in the FRG today. The following essay looks in more detail at how this is being done through the law and at the way it must be opposed, with particular reference to the censorship or muzzle law, para. 88a.

MUCH has been said about the political situation in the Federal Republic of Germany. Not only that the ruling class are prepared to do almost anything to criminalise and thus effectively neutralise counter movements within the system but, even more, that as a 'democratic' state it is obliged to legalise its repressive measures. The legal machine has made significant steps in this direction - witness the emergency laws, defence exclusion laws, continuing laws against 'terrorist association', the whole gamut of 'anti-terror' laws, to mention but a few. With such laws the FRG appears to have built up a scaffolding for future political and economic contingencies.

F.R.G-THE INNER

In January 1976 the German parliament passed a law on the 'unconstitutional advocacy of criminal acts', paragraph 88a, generally known as the 'muzzle law' (Maulkorbparagraph).

Under this law prison sentences of up to 3 years face anyone who 'distributes, publishes, announces, exhibits or in any other way makes available, or who is connected with, supplies, offers, stocks, delivers, commends' etc., books, journals, magazines or any other documentation.

Hardly had this been implemented (May 1976) than in August 1976 this law was used to justify the most massive raids yet against left-wing bookshops. On the morning of 18 August left-wing bookshops in Hamburg, Cologne, Tübingen, Heidelberg, Bochum, Berlin and Munich were searched by the security forces. Books and magazines were confiscated and four booksellers were temporarily arrested, three of them released that same day. A comrade from the 'Politische Buchhandlung' in Bochum was held for 8 days in prison. According to the search warrant the raids were directed first and foremost against the journal *Revolutionärer Zorn* (Revolutionary Rage) which is published by the Revolutionary Cells, an illegal guerrilla group operating in the FRG. The 'Andere Buchladen' (Alternative Bookshop) in Cologne was also raided, but none of the papers being searched for were found. On 11 May 1978 the trial began in the district court of Cologne of Friedhelm B., the former proprietor of the shop (see also FREEDOM, 27 May no. 10, 'The Agit Case'). He was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment suspended on 2 years' probation and a fine of DM 1.500 for 'unconstitutional support of illegal acts' (88a). It is not important at this stage to describe the proceedings: the scenario of political trials in the FRG is already described often enough and each one is nearly always identical to the next.

In the hands of the executive, para 88a touches upon all aspects of freedom of information and opinion 'guaranteed' by article 5 of the Basic Law (Constitution). Its - deliberately - vague formulation enables both state security and state prosecution to act as they please. Para 88a is not aimed at specifically criminal acts but on the potential threat contained in the publication of books and journals which debate the issue of violence. "... We are not concerned with single works, whether books or magazines; we are not concerned with individuals ... Much more important is the question of the milieu from which they come, the question of the addressees. The people concerned are connected with these left-wing bookshops and the latter in turn are an important instrument inside the opposition movement. The state prosecution's image of the enemy is now fixed. According to its research there are 147 publishing houses, 27 booksellers and 108 bookshops which distribute around 2000 single revolutionary titles ... The VLB (Association of Left Bookshops) has already been described as a 'criminal association'. In fact the whole spectrum of debating circles which see capitalism as a class system - and thus system of violence - has been affected". (Quoted from the publicity of the Alternative Bookshop, Cologne).

Not a squeak of protest was raised against the passing of para 88a. Not even the 'progressive' wing of the Social Democrats, apart from some timid deliberation, took any action

over this direct attack on 'freedom of opinion and information'. On the contrary, they agreed with the muzzle law. Only today, now para 88a has also been aimed on 'the most blind', have critical voices been heard within the ranks of the Social Democrat and Liberal parties, regretting the passing of the law and seeking to change it. That these verbal reservations have been made merely to soothe their guilty consciences goes without saying. They have recently allied themselves with that 'rebel' fraction of their parties - as did the representative of the Writers' Union and SPD parliamentary chairman D. Lattmann - in speaking out against 88a in parliament; but Lattmann still refused to endorse that alliance when it came to the final vote.

In contrast to the ignorance to the ignorance and apathy of the 'progressive Democrats', the left recognised the extent of the threat entailed by the legalisation of censorship. It thus fell to them to take responsibility for articulating and organising opposition to it in the FRG. But despite their campaigns, demonstrations and various other actions the left has failed to galvanise public opinion. This can be attributed to two factors:-

1) The left lives in a ghetto, into which it has increasingly withdrawn since 1969 and which is now threatening to collapse;

2) Other popular movements - in part even the citizens' action movement (1) - failed to realise that the laws covered in effect all publications.

The left's recognition of its own helplessness, however, had and has led to serious consequences, which must be acted upon. If this is not done it will no longer be possible to understand - from our point of view - the desolate situation of the German left, a situation caused not only by these laws but by the whole repressive context of the Federal Republic. But of this the application of para 88a provides a good example.

HOW IT ALL ENDS (2)

In the spring of 1978 para 88a was re-activated. No. 4 of *Revolutionärer Rage* was confiscated, shortly followed by the book *RAF Texts*, which has been published in Sweden. If in 1976 reaction to the actions of the State Security was evident and attempts at or calls to censorship, or self-censorship, rejected (on the part of the left), in 1978 there was no open debate about the actions of the 'Thought Police'. Reaction to them was one of numbed shock. There was no public outcry: the public and especially the left in Cologne, proceeded quickly with their day to day affairs.

The furtive joy (3) of the 'Thought Police' can only be met head on with public protest at each case of censorship. At the same time it is essential to hold an internal discussion on the material which is banned and confiscated. In that they are trying to ban certain books through the introduction of censorship laws, discussion on certain themes is also being made illegal. For instance, discussion within the left on the legitimacy of political violence, the need for resistance, the use of strikes in political struggle, on citizens' action groups, the structural violence of capitalist relations, the development of government secrecy, etc. The ruling class is simultaneously creating the means of criminalising discussion in those social areas which still see themselves as being supportive of the state. For example, the trade unions. A muzzle law which, in the first instance, affects a so to speak more exclusive circle, will block the development of a broader counter coalition. The confusion experienced by the West German unions and the overbearing ignorance of union officials with regard to these social tendencies, makes effective propaganda more difficult. Para 88a and also 130a - the so-called 'invitation to criminal acts' - is in this context a legal instrument guaranteeing the "tranquillity and social peace of a Tombstone State". In order to sell it to a bourgeois public a connection has been elaborated between criminal and political attitudes, through a replacement of political argument with emotional and tendentious manipulation of publicity.

So what does such criminalisation mean for the left bookshops? To bend the knee to state censorship is to submit to a general purge of all titles which could conceivably be banned through publishers and bookshops. How far-reaching this

would be is, however, not legally defined! It is thus left to the booksellers and publishers and printers themselves to decide how to interpret the law and how far they will go in their interpretation.

In the aftermath of the last raid on the Alternative Bookshop in Cologne it must be asked whether censorship/self censorship should not be ignored. Neither the contents of the incriminated articles, nor the attitude of the bookshop collective were opposed to open discussion. While for some, discussion on armed conflict was already resolved and an alteration of the political situation would not need re-examination of it, for others it was clear in advance that the state security people were poised to take over the shop. A discussion on the contents of *Revolutionärer Rage* and *RAF Texts* was, at least in public, no longer possible. Yet argument and formation of public opinion is only possible if the problems contained in *RR* and *RAF Texts*, as well as the function of left-wing bookshops, are brought into the open. To have no open discussion is to have censorship, and self-censorship becomes superfluous. The alternative to such a state of affairs must be: an offensive against every case of censorship/self-censorship and, in consequence, a permanent formative process of public opinion.

The formation of public opinion also has another function, ie. to enable escape from the left-wing ghetto. One of the original reasons for this ghetto is surely the resignation ensuring from the rise and then collapse of the EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION, the recognition that the majority of the population in the FRG had responded little if at all to its activities. Whereas some, in a complete mis-reading of a supposedly pre-revolutionary situation, went underground, others tried to acquire a freer hand within the ruling capitalist system. The more the tendency towards a 'stronger state' crystallised here in the FRG, the more polarised the two sides became, quite apart from those who believed they could create an avant-garde through the founding of a 'communist party' of the working class.

However, the two directions outlined above are not on today's agenda. And the alternative ways, the flight into the countryside or spiritual withdrawal, far less so than going underground. Counter-action must be organised against the social tendencies towards the liquidation of opposition. This implies a fight against the illegalisation of books, papers and pamphlets, as well as the necessity of discussing forbidden subjects. Censorship cannot be fought through criticism and publicity, but rather through discussion of the subject of censorship itself. If we fail to do this then we are implicitly agreeing with those who believe that the opportunity for change in this country no longer exists. Moaning about developments in the FRG, while casting a hopeful eye over other 'democratic' countries just won't do. Italy, it should be remembered, has far harsher emergency laws.

But while the left in other countries forms public opinion,

IN BRIEF:

David McNee has gained official backing for at least some of his demands for a free hand. The Home Office is now recommending:-

The power to require a person to give his name and address,

The power to stop, question and search in the street, especially for weapons or stolen goods,

The power to search the home of an arrested person,

The power to obtain search warrants. Are we to assume that if these become official, then the rest of the police malpractice, which McNee admits to, will cease?

Meanwhile, the *Law Society Gazette* has carried a front page article attacking McNee's proposals.

The former Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Robert Mark, must be getting jealous at all McNee's recent publicity, so he has taken to shooting his mouth off about all and sundry. His most interesting admission is that the police don't actually provide any protection against thieves. He



says 'For the first time in this century the belief that the state can-or even wants to-protect people effectively from burglary, breaking offences and theft, should be abandoned' How about that, condemned out of their own mouths. I thought that this sort of protection was supposed to be one of the chief justifications for the existence of the state in the first place, "can-or even wish to" indeed. So what are all these police ac-



goes out on the streets and fights it too, whole sections of the West German left have embarked upon an 'inner emigration'. Instead of taking up a political stance on current events they draw into their own private shell. Today it is vital to bang on the table, to mobilise, that is, a broad sector of public opinion, not forgetting ourselves. An important step forward would be a broad-based attack against the censorship laws, on the level of wide-ranging public discussion on the dialectic of repression and criminalisation on the one hand and the need on the other to avoid left-wing emigration, or the retreat underground or into private life. But also on the question of organisation, so as to be able to carry out effective resistance against the reality of today.

NOTES

ALFRED MARQUARDT & GRAUCHO ANDERS
(Translation by AO)

- (1) The citizens' action movement is particularly concerned with anti-nuclear activities.
- (2) Allusion to 'Bommi' Baumann's book 'How it all began'.
- (3) In the original 'klammheimliche Freude' - a phrase almost impossible to translate, but become famous with the controversial printing of 'Mescalero's' obituary of Buback in the spring of 1977.

tually for Ask Iris, Ronan, Taff, Vince, Stew, Trev, Crispin, John, Duncan, Astrid, Liddle Towers, any black kid, gay, picketer....

Yana Mintoff and John McSherry have been fined £100 each, plus £101.50 compensation, for throwing horseshit in the House of Commons. In addition they have both been bound over, under a piece of legislation which covers crimes which "scandalise the Government"

Ramon Mercador, who killed Trotsky, has died, in Havana.

from SYDNEY
(See front page)

A pair of silk-screened posters: DON'T VOTE, IT ONLY ENCOURAGES THEM, and IF VOTING COULD REALLY CHANGE THINGS IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL have been produced and a leaflet is to be distributed at inner city polling booths. NB. A satirical 'Jump for Jesus' poster has also been produced by Sydney anarchists, prompted by the Mary Whitehouse tour and subsequent pleings and police attacks and 'general revival of the TOAD of NAZARETH'.

Manchester 14-15 OCTOBER a personal view

THE conference - it was much more a 'conference' than a 'festival' - was, for me, a disturbing experience. The organisation was much better than most anarchist 'events' - but of course there are always lessons to be learnt from every experience, and there was plenty of room for improvement. What got me down though was the state of the movement reflected in the attitudes of the people present. Here we are in a much celebrated period of expansion, whilst finding ourselves under considerable pressure, and all we can seem to manage in response is to dig ourselves into a bloody great hole.

We are failing to learn the lessons of history, failing to build on the foundations of our own experience and failing to come to grips with reality. In short, the movement is falling apart at the seams - and this is something we cannot afford to let happen.

My reasons for this harsh statement stem from my experiences in the workshops I attended at the conference and I would like to relate these.

PERSONS UNKNOWN

The 'Persons Unknown' workshop was on Saturday afternoon. Up to date details about the case were given verbally by members of the London support group and some discussion of the nature of the campaign followed. Basically, London appealed for the setting up of more provincial support groups, whilst those provincial groups already in existence tended to criticise London for not sending out enough information and pictures which are needed for propaganda work.

Also discussed was the way in which the initial police offensive paralysed the movement with everyone just diving for cover and hoping they wouldn't be the next ones raided. As was pointed out, the problems persist. People are still reluctant to write letters, sign anything or get involved - particularly in the defence of the six who have already been arrested. Obviously we are going to have to get over this paranoia if we are to survive as individuals or as a movement, otherwise we simply remain isolated and vulnerable. Fortunately a core of activists have shaken off this halter to some extent already and the conference session saw the setting up of two more provincial

defence committees and a general resolution to circulate needed information - so something was achieved. However, discussion which I raised on another aspect of the campaign was brushed aside without what I thought was proper consideration.

As I understand it, the police have based their strategy against the movement on a series of raids and other attacks, a few of which have resulted in arrests and the overall effect of which has been a high level of harassment. This was initially disguised to the members of the movement not directly involved by the choice of targets - When I first heard about the initial arrests I was inclined to dismiss it as Black Flag and the police force playing at cops and robbers again, and I know many other people who felt the same way - it wasn't really until I heard of the high level of harassment of the defence committees



that the urgency of the case became apparent to me.

What is more serious though was the way in which the authorities 'justified' their actions to the population at large. This has been through a combination of (i) keeping the whole operation quiet - except for the publicity surrounding the first one or two arrests - large parts of the population haven't heard about the episode at all, or if they have heard about it in the past they have by now forgotten it; and (ii) where information has been released, or has escaped, it has been muddled, vague and overloaded with unfounded sensationalism - talk of

'bombs', 'terrorist cells', 'conspiracies', unspecified 'caches of arms', 'revolutionary plots', 'necessary security' etc., - thus providing a smokescreen which few people outside the anarchist movement either care or dare to look beyond. The anarchist response (and this hasn't been corrected in any way to date) has not been to counter this at all. We have not produced the information which would clarify the situation, putting the police accusations in their deserved perspective and raising the indignation of the populace as well as of the movement. We have merely added to the confusion and hysteria. To a very large extent I think we are doing the authorities' work for them. As evidence for this claim I would cite:

- the choice of name of the support group;
- the stickers saying 'we are persons unknown', etc., which looked more like a promotion for a rock band and which had no accompanying activity to clarify their message whatsoever;
- the pair of badges which are clever and smart for those in the know but which do nothing to take information beyond the movement, even if people see them in the street; and
- the latest and most extreme example - the 'Free the Six and Fight Back' poster which, despite having a substantial text, still contains next to no facts and merely raises fears and prejudices which will turn most people against us. To use this sort of propaganda in provincial centres like Shrewsbury, or even Reading, or Southampton, could only be counter productive. And I suspect that this is the case even in larger centres like Manchester and London - except in a few small radical enclaves.

When I put this point of view in the workshop it was opposed on the grounds that 'we should not set ourselves up in judgement of our comrades, otherwise we are no better than the state'. Therefore it was claimed, the only defence should be to accept any charges made against them, any wild accusations of the most grotesque or ridiculous nature and simply say, "so what"

From a pragmatic point of view this is sheer suicide. It fails to appreciate the small size of the movement which might accept such a position and it fails completely to comprehend the paranoia and insecurity of the bulk of the population and the degree to which they are influenced by 'the bourgeois propaganda of the mass media'. This is just mindless activism - it won't "free the six" and it isn't "fighting back" because it doesn't present a credible threat to anyone, except possibly ourselves and the six we are trying to aid.

Anyway, the theoretical allusion as to how anarchists are supposed to apply their values is totally false. In practice we do make judgements all the time and we act on them - this is the very basis of anarchism - that we each decide for ourselves what we find acceptable and what we don't: I decide whether I support the RAF or Black Flag or 'Love vs. Pow-

er' and I make any distinctions between them I feel required to by the facts of the case; in all matters from the actions of Bill Dwyer to Kropotkin's stand on WWI, from the actions of the Brigate Rosse to the Seabrook occupations, I make up my own mind on the facts as I discover them, and where I think campaigning or other action is required and justified. I act accordingly. The alternative is to accept everything asserted by anyone who claims to be an anarchist or who is accused of being an anarchist, and to act in pursuance of their demands without setting priorities or weighing costs - and this clearly isn't what we do. We do dismiss some people as cranks, we do say some people are or are not anarchists and we do disagree on matters to the point of disassociation in some cases. To not do this is irresponsible apathy or extreme laissez-faire-ism, neither of which attitudes would commonly be considered as anarchist. I support the 'Persons Unknown' defence campaign because I think their kind of anarchism is worth defending and because I disapprove of the authorities, not just in general, but especially in their behaviour in this case. I make this judgement on a whole range of facts also, and that is how I think the campaign should be fought.

Most of the population should be worried by the facts of this case. The police are clearly acting 'illegally'; the persecution of the anarchist movement is without real justification; there have been important legal precedents set, like the police search of defence counsels' briefs, and the beatings administered to prisoners in court; and it is obvious that the whole episode is being used as a training exercise for the authorities, indicating that when they have finished with the anarchist movement they will turn to others, the extreme left, the gay movement, feminists, blacks, Asians, trade unionists, anti-nuke activists, environmentalists, liberals, etc. etc. If the facts and our reasoning are explained properly our case will help in mobilising anti-state feeling and activity as well as achieving the more urgent needs of freeing the six and resisting the current police offensive. This is how we can 'Free the Six and Fight Back' - and this is what isn't being done. Personally I was annoyed that this sort of question, about the real effects of our activity, was not being faced in the workshop - and I think this typified one of the failings of the movement as it manifested itself at Manchester.

THE LIBERTARIAN PRESS

The 'Libertarian Press' workshop on Sunday afternoon was well attended, mainly by people involved in bringing out papers - but there weren't many people present who were just involved as readers or as distributors as opposed to editors and printers - and this struck me as a weakness; especially as it seems to be in distribution that most anarchist publications fail.

Unfortunately people weren't really clear on why they had come to the workshop, so we wasted a lot of time. To start with we spent about 1/2 an hour listening to one of the editors of The Leveller rave about his magazine for unaligned Trots. Then we had some rather inconclusive conversation about local 'alternat-

ive' and 'community' papers which, whilst being a valuable topic for us to consider, didn't really seem to get anywhere. The failure of Zero received some mention and there was slightly more useful mention of Open Road and Peace News in which members of their editorial collectives spoke about production and distribution problems and how they were overcome. However, large slices of the anarchist media were not even mentioned and problems of coordinating the work of various publications or of the ever present problems of distribution and how these might be solved were hardly mentioned.

ANARCHIST ACTIVISM

The third and final workshop I attended was the one on anarchist activism; which most people walked out on - probably because it was so boring. Again people didn't really seem to have a clear idea of why they were there. So the session lacked structure or direction. This, I think, indicates a need for greater preparation of conference workshops - with position papers, discussion documents etc., being circulated in advance - and possibly a need for chairpersons.

In the discussion there was much talk of the regional federations, which ones are 'working' and which ones aren't; but no real discussion of what they might achieve or of what constituent groups can hope to do.

People tended to take for granted that demos are always productive and that communication between groups is valuable in itself, even though the groups themselves may not be doing anything; and these are matters which really need to be thrashed out with some degree of urgency. Britain - indeed the western world - may or may not be in a revolutionary period at present but capitalism is certainly in a state of deep crisis. If we don't respond constructively we will not only miss a golden opportunity, we will be made scapegoats for the system's failure and we will suffer fearfully.

We all know the failures of the Russian anarchists: That they didn't present an alternative programme to that of the bolsheviks and that they didn't build a firm foundation for their own movement with a strong cell structure and an effective resource base, and that consequently many of the best anarchist militants ended up working for the bolsheviks. What we don't seem to be facing up to is that exactly the same thing is happening here and now. Many of the best libertarian militants are working in the Labour Party or the SWP simply because there isn't a worthwhile anarchist alternative.

This point follows on from my article on FREEDOM* and its role in the contemporary anarchist movement and I think bears out further the points I was making there. The fact that several people who were in the workshop have stopped reading FREEDOM only goes to confirm what I was saying - and the problem is that FREEDOM really is the only place where a programme and a methodology for the movement at large has any chance of being developed.

As I said at the start of this article, the contemporary anarchist movement is disintegrating and will continue to do so unless we learn the lessons of history, build

on our experiences and face up to the present reality.

THE CONFERENCE ORGANISATION

I now turn to look at some of the more general aspects of the weekend:-

One of the most striking aspects of the event was that just about every 'wing' of the anarchist movement was represented and in the light of this, it was good that no major slanging matches occurred; but then there didn't seem to be a great deal of dialogue either, and a lot of agreement was achieved by glossing over differences rather than talking them out. In fact, the weekend was marked by a strong measure of superficiality. I found this in all the workshops I attended and I heard of it in reports of most (though not all) the other workshops. In part this was because the sessions were largely unchaired and unprepared, but largely it was simply reflecting the state of the movement at large.

The superficiality also carried over into organisational aspects of the 'festival' like the creche, the food and the accommodation. Lessons were learnt from the Lancaster experience earlier this year but only in a superficial way. Thus, the creche that had been promised did happen, a room was set aside, toys were brought in a volunteer roster was posted, but no attempt was made to ascertain the expertise or otherwise of the volunteers, so sometimes there was a surfeit of people experienced in and good at handling kids, other times there was just a large congregation of bewildered adults who could do little more than look on whilst the kids tore each other apart. Also, there wasn't even a pretence at catering for kids under the age of about 3 years. And in the case of food, it turned out that volunteers were wanted to help with the catering, even though no warning was given in the booking information and no roster was in evidence; hence some people ended up doing oppressively long shifts of which most people attending just weren't aware.

Lest these remarks seem too harsh I must hasten to say that in view of the fact that the conference was organised and run by only four people it was a remarkable tribute to them that these things worked at all. At a minimum level they did at least function. But serious problems did remain. I think this indicates that if events on such a scale are to be held they need to be organised by larger groups, and that for people to take on more than they can really handle is unfair on themselves and on the potential users of the resources they promise to create and make available.

In conclusion I would say that, as with the Lancaster conference, the weekend made me feel a definite need for more thorough organisation and preparation for future conferences, and a need for conferences on more specific matters so that concrete results may come out of them. But, the feeling this time went deeper and I would say that the movement in all its aspects needs to take stock of itself and pull itself together.

ALAN WESTFALL

* Alan's article on FREEDOM will be published in a forthcoming issue.

Nazism

CONT. FROM PG. 11

compromise with capitalism and imperialism, the nazis developed by rule of thumb their political theory. According to Edgar Ansell Mowrer, 'In April 1931, a number of German industrial magnates visited Soviet Russia. They were not impressed by communism as a system but returned enthusiastic concerning the unlimited authority of the Bolsheviks over the workmen. This was the condition many of them dreamed about for Germany'.

Hitler's attitude to trade unions (before he seized power) was ambivalent. In *Mein Kampf* he wrote, "The National Socialist State ... must grow out of an organisation of its own. What must be the nature of a National Socialist Trades Union? What is our task, and what are its aims? It is not an instrument of class war. But one for the defence and representation of the workers The primary object of the Trades Union system is not to fight in any war between classes the National Socialist Trades Union is not an instrument for ruining the nation's production, but for increasing it and causing it to flow, by fighting against all the faults which, by their unsocial character, hinder efficiency in business and in the life of the whole nation. The National Socialist worker must be aware that the nation's prosperity means material happiness to himself. The National Socialist employer must be aware that happiness and contentment for his workers is an essential for the existence and development of his own great business enterprise". This integration of the unions with the state had already been accomplished in Soviet Russia and, as Burnham explains in *The Managerial Revolution*, workers' control had been replaced by managerial control; this was the common denominator between nazi Germany and Soviet Russia.

Hypnotised by this double talk and by the switching policies of the communists the trade unions were (according to Olivera) unable to fight fascism. In the decisive elections of 5 March 1933 the unions withdrew their official support from the social democrats. "In their innocence they believed that if they kept away from politics, Hitler would respect their organisation" - which was extensive, with 5½ million members and an annual income of £13, 750, 000 and £50 million in real estate.

After the elections (in which Hitler secured only 43.9 per cent of the votes) "The Trades Union Press", wrote Olivera, "reproduced part of Hitler's speeches in order to show the Nazis that there was a possibility of arriving at an agreement. Outstanding collaborators of the *Gewerkschaft Zeitung*, the weekly trade union gazette, made every effort to prove to Hitler that the new regime could not exist without the workers' trade unions, and that these organisations, far from being an obstacle, would rather be an asset to nazi 'national reconstruction'.

According to David Childs in *From Schumacher to Brandt*, "Hoping to keep their organisation intact, the trade unions tried to dissociate themselves from the SPD and actually marched with the Nazis on May Day 1933. The Nazis replied a day later by seizing all union offices and arresting thousands of officials".

Thus were the foundations laid for nazism and the German working class movement with its 5½ million members was destroyed almost overnight. It is impossible to prove that ex-communists in a mass, became nazis. But certainly there are individual cases, and Hitler could not have succeeded in his governing and war-making without, at least, the passive support of the majority of the working class. Certain it is that the undermining of libertarian values and the central Marxist philosophy that the end justifies any means must have contributed greatly - even by its creation of cynicism - to Hitler's survival. It is positive that the period of the nazi-Soviet pact was a fruitful two years in blurring the distinction between communism and nazism.

To avoid the tedious and costly repetitions of history it can be observed that one cannot defeat authoritarianism with authoritarianism. Even the military defeat of Hitler only left the problem of what to do with Stalin's autocracy. As for libertarians accepting the dubious help of authoritarian parties - history is littered with lessons from this error.

It is even doubtful that the present policies of confrontation or taking to the streets against racist parties is of much value. Evidence questioning these tactics is to be found in *My Struggle*, Adolf Hitler's testament (abridged edition 1938, p. 194): "Our opponents then proceeded to issue appeals to the 'class-conscious proletariat' to go in masses to our meetings in order to strike at the 'monarchist, reactionary agitation' as represented by us, with the fist of the proletariat. Our meetings were at once crammed with workmen three-quarters of an hour before the time of the meeting. They resembled a powder cask ready to go off at any moment with a match at the touch-hole. But things happened otherwise. The people came as enemies, and went away, not perhaps prepared to join us but anyhow in a reflective mood and ready to criticise and examine the correctness of our doctrines. Then the word went out, 'Proletarians! Avoid the meetings of the Nationalist agitators!' Similar vacillating tactics were observable in the Red Press as well. The people became curious. There was a sudden change of tactics, and for a period we were treated as true criminals against mankind. Article after article proclaiming and demonstrating our criminality, and scandalous tales, fabricated from A to Z, were meant to do the trick. But in a short time they seem to have convinced themselves that such attacks were having no effect; in fact, it really all helped to concentrate general attention straight on us".

Can we learn from history?

JACK ROBINSON

BOOKSHOP NOTES

Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.
(Please add postage as in brackets. The titles marked * are published in the USA or Canada).

NEW FROM FREEDOM PRESS

- Vernon Richards: *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy*. £1.00. 142pp. Ppr. The usual terms are available in the Trade.

* Olaf Hansen (Ed.) *The Radical Will: Randolph Bourne: Selected Writings 1911 - 1918*. £5.25 (54p).

* Sam Dolgoff: *A Critique of Marxism*. £0.20p (10p).

* Philip S. Foner (Ed.) *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs*. £2.20p (22p).

- Edward Bellamy: *Looking Backward (2000 - 1887) or Life in the Year 2000*. £1.20p (15p).

- Unit for the Study of Health Policy: *The National Health Service in the Next 30 Years: A New Perspective on the Health of the British*. £0.75p (12p).

- George Melly: *Rum, Bum and Concertina*. £0.80p (15p).

- Jeffrey Meyers: *A Readers' Guide to George Orwell*. £1.95p (29p).

* Ammon Hennacy: *The Book of Ammon*. £3.50p (66p).

- Gaston Leval: *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*. Ppr. £2.00 (66p). Hardback, £4.00 (86p).

* Murray Bookchin: *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936*. £7.95p (66p).

* Jose Peirats: *Anarchists in the Spanish Revolution*. £2.50p (54p).

* Robert W. Kern: *Red Years: Black Years. A Political History of Spanish Anarchism, 1911 - 1937*. £7.95. (54p).

* Sam Dolgoff (Ed.): *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution 1936-1939*. £2.95p (33p).

* Etienne de la Boetie: *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*. £1.75p (15p).

* F. Oppenheimer: *The State*. £2.50 (22p).

* Arthur Goddard (Ed.): *Harry Elmer Barnes: Learned Crusader*. £5.95p. (86p).

Freedom

Anarchist Review

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The Unity Of OPPOSITES

HISTORY repeats itself, once as a tragedy and then as a comedy. The tragedy of lost opportunities pre-1939, in the spectacle of a nation gone mad, a political ideal betrayed and a world plunged into an ever-widening war with its death, disease, impoverishment and a heritage of hatred and distrust seems doomed to repeat itself in the apparent rise of a quasi-fascism in the shape of the National Front. There is the same accusation of quietism; the brusque question of 'confrontation politics' - "what are you going to do about it" and the smug self-righteousness of the left's "we are not going to do nothing".

The comedy of an assent to strict laws which, under the pretext of banning the right, encompass the left-wing parties in the same trap. The growth of a left-wing intolerance to put down intolerance. The constant demonstration of physical clashes which, neither intellectually nor morally prove anything, except to convey to the inert, passive, apathetic, fearing public that there seems to be little difference between the two protagonists.

The libertarian case against law-making to compel individuals to tolerance or non-discrimination is hourly proved. The fact that governments will us, command us and ostensibly wish us to think kindly of those of different sex or colour from our own, has its usual counter-productive effect.

The brand of fascism displayed by the National Front is given an additional brace by the mindless anti-fascism displayed by many. Indeed, it can be pointed out that the anti-fascist demonstration in Digbeth, Birmingham was instrumental in saving the Front from one of its many splits. It can be argued that fascist groupings by their very nature and doctrine are given to splitting, since every superman wishes to be a leader. It is also observable that every country produces its own brand of fascism and Hitler (whose nazism was politically distinct from Mussolini's earlier fascism) had very little use for leaders of home-grown fascist groups. Like Moscow, Berlin preferred governments of their own making.

Indeed, if the matter is studied with reference to history, not to emotive heroic attitudes, it can be traced that communism or 'leftism' and fascism have a startling resemblance which ironically conveys the truth of the dialectical mystification of history in the unity of opposites. Both need each other, they are symbiotic, depending upon each other for growth. Both are authoritarian in structure, have no use for liberty and need and use a crisis in which they can flourish. Thus, both have no real interest in the improvement of the human condition believing that the end justifies the means.



Hurrah, die Butter ist alle!

Germany's most famous saying: "Erz hat stets ein Reich stark gemacht, Butter und Schmalz haben höchstens ein Volk fett gemacht".
Hurrah, the butter is finished!

* * *

The palpable lie that is presently being believed is that communism (or what has been the foremost expression of leftist views - which, over the years, have necessarily changed their form and loyalties, if not their substance) and fascism (whatever protean form it has taken in reality as apart from the usage of 'fascism' as an all-purpose swear word for opponents) have always been distinct and differing enemies.

To go back to the abortive birth of the world's first so-called 'communist' state - the USSR. Its birth was attended by Lenin, who made a compact with the imperialist war-making German state to aid their war-making - and, he believed, the prospective Russian (if not world) revolution - by travelling in a sealed train through Germany to Russia to foment a revolution which would relieve imperial Germany from fighting a war on two fronts. After making a separate peace with Germany, which was inevitable and desirable if the 'revolution' was to succeed, the Russians proceeded further in 1922 by the Treaty of Rapallo. According to this, both powers renounced all financial claims against each other, resumed diplomatic relations and made commercial concessions. At the same time the Treaty contained secret clauses allowing a 'disarmed' Germany's Reichswehr to re-arm and train in Germany, thus creating a buffer between Russia and the West. In 1926 a Treaty of Berlin was signed which extended the Rapallo concord. In May 1933 Hitler ratified this treaty which Bruening, his predecessor, had hesitated to renew. D. N. Pritt in his 1939 apologia for the Soviet-German agreement (*Light on Moscow*) instances these pacts. He writes (among other things), "On balance, before and after the advent of Hitler, Germany is entitled to more good marks for friendly conduct towards the USSR than we (Britain) are; and it is not even more than partly true to say that she should also be given more bad marks for unfriendly conduct... If one looks only at the more recent years, it is true that the leaders of Germany have fulminated against her (the Soviet Republic) more vilely and more officially than our leaders ever did, but is that not perhaps only a difference of technique and manners?" Pritt justifies in his two books (*Light on Moscow* and *Must the War Spread* - 1940) these, and other Soviet excursions into real-politik, citing for example Lawrence's *Principles of International Law*: "the right of self-preservation is even more sacred than the duty of respecting the independence of others. If the two clash a state naturally acts upon the former".

De Madariaga in *Victors, Beware* (1946) says of the Soviet-German pact of August 1939, it "is but incompletely described by its name of 'pact of non-aggression'. It really was an agreement of aggression against all and sundry except each other. This is now obvious and well-ascertained both by M. Molotov and by Hitler who, on 17 July 1940 declared that the 'non-aggression pact' had "settled concretely once and for all their respective zones of interests, and what should be considered as German and as Russian interests" and lest this was not clear enough the Fuehrer, after Russia had garnered in the spoils from Finland, the Baltic States, Poland and Romania, expressly declared "Neither Germany nor Russia has made one single step outside her zones of interest".

It will be seen from this that Soviet-German relations on the diplomatic and international level were by no means as hostile from 1919 to 1941 as the communist version of history would have us believe.

* * *

Hitler's party, the German National Socialist Workers' Party, was always a hotch-potch containing contradictory strains helped along to victory by German war-defeat (1918), inflation, unemployment and employment of propaganda, terror and purges to establish itself as the one party in the 'thousand-year Reich'. Significantly, its history was similar to that of the rise of the bolsheviks under Stalin and Lenin.

It is hard now to believe that many of the followers of Hitler were animated by idealism but the early strands of the NDSAP were a stupid form of 'socialism' which was retained in the party title much longer than the principles of libertarian socialism. There was a crude nationalistic form of socialism in the teachings of Federn, the Strasser brothers and even Ernst Roehm were described by some as 'Brown Bolshevism'. It is significant that these elements were purged when one of the Strassers and Roehm were killed in the Night of the Long Knives in June 1934; when Hitler had already achieved power he had no need for any form of socialism. Yet Hitler Germany was neither capitalist nor socialist. It was a new radical improvisation which seemed to confirm Burnham's idea of the managerial society. As it became more and more embroiled in war, and war preparations, it became more and more totalitarian. Drucker says (in *The End of Economic Man*), "As long as war remains a means of politics, any radical change in the social organisation of warfare such as has been wrought by 'total war' with its new weapons and its new concept of belligerents, indicates a profound revolutionary change in the social and political order."

Hitler admired the propaganda of his enemies; the Northcliffe propaganda which helped to defeat the Kaiser in 1914-18 and the bolshevik propaganda which deceived and instructed the Soviet people in what was required of them. "In 1930", according to Heiden, "Hitler surprised a circle of his friends by asking them if they had read the just published autobiography of Leon Trotsky, the great Jewish leader of the Russian Revolution, and what they thought of it. As might have been expected, the answer was: 'Yes... loathsome book... memoirs of Satan...'. To which Hitler replied 'Loathsome Brilliant! I have learned a great deal from it, and so can you.' 'Himmler', continues Heiden "however remarked that he had not only read Trotsky but studied all available literature about the political police in Russia, the tsarist Ochrana, the bolshevik Cheka and GPU; and he believed that if such a task should ever fall to his lot, he could perform it better than the Russians". Both Hitler and Himmler learnt very well from the bolsheviks.

It is often argued from the left that their opposition to 'fascism' is based upon their own adherence to democracy, to tolerance and to reason. This is an attitude which is easily exploded to anyone with knowledge of 'communist' regimes in Cuba, China, Albania, North Korea, the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to name only those where leftists have been long enough in power to show the sham their democracy, tolerance and reasonableness is.

* * *

It will be argued that anti-fascism was always a substantial contribution by communists to the defeat of Hitler. Skipping over the Nazi-Soviet pact (which the comrades were quite adept at), or justifying it as a legitimate move of self-defence one can find evidence of a communist failure to understand fascism or nazism, an indifference to it, as a phase that will pass (Remmler, communist deputy in the Reichstag said, "After Hitler it will be our turn") or as sometimes happened active collaboration with the nazis in referenda and strikes to defeat the social democrats, whom the German communists for a fatal period regarded as the main enemy. In 1924 Stalin said, "Fascism and social democracy are twin brothers. Social democracy is only a wing of fascism". Thaelmann, the German communist chief said social democracy in Germany "was the most active factor of fascism, it was socialism in theory, fascism in practice" (1932). Bela Kuhn, the Hungarian communist, to again quote from Laqueur, said "even the victory of fascism would not stop the fascisation of social democracy" (1932). Radek, Soviet expert on Germany, argued against a common front with the German social democrats, since they were 'growing' into a front with the nazis (1931). Lukacs wrote, "As servants of monopoly capitalism, fascism and social democracy have an inner link" (1931). Kuusinen discovered in Roosevelt's programme fascist economic measures.

Laqueur (*Russia and Germany*) goes on, "Certainly the communists were not the only people to be wrong about fascism, and once they realised they had been mistaken they were second to none in their resistance to it, provided the interests of the Soviet state did not force them into a different position". This 'mistake' cost the German communists, the Soviet state and the people of the world dearly.

A Ramos Oliveira in *A People's History of Germany* (1942) writes, "Karl Marx had once censured Lasalle for maintaining that there was no difference between one bourgeois group and another, and that all the bourgeoisie, from the point of view of the interests of the working class, was a reactionary whole. Nevertheless, in 1932 the Communist Party still looked on the Social Democrats as an organisation to be fought as fiercely as the Nazis. In the opinion of the Communist leaders, all other Parties formed a reactionary mass; they even went so far as to believe that the Social Democrats were more dangerous to the working class than the Nazis. This false conception was caused by a momentary coincidence of the Nazi and Communist policies on one point: the need to discredit the Republic, to subvert order and to weaken the State". Social democracy was, in respect of the Republic, a conservative party. And for the communists the fall of the bourgeois Republic could be followed by nothing worse".

Toni Sender, a social democrat member of the Reichstag, wrote in her autobiography (1940) of election meetings in the thirties where communists and nazis joined in barracking social democrat candidates. She reports Dr Breitscheid, the leader of the Reichstag socialists, proposing a 'front' with the

communists in the face of the nazi threat. On 16 November 1931 he received a reply in *Rote Fahne*, the Berlin communist paper, "Our chief enemy is the Social Democratic Party".

Plamenatz, in *German Marxism and Russian Communism* (1954) writes of German history (1920s and 30s), "These causes, together with inflation, brought to birth and hastened the growth of two new parties in Germany, the Communists and the National Socialists. Their constitutional methods prove that both parties were formed on the model of the Bolsheviki: they were parties of a kind never seen before in Europe. Their avowed purpose was to make use of democratic institutions to destroy democracy, and their peculiar methods, deliberately to exacerbate class and party hatreds, and to make open or secret entry into whatever organisations and professions would best serve them in the struggle for power. Though the two parties were rivals and used the same methods, the victory of the Nazis over the German Communists was easily won, partly because they could afford to be more unscrupulous than it was yet possible for Marxists to be in a country where Marx's theories were still well-known and freely discussed".

Eugene Lyons, an American ex-communist sums up the German Communist tragedy as follows: "First: at every point in Germany's history in the years preceding Hitler's victory, communist policy and tactics were decided in Moscow, with the specific interests of Soviet Russia, rather than the interests of Germany or the larger interests of the international labour movement, in mind... Second, the Communist propaganda against democracy per se as a bourgeois deception, its ridicule of human squeamishness over mass slaughter and organised brutality, all played directly into the hands of the Hitler legions. By its very need to defend Schrecklichkeit (frightfulness) in Stalin's domain, the official Communist Party provided the justification for Schrecklichkeit in Hitler's domain". It will be remembered that the series of abhorrent Moscow trials ran parallel with the rise of Hitler.

* * *

One's earliest memories of the Communist-Nazi conflict was the Reichstag trial of Dmitrov, Torgler, Popov, Tanev and Van der Lubbe for firing the Reichstag. This trial was made much of by the left press; Willi Munsterberg, foremost propagandist for the Communist International, produced accounts of the Reichstag Fire Trial playing up Dmitrov as a hero and his confrontation with Goering as a battle of good against evil. It comes as somewhat of an anti-climax to note that on 23 December 1933 all four communists were acquitted. (Poor Van der Lubbe was sentenced to death and executed). It is claimed (by Stella D. Blagoeyeva, for example, in her biography of Dmitrov) that *World Public Opinion* (whatever that is) impelled their acquittal. In February 1934 the three acquitted Bulgarians were flown to Moscow, which had accepted them as Soviet citizens. Torgler eventually died in a concentration camp. It is claimed by some writers (including Marcus Graham) that Van der Lubbe was not (as Munsterberg claimed) an imbecile who was a tool of the nazis, who framed him into being discovered in the Reichstag when they had set fire to it. Graham and others claimed that Van der Lubbe, an ex-communist of an anarchist disposition, had, single-handed, set fire to the Reichstag. The complete inability and undesirability of the communists believing that an individual alone could do such a thing, added to the necessity of the nazis to frame the communists on such a charge, made Van der Lubbe a scapegoat, denied even the foolish heroism of his individual act.

In *The Darker the Night, the Brighter the Stars* by Schlotterbeck (1947) a German worker writes of meeting a fellow prisoner who had been in prison with Dmitrov. Schlotterbeck finds nothing extraordinary (indeed he thinks it admirable) that Dmitrov had the run of the prison, with extra privileges. Schlotterbeck writes, "His (Dmitrov's) spirit was still alive in our prison, and the stories about him were developing into legends. A man had been in this prison with the eyes of the world on him, and even our brutish keepers had been compelled to give way to him".

But the melancholy farce of history played on. Dmitrov stayed on in Moscow through the war; he was secretary general of the Comintern until its tactful dissolution in 1943 and returned to his native land (in the wake of the Red Army) in

1944. He became a Bulgarian citizen again just before the elections which, as leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party made him prime minister. He had a little local difficulty with Stalin about proposals for a Balkan Federation with Albania and Yugoslavia. Dmitrov dropped this proposal and gave way to Moscow.

However, following Dmitrov's accession of power with Soviet he, who had good reason to remember the techniques, set up his own show trials and purges. As the magazine *The World Today* put it in September 1948, "After Petkov's (a former political ally) execution the mopping-up operations for the final destruction of all non-Communist political forces were quick to follow. By the summer of 1948 not a single Bulgarian democratic leader remained at liberty. Some were tried for 'economic sabotage' and 'reactionary propaganda' and were given prison sentences. Others were arrested and interned without any trial". The Reichstag trial had taught Dmitrov something.

* * *

It was at the Seventh Congress (in 1935) of the Communist International that Dmitrov put forward the old communist policy of a united front against fascism, sometimes and in some countries known as the Popular People's Front. This policy had seen previous realist interpretation by Lenin as "we support democracy as a rope supports a hanged man" or T.A. Jackson's (in 1922), "I would take them by the hand as a preliminary to taking them by the throat". But the rise of Hitler had made it more imperative for the Soviet Union to find allies. There is the well-known history of the role of Russia in Spain with its betrayals, compromises and final elimination of libertarian and left wing allies for the sake of cooperation with bourgeois democrats. In China too, the same



Goering - the executioner of the Third Reich

sorry story of 'leftist' purges and cooperation with Chiang Kai Chek and his ultimately anti-communist Kuomintang.

In the British Communist Party this anti-fascist front, despite the Soviet-German pact of August 1939, maintained itself by Pollitt's support of the war until instructed by a postcard from Dmitroff (as Douglas Hyde says) that this was 'an imperialist war'.

* * *

Parallel with this communist compromise first with fascism, then with capitalism, then with the nazi-Soviet pact back to fascism again, then with the invasion of the Soviet Union,

(CONT ON PAGE 12)

Labour pains

The Impossibilities of Social Democracy, Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, £1.00.

THIS BOOK is a collection of editorials published in FREEDOM in the 1950s and early 1960s - when the Labour Party was out of power for the famous "thirteen wasted years". Each article has a weight and, if you'll pardon the word, authority lacking in the contemporary British anarchist press. Why should this be so? Perhaps because of a confidence in, if not the inevitability (which no anarchist would claim), then certainly the desirability and even the possibility of achieving an anarchist world.

This alone would make the articles worth reading. But worth reading in back numbers of FREEDOM perhaps? Is there any point in gathering 32 of them together like this? Does the Labour Party still wrap the mantle of 'Socialism' so tightly round itself that its claims must be refuted yet again? Don't the declining numbers of card-carriers alone signify that socialists, at least, have gone elsewhere?

What would be the attraction of the Labour Party for anyone who desires to work for the construction of a new world? Surely that it is the only political organisation with a firm base in the British working class and thus, by definition, a socialist party. But, says Richards in his introduction, "Labour Party 'Socialism' has very little in common with the socialism even as professed by the Fabians in the 1890s or by a Tawney in the 20s or an Atlee in the 30s".

But surely, says the aspiring activist, even if this is the case the party is still the only place to be. Once inside it should be possible to rally true idealists, gather round a charismatic figure, capture the machinery and revive the socialist heritage? Richards considers the case of Aneurin Bevan, the father of the Health Service in the 1940s and the party's socialist conscience in the 1950s.

Two Reviews of the New Freedom Press Title

"What I call 'Bevanism' is not an ideological struggle, a battle for the soul of socialism", writes Richards, "but a sordid struggle for power by ambitious professional politicians, vain men and women eager to taste the fruits of office or simply the limelight which our insatiable media are only too glad to turn on to any political exhibitionist willing to defy the party whip and upset the head-counting ritual in a vote of confidence".

What about the unions? If the political leaders fail us surely the might of organised labour will carry us to socialism in the end? Think of its block votes at party conferences. Think, ultimately, of its role as the paymaster of the party. Richards agrees that politically radical unions - and how different they would need to be from the hierarchical monstrosities we know and love today - could wield immense power and influence "at the source of real wealth production".

But, as one of the articles says, "the tactic of capitalism is to absorb the Trade Union movement. The slogan will be the overriding interest of 'national prosperity' which demands the closest collaboration between the employers and an organised, responsible, working class.

"Such a role is far from distasteful to the Trade Union leadership. Their acceptance of invitations to talk things over with the new Prime Minister at Downing Street ... their support of wage freezes and their efforts to extend controls over the working class community - all are clear indications of the lines along which the TUC leadership is thinking".

When was that? This year, last year, three years ago? No - it was 1955!

Finally, Richards comes to the 'Means - parliamentary elections, the democratic 'seizure' of the State. He quotes Bernard Shaw's devastating attack (in Shaw's mind at least) on the absurdity of refusing to recognise that there could only be a parliamentary road to socialism. Writing on the role of the State and the House of Commons Shaw says:

"A House consisting of 660 gentlemen and 10 workmen will order the soldier to take money from the people for the land-

lords. A House of Commons consisting of 660 workmen and 10 gentlemen will probably, unless the 660 are fools, order the soldier to take money from the landlords for the people. With that hint I leave the matter in the full conviction that the State, in spite of the Anarchists, will continue to be used against the people by the classes until it is used by the people against the classes with equal ability and equal resolution".

"Yes", says Richards, "by the people, but the 660 politicians in the House of Commons are not the people but their rulers whether they be ex-workers or gentlemen".

Later he goes on: "However democratically elections are conducted their purpose is authoritarian: to decide which bunch of politicians will be our rulers". The result, for the Labour Party, of playing this "electoral game for so long is that means have become ends. Socialism has been sacrificed to the struggle for office and power".

These are the main arguments of the book, put clearly in the introduction and in the articles themselves. The only remaining doubt is whether the Labour Party is worthy of such attention on quite this level.

What must be praised is the willingness, not to mention the ability, to discuss real issues - what socialism and anarchism actually mean. It's easy to play the jester, sniping at politicians, denouncing them as hypocrites, without taking the trouble to even pose an alternative. In the midst of these articles the alternative is clearly spelt out.

"If socialists and anarchists not only desire the free society but are also prepared to work for its attainment there are certain steps to be taken which, to our minds, cannot be bypassed by even the most impatient among us. The first is to influence and inspire our fellow beings with a spirit of freedom (no mean task when one considers that, in fact, the whole Labour movement is vitiated by authoritarian ideas). Until the

idea of freedom is felt strongly enough by a large minority it will be impossible to put into effect the second step, which must consist in creating our own organisations of self-help, our own local health services, our own schools, our own producers' and consumers' co-operatives. That is, instead of, as the Labour Party proposes, strengthening the State by ever extending its functions, we must withdraw initiative from the State and take it ourselves as responsible individuals and as members of communities with common needs and common problems".

And if this is seen as the trendy social-work reformism of the 1960s: "We do not suggest that as a result of such steps the State will 'wither away': on the contrary it will probably use every means, foul or fair, to retain its power. What is certain, however, is that if and when the clash comes, it will not be because of a purely negative 'discontent', which in the past has always resulted in a change of masters, but will truly represent a struggle between two diametrically opposed ways of life: the one based on freedom and voluntary co-operation, the other on authority, privilege and class distinctions".

The fight is already on. We live in tougher times than the era in which these articles were written. Both the nightmare and the dream seem closer than ever before. Will anarchist ideas have any influence on events?

"To attract more people to our ideas we must talk to them in a language they understand: that is, we must, in expounding our ideas convince people we are human beings who share their problems, and persuade them that it is because and not in spite of these problems that we believe in the validity of anarchism".

That was written in 1964. It is no less true today. HH

READERS OF FREEDOM will find little to surprise them in *The Impossibilities of Social Democracy* by Vernon Richards (Freedom Press, £1). It is a collection of 32 FREEDOM editorials written by him and published during the period 19 March 1955 to 10 October 1964.

Some will have read the articles themselves when they were first published, while those who have become regular FREEDOM readers since 1964 will nevertheless be familiar with the main arguments. They are summarised by the author on the back cover as follows.

First, that Labour Party 'socialism' no longer has any connection with socialism as understood by the Fabians in the 1890s or Tawney in the 1920s or even Atlee in the 1930s.

Secondly, that the struggle within the party was no more ideological in Bevan's day than it is today with the Benns and Heffers as the vocal protagonists for the so-called left wing. For the author, power, office or even just the limelight are the real issues behind the struggles.

Thirdly, that the trades unions are by reason of their structure and function almost always reactionary, hierarchical, conservative establishment organisations and, since the Labour Party was in the first place created by the unions to further their interests and still depends on them for its finances, it is not surprising that he who pays the piper should call the tune, which is certainly not socialism.

Fourthly, that the means - elections and vote-catching - have, after so many years playing the party political game, resulted in the means becoming the ends. In the process socialism has been sacrificed to the struggle for office and power.

The articles have been published in book form without cuts, alterations or additions: as the author says in his introduction, "I have not been tempted to update the articles with footnotes and contemporary illustrations ... the intelligent, politically informed reader will, I am sure, have no difficulty in doing his/her own updating." Which suggests that the stupid and politically ignorant should not bother with the book.

But what about the rest of us (after all, it's difficult to find anyone - particularly a reader of this paper - who will admit to being stupid and politically ignorant) Since the ground covered is familiar, how effective is the book considered as propaganda

I must say I found it heavy going and fell asleep over it more than once. At one point the author shows excellent intentions and says: "To attract more people to our ideas we must talk to them in a language they understand". Unfortunately I do not think he succeeds in this. He uses too many unfamiliar words and his sentences are too complex and unwieldy for most people to follow his arguments easily.

Foreign expressions like *raison d'être*, *modus vivendi*, *enfant terrible*, *carte blanche* litter the text, and the English words chosen show a similar elitist attitude: "unbridled, astute, phalanx, surmise, tenets, perennial, invasive, Moguls" - all from one article. Worse, the sentences are often difficult to unravel: Vernon Richards is unable to resist the temptation to try to say too much at once.

Consider this example: "Apart from the fact that we were attempting to observe long-term trends (which does not blind us, however, to the present situation, which is that basic wage rates for most workers are sufficient only to provide the bare necessities of life), we do not believe that it is either the function or in the interests of wage earners ever to leave the initiative to the boss, and therefore however willing the boss may be to increase the workers' purchasing power, their demands should always be for more than he is prepared to concede".

And this one: "This foregone conclusion is based (apart from the general assumption that a change of government might be for the good - though objectively there is no reason why it should not be for the worse) on the Rent Bill introduced by the present government which hits more people than it favours among those who voted Conservative, and which the Labour Party proposes to amend if it is returned at the next Elections".

Sentences like these - and, believe me, the book is full of them - read as though they were written down exactly as the author first thought of them. He saw no reason to alter them and they duly appeared in FREEDOM editorials. Now they're preserved for posterity in their original form. What a pity that Vernon Richards had no editor available to help him with the preparation of this book.

The curious thing is that, at one point, he does show an awareness of style: attacking *Tribune* he says: "The only 'astrangency' one finds in the *Bevanite* organ is in its clipped journalism in the much-despised *Daily Mirror* style". Despised, you may well ask, by whom? In other words, *Tribune* and the *Daily Mirror* stand accused of using short sentences which their readers can understand.

Vernon Richards is generally hard on *Tribune* - which is fair enough since it's the mouthpiece of the left-wing parliamentary socialism he's particularly keen to attack. But he's less than fair to other left-wing groups and papers. Consider this reference to the "so-called socialist left from the *New Statesman* via *Tribune* to the *New Left*. These so-called 'socialist' intellectuals do not believe in the people. Social changes will come from above". Anyone who has read E. P. Thompson's article in *Out of Apathy*, for example, will find this reference to the *New Left* baffling in the extreme: this may be what Vernon Richards wants to believe, but it isn't true.

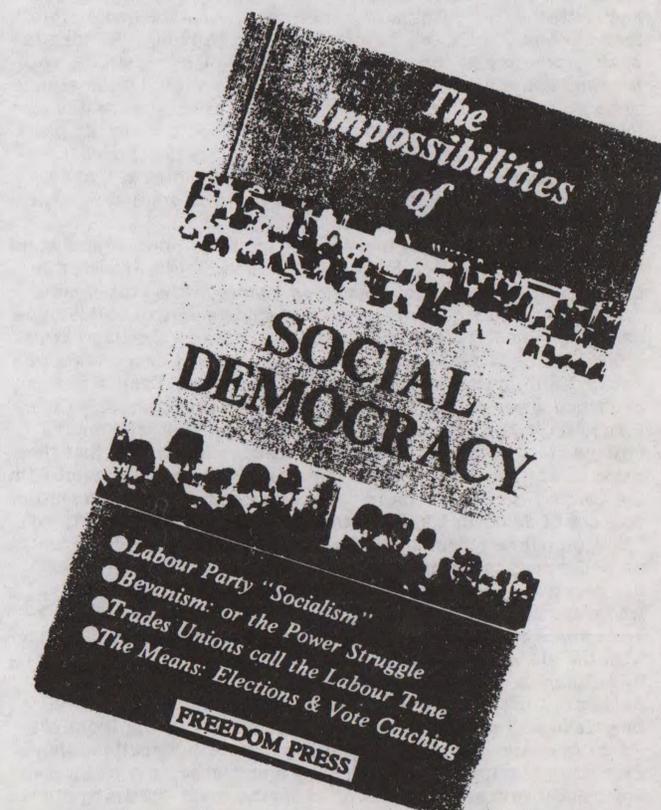
There's a similarly misleading bracketing of *Tribune* with *Peace News*: "In order not to have to periodically point an accusing finger at the 'gods that fail', *Tribune* and *Peace News* should try to live without gods (human or supernatural)." Two points occur to me here: first, *Peace News* was never as bad as this suggests - at least its writers understood that, if the bomb were to be banned, ordinary people would have to act. Secondly, *Peace News* has changed a lot and moved even closer to anarchism; it could hardly be accused of believing in gods today.

Of course, *Peace News* is not the only thing to have changed since these articles were written. Britain has joined the EEC; the nationalists, particularly the Scots, have become a serious electoral force; fascism has reared its ugly head again; various radical movements from squatting to women's liberation have had a strong influence - choose your own example.

Although I agree with Vernon Richards that the basic anarchist arguments against social democracy are the same as they were in the 1950s and 1960s, that does not justify leaving his articles as they were. To make sense to a new generation of political activists - to be good propaganda in 1978 - they would need major revision. As they stand, unrevised, they are of greater interest to the historian than the agitator.

After all the se criticisms, one positive comment: at £1 for 142 pages the book is comparatively cheap.

WYNFORD HICKS



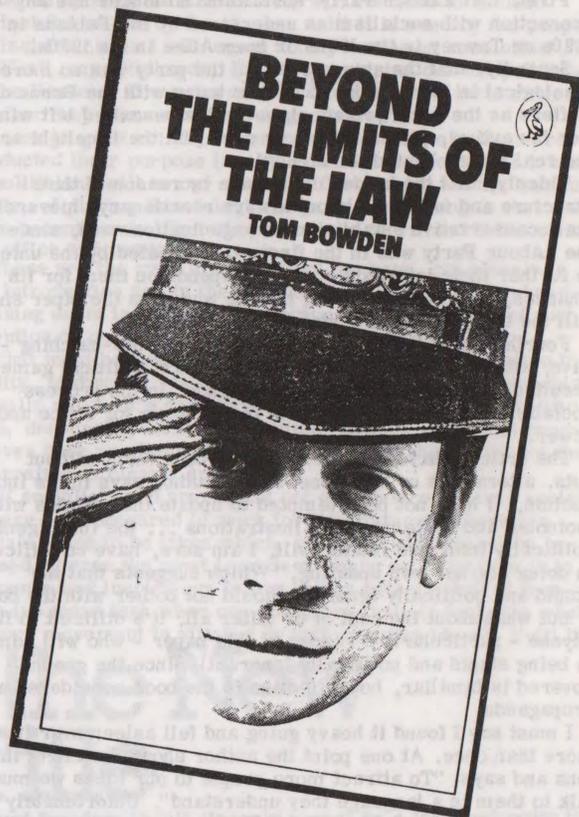
beyond the limits

Beyond The Limits of The Law,
Tom Bowden, Pelican, £1.25

THIS IS an exasperating book. Its subtitle is "A Comparative Study of the Police in Crisis Politics" and Bowden provides that. He provides it well. The problem is that, like so many liberals, he can't take his analysis one step and advocate doing away with the lot. Oh well, that's what makes them liberals. This irritation doesn't mean that it is not a useful book. It's perhaps best reviewed by a summary of the contents. The book is divided into two parts. The first looks at the nature of the police and ways in which they tend to go "Beyond the limits of the law"; the second part examines a number of situations where the police have actually been involved in 'crisis politics'.

The first section is titled, "The Function and Discretionary Powers of the Police" and opens with a chapter on the nature of police and policing. Not much to comment on here; Bowden recognises their nature as the first level of the state, the court in the streets. He then examines three ways in which the police overreach themselves. "Personalised Police Forces" shows the origins of policing as bodyguards of thugs, escalating to Mussolini's OVRA, Himmler's Gestapo, Beria's KGB and Hoover's FBI. Aptly enough, the first police force he describes was in Egypt, for protecting tombs and the dead. I suppose that's still their role. He then examines the police as moral censors, operating against any nonconformity - gypsies, homosexuals, hippies or whatever. There's a nice quotation here, from a circular to provincial justices of the police in France under Louis Napoleon Bonaparte: "Where you see an immoral man, a debauchee, you see also a demagogue and anarchist. Revolt against moral prescriptions and divine laws engenders revolt against society and human laws and reciprocally". Think on, comrades. Another quote, this from James Carter (no, a different one, in 1900): "Nothing is more attractive to the benevolent variety of men than the notion they can effect great improvement in society by the simple process of forbidding all wrong conduct, or conduct which they think is wrong, by law, and enjoying all good conduct by the same means". In the final chapter in this section Bowden discusses police vigilantism and distressing reading it makes. No news to most of us, I expect, but perhaps a salutary shock to some of the book's readers.

The second section is more specific, examining a number of situations where police forces have been directly involved in crisis politics, acting of course as agents of the status quo. The first chapter deals with the way the American police opposed organised labour (1880-1920). It mentions the Haymarket affair, the IWW etc., but oddly enough misses Sacco and Vanzetti. Then Bowden discusses the way in which France has produced a series of highly organised, interventionist police forces from 1978 down to the present day, all of which have collapsed as soon as a crisis appeared. His point is that they were so rigid and so disliked that they had no real contact with the people, so despite their extensive spying their information was out of date. In addition, they had no popular support, no "British police advantage". In other words, they acted openly as policemen, so everybody hated them. He then examines the reaction of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (1919-1921), who were also isolated and despised, but who, in reaction to anti-police terrorism, did not collapse but went on a rampage with the aid of the Blacks and Tans and the Auxiliaries, thereby helping to ensure that Britain lost control of Ireland. An interesting chapter follows on policing in China. There they have a graduated series of responses, ranging from criticism to death. To make sure that order is internalised they even have "loving the people campaigns" where the police (who apparently resent it) go around chopping wood, cleaning stoves, etc). The Chinese also have efficient catch-all regulations. -



how about this for getting out of prison camp on expiry of your sentence: "when an important counter-revolutionary criminal or habitual robber or habitual thief, during his period of labour service for reform, fails to engage actively in labour service, frequently violates prison regulations and is actually proved to have failed in getting reformed so that there is the possibility of his continuing to endanger public security after his release, on the approach of the expiry of his sentence, the organ enforcing labour service for reform may submit views to the competent people's security organ for examination and with the handing down of the judgement, according to law by the people's court, he may be required to continue labour service for reform". Get out of that one.

The next chapter is more directly applicable, it's on the British police. Bowden makes great play of the 'British advantage', the way in which the British policeman is seen as a friendly 'bobby'. He is well aware that this has always been a myth, unless you're respectable. He lists many cases of the use of police against workers, of police vigilantism, of planting evidence and beating up suspects, of exceeding the 'Judge's Rules', holding people for days without charges, all the rest. All the squalid reality that David McNee wants legitimised. There's some statistics from the Willink Commission of Inquiry into the police. From 1960, mind, it transpired that 43.4 per cent of the English police thought that policemen took bribes, 34.7 per cent that they used unfair methods to gain information, 32 per cent that the police would distort information in court and 17.8 per cent that they used too much violence. And everybody, Bowden included, agrees that the police have been getting worse. The final chapter in this section deals with private police forces, security firms and the like. There's a new Pelican on them too (Private Police by Hilary Draper), so I'll not go into it here. Just a quote from "Complete Security Service Ltd" (at the time - 1973 - a subsidiary of Securicor), offering employers "a man planted among your employees to report on untoward behaviour and to undertake research into the the background and antecedents of workers".

what is anarchism?

Anarchism, Edited by J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (New York University Press 1978, no price shown).

IN THE STEADY FLOW of new books about anarchism nothing could be more of a contrast to John Quail's *The Slow Burning Fuse* which was discussed at length in these pages recently. This volume is in fact the yearbook of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy. Evidently that society has an annual series of meetings on a particular theme and for this series a few years ago the membership voted overwhelmingly for 'anarchism'. The preface says that "judging by the unusually large attendance and the lively discussions, it was a popular choice".

This big and bulky book consists of eighteen papers given at those meetings divided into four groups the titles of which are "Perspectives on Anarchy", "Authority and Anarchism", "Anarchism and the rule of law", "Anarchist theories of justice", and "The moral psychology of anarchism". All the contributors are academics from faculties of law, economics or political science at various, mostly American universities and polytechnics, though some familiar names crop up even in this guise: John P. Clark (author of the Freedom Press book on Max Stirner's Egoism), David Wieck (one of the regulars from that excellent anarchist journal of the 40s, *Resistance*) and April Carter (author of *The Political Philosophy of Anarchism*).

I don't think we should necessarily sneer at the heavily scholastic background to this book. After all, for years the only book we could thrust into the hands of an enquirer wanting a systematic analysis of anarchist ideas was the volume by Eltzbacher who was I believe a professor of law. But it does make for heavy reading, and in several of the contributions I had that all-too-familiar feeling that my eyes were swimming over the page without actually taking in the words. Several of the contributions are devoted to American right-wing anarchism of the *laissez-faire*, free enterprise kind that FREEDOM readers would probably not recognise as anarchism at all. One of these contributions comes from Professor Murray Rothbard and relates to an anarcho-capitalist concept which, as David Wieck comments, "is entirely outside the mainstream of anarchist theoretical writings or social movements. To some of us who regard ourselves as anarchists, this conjunction is self-contradictory".

It may not completely do justice to this book, but from my point of view the most useful chapter is one of the earliest, John P. Clark's "What is Anarchism?" Clark ponders over the various interpretations of anarchism published or reprinted in the last few years, and comments that:

... (the) subsidiary of Securicor), offering employers "a man planted among your employees to report on untoward behaviour and to undertake research into the the background and antecedents of workers".

So, there we have it. A useful book, despite its limitations. There are a couple of factual errors; for instance the issue of *Oz* which was prosecuted is called the "homosexual edition". There are a couple of pages back to front. But overall it's worth reading. Bowden has a good awareness of the subject, even if he still allows himself to believe in the 'British advantage'. He does agree that the British police are getting heavier, and eroding their advantage. The details are given more extensively in Tony Bunyan's *The Political Police in Britain*. As we sit back and watch the activities of the A TS, the de facto creation of a paramilitary 'third force' (SPG etc), the spying, the embracing catch-all laws (conspiracy, Official Secrets, Prevention of Terrorism, Criminal Trespass etc), we can only ask, as Bowden does continually, but resisting the temptation to be pretentious and do it in Latin (like him), "who watches the watchdogs" (Answer, us).

DP

"While it is true that communitarian anarchism has incorporated many elements of the anarcho-syndicalist position, the converse does not seem to be true. We find in present-day anarchism a perpetuation of a traditional division, in which the communitarians continue in the tradition of the communist anarchists (who did not deny the importance of the syndicalist emphasis on liberating the workplace), while others, like Guerin and Chomsky, preserve an essentially syndicalist approach. The communitarian anarchists do not take the workplace or even the economy as the primary focus (as important as these may be), but rather the total community, with all its interrelated elements, such as work, play, education, communication, transportation, ecology and so forth. They argue that to isolate problems of production from their social context might lead to the perennial Marxist error of combating economic exploitation while perpetuating and perhaps even expanding other forms of domination. Further, communitarian anarchists argue that the analysis of economics and class on which both classical Marxism and syndicalism are built is outdated, and that anarcho-syndicalism itself is therefore at least partially obsolete. If anarchism is to be fully understood, the nature of this very important dispute must be understood: one alternative focusses on work, the other on life as a whole: one on economic relationships, the other on the totality of human relationships, and on the relationships between humanity and nature".

I find this a most thought-provoking and stimulating comment, as I belong by temperament, to that fifth-column of anarchist propagandists, who in the face of a hostile and uncomprehending world, would rather stress what unites, rather than what divides us from accidental allies in various fields of life. Consequently whenever people (with an, I suppose, Marxist background, like the Solidarity group in this country, or like Guerin in France, or Chomsky in the USA) come out with an anarchist point of view, I wave my banner in support, only too glad to find allies. I seldom ask myself to what extent they actually are, and it is consequently valuable to find people like Clark who look analytically at the opinions we express and emphasise the points of difference.

COLIN WARD



"WHY HAVE THEY
GIVEN THE POLICE
A 50% PAY RISE?"

"SO THEY'LL STOP
US DEMANDING A
6% PAY RISE"

ARTHUR MOYSE