

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Genetics & Sociobiology P4



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VICTIMS OF THE SYSTEM

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr Callaghan, has, in the face of growing opposition from trade unionists, called for a third year of pay restraint. His reasons were that unless the social contract continued to operate there would be further inflation, leading to more people being unemployed.

Mr Callaghan sounded as though he had already got their agreement when he said that this third year "will probably be the most difficult of all because people are inevitably impatient, and I understand it."

Of course we have, or should have, become accustomed to this type of speech which ignores completely the present situation. It ignores totally what has happened over the last two years under the social contract. That contract was supposed to combat the present plight now facing working people - inflation and unemployment. And yet we find that the rate of inflation in January was the highest for two years and the overall rise in wholesale prices in 1976 was 19.6 over the previous year. At the same time there are more people without jobs now than there has been since the war.

very competitive nature of the capitalist system.

Even governments and the interests they serve recognise that international intervention and cooperation between the western industrial nations is necessary to assist ailing economies. There is no doubt that the ruling classes fear revolts which would erupt if people are forced to suffer cutbacks in their standards of living.

At the moment that revolt is expressing itself in demands for an end to pay restraint and a return to free collective bargaining. It is coming from workers at Leylands, Fords, Vauxhalls and from the president of the mineworkers, Mr Gormley.

He said: "The only way to lose an election is for these restraints to be kept on, because it is the traditionally Labour voters who are feeling frustrated."

This is the Labour government's dilemma. Certainly the wage restraint has helped to combat inflation, but the social contract has also shown that wages are but a small factor affecting inflation.

Working people have been the victims of events and of the profit system under which they have no control. To some extent the government also finds itself helpless to control the foreign financial interests which have exerted their power on the pound. The working class, over the last year, have made sacrifices in order to restore business confidence and the value of the pound.

Now the government and the trade union leaders on the TUC's economic committee favour another year of restraint. In the weeks ahead we shall see the comings and goings of these leaders, horse trading over wage norms, tax concessions, the Bullock report and



THE DIFFERENTIAL

Certainly the social contract has been successful, but not for working people. They have made all the sacrifices, giving the employers every chance to gain markets for their goods and increase profits. The current crisis hasn't been created by greedy trade unionists holding the country to ransom, but by the

ANARCHISTS TORTURED IN SPAIN

14. 2. 77.

SOME ANARCHISTS who were arrested in Barcelona on 30 January are not only still being held in prison, but are being tortured.

On 30 January about 50 members of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and the National Confederation of Labour (CNT) were holding an open but unauthorised meeting in the La Fuente bar in Calle Resellon, Barcelona. The meeting, which was, it seems, discussing questions of policy, was broken up by the Guardia Armada, the civil police, who arrested all those present.

Twenty three of the 50 were unconditionally released by the judge on 8 February on grounds of lack of evidence but at the time of writing the rest have not been charged and brought before the judge, although the civil governor of Barcelona has intervened on their behalf. On 10 February another group of 11 anarchists, including two Italians, came up before the judge, who released six of them again unconditionally for lack of evidence. But at least 12 members of the CNT may still be undergoing torture at the Jefatura Superior de Policia in Via Layetana.

A press release issued on 11 February

by Amnesty International in London stated that: "The torture reportedly includes beating with fists and truncheons while victims are wrapped in towels to avoid leaving marks. Others receive kicks in the spine. Most of the detainees have been hung by the hands from hot water pipes on the ceiling. They include one known by name - Manuel Garcia Iglesias. Lawyers and a doctor were refused admission at the police station when they attempted to see another detainee, Isaac Garcia Pinero, who is reportedly suffering from two broken ribs. Isaac Garcia Pinero has reportedly been particularly harshly treated, as the police maintain that he possesses arms."

AI also said that another CNT member Diego Delgado Lebron, was arrested in Cordoba on 10 February and illegally transferred out of the jurisdiction of Cordoba to Barcelona.

This report has been scarcely, if at all, mentioned in the British press, preoccupied as it is with trying to discover the identity of GRAPO and with the success of the Spanish police in rescuing Lieutenant General Amilio Villaescusa and Senor Antonio Maria de Oriol.

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ANARCHIST FREE HOSTEL

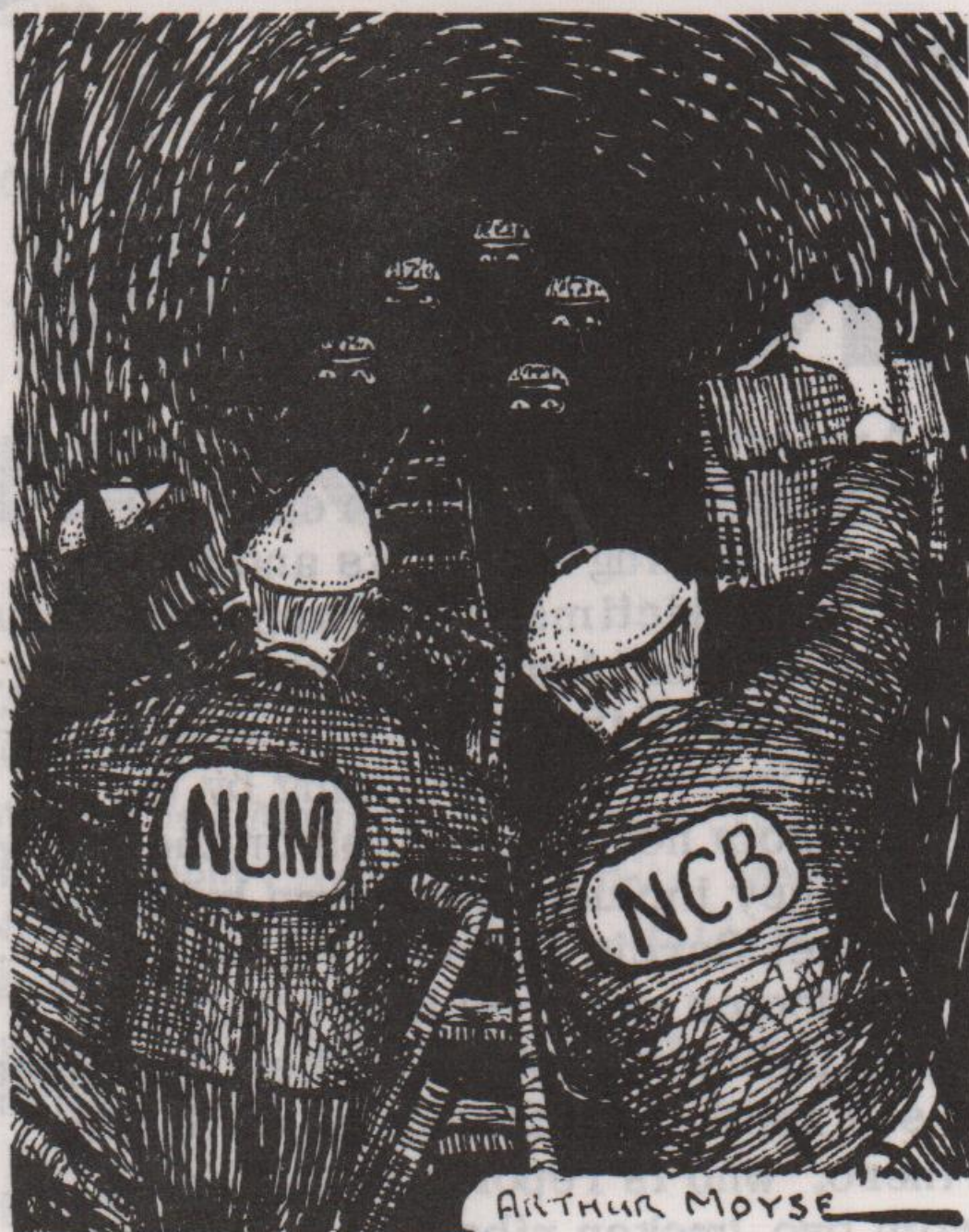
The Newcastle Anarchist Group have sent the following report:

On Friday January 28th the Newcastle Anarchist Group occupied a four storey block at 4 Mosley Street, Newcastle. This building had been empty since July 1976. While this and other similar buildings remain unoccupied, many people are homeless. Some are able to get a bed and shelter at hostels run by groups such as the Salvation Army and the Cyrenians, but these organisations cannot hope to provide beds for all the homeless. As a result, many are forced to sleep in derelict houses and other similar places, which provide at least some form of shelter.

The Mosley Street offices were occupied in an attempt to provide shelter for some of these people, and also in an attempt to show how a Free Hostel can work. The Free Hostel is run with a minimum of rules, people being able to come and go as they please, and generally being encouraged to help in the running of the place. In this way we begin to build up a friendly community.

VICTIMS

free collective bargaining, in order to sell us as a package once again, and this will mean further concessions to the financial and business interests.



"ALL RIGHT LADS, EVERYONE OVER SIXTY WHO'S BEEN DOWN HERE FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS CAN COME OUT NOW."

In this horsetrading some of the more powerful unions will no doubt try to gain a higher percentage increase for their craft-minded members. In fact much of the car workers' revolt centres around the erosions of the craft or skill differential.

When you work under a system which is based on competition and greed it is

So far, the occupation has been presented by the media as an "Anarchist-Student Squat" with little attention being paid to its real function. But if the hostel is to continue, we need the support and involvement of other groups and individuals; we need ideas on how to continue running a Free Hostel; and we will need other premises which we can use on a permanent basis, because we will very probably be evicted in the near future. What is more, the trespass clauses in the Criminal Law Bill which is at present going through Parliament will make this sort of action impossible in the future, and will also make it illegal to carry out other forms of direct action. Homeless people will not be able to defend their interests by squatting, workers will not be able to defend themselves by occupying their factories, or students by occupying their colleges.

So if you want to help in any way, come down and see us at 4 Mosley Street. We are open 24 hours a day. 7 days a week.

understandable that, even though it is against their real interests, people should reflect these attitudes. But if people want a different society where they have control over their lives, then also their present attitudes will have to change. It is little use seeking differentials when they only divide the skilled and the unskilled. It is little use producing goods which have no useful function. The trouble is, the working class has been for too long content with about third best. We have accepted poor housing, a bad health scheme, rotten education, adulterated food, while at the same time we scramble for higher wages instead of taking over completely.

In saying this I am not advocating that we do not demand wage increases but that always in our demand we should seek to control more aspects of our lives.

PI

Anna Mendelson

ANNA MENDELSON, one of the five jailed in connection with the "Angry Brigade" in 1972, was released on parole in November. Now an official announcement to that effect has been made and suddenly it's news. The popular press has recapped most of the distortions they printed at the time and there have been loud trumpetings from such as Patrick Wall and Eldon Griffiths.

It is worth noting that the release attracted no publicity at the time although the press must have been aware of it. Black Flag printed it in their December

issue. Now, according to Griffiths, law and order is about to crumble and the police will have to start shooting first and asking questions later. This is in contrast to the confident crowing after the sentences in the "Balcombe St. trial".



The four, who were convicted of being directly linked with bombings and shootings (Jake Prescott was convicted on different charges) were all jailed for 10 years, whilst four others, tried on the same evidence, were acquitted.

The stories have altered slightly over four years; for example it now seems that heaps of gelignite and machine guns were found, not under a table as originally stated, but "under the bed she shared with her lover" (Daily Express). Against the background of belated indignation over the release it is worth remembering that the original convictions were extremely dubious and that several earlier applications for release were refused (even when Hilary Creek was seriously ill with anorexia nervosa).

The reason for the release is, apparently, that if Anna was released at the end of her sentence no check could be kept on her; as she is now on parole her "rehabilitation" can be supervised.

It is denied that the other three will be similarly paroled (so what about the preceding argument) and Jake Prescott has recently had his sentence extended in the recent protest riots at Hull prison.

West Germany

Malte Vorbeck, an engineer, has lost his job with the Cologne gas, electricity and water board because he is living with Christel Ensslin, sister of the RAF member Gudrun Ensslin. The company appealed against a court decision in favour of Malte Vorbeck on the grounds that Christel was a member of "the committee against torture of political prisoners in West Germany." She was also charged by the Cologne prosecutor with "defamation of the State and its symbols".

Although the appeal court again decided in Vorbeck's favour he is still unemployed because the company has lodged an appeal with the federal labour court.

FLAG

A Federation of London Anarchist Groups meeting will be held on 5 March starting at 10 am at Freedom Press bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E.1. The meeting is being called to discuss the future of FLAG and the appointment of a secretariat. All London groups and individuals are invited to attend.

BRING ON THE JUBILEE!

GLANCING OVER the posh (and not-so-posh) Sundays last weekend one felt like returning to bed and staying there till 1977 had gone away. For, with the unerring passion for the banal, the useless and the obsolescent which generally pervades the press, they were featuring the 25th anniversary of the ascent to the throne of Great Britain and her Dominions (including sweet Rockall) of Elizabeth II of England - and, with an oily glug - Elizabeth I of Scotland. Celebrations of this calendrial non-event will continue throughout the year—economies permitting—so we are in for a wallow in monarchist sentiment for a year at least.

Far be it from anarchists to preach the doctrine of republicanism but even that utilitarian doctrine has been deserted. Largely because, like female suffrage, it was not the universal remedy it seemed, and partly because the absolute powers of monarchy have been moderated somewhat and the Czarist regime of 'despotism tempered by dynamite' is a rarity. Indeed, universal suffrage and the ballot box have produced tyrants enough to merit assassination—with the added fault that the electors have, seemingly, no one but themselves to blame.

It was not even necessary to be a lefty or a progressive in Victorian times to be a Republican, one could be a Radical like Charles Bradlaugh and Joseph Chamberlain; even such respectable gentlemen as Charles Dilke, John Bright, John Morley, J. R. Green and A. C. Swinburne the poet embraced republicanism. Obviously the abolition of the monarchy is, and was, a technicality which could be carried out without disturbing the social order except as Belloc point out

"The accursed Power which stands on
privilege
And goes with Women and Champagne
and Bridge
Broke; and Democracy resumed her
reign,
Which goes with Bridge and Women,
and Champagne."

Even though some of the vices listed by Belloc have changed their popularity the point is still valid. Everything changes still to remain the same.

Herbert Spencer, that most respectable and usually dull individualist Victorian once, when asked about royalty, said "I am not interested in the criminal classes". The criminality of Royalty is not so obvious as in the days of naked kingly power—which was in fact challenged, checked and overthrown by newly-rising classes aided by the permanently-depressed lower classes—but is still there in evidence and in action. The power gained by deception and force, the property seized by conquest and enslavement, the position maintain-

ed by propaganda, P.R. and superstition, the re-writing of history and the childish deceptions and uneasy suppressions of embarrassing truths. In all this criminal conspiracy to foist upon us a further crop of parasites—man is the only animal that considers himself rich by the number of parasites he can afford—it can only be urged that we have the blessing of stability through the monarchy, and the maintenance of a symbol.

*

The usual scandal suppressed about Royal houses is insanity in the family. The Georges III and IV were both afflicted with bouts of insanity. Further back in history this insanity evidenced itself in tyranny and extermination of imagined (or real) enemies at home. The persecution of Protestants and Catholics by Mary and Elizabeth I following each other in succession was a grotesque example of the lunacy called religion.

In the whole pack of royalty it would seem that clubs are out of favour. Not that the velvet glove distributing Maundy money does not often show the mailed fist of 'the Queen's pleasure'. but the pack has been shuffled differently. The ostentatious conspicuous consumption of playing diamonds (even this year the loot of the Koh-I-Noor diamond has been disputed with a newly formed band of brigands) is not felt to be quite the thing. The spade work of interfering with such fragments of the democratic process as still exist is also fortunately rare although that ex-Greek unemployed (and as far as is known, unemployable) ex-naval polo-player still shoots off his mouth from time to time.

No, the suit being played is hearts, proving how human they all are. The God-King or Queen puts on a headscarf or a cap and comes down and dwells among us. The popular press's human-interest approach scales them down to suburban size, at the same time retaining the ambivalence of the symbol. The Royal-Mum incarnate with Charlie-boy the sex-hungry teenager (will he or won't he?) and Maggie the problem sister and the trouble with Tony. Like a soap-opera made flesh we are supposed to react to the Royal family's trivialities of circumscribed and unimaginative lives made real by shock-scandal-horror. The old standby of sexual scandal has supposedly no significance in a "permissive" society but in fact, sexual scandal was the thing which humanized royalty in Victorian and Edwardian times. The God-King's potency and sexual prowess was something which his worshippers, no matter how seemingly Puritanical the age, secretly admired. Edward VII was popular largely because of this, Edward VIII lost little in the public eye by his passion for Mrs. Wallis Simpson, Charles is remembered for his affair with Nell Gwynne rather

er than for any of his monarchist follies.

Each of these methods of dealing out royalty has been tried and will be tried. The same routines have been employed to put over heads of state; in some countries the president is equally symbolic and equally revered. In the Soviet Union, Czarist forms of honour have been revived to elevate Comrade Breshnev above the common herd.

It is the existence of such leadership, whether power is represented by brute force, political guile, financial display and domination or mass persuasion, that anarchists question. The whole questioning of leadership includes the part of the abolition of the monarchy. But we must beware lest for example the abolition of Nicolas the Czar of all the Russias lead only to the establishment and deification of Lenin and Stalin, Czars of all the Russias, and their bloody successors Krushchev, Breshnev and Co.

Assassination, in a nominal democracy with its clear lines of succession, has no longer the usefulness it might once have had in some times and places. But we must, alas, live through this jubilee year and extract what lessons and knowledge we can from this deplorable exhibitionism.

The original meaning of the word 'jubilee' was an occasion of celebration when slaves and prisoners would be released. No such liberation is proposed and the mental slavery of monarchy will be further fettered upon us. It is up to us to bring the jubilee.

Jack Robinson.

Third I.F.A. Congress

The Preparation Commission for the Third Congress of the IFA Secretariat has been in existence as a working body for one year. The congress in preparation will be a congress consisting of the members of the International Federation. All members are being asked to present their papers for the congress agenda. These papers should be received no later than one month before the congress takes place so that they can be translated and published. Federations, groups or individuals who are not members of IFA are welcome to participate as observers. The organisers however request that those who wish to attend as observers send a political, economic and social report on the anarchist movement and its activities in their respective countries (3rd point on the congress agenda).

One condition absolutely necessary for participation as observers is that the names and addresses of those wishing to attend be sent to the organisers no later than one month before the congress. This will probably take place at Easter.

IFA describes itself as representing social and revolutionary anarchists working for the establishment of a communist libertarian society. "At this time of internationalisation of problems," say the organisers, "it is inconceivable to remain unorganised and isolated."

Answers should be addressed to: Grégoroff
20 bis rue Tourlaque 75018 Paris France.

TAKE CARE TO GET BORN WELL

THE DEBATE ABOUT how much of human behaviour is in-born and how much learned has widened. A few years ago the issue centred on intelligence and the views of Jensen, Eysenck et al. Basically, they said that intelligence was largely genetic, with environment playing relatively little part (a ratio of 80:20 was bandied about). Any suggestions of political intent were denied; the work represented our old friend, the search for "objective" truth. Particularly controversial was the claim that various minority groups were innately denser than white middle-class psychologists. Opposition to these views varied from analysis of their faults to disruption of meetings. As is often the case, arguments were about the extremes. Either man was programmed entirely by his pedigree, in the manner suggested by Konrad Lorenz (an ex-Nazi supporter) and by implication Jensen, or entirely by his potty training. Nature or nurture, as the cliché has it. The acceptable position seemed to oppose Jensen and Eysenck for genetic determination, whilst resisting B. F. Skinner for suggesting that human nature was merely a product of social conditioning. The flaws in the ideas of Jensen and his supporters are too obvious (what is intelligence, what do I.Q. tests measure, who sets the tests, what does it matter anyway?) to make such a contradictory position necessary. (Incidentally, a similar series of results proves that tall people are more intelligent. I think I'll apply for a research grant to show that people with three ears are better at hopscotch.)

Now all human life is there. The new controversy centres around the book *Sociology, The New Synthesis* by E. Wilson, an American biologist. Wilson says that this is "a systematic study of the biological basis of all social behaviour". It is a large, comparatively expensive and technical book so, as yet, the public at large has escaped exposure, although no doubt a popularist will be along soon (perhaps Desmond Morris, whose views are based on hereditary assumptions, and who can produce generalised sophistries with the best of them). However these ideas have provided the basis for two 'Horizon' programmes on BBC 2 television; "The Selfish Gene" last November, dealing with animals, and now "The Human Animal". At its simplest, this is an extension of Natural Selection. As taken up towards the end of the last century this theme suggested that the "fittest" survive and hence pass on their characteristics, which will spread through the population. If we ignore the circular nature of the argument (those who survive are those who survive) this theory is the basis of modern biology. To give Darwin his due, he never adopted the more extreme views often linked with his name, such as the "Social Darwinism" used to justify nineteenth century capitalism. In fact he didn't commit himself on very much at all. For example, contrary to popular belief, he didn't suggest that men descended from apes. This point is made in most biology books, which say that his theory was that men and apes had a common ancestor, still the modern view. However he shied away from this as well; the implications were too much for him. They still continue. 120 years since *The Origin of Species* and 50 years since the Scopes trial the cycle has come right round and a teacher in Hertfordshire has been suspended because he accepts the Genesis account of creation to be literal and refuses to accept evolution.

The problem for Darwinism, especially in the crude form generally adopted was that it could not explain altruism and related kindness. Logically, the survivors would be the strongest and most aggressive, certainly not an individual with a tendency to sacrifice itself for others. All this was extensively documented by Kropotkin. However the problem remained and Kropotkin was ignored. (When I first learned about *Mutual Aid* I used to check the bibliographies of books on evolution for a mention. After a while I gave it up, it was a waste of time.) Now Sociobiology attempts an explanation in genetic terms. The point is basically that a brother or sister shares half your characteristics. Therefore it would be worth sacrificing yourself for two siblings, or two offsprings, or by extension eight cousins, or sixty-four great-great-grandchildren, and so on. So altruism could develop in a

kinship group and expand from there. All fair enough and the first 'Horizon' illustrated the point with plenty of examples.

The difficulties arise when this is applied to human society. How far can you go in transferring results obtained from animals to humans? And, conversely, how much meaning have terms like "aggression", "slavery", "culture" etc. when applied to animals? In other words, how much of being human is a cultural phenomenon? Wilson is aware of the implications of his thesis and tries to avoid polarisation of the argument.

In fact he is quoted as saying that in relation to human behaviour "culture is clearly the dominant factor". However his work is still seen as "the modern successor to Spencer's Social Darwinism. Survival of the fittest is replaced by the theoretical framework of population genetics, with the necessary postulates and fudge factors added to make the theory an untenable whole" (Science as Ideology Group of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science). After initial, strong attacks the debate appears to have cooled somewhat and this is reported to be welcomed by all. Critics, notably a Boston-based study group of Science for the People (the American equivalent of BSSRS) now considers that their original outburst was counterproductive ("Our rhetoric was at fault." "Other people may have listened more if we had presented our arguments differently" (quoted in New Scientist). Richard Lewontin (a population geneticist and a member of S. P. P.) says that "Wilson's views now have a broad sympathy among biologists, but there is a considerable antipathy among sociologists and anthropologists", which is understandable; biologists would hardly support Skinner on these matters, they'd be out of a job. This is merely an academic, demarcation dispute.

The implications of accepting a heavy, genetic factor in behaviour are considerable; the BSSRS' critique of "Sociobiology" lists genetics and I.Q. to deal with racism and unemployment, XYY—the criminal chromosome—to deal with crime, genetics and sex role differences to deal with sexism, and others. Division of labour between the sexes is accepted as genetically based by Wilson, and the 'Horizon' film showed an Israeli kibbutz, originally set up in a non-sexist way, where the burden of domestic work and child rearing has reverted to the women. It would be futile to make personal attacks on Wilson on this basis. He seems well-meaning enough, and more to the point, he seems to have an awareness of, and a dislike for, these extrapolations from his work. And we must remember that individual genius does not play the same role in the actual advancement of science as myth would have it. (If Newton had become an infant mortality statistic we wouldn't know that apples fall off trees.) Wilson is filtering the general climate of biological ideas, which, as above, must postulate a significant role for biology. I have no doubt that there is a genetic contribution to behaviour (I should point out that I am a biologist) and that all other things being equal this will be expressed. And there we have it, all other things are not equal, or anywhere near it. Trying to study things as if they are will get nowhere. And neither will studying animals from a human viewpoint, or humans from animal viewpoint, or other humans from a Western viewpoint, or any other similarly blinkered attitude. Environment and genetics are inextricably intertwined, with environment greatly predominating. So far no gene has been found to affect behaviour but must exist; to fall into the error criticised above and use animal examples, the behaviour of ants must be genetically programmed. Birds cannot learn nest building in one generation. Now, these animal examples cannot be applied to humans, but they do indicate that quite complex behaviour patterns can be inherited. Which strikes me as an interesting conclusion, with absolutely no applications in everyday life.

When we have created a world in which people are free, and value judgements are not made on differences in style, then we will be in a better position to begin assessing the value of each contribution. In the meantime sociologists and anthropologists will write learned theses of incomprehensible jargon and biologists will argue about how many genes can dance on the head of a pin. And never the twain shall meet. D.P.

"LOVE, WORK & KNOWLEDGE ARE WELL-SPRINGS OF OUR LIFE. THEY SHOULD ALSO GOVERN IT."
—Wilhelm Reich.

WILHELM REICH lived very close to the development of the Nazi movement in Germany. During that period he also witnessed the mistakes and defeats of the socialist left, with which movement he was associated. Freud had already introduced a new dimension into the study of man's mental disorders. Reich took this further and said that aberrations in man the political animal were not solely caused by economics but by the ideological background embedded in the psychology of mankind. The facts of man's repression were obvious; Reich asked why does man collaborate in his own repression?

"It is the mechanistic-mystical character of modern man that produces fascist parties and not vice-versa."

The activities of Marxist and left-wing parties in fact actually feed the irrationalities of mass man and these movements still fail to understand that their propaganda is largely counter-productive even today in dealing with irrational political and racial attitudes. This largely arises from the left-wing concept of the capture of the state rather than the illumination of minds as a means to revolution, which makes for the propaganda of expediency and the irrationality that it engenders:

"Since Fascism, whenever and wherever it makes its appearance, is a movement borne by masses of people, it betrays all the characteristics and contradictions present in the character structure of the mass individual. It is not, as is commonly believed, a purely reactionary movement—it is an amalgam between rebellious emotions and reactionary social ideas."

Failure to recognise these facts led to the European expansion of Fascist states. In spite of the fact that the Fascist states were defeated in the Second World War the net result was (a) the spread of totalitarian Marxism (b) the acceleration of technical productive forces.

The second factor led to the creation in Britain particularly of the Welfare State and the expansion of consumption in western Europe generally, raising a large section of the working class into activities like home ownership that were originally largely middle-class.

It was in this class that the Fascists originally gained their support and it was because their ideological structure found a response throughout the mass of people that fascism grew:

"It is only seldom that brute force is resorted to in the domination of the oppressed class by the owners of the social means of production. Its main weapon is its ideological power

The Psychological and Social Causes of **FASCISM** and **RACISM**

over the oppressed, for it is this ideology that is the mainstay of the state apparatus."

In seeking to understand the nature of fascist and racist ideology Reich concluded it was derived from the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of past society. The nuclear family, imposing prohibitions (aided by religious morality) tended to perpetuate this authoritarian structure. Consequently rebellion tended to take a totalitarian course. This repression according to Reich is expressed in the early repression of sexuality, a basic human drive.

Today the situation has been changed not through the activities of revolutionary Marxist parties, who when they acquire power assume the authoritarian mantle, but by a wide variety of challenges to the basic structure of authoritarian society in the fields of education, the family and sexual freedom, which has physically liberated women from unwanted pregnancy.

However within capitalist society permissiveness is tied to profit and the sexual drive is the biggest growth industry. Workers have become consumers and often joyless consumers at that; and as the middle class encompassed fascism as a revolt against the pressures of monopoly capitalism, so may the mass of workers on the fears generated by the problems and contradictions of modern capitalist society.

The impotence felt by man people is on two levels: (1) modern technology requires the skill of fewer people; (2) control of modern technology by private and public monopolies makes it remote from people. This impotence is reflected in the growth of nationalist movements and fascist movements which are also nationalistic in tendency.

The answer is not the irrational pandering to these fears, by the shouting of slogans. Today many of the fears of religious morality have gone, the family as the basic structure of society is in disarray, there is a healthy contempt for authority. But the human relationship of give and take has been eroded also. Vast institutions supply every need: people have become clients, patients, consumers, viewers and listeners. The creative expression of man in skill and effort, the human emotion of love and affection are muted by atrophy.

Only small economic and social units can have a human face. Only they can reflect the diversity and differences of human environments and societies. Today many members of the working class fly to the ends of the earth but the

only difference between the Costa Brava and Blackpool is the strength of the sun.

The nature of authority and exploitation is international. Capitalism has united and is imposing a degree of uniformity that is alien to human nature. It also presupposes a degree of consumption that threatens to erode the environment to a point where that human society will be incapable of continued existence. Imagine for instance if everyone exercised their privilege to own a motor car.

When you shout slogans you presuppose that you are talking to a moron unable to understand the problems that face human society. The revolution that is based upon this ends up at the same position as a fascist state.

The Leningrad Red Times, 4.2.1935:

"All our love, our faithfulness, our strength, our hearts, our heroism, our life—everything for you, take it, O great Stalin, every thing is yours, O leader of our great homeland. Command your sons. They can move in the air and under the earth in water and in the stratosphere. Men and women of all times and all nations will remember your name as the most magnificent, the strongest, the wisest, the most beautiful. Your name is written on every factory, on every machine, in every corner of the world, in every human heart. When my beloved wife bears me a child, the first word I will teach him will be 'Stalin'."

That may well be written by any fascist or authoritarian hack.

Concluding as Reich says:

"Our conception of the anti-fascist fight is different. It is a clear relentless recognition of the historical and biological causes that lead to such murders. The deracination of the fascist plague will come about solely from such a recognition, and not by imitating it. One cannot vanquish fascism by imitating and subduing it with its own methods, without becoming a fascist oneself. The way of fascism is the way of the automaton, death, rigidity, hopelessness. The way of the living is fundamentally different; it is more difficult, more dangerous, more honest, more hopeful."

Alan Albon

Quotations (except from Red Times!) are taken from Wilhelm Reich: *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, Condor edition (

ONE OF US

cont.

The opening sequence for the new ITV series "Just William" includes a cartoon sequence, complete with cloaked figure and bomb...

The FAI and CNT national meetings which preceded the close on 100 arrests in the first ten days of this month were not the first inside Spain. During last year we carried reports of the re-emergence of the traditional anarchist movement, from April 1976 "Return of the CNT", a translation of an interview with Juan Gomez Casca, militant and historian of Spanish anarcho-syndicalism, which had been published in Barcelona in March, and further articles which revealed that the first but fruitless initiative to reconstruct the FAI took place in November 1972, and that the revival of the CNT dates from 1975.

We recently received a long report from Abe Bluestein, chairman of the International Libertarian Labor Fund (New York), who listed a number of public meetings and demonstrations of newly-formed CNT branches between August and November 1976 in Catalonia, Asturias, Barcelona, Madrid. He also reports wide distribution of several CNT papers even though the CNT has no legal existence under the post-Franco regime. We have received some issues of various CNT publications, and the current issue of *Le Monde Libertaire*, Paris lists six major papers. *Confederación* (no. 1) from Murcia Albacete; CNT (Central Region); *Castilla Libre* (Madrid); *Andalusia Libertaria*; *Colmena Obrera* (Badelona) and *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona).

From the last named (issue no. 6) *Le Monde Libertaire* reprints an article by Federica Montseny making an emotional link with the Soli of the 1930s. Likewise, Abe Bluestein writes of his emotion at seeing CNT again:

The last time I saw the CNT was in Madrid, November 1937. It was printed on full-size newsprint, not tabloid.

Anarchists Tortured

Comrades in Madrid speaking to us this evening were able to confirm the Amnesty report. They said that 12 or 13 CNT members were still being held at Barcelona where the police were trying to build up charges of terrorism against them. Comrades returning to Madrid had been badly beaten up and tortured.

The remaining detainees are being held under the emergency measures decreed last month following demonstrations and shootings in Madrid. The right to habeas corpus has been suspended. This allows for continuing intervention without judicial intervention. Under the Spanish constitution people cannot be held longer than 10 days before charges are brought. This time limit has now been well exceeded.

Vigorous protests to: Spanish Embassy and Spanish Consulate General, 3 Hans Crescent, SW1; Spanish Labour Office, 5 Anderson St, SW3 as well as to Madrid.

SPAIN Information

It was a legal newspaper, sold openly on the street by newsmen. At that time Madrid was observing the First Anniversary of the siege. The walls of all the buildings, every billboard in the city, every lamp post were covered with signs and slogans celebrating—the twentieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution! Large monster size portraits of revolutionary leaders were on display everywhere watching the Madrilenos in their siege. The portraits of Stalin and Lenin! Not a single Spanish figure was on display to mark the first anniversary of Madrid's siege.

And the CNT on sale in the streets of Madrid was a sheet of paper, completely white on both sides, except for the masthead containing the name CNT and date. CNT and the Communist paper *Mundo Obrero* were both offered for sale aggressively side by side on the streets of the city. The one empty, the other fully printed. Censorship was in the hands of the Communist Party.

The scene I will never forget that took place every day for the ten days I was in Madrid in November, 1939, was that the blank CNT was sold out each day while *Mundo Obrero* was rarely bought.

The new first issue of CNT printed in December, 1976, speaks very directly to me and to all who lived through the Spanish Civil War; with a cartoon bearing the slogan "Courage, Grandparents, We Are Coming", signed "CNT".

The CNT stands on a programme of struggle for demands of the day together with the goal of Libertarian Communism. It addresses people with their economic problems and, at the same time, offers them a view of themselves as free and whole human beings.

It emphasizes that decisions do not originate at the top but at the local shop and local community. The philosophy and structure of the CNT reflect commitment to liberty. It is a Federal organization and it does not permit the development of a strong national centre, either in the Confederation or in the industrial unions.

Policies and decisions are made by the local unions and Local Federations. The Regional and National Confederations reflect the policies as they originate with the local bodies.

In the current unclear scene, which is neither free nor entirely oppressive, the Minister of Labour Relations invited the CNT as well as other labour organization to meet with him. The CNT refused the invitation and the refusal made the daily press. These are the reasons for their refusal:

1) All the non-government labour organizations continue to be illegal. There is no indication that the government intends to close down the Fascist Unions

and permit the development of free trade unions. Only the Communist Party wishes to maintain the Fascist Unions because they control the Workers' Commissions within these unions and by this means they are trying to prevent the rise of the independent unions of the CNT and UGT. Their effort in this direction is doomed to failure because the Anarchist and Socialist Unions are already strong and growing stronger rapidly.

2) The CNT refused to accept the "social pact" with the employers which would keep wages down in the face of inflation.

3) The CNT will not obstruct the introduction of a Liberal Democracy but will support such an evolution in its own way.

4) All of the other labour organizations are instruments of a political party; the CNT will continue to be an independent movement of the working class, dedicated to fight for the interests and demands of the workers.

The CNT has held two national plenums during the past six months. Delegates attended from the Regional Federations of Catalonia, Valencia, Asturias, the Basque country, Andalusia, Murcia, Santander, Castile. They agreed to fight for the following demands:

Higher wages to protect the standard of living of workers : Forty hour week : Retirement at age 60 : Social Security paid solely by the employer : Workmen's compensation of 100% of wages : One month vacation per year for all : An end to industrial security forces ; Free trade unions.

The mood of the Spanish Anarchists is upbeat at this time. They suffered 40 years of most brutal oppression and persecution. Their press was silenced. Their militants arrested and executed. Their organizations mute.

Had anarchism been wiped out in Spain by 40 years of darkness and silence The answer is strong and unmistakable: 90% of the current membership of the CNT is young people. The average age is 30 years. The Libertarian Movement had its strength among workers and peasants up to the Civil War. Now it also has strength among the students and faculties on college and university campuses, among professionals, in the world of business and commerce.

Because the CNT cannot operate legally they are working under great handicaps. Their opportunities to organize and to print and distribute publications are limited only by lack of funds. They have appealed to Libertarians all over the world to help them at this time. When they will be able to work in the open, with free union memberships and regular dues, they will be in a position to help others. At this time they ask our help.

Abe Bluestein *



COMPREHENDING

STIRNER

Dear Editors,

"The moral man," wrote Stirner, "can never comprehend the egoist", and it seems that both John P. Clark and your reviewer John Brent are moral men. Both have a concept of an egoist as a cold, competitive, self-interested person, i.e. the moral man's concept of an egoist. People who actually read Stirner understand that his "egoist" is quite different.

Clark dogmatically states that "Stirner's thought... advocates a ruthless will to power, power over things, persons, and, above all, oneself" (pp. 25-26 in his book*). But Stirner himself describes "a Nero" as a possessed man, and writes that "worldly goods" must be "put away as no longer valuable" (The Ego and His Own, pp. 54, 347).

Then we find John Brent wondering "what is to prevent a group of successfully competitive egoists banding together to ensure that they remain at the top". But what are they competing for if they have put worldly goods away "as no longer valuable"? To Stirner the feeling "I must be on top" is as much a denial of "egoism" as the feeling "I must serve others". Stirner's "egoist" has no such feelings at all, and sings "Ich hab' Mein' Sach' auf Nichts gestellt" — "I have set my affair on nothing." (The Ego and His Own) first and last pages.

The fact is that to understand Stirner you have to sit down, put aside all your preconceptions, and actually read his book as a whole. It is the extraordinary outburst — passionate, confused, inspired — of an amateur philosopher fighting his way single-handed out of the mental prison of social morality and religion, and into the freedom of psychological integration. Pathetic it may be in parts, and any competent professional philosopher can heartlessly pull it to pieces, but it contains enough of what may be called genuine religious insight to make it immortal.

Yours sincerely,
Bristol. Francis Ellingham

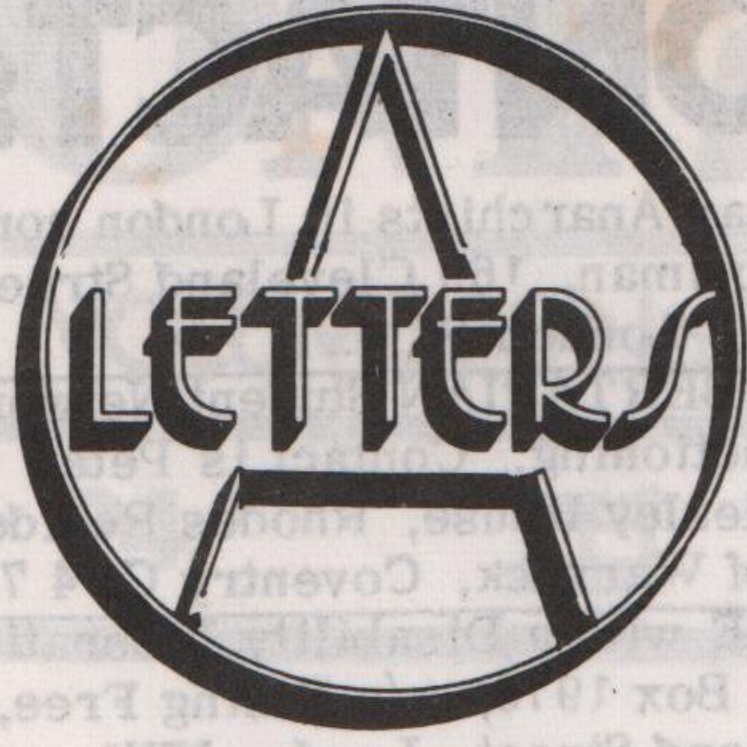
THE MURRAYS

Dear Friends,

'Tis not often I write to you... However, I read an article or letter in our paper (vol. 38 no. 1) and feel I must comment thus:-

Comrade B. J. Clifton (at least I suppose he is one of the brethren) stimulates me to pass on a few words. I shall try not to be too passionate. He mentions reader participation and will do his bit to oblige (how noble).

I object to his comparison of the Murrays with Bonnie and Clyde. Unfortunately I am more familiar with the latter mentioned than the former. How



does B. J. Clifton know what circumstances surround the killing of this policeman? I am not in favour of using violence for gain but I can sympathize with anyone that has had the law hot on his or her arse (I know the feeling only too well). Who will ever know the truth of what actually happened over there in that unhappy country?

So fuck the 19th century and support the Murrays in this one.

Best wishes,
Mick Cropper.

INTO THE ACTION

Terry Philips was unfair to FREEDOM in his letter (21 January) and I do agree with P. Murtagh (5 February) about a lot of "agitational" writing. It's often cretinous.

But Terry raises a crucial point. Is FREEDOM out of touch with the active movement or is the active movement out of touch with itself?

Probably the latter. Take, for instance, the apparently torpid state of the CBA at this moment.

It is evident that anarchists in general have not yet succeeded in getting down to any sort of consistent, continuous "agitational" work. My feeling is that one of the best and most concrete approaches to the problem would be the formation of a number of groups, preferably linked in a federation for easier communication (hopefully!) who would concentrate on collecting and distributing information on one particular area - health, education, Ireland, Spain (there is already the Libertarian Spain Committee), prisons, law, transport, work, energy or what-

PUBLICATIONS

WHAT IS MAKHAEVISM? by Paul Avrich. Makhajski was a Polish revolutionary who, using a critique based on the division of mental and manual labour, analysed Marxism as the false consciousness of a rising bureaucratic elite consisting of déclassé intellectuals and ex-workers. Copies of Avrich's essay available free. Send s.a.e. to News from Nowhere, 48 Manchester Street, Liverpool 1.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN bi-monthly. SLF mag £1 for year's sub incl. post. No. 1 articles on elections & anarchism, subversion of records, Fight to Live, libertarian organisation & strategy etc. From Glasgow group. Also Pocketsedition, cartoon-based sit-comik 20p. p.f.

ever. (Also special defence groups like the Murrays', Marini's and so forth). They could be recognised as having particular knowledge on their area and be looked to to initiate action campaigns, etc at any appropriate moment. This seems to be especially necessary just now with the "welfare state" crumbling at the edges. Anarchists above all should seize such a psychologically good moment to put across their own alternatives of self-management within the community... and I think some degree of group specialisation would very much help us to get out of the general waffle and "into the action".

Maybe Terry or someone would give their views on this?

Impatient Reader

PS A reader's meeting is a good idea. So is another CBA meeting.

ANARCHY FOR KIDS

Dear Freedom

Ben Schumacher and others may be interested in the following people: New Seed Press, P.O. Box 3016, Stanford, CA 94305, USA, who publish children's books free from racial, class or sex-role stereotypes. I "found" them via Rising Free,* and a copy of "Fanshen the Magic Bear" (40p). The storyline, briefly, is that Laura - the king's rent collector - at Fanshen's inspiration, encourages the subjects of the kingdom to effect a peaceful revolution wherein king is deposed and a libertarian society is formed.

Seen both as a kid's book (writing, illustrations, characterisations etc) and as a political statement, the book is fine. Difficult to know what age, if any, it is aimed at, but whilst some of the sentence construction will be hard for younger readers, it would be suited - one way or another - for kids over a wide age range, 4 to 10 say.

Readers wishing to follow up the area of non-stereotyped childrens literature should write to Childrens Rights Workshop, 73 Balfour St, London SE 17, who have done a lot of work in this field. Other contacts can be got from them too.

Finally, re review of Ferlinghetti in the same issue (1 January). "Populist Manifesto" was featured in issue 1 of Z Revue (August '75) still available at 15p + post from 41 Norman St, Leicester.

Fraternally

Peter Cummings

* Rising Free, 155 Drummond St, London WC1.

Spain

*The writer was responsible for the English language edition of CNT-FAI our of Casa CNT-FAI, Barcelona May 1937-January 1938.

*The International Libertarian Labor Fund has already sent one thousand dollars to the CNT in Madrid, and is collecting additional funds to send them. Contributions should be sent to the Fund at P.O. Box 783, New York, N.Y. 10003, U.S.A.

FREEDOM: CONTACT:

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Saturday 17 February. For news section Monday 28 February.

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 3 March. Come and help from 4 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thurs. afternoon to early evening for folding session and informal get-together.

PRESS FUND

27 January—9 February

NEW YORK: R. J. P. £2.90. VANCOUVER, J. D. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. £1; J. K. W. 17p; BELGIUM: W. Z. £1; In Shop: Anon 58p.

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INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA

Canberra. Alternative Canberra Group.
10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo. ACT 2609.
Melbourne. Martin Giles Peters. c/o Dept.
of Philosophy. Monash University. Melbourne.
New South Wales. P. Stones. P.O. Box 26.
Warrawong. N.S.W.
Sydney. Fed. of Aust. Anarchists. Box 92.
Broadway. 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

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

NEW YORK

Libertarian Book Club Lectures 7.30
pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 8th
Ave and 29 St (SW corner). Free ad-
mission, coffee & cookies.
Mar 10 Dwight Macdonald: Recollections
of an Anarchist
Apr 14 Sam Dolgoff: Anarchism in the
Cultural Revolution
May 17 Murray Bookchin: Environment
and Anarchism.

Christian Anarchists in London contact
Doug Truman, 169 Cleveland Street,
Flat 18, London W.1.

THE LIBERTARIAN Student Network is
now functioning. Contact is Peter Baker
A06 Allesley House, Rhodes Residences,
Univ. of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL
PEOPLE with a Disability Liberation
Front. Box 1976, c/o Rising Free, 142
Drummond Street, London NW1

CORBY LIBERTARIAN Education Group
Contact Susan & Terry Phillips, 7
Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

S.E. LONDON Libertarian Group meets
Wednesdays. Ring Georgina 460 1623
BIRMINGHAM Sat-Sun. 26-27 Feb.
British Withdrawal from Northern Ire-
land Campaign general mtg. for all
supporters. Sat. Dr. Johnson House,
Bull St. Sunday, Peace Centre, 18
Moor St., Queensway, New supporters
meet at 11 am Sat.; business meeting
begins 2 pm Sat. To arrange crashing
space write BWNIC c/o 5 Caledonian
Rd. London N1 9DX or ring B'ham (021)
443 2912.

LONDON BWNIC Tues. 1 March. New
supporters 7 pm; business mtg. starts
7.30 pm. 6 Endsleigh St. WC1.

BIRMINGHAM Lib. Soc. group meets
Sundays 8 pm at The Peace Centre, 18
Moor St. Queensway & afterwards in
'The Fox & Grapes' Freeman Street.

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation.
For mtgs, activists & newsletter
write 165 Rosehill Rd. Bolton, Lancs.
GLASGOW Scottish Libertarian Fed.
'extraordinary' public mtgs. St. Bride's
Centre, Rosevale St., Partick, Mon-
days 7.30 pm

URGENTLY needed to loan or buy:
Krimerman & Perry, Patterns of An-
archy (N.Y., Doubleday). Also any-
thing relevant to dissertation on "Anar-
chism and the Sociology of Organisations".
Contact D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank,
Sauchie, Clacks., FK10 3NR

VOLUNTARY workers urgently needed
by Peoples News Service, fortnightly
news & information bulletin run by non-
sectarian left-wing collective. No par-
ticular skills needed—just political
commitment. PNS, 142 Drummond St.
London NW1 (01-388-0848).

See also despatching date for next
issue of FREEDOM, when we need
help. And if you are committed to an-
archism and have some skills - e.g.
typing, translating, &c. we'd be glad
to have your offer of help. Freedom
Collective.

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, 59
North Parade, Aberystwyth, Dyfed. An-
archists in other parts of Wales please
contact.

BIRMINGHAM. Bob Prew, 40c Trafal-
gar Rd. Mosley, Birmingham 13
BOLTON anarchist contact 6 Stockley
Ave. Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)
CAMBRIDGE anarchists contact Ron
Stephan, 41 York St. Cambridge.
CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell
Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne c/o Students
Union, Univ. of Warwick, Coventry.

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

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

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLoughlin,
15 Winston Gardens, Leeds 8

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

MANCHESTER Anarchist Group contact
Al on 061-224 3028 for info. & mtgs.

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm, 2 Chad-
derton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old
Portsmouth.

SWANSEA. Keith Sowerby, House 35
Student Village, Landrefoilan, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY anarchists contact
Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress
Rd. Maidenhead SL6 3EE (0626 2974)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation
Aberdeen. Blake c/o APP 67 King St.
Dundee. Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl.
Edinburgh. Gibson, 7 Union St. (tel.
557-1522)

Glasgow. Baird, 122 Benneray St. G22
(te. 336-7895)

Stirling D. Tyme, 99 Rosebank,
Sauchie, Clacks.
(also contacts in Dumfries, Fife, West
Lothian, Port Glasgow, Highlands.)

MEETINGS

THE WAR GAME. Peter Watkin's film
about a Nuclear Attack on Britain. Hol-
born Library Hall, 32/38 Theobald's Rd
London WC1 (Admission Free), Wed.
23 Feb. at 7.30 p.m.

COVENTRY. All anarchists in Coventry
area wishing to meet regularly please
contact John England, 48 Spencer Ave.,
Earlsdon, Coventry.

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble
Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sun-
days 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and
hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular
fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Lathom Rd. E6.
Phone Ken on 552 3985

KINGSTON Libertarian group meets
Wednesdays. Ring Pauline 549 2564

WALES-Campaign Against a Criminal
Trespass Law: Day Conference Sat.
5 March 11 am - 5 pm, Miners' Hall,
Merthyr Tydfil. For details and booking
form contact CACTL Conference in
Wales, c/o AUEW/TASS, 18 Anne's
Close, Merthyr Tydfil, Mid-Glamorgan

PRISONERS

Change of address Mike Murphy (C01039) now
HM Prison Ashwell Oakham Leics.
John Nightingale (338645) H.M. Prison
Parkhurst nr. Newport Isle of Wight wd.
like to hear from friends old and new.
DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen, Des Keane &
Columba Longmore. Military Detention Cent-
re Curragh Camp Co. Kildare Eire.

Marie Murray and Noel Murray. Protest let-
ters to the Justice Minister 72-76 St. Steph-
ens Green Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador
17 Grosvenor Place London SW1X 7HR

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No. 10
8p (post 6p) from 16 Kingsmill Ave.,
Whalley, Blackburn Lancs (or Freedom
Bookshop).



campaign for our liberation from the Boer tyranny. Taken from 'War Communism' No 1 - 9th February 1917. Now for those of you who read last issue's story about the swallow and are waiting for the conclusion, the answers are: (1) Everyone who gets out of the sh-t is not necessarily your friend. (2) Everyone who gets out of the sh-t is not necessarily your friend. (3) And if you are warm and happy in a pile of sh-t, keep your mouth shut. Quote of the day: "The Printer"

NAMIBIA FIGHTS FOR ITS FREEDOM FROM SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION - "Liberation forces last Wednesday, February 2nd, after penetrating behind the South African occupation forces in North-east Namibia, in the Caprivi strip, successfully ambushed a South African unit, inflicting heavy losses or wounded and dispersed to bases safely. This latest attack confirms our ability to intensify and escalate the war until South Africa quits our country as a renewal of the

FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

February 19'77

HOW SHALL WE LIVE THEN?

EDITORS NOTE

Following on from Jack Robinson's article on William Morris, "A Special Kind of Man" in FREEDOM vol. 38 no. 1 (21 January 1977), we have decided to print here a little known document which first appeared under the heading "An Unpublished Lecture of William Morris" in the International Review of Social History. The lecture was first delivered by Morris to a meeting of the Fabian Society in 1889 (at a time when he was fighting uncompromisingly against reformist ideology and the growing impact of Fabianism on the socialist movement).

A main purpose in publishing it here is to encourage FREEDOM readers to give their own views and comments on a "how shall we live then" theme which, depending on the response, could be collected together in a subsequent review issue What exactly do we mean by then now?

□ □ □ □ □

WHAT I HAVE TO SAY to you relates to matters that may be discussed amongst Socialists, mingled or not with their declared opponents, but can not be altogether a matter of controversy amongst Socialists. I want to give you my personal view of the Promised Land of Socialism, with the hope of eliciting an account of the views of several of this audience; and I do not think the hour and a half so employed ought to be waste time if we tell each other honestly and as clearly as we can what our ideals are, if we have any, or confess to our having none if that is the case. We are engaged in a common adventure for the present, the abolition of the individual ownership or monopoly of the means of production; the attainment of that immediate end will bring about such a prodigious and overwhelming change in society, that those of us with a grain of imagination in them cannot help speculating as to how we shall live then: and the expression of the results of our speculations, of our hopes and fears will certainly give our friends and associates some insight into our characters, and temperaments, will make us know wachother better; and that in turn will save much friction and loss of time, will in short make us better friends; to come times from out of the hedge of party formulas and show each other our real desires and hopes ought to be something of a safeguard against the dangers of pedantry which besets the intellectual side of the Socialist movement and the danger of machine politics which besets its practical and work-a-day side.

It is true that as some of you may have anticipated my paper must necessarily under these conditions take a personal character and be somewhat egoistical. I do not offer an apology for that but I may offer an explanation. I have some 55 years experience, I won't say of the world, but of myself; the result of which is that I am almost prepared to deny that there is such a thing as an individual human being: I have found out that my valuable skin covers say about a dozen persons, who in spite of their long alliance do occasionally astonish each other very much by their strange and unaccountable vagaries; by their profound wisdom, their extreme folly. their height of elevation, and their depth of baseness. So that though it may be possible that the complex animal who has now the pleasure of addressing you has not his double in the world, (though I decline to admit that also) it is impossible but that the men inside my skin who go to make up that complexity are but types of many others in the world, and probably even some of those are in this room at present. So that when I tell you of my so-called personal desires for and hopes of the future the voice is mine, but the desires and hopes are not only mine, but are those of, I really think, many others, and you as practical men, as I hope you are, cannot afford to disregard them.

Now I will ask what draws men into the Socialist ranks at this stage of the movement? I mean of course what makes

them genuine socialists. I do not think it can be any hope of personal advancement; such hopes would be much too wild to be entertained by anyone who had wits enough to feed himself with a fork; for the most sanguine of us know that there will be such heaps of trouble of one kind or another before the first serious blow has got any reason at all out of the monopolists, that mere trouble is pretty certain to be part of our reward for daring to hope that society can be improved. Is it intellectual conviction deduced from the study of philosophy or from that of politics or economics in the abstract?

I suppose that there are many people who think that this has been the means of their conversion; but on reflection they will surely find that this was only its second stage: the first stage must have been the observation that there is a great deal of suffering in the world that might be done away with. That is I think the first thing that draws a man towards the socialists, whether he feels the suffering in his own person, and becomes conscious of a wrong done to him by what we now call society; a wrong which is not accidental but can be fixed on a certain set of events; or whether he himself is unconsciously one of those who do the wrong, but has the ordinary good-natured wish which any one who is not a mere ill-conditioned blackguard (author's spelling - ed. note) will have, to see all men as happy as they can be.

Now in this respect the corporation which I call is not at all peculiar: from the earliest time that I can remember catching myself thinking (an operation which all healthy and happy young people avoid as much as possible) the thought was from time to time thrust upon me that the greater part of people were ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed, overworked, and as a consequence nasty and disagreeable. These thoughts made me uncomfortable and discouraged and took the flavour out of my amusements and my work (there was not much distinction between the two) so of course I thrust them aside as much as I could. Yet I was conscious that I was acting a shabby part in doing so, for I was not such a fool as not to see clearly that these degraded persons that came between me and my pleasure had not degraded themselves, and that consequently there was something or other which a strong and honest man could attack. In all this there was nothing peculiar: you would say that a natural sense of the injustice of our Society was growing up in me, as it has surely in many others of my class and condition. But in what followed I was perhaps peculiar. I was indifferent honest, I was by no means strong; for I must tell you that one of those persons inside my skin is the peaceablest, and another the laziest of all persons - in that again I am not peculiar. So it is probable that that rising sense of injustice would have been damped down till I had grown old enough and tough enough to bear it easily: but something happened to me that prevented that.

Art Through Socialism

Though my work was pretty much my amusement, yet it was serious enough to me: I daresay some of you would be astonished if you could understand the pleasure it has given me; but at last it gave me perhaps as keen a pain. It was a big job that I had taken in hand; no less than the regeneration of popular art as it used to be called. I was not fully conscious how big a job it was for a long time; though I was fully conscious of the complete degradation of the arts in general. Well the time came when I found out that those unpleasant thoughts about the greater part of the population were intimately connected with the very essence of my work, and at last that I had undertaken a job quite impossible under the present conditions of life. You may well think that I did not come to that conclusion all at once; in fact I tried to wriggle out of it for a long time till at last I was pinned, and there was the greater part of my pleasure in my work: which indeed was a serious



matter for me, since I cared for it so much and so heartily. Well I cannot tell you whether it was about this time that I first heard of socialism as a definite movement, but I know that I had come to these conclusions a good deal through reading John Ruskin's works, and that I focussed so to say his views on the matter of my work and my rising sense of injustice, probably more than he intended, and that the result of all that was that I was quite ready for Socialism when I came across it in a definite form, as a political party with distinct aims for a revolution in society.† My position then which I am sure has been and is the position of many others, was profound discontent with the whole of modern life, a feeling of the deadly sickness of the world of civilization, which if I could have found no outlet for it would have resulted in sheer pessimism, as I think it often does. That outlet as you know I found, and I was hindered from coming to the conclusion that the art to which I had devoted myself was a mere idle folly, that I must go on with partly because I knew no other way of earning my livelihood, partly because I must have something more or less pleasant to do on some terms or other. My Socialism began where that of some others ended, with an intense desire for complete equality of condition for all men; for I saw and am still seeing that without that equality, whatever else the human race might gain it would at all events have to relinquish art and imaginative literature, and that to my temperament did and does imply the real death of mankind - the second death. Of course with the longing for equality went the perception of the necessity for the abolition of private property; so that I became a Communist before I knew anything about the history of Socialism or its immediate aims. And I had to set to work to read books decidedly distasteful to me, and to do work which I thought myself quite unfit for, and get myself into absurd messes and quarrel like a schoolboy with people I liked in order to become a practical Socialist - which rank I have no doubt some of you don't think I have gained yet. But all that did not matter because I had once again fitted a hope to my work and could take more than all the old pleasure in it; my bitterness dissappeared (author's spelling) and - in short I was born again.

Now I repeat that I would not have said a word of all this, but that I know that what has happened to me has happened to other people though not quite in the same way. We, (I will say we now) are alive in the world and not in the least pessimists, but we are most sorely discontented with all things as they are, except the bare elements of life, and the hope for the future which we have somehow or other got into our heads.

Socialism and Barbarism

We are alive and we can take the keenest pleasure in all those elements of life which the barbarian has in full measure but which civilization has largely deprived us of: the sensuous pleasures of life is the technical word for them; or shall I say the innocent sensuous pleasures? e.g. we keep our eyes in our heads and take in impressions through them; whereas civilization bids us put them in our pockets, and is mostly obeyed. And it must be said that there is reason in this since civilization is such a foul slut, and wherever she can manage it gives us nothing pleasant to look at, so that we are driven to have to thank her, like my friend Shaw, for the wraths of steam which float from the funnel of a locomotive; at all events when they are not defiled by the smoke of the coal which the Company has no business to burn but which it generally does. However from such impressions, we take our pleasure as well as our pain; but there is so much pain in them that on the whole they do but add to our discontent; for as things go whatever we see almost has some share of that sickness in it, and we long and long to better these things: we cannot look upon the world merely as if it were an impressionist picture, or be pleasantly satisfied with some ruinous piece of picturesque which is but the envelope for dullness and famine. But there again comes in our hope: for if we live in the present on such crumbs as we can pick up amidst

the general waste and ruin, we live generously enough in the future; and one part of our pleasure in the ordinary life of today, the animal life I mean, and the goings on in field and flood and sky and the rest of it, comes from the fact that we see in them the elements of which the life of the future will be built up far more than of the thought of to day, its literature, its so-called art, its so-called science.

In sum our hope is so generous that we believe that whatever there is which is distinctive of the sickness of civilization will dissappear before our regained freedom: what we aim at, the purpose for which we want to use the instrument of the transition, which is what some understand by the word Socialism is no mire rectification of our present society, but the construction of a new society in which we shall adore what we used to burn, and burn what we used to adore.



HOW SHALL WE LIVE THEN? Whatever system of production and exchange we may come to, however justly we may arrange the relations of men to one another we shall not be happy unless we live like good animals, unless we enjoy the exercise of the ordinary functions of life: eating sleeping loving walking running swimming riding sailing we must be free to enjoy all these exercises of the body without any sense of shame; without any suspicion that our mental powers are so remarkable and godlike that we are rather above such common things. Also I will say in the teeth of the very natural repulsion to bodily labour that our present conditions force upon us we must be strong and healthy enough to enjoy bodily labour, a good stout wrestle with the forces of nature which will make us feel our power. I do e.g. hope most sincerely that we shall manage not to (be) so driven for the production of food as not to allow ourselves the pleasure of getting in the harvest by hand, or, a great many of us, raising our own potherbs, of course with due knowledge and skill. (Also I should hope that we should not find it necessary to shorten our lives as we do now by spending a great part of them in the condition of parcels sent from one place to another. I hold that going from one place to another (on the surface of the earth) may be made by no means a waste of time if we dont do it as parcels, especially if one can be happy enough not to think on the road. Indeed even when I am sent on as a parcel I do my best to get my eyes out of the brown paper sometimes). Now all this would mean that our views on the subject of education would have to change somewhat: the equipment for life on the new terms would not and could not be the same as on the old: it is true that the capacities for dealing properly with the bodily side of life would grow to be a kind of habit: still I suppose except among the South-sea islands and such like places men have to learn swimming, and except in the Pampas, riding. And I cannot easily conceive a lad knowing how to dig and plough and reap and sow without learning, although that learning would not be gained in the technical school method, but as apprentices learn when it is anybody's business to teach them. Besides I think most people would want to learn two or three of the elementary crafts whether they intended to practice them as a main occupation or not, smithying carpentering (not cabinet-making) and mason's or bricklayers work, I am thinking about, and that would need definite instruction, lasting some time. Various minor arts like cooking and sewing would be learned very easily by children when they (are) very young; and they again would mean little more than the gaining of an easily a(c)quired habit. The education set on foot we should have first a great body of out-door occupations, dealing with work necessary to be done, agreeable to healthy and strong persons, and capable of being done excellently, that is of developing real pleasure in the doing, some of them perhaps to be done by individual work but most by means of cooperative; and all the parts of them in which excellence was not possible to be much developed could be done with little effort, almost as a habit: Add to these occupations a few of what for shortness I would call indoor work, and also (an important addition) what we call art, in which I would include, beside the plastic and decorative arts, imaginative and measured literature and the pursual of knowledge for its own sake, and these I think will give most of the occupations necessary for a happy community: and for the life of me I cannot see why we should bother ourselves with occupations which are unnecessary.

cont. on page 15

† For a discussion of Morris' attitude to Parliament and political parties see Jack Robinson's article, mentioned in above note.

ALAS POOR HENRI

by
ARTHUR MOYSE

Savage Messiah, by Ede (Fraser, reprint 1972)
Laughing Torso by Nina Hannett (Constable, 1932)
The Man who was BILKO by Phil Silvers (W. H. Allen 1973)

TOO MANY LONG years ago, in the grey 1930s, I stood in the Park's mass audience listening to the intellectual and verbal brilliance of Tony Turner of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

To make his point that our 1932 society was corrupt and decadent he held up Nina Hannett's autobiography, Laughing Torso and by the grace of the Public Library I read the book. It was no more than her story of the art world of that period and her role as a model and she won immortality when she posed for Henri Gaudier-Brzeska's sculpture of a laughing torso. Gaudier-Brzeska lived in Fulham within walking distance of the previous address of Freedom Press bookshop and his short and gifted life ended at the age of 24 when he was killed in action in 1915 on the western front. A gifted sculptor whose work now graces many a State and Private Collection, he received his final accolade when Ken Russell used his 'life' for the film Savage Messiah. It was a bad film but it spoke of the importance as an artist of that young man.

In my small and unimportant way I felt that I owed the dead man a debt for the pleasure he had given me and over the last ten years I searched through old street directories, because of changing street names, until I found Brzeska's studio and home. From there it was but a typewriter step to pester the L. C. C. and the G. L. C. super London councils for a plaque to honour this young artist and they refused and refused until they agreed to consider and then finally to agree to erect a plaque at the house wherein Gaudier-Brzeska had lived. Just over a month ago I was informed that the plaque was ready to be erected and if I so informed them I could arrange for a public ceremony.

I have neither the wit nor the impudence for that so I decided to use this occasion to test out the attitude of our high-ranking kulture politicians in relation to a fine artist who in the lifetime of people who could claim to have known him was to be offered a rare distinction, a plaque to honour him. I wrote to the major Bond Street art galleries and to the top brass of all of London's State Galleries from the National to the Hayward yea even to the Times and the New Statesman asking them to organise a small ceremony. I would have been acutely embarrassed if any one of them had agreed to take me at my word. The Times and the Statesman did not bother to answer. There was an expected silence from fashionable Bond Street for these lads, one generation removed from granddad's smutters trade are in the business to sell canvas by the square yard and not to piss around with art and artists. Gimpel's to their credit gave out with a Cambridge University address but from Fine Arts to the Redfern there was but the silence of the market graveyard. Sir Norman Reid of the Tate could not be bothered, the Arts Council said they did not have the money to pay for a plaque (and it is free free free and lies in a GLC store), the French Embassy felt that the GLC could handle it without the help of that kultural nation and I still await a reply from the French Government.

All this would be of little importance, merely being a demonstration of how the political committee men of the commercial and governmental art world react to the artist as a human individual. I can understand the Bond street shopkeepers, I can understand the politicians and I can understand the keepers of the State art warehouses, for having 'worked like beavers' in that long haul from committee to committee they are not going to waste valuable dining time on the memory of

a dead chiseller a bus ride away from those warm V.Rooms. In London's great comedy all this would be of small importance except that at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in Queen Elizabeth II's Royal Mall a press conference was called to meet a number of artists grouped under the banner of Unofficial Art from the Soviet Union. The gallery was packed out by members of the Fourth Estate and biros flashed in the strong arc lights amidst the cameras and the trailing wires and there at the crowded table sat the Russian artists with the sad face of Sir Roland Penrose peering into posterity. The story of these Russian artists is now part of art legend, more or little, for in 1957 with Stalin safely laid in his portable grave a huge Festival was held wherein 4,000 paintings and sculptures from outside Russia were part of the exhibition. It was all part of Nikita Khrushchev's liberal period but in 1962 Niky visited an exhibition of the new styles in art and blew his Slavonic mind.

It is one thing to go ape in an art gallery but if one is the Great I Am in an authoritarian society then it means an end to any other use of the hall. For whether it be the Free West or the Authoritarian East, the ICA, the Royal Academy, Bond Street or the Moscow State galleries it is a simple gritty fact that the man who pays the rent chooses the wallpaper. The Russian artists denied a place on the State walls continued to exhibit their work in private homes and public places, and in 1974 on some waste ground in the suburbs of Moscow and the police and the muscle men came in with water cannon and bulldozers to break up the exhibition. The world publicity was such that the Russian Establishment retreated and allowed a little free expression in the Izmailovsky Park in Moscow when 70 artists exhibited the new styles in visual art. For anarchists there is a simple answer to a simple situation, and that is that any or every artist should be able to work and display his or her work as the mood becomes them without any form of outside interference, but simple answers do not solve complex problems, they only tend to irritate. Too, too often the cry of revolt has been no more than a demand to be admitted into the closed society and in our time and place we have witnessed all those Bond Street rebels demanding to be admitted into the Royal Academy and, having made it, sitting on their arses with the rest of the boys in the panelled back room.

I am told that a number of the rebel Russian artists have now been admitted to the Russian Artists' Union and 'a few officially permitted exhibition' are being held. So while one as an individual defends the action of any man for free expression, to join him in storming the steps of the State union and Committee rooms is his own personal problem. In about 1936 T. D. Lysenko was hawking around Michurin's mechanistic views in relation to biology and these views fitted in with Stalin's Marxist philosophy and therefore Joe decided that if outside conditions shaped man then Lysenko's quack theory in relation to wheat, arctic, for the growing of, was what he needed to solve the problem of the Russian famine. Here was the rebel outsider sending the Establishment Darwin figures for a burton and in three brief years men in high places in the field of Soviet biology and genetics were kicked out of their jobs for advocating old and universally accepted theories. It was not until 1964 that the Russian State held that as the corn did not grow then Lysenko was the quack he had always been but lives had been ruined in the process. In the scramble for a seat at the committee table we should first read the small print before grabbing up the flag. Here at the ICA was the whole of the Right-wing press demanding freedom for the lads and through it all I watched the sad face of Sir Roland Penrose and remembered that it was this same Right-wing press that was responsible for Sharkey and Metzger landing in the dock at the Old Bailey because of the Destruction in Art exhibition



centred around the ICA. Fraser, of a fashionable west end gallery, was charged because of his Jim Dine's exhibition and but a year ago I stood in a small Bond Street gallery watching, and advising him to, take a small Grosz watercolour nude out of his window having received a (hoax) telephone call from the 'police' telling him that it had offended. So that when we talk of liberty and the freedom of the arts within the ICA we are doing no more than debating the length of our respective chains. Penrose and the ICA have honourable records in the propagation of off-beat art and the defence of that art but those who so loudly applaud this exhibition of unofficial Russian art are suspect. I hold that the artists are being used and if they know that and in their turn use those who are using them then good luck in the market place, but a year from now most of these artists and their work will be forgotten for in the rat race they are expendable.

Of the work itself it is no more than a pastiche of the fashionable styles of London and New York ten years ago and in complete honesty I doubt if any Bond Street gallery would bother to give it wall space in their economic rat race. Nay I will go further and say that even within the Royal Academy

Summer Exhibition almost all the Russian work would be considered second rate and outmoded but I wish them well and to beware false friends. For myself, only Alexander Kalagin's small pencil drawing of a lost man in an untidy room, 'Freedom with a clear conscience', can claim to speak for the silenced Russian artists and poets, but for the rest comrades, good luck. Nina Hannett threw herself out of her Soho window two handfulls of years ago. Hollywood blacklisted writers are back in films and in 1973 Phil Silvers, the American Court clown, could write his autobiography without even bothering to mention the persecution of his fellow fun makers except to write that in 1954 he was called upon to amuse President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon and 'First, we were all cleared to make sure we had no leftist connections'. Finish. That was written in 1973 comrades, of 1954, the year or so when Nina Hannett the model for Gaudier-Brzeska's *Laughing Torso* jumped to her death and no one in private or State authority gives a small fuck for rebels there to be used or rejected, comrades, by those climbing higher and higher in that committee rat race.

KING KONG AT ENTEBBE

OUR LOCAL skin-flicks cinema has closed down. It titillated the appetites of the local dirty-raincoat tribe with 'The Lustful Vicar' and 'The Sins of Sexy Susan' but obviously insufficiently. The activities of Mrs. Mary Whitehouse, a local resident, had nothing to do with its closure. The last manageress, officiating on behalf of a London company, expressed the opinion that it must have been the kind of films they were showing, and she had previously expressed a hope that they could cater to family audiences. This hope was never fulfilled and even 'pandering to the pernicious proclivities of the populace' (to quote Gladstone) did not pay off either.

This decline of the cinema has been going on for many years (Anarchy (1st series) dwelt on this in 1961). The main cause of the decline is, obviously, television or in the words of a movie mogul 'Why should the public go out to see lousy movies when they can stay home and see lousy movies on television'. One of the answers of the movies is to make 'block-buster' super films which the public will flock to see, deserting their tellies and building up a new cinema-going habit. This theory does not entirely work out.

It has been realized that television depends on the survival of the cinema. Not only because the training of technicians and actors is largely accomplished through the cinema—and, incidentally, through the stage; but the necessity to keep screens occupied practically all day and every day with films originally made for the cinema. The limited finance and range of television stations and companies make it impossible for a twenty-four hour showing of original material.

On the other hand, the captive audience of the middle-class, middle-aged middlebrows has deserted the cinema

en bloc for television, the audible wallpaper, chewing-gum for the mind. The middlebrow audience for literature has disappeared too and with it the libraries of Mudie, Boots and W.H. Smith.

But the remedy of block-busters seems worse than the disease. The temporary dam built up to restrain films from being shown on television until after a lapse of years has gradually eroded until barely two years are necessary before films appear on television. The hedging of bets practised by the film companies who bought themselves television franchises has made it impossible to maintain a united front in the face of television's insatiable demand for films. Indeed many film companies and stars are profiting in their old age and decline from royalties on their old masterpieces. It is possible that major profits in the film world are on television royalties in the same way that authors now make more on paper-back rights than on the bound edition.

The block-buster technique is to make a film so shocking or daring that television (being a family entertainment) will not dare show it. This, to a limited extent, works but the gradual broadening of public taste makes it more and more difficult to shock, so that the attempts become more and more crude. This is self-defeating and after the original novelty has worn off, obscenity, violence and horror become boring and repetitious.

Only the constant threat of censorship and the wailing of the Whitehouse faction make it possible for the cinema of shocks to maintain itself. But even this was insufficient for the local, even in a garrison town.

It is possible that this more permissible cinema has sacrificed artistry,

sensitivity and imaginativeness and thereby lost a possible audience of refugees from television. The skin-flick industry is obviously a conveyor-belt whereon the nuts and bolts of tits and bums are assembled with a lack-lustre precision devoted to the quick fuck and the fast buck. But the more solid block-buster bears in itself the same marks of a formula production.

One of the permanent marks of the cinema's decline is the creation of the mini-cinema from the super-cinema; often three cinemas are created where one was before. This is, of course, primarily economic, for there is only one projection room staff, one land-rental, one heating system, one box office, one refreshment stall (increasingly important to profits), for example. Overheads are kept to the minimum and audiences (as expected) are small; at the same time the multiplicity of cinemas makes for a possible variety of programmes. This variety is negated by not only the supposed lack of films caused by the decline of Hollywood but by the firmly-practised limitations carried on by the monopolistic cinema chains with their firm conviction, despite declining attendances, that they give the public 'what it wants'.

The success of block-busters is only a shot in the arm and the reaction and decline is as progressive as an addict's.

Monopoly is its own defeat. Years of power have convinced (mistakenly) the movie moguls that they know what the public wants. They also nourish the Hollywood fantasy of the permanent block-buster that will bring the family audience regularly back to the movies.

Even though freed from the absolute necessity (or possibility) of filling the 'house' every performance the cinema



Three Plays, A Book and Karl Marx

E. H. CARR has told us that Bakunin never felt at ease with Marx and Engels. In their company it was "impossible to breathe freely". After three evenings in front of my television set I feel I understand better just what Bakunin meant.

BBC II has just completed its trilogy *Eleanor Marx* by Andrew Davies, an attempt at the impossible task of re-telling the life story of the maestro's youngest daughter, as drama. 'Impossible' because Marx being a cult figure for all the religious sects of the traditional left, his every recorded utterance 'interpreted' and 're-interpreted' by numerous disciples competing to unravel the sacred scrolls, there is little room left for creative writing.

Yet the three plays *did* succeed in re-creating the stifling atmosphere of the Marx household. Marx himself came across as the autocratic middle-class Victorian gentleman he was. He interviewed suitors for his daughters' hands in marriage as to their 'status' and financial 'prospects'—in fact money and sex seemed dominant conversation topics among Victorian socialists—and the family norms were very definitely those of bourgeois respectability. We saw, for example, how Marx's favourite daughter Jenny refused to meet Mary Burns, current mistress of 'Uncle' Fred (Engels). Marx himself never acknowledged his relationship with Helen Demuth, the family maid, and his illegitimate son Freddie, born to Helen in Dean Street, Soho, was whisked away into the East End so that Marx's name might not be disgraced. ('Uncle' Fred accepted the paternity until he told Eleanor, on his death bed, that Marx was really the father.)

The plays' successful handling of the 'domestic' scenes, all meticulously accurate historically, was in marked contrast to the unconvincing handling of the 'political' actions. Marx's monologues consisted of sentences from here and there of his numerous writings. Eleanor and her common law husband Aveling are seen addressing striking

KING KONG

chains ignore their chance to appeal to a minority audience—which the cinema now is. By the financial tie-ups or by sheer habit they refuse to aid or sponsor the experimental cinema, which in itself is the seed-bed of future cinemas or television.

Thus they subscribe to their own doom and nullify their own future—even if it be in television. Meanwhile, a whole generation bored to tears with the familial television pap are left unsatisfied, even with skin-flicks and King Kong at Entebbe.

J. R.

gas workers—all portrayed as particularly slow-witted lumpen elements—and again the author, to maintain 'authenticity' extracted the speeches from tracts and archives, out of context and atmosphere. Historical writers should remember the past can only be told as it truly *is*, not was. Recreating the past is a social act of the present, done for men of the present. Ironically Eleanor's speeches would have been more "authentic" if they had been written anew by the playwright, within the context of the 20th Century.

Very pertinent to the 20th Century, though, is the new translation of Marx's *Capital* (vol. I) recently published by Penguin Books. Earlier English editions suffered as a result of the "editing" of Engels, who felt that the Hegelian philosophy permeating the book would be incomprehensible to the Anglicized reader. This editing changed *Capital* into a mechanical and deterministic interpretation of the workings of capitalism, and, incidentally, opened the gates to years of haggling between the various 'marxist' groups as to whether Hegelian dialectics was "in" or "out".

The Penguin *Capital* is a beautiful translation (by Ben Fowkes) and makes really 'easy' reading—marred only by a totally irrelevant 76-page introduction by Ernest Mandel which argues, among other absurdities, that Russia, China, Cuba etc. are in the process of building classless societies!

The reinstated sections dealing with alienation in advanced industrial society are incredibly truer today than they were when they were written, and it will be a tragedy if this valuable book, even now, a century after its composition, the most comprehensive analysis of the workings of capitalist society, be left to the 'marxists'.

Autocratic, bureaucratic bourgeois gentleman he may have been.

Godfather to the most oppressive regimes in history he may be.

But few men have contributed more to our understanding of the workings of human society than Karl Marx!

Bob Potter.

Anarchist Cinema

LA CECILIA, Jean-Luis Comoli's film of the anarchist commune in Brazil in 1890, has been taken for distribution by *The Other Cinema*. It will be shown in *The Other Cinema*, London W.1. this summer.

But for the benefit of people outside London, 16mm copies (in colour) will be available for hire, from *The Other Cinema*, 12 Little Newport street, London WC2 (tel. 01 734 4131) (office).

Let's Have a Party!

Book Review.

Why You Should Be A Socialist... the case for the new Socialist Workers Party, by Paul Foot. (Socialist Workers Party Publications. 35p.)

THE FOUNDATION of a new Socialist Party is not a new phenomenon. It happens when the established Socialist Parties have foundered on the rocks of established power and consequently are no longer able to cope with the periodic crises of capitalist society. The industrial upsurge in the Western industrial nations was accompanied by an unprecedented spread of purchasing power throughout the working population and a disinterest in revolutionary socialist parties. As Paul Foot expresses it in his book (p. 10):

In the thirty years there has been progress, fantastic progress. In every area of human activity, in industry and science, in medicine and agriculture; in building technology and transport wonders can be performed which would have read like science fiction thirty years ago.

For most of those thirty years it looked as though the dark days of the 1930s had disappeared for ever.

It looked, for the first time, as though scientific and industrial progress would bring security and an ever-improving standard of life for the working people.

Now, very suddenly, all that is vanishing.

The book put the traditional revolutionary socialist case and insists that a political party is necessary for change

In other words, they will be the socialists. We will never get any organised rank and file movement without a strong socialist organisation; a strong socialist party. (p. 86)

It is at this point that anarchists, i.e. those who subscribe to the abolishing of privilege, part company with our friends in the I. S. and their infant Socialist Workers Party. For though he quotes George Orwell in reference to the Spanish Civil War

"There was occurring a revolution of ideas that was perhaps more important than the short-lived economic changes. For several months large blocks of people believed that all men are equal and were able to act on their belief. The result was a feeling of liberation and hope that is difficult to conceive in our money-tainted atmosphere... No one who was in Spain during the months when people still believed in the revolution will ever forget that strange and moving experience. It has left something behind which no dictatorship, not even Franco's, will be able to efface."

Paul Foot fails to mention that the unique success of the Spanish collectives (see *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, Gaston Leval, Freedom Press, paperback £2) was due to the dominant influence of anarchist thought in Spain. In fact the actual business of organising economic life was carried on in the



absence of any large revolutionary socialist party. Such parties largely played a counter-revolutionary role with reference to the Spanish collectives.

Obviously Paul Foot has not followed the drift of George Orwell's thought in *Animal Farm* and 1984 which relate to the direction in which the mechanics and mode of acquiring state power through political parties have led and are likely to lead human society.

Indeed basically the revolutionary force has been more thoroughly defeated by revolutionary socialist parties than by Franco - for that was defeat without disillusion as Paul Foot observes on page 67:

Nothing deflects working people more from the idea of socialism or communism than what they see or read about Russia and Eastern Europe today. Very few workers show the slightest enthusiasm for exchanging our system of society for the system which exists in Russia. And quite rightly so. Because Russia and the Eastern European countries are tyrannies. Workers there are exploited. There is less freedom not just for writers and musicians but for all working people in any of those countries than there is in capitalist Britain.

It will not do to blame the failure of the revolution on the millions of ignorant peasants (this in itself is a sort of racialism). Those millions of peasants comprised the armies of imperial Russia who abandoned their trenches and rocked the world with the cry "Peace, Bread and Land." while their largely urban counterparts went on steadily killing each other.

To quote Foot again:

They therefore pinned all their faith on exporting revolution to other countries. They wanted to light a spark to ignite the workers' movements throughout Europe and America. A revolution in Europe, they believed, would be able to sustain the soviets in Russia, and build a world socialist society.

All the leading Bolsheviks knew that without international revolution the Russian working class would be isolated. Therefore they used all their abilities and influence to unleash revolution in other countries.

It did not come. The German revolution 1919 and 1923 were beaten down. The Hungarian Communist government was toppled in blood in 1919. In France and Britain the workers preferred to "have a try" at electing Labour parties into government. The Russian revolution was isolated—and the revolutionary working class of Russia had been annihilated.

Perhaps revolutionary socialists who continue in the illusion that revolutions emanate from the industrial working class will consider that most rearguard actions against encroaching expropriation, enclosures and other manifestations of private ownership have come from the agrarian workers. Now in many countries that awkward customer the peasant has been virtually liquidated by one means or another and our pundits think it can all be more efficiently done by machines and chemicals. Russian agriculture is no doubt a superb monument to this attitude.

Those of us, myself included, who sometimes tend to dismiss Marx mainly because of his turgid style, often fail to realise that he lived when there was still some balance between town and country, as the following passage indicates:

"Moreover, all progress in capitalist agriculture is a progress in the act, not only of robbing the labourer but of robbing the soil; all progress increasing the fertility of the soil for a given time is progress towards ruining the lasting source of that fertility. The more a country starts its development on the foundation of modern industry ... the more rapid is the process of destruction."



from the book

Modern urban industrial technology is basically destructive of human and physical resources. Modern urban man is prone to mass manipulation, and wholly dependent upon outside economic agencies for human relationships that were taken for granted in an organic society.

Foot speaks as an urban man confident of technology's ability to supply everything in abundance. He quotes the mandarins of the FAO, all representatives of the interests of agribusiness which, it is true, at the moment, in a favourable year, produce vast quantities of wheat on all the best land, but by methods which can only present a growing hazard to the human environment.

As Marx seemed to understand, technology reflects the society from which it was spawned, and that technology has produced a dialectic of destruction, threatening the possibility of a society developing towards conditions of individual freedom combined with social care. As Bookchin says:

Socially, bourgeois exploitation and manipulation have brought everyday life to the most excruciating point of vacuity and boredom. As society has been converted into a factory and a marketplace, the very rationale of life has been reduced to production for its own sake—and consumption for its own sake.

Like the peasant the industrial worker has become a minority in modern society; technology has reduced the need for men. In our society the numbers engaged in what is basic are overwhelmed by those engaged in the peripheral.

This is a well written book, but it says nothing new. It goes over well trodden ground, it answers none of the criticisms of revolutions led by socialist political parties, it solves none of the problems of power and totalitarianism. Its socialist ideology is completely unchanged by a changing world.

I conclude with a good and constructive answer to the question by Murray Bookchin in his essay "Listen, Marxist!" from the book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*:

"To sum up: what I am talking about is a human condition reflected by the word 'power'. We must finally resolve the historic and everyday dichotomies: man's power over woman, man's power over man, and man's power over nature. For inherent in the issue of power—of domination—are the contradictory, destructive effects of power: the corruption of life-giving sexuality, of a life-nourishing society, of a life-orienting ego, and of a life-sustaining ecology. The statement 'power corrupts' is not a truism because it has never been fully understood. It may yet become understood because power now destroys. No amount of theoretical exegesis can place power in the service of history or of a revolutionary organization. The only act of power that is excusable any longer is that one act—popular revolution—that will finally dissolve power as such by giving each individual power over his or her everyday life."

Alan Albon

BOOKSHOP

- The Charge of the Federal Prosecution against Kurt Groenewald as defense Counsel of Red Army Faction (RAF) prisoners in West Germany* £0.50 (9p)
 Marcus Graham; *Marxism and a Free Society* £0.20 (7p)
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Items marked * are published in the US.

HOW SHALL WE LIVE THEN ?

Let me try if I cannot arrange these occupations in groups a little more systematically adding some few perhaps doubtful ones.

1st. The open air arts; (I had better call them arts at once, because to my mind all work which is done by a man in the course of the due exercise of his faculties and therefore pleasureably is an art).

Agriculture and its kindred arts; gardening, fishing, butchering, ship and boat-sailing. Driving carts, trains, omnibusses (M's spelling) and the like (a cross division here with distribution). The habits of swimming, good walking and running, and riding would be mixed up with these, and also an habitual knowledge of the ways and manners of the non-human beasts.

Now as we shall live then I declare that anybody who did not take a pleasureable interest in some part of these arts and was not capable of working in them, would have to be considered as a diseased person - something less than a man, a burden on the community, if there were many such persons it would tend to the creation of a class of slaves, people doing the rougher work of the world only.

2nd. The domestic arts: The arrangement of a house in all its details, marketing, cleaning, cooking, baking and so on; sewing with its necessary concomitant of embroidery and so forth. Once more whoever was incapable of taking interest and a share in some parts of such work would have to be considered diseased; and the existence of many such diseased persons would tend to the enslavement of the weaker sex (sic).

3rd. The building arts: masons, bricklayers, smiths, carpenters and the like and also the planners of buildings, engineers and so forth. Of these arts what we now call art, i.e. decoration, appeals to the intellect through the eyesight, would form a necessary and integral part; therefore possibilities of excellence would here run high, and consequently only those would take a part in them who had some faculty for creation, as I believe most free men have; but doubtless there would be some lacking this faculty or possessing but little of it, who would prefer the rougher arts above mentioned; but as they would be doing their share of the necessary work and with pleasure, they would not be injuring any one by disease. For the rest it is clear that these arts are cooperative in the highest degree, no one necessary person's work being really separable from the whole mass of it.

4th. The workshop arts, weaving, pottery, dyeing, printing (textiles and books) etc. Into most of these also art would enter and much the same thing is to be said of these as of the last group. In cases where art could not be an integral part of the work if it turned out to be necessary work, it would have to be done by machines as nearly automatic as possible; but I should consider it a matter of course that those who tended such machines would do other work at once more pleasureable and more responsible; and whatever drudgery of this sort we could do without we should drop at once.

5th. The disagreeable arts. I will assume though I am not sure that it is so, that there would be such indispensable arts, and then proceed to divide them into:

- a - The rough disagreeable arts.
- b - The smooth disagreeable arts.

By the first I mean such occupations as mining, skindressing, scavenging, and so on. By the second I mean - well quill-driving of the less amusing kind, clerks work, official sauntering and so on. Of both these groups I say the same thing; as above, machines where possible, and the workers to have other occupation: but also strict enquiry as to whether they are necessary, and if not, abolition.

6th. The arts concerning the distribution of goods; shipping of goods shopkeeping and market-managing of all kinds. I daresay it will be possible to find people to like such work and let them do their best at it; but I am sure that they will find digging and reaping, or even perhaps leather-dressing restful to them: and such rest they ought to have.

7th. The fine or intellectual arts: i.e. picture painting, sculpture and the lesser or reproductive fine arts, such as engraving. Also imaginative literature, and the study of history and nature. Some of these in which a good deal of actual manual labour is necessary might be followed exclusively; the others certainly not; and even in the first, or manual fine arts, rougher manual work would be desirable, unless in cases, if there be any such (which again I doubt) where extreme finesse of hand is necessary that it would not do to roughen the hand by harder labour. In any case I feel sure that it would not do for men to be absorbed entirely in such arts. It would tend to disease, to anti-social habits, which would burden the community with a new set of idlers, and (if the others were such fools) in the long run to a new set of masters.

Before I go further I ought to say that though I don't doubt that a due amount of organization and direction would be required in the diverse branches of occupation I am very far from thinking that it would be either necessary or desirable to prescribe to people what occupation they should follow; I am assuming only that opportunity will be afforded for people to do what they can do well, and that the work as far as the relations of men go will be voluntary; nature will be the compeller, in a sense the only enemy: yet an enemy that asks to be vanquished.

Decentralised & Equal

Now having given you my ideal as to the occupations of men in a free community, I have but to add my views as to the possibility of its being realized sometime or other: (it) is what might be called the political side of the question.

Decentralization and equality of condition are the necessary concomitants of my ideal of occupation: but I am not clear as to whether they should be looked on as the cause or the effect of the state of things foreshadowed by that ideal. But I think, that granted the second, the first will tend to come naturally. Difficult or if you please impossible as it may be to conceive of such a change as will come of the abolition of the great central power of modern times the world-market as we know it with all the ingenious and intricate system which profit hunting commerce has built up about it, because of it and by means of it, yet after all it must develop into something else, and that something else can hardly be a perfecting of its perfection, but rather its contradiction, which is the conscious mutual exchange of services between equals. Nay if things now going on can be fairly understood by us who live amongst them are there not signs of the coming change already visible to us? The Republic one and indivisible of 100 years ago is passing through a phase of bourgeois corruption and the only hope of France is that it will come out at the other end a Federation of Free Communes. The Unity of Germany has been accomplished but a few years; yet here are we waiting for but one event, quite certain to happen sooner or later, the defeat of the German Army, to break it up again into a federation with socialism as its aim. And at home the principle of Federation is conceded in the matter of Ireland by all but the stupidest of the reactionaries; while the Tories themselves, driven on I believe by a blind fate, have given us in the County Councils the germs of revolutionary local opposition to centralised reaction. Thus then before centralization is quite complete even, the change in the direction of its opposite seems to have begun, and once begun will surely go on till the necessary practical decentralization has been arrived at. That decentralization seems to me looking out from our present condition to be necessary in order to give all men a share in the responsibility of the administration of things which I hope will take the place of the government of persons: you will understand that I admit the possible necessity of a certain amount of mechanical centralization, such as a central administration of railways in such and such a geographical district, which after all would not be centralization but the direct outcome of Federation.



I also admit that the form which the decentralization or Federation will take is bound to be a matter of experiment and growth: what the unit of administration is to be, what the groups of Federation are to be; whether or no there will be any cross Federation as e.g. Craft-gilds and Cooperative Societies going side by side with the geographical division of wards, communes, and the like - all this is a matter of speculation, and I don't pretend to prophecy (M's spelling) about it.

I may say however in parenthesis that my temperament leads me to believe that we shall be able to get rid of one outward and visible sign of commercial and official centralization; our great cities, and closely packed manufacturing districts.

As for the first, the great centres like London, Paris and Berlin, they are surely the outcome of the desperate struggle for life which competition under monopoly engenders on both sides the monopolizers and their slaves. They are counting houses of commerce; the jobbing houses of officialism; the lairs for the breasts of prey big and little that prey upon the follies and necessities of a huge mass of people who have no time to find out what they want; and must have all their wares from the bread they eat down to a new novel or a play at the theatre forced upon them like a sharper forces a card: they are the sweating dens to which starvation drives up the starvelings of the rest of the country, so that they may eat a morsel of bread while they cast the dice desperately for that twenty millionth part of a chance to escape from the proletariat which is the yard of earth between modern society and the volcano it stands upon. I do not deny lastly that they are the camps to which the soldiers of revolution must flock if they are impelled to do anything to further their hope before they die. But granted the change of conditions which we all hope for, of what use will be these monstrous aggregations of confusion? No camp will be needed, for militant socialism will be over: no man will hurry up to be sweated, for his decent livelihood will be assured to him. People will have leisure to think what they want and resources to have the reality of it; so that the parasites above mentioned will not exist, for there will be no carrion for them to feed on. Official jobbery will be dead; and profit-hunting will need no counting house or will have to seek it of the Father of Lies to whom it will have returned. There will be no use for this monstrous muck heap in which we swelter to-day. But in case anyone should be inclined to regret what I have heard called the stir and movement of a big city, I will just say two things: first, that in those post-monopoly days, when at the very least there will be more of an approach to equality, there will relatively to men be more intelligent and thoughtful men; we do everything wastefully now; so if you want a dozen highly cultivated and thoughtful persons you must have 12000 proletarians at their back in order to produce the due element of stir and movement for those 12 treasures: as a practical man I cannot approve of the plan. Again you must remember that the dullness and monotony of country-life at present, of which many complain (but not I) is the wrong side of the hubbub of town life; since the town sucks the blood of the country in all things: in postmonopolist days I hope, as I have already said that we should reform this.

As for the great factory districts, it seems to me that they also would dissappear: granted that it is possible to produce goods cheaper when you have labour and material gathered together in the closest space possible; I am sure that in post monopolist days when the "sword of cheapness" is no longer necessary as an offensive weapon against other nations, we should come to the conclusion that we might buy cheapness too dear, that hell was altogether too high a price for it, and that it would be worth while to work a little longer in order to live in a pleasant place. Of course we must all admit that these last centres are centres of profit-bearing manufacture and huckstering, but of nothing else - save dirt. But now I must say that this decentralization with all the decent life and manly responsibility that will come of it can only be got in any measure at all as a forecast of advancing equality, and can only be reached fully when we have attained to practical equality; that equality is in fact our ideal.

Indeed I can only explain the fact that some socialists do not put this before them steadily by supposing that their eager pursuit of the means have somewhat blinded them to the end...

Other things I can see of the way in which we should live then, which you can also see I suppose: the splendour of public and the quiet dignity of private life, and in general all the real pleasures which would come of our being wealthy and no longer rich; of all which pleasures the greatest now seems to be a negative one, the relief of no longer living in one or the other of two opposed camps of enemies, which we feel certain must one day fall upon each other ruining many a hope and many a quiet life in the process; while in the meantime ethics are in hopeless confusion and pessimism increases in days when we find it hard to understand what vices and virtues mean since the collective crime of class wrong is so overshadowing and overwhelming. Of course I do not pretend to have given anything like an inclusive account in detail of what our ideal of the new world is; since I feel I have been somewhat disjointed in what I have said, I will very briefly run over the points concerning which I may differ with some here.

First the change, from Monopoly to Freedom, when it is complete, will make a new world for us, and will be far greater than any change that has yet taken place in the world.

2nd - We may have in appearance to give up a great deal of what we have been used to call material progress, in order that we may be freer happier and more completely equal.

3rd - This would be compensated (a) by our taking pleasureable interest in all the details of life and (b) by our regaining the pleasure of the eyesight, much of which we have already lost, and more of which we are losing everyday.

4th - Instead of toiling for some blind force, a mixture of necessity and nightmare, we should be conscious of doing useful work for our neighbours who were doing the like for us. As a result there would be no waste of labour, as useless occupations would be got rid of speedily.

5th - Work thus obviously useful, and also adapted to the capacity of the worker would mostly be a pleasant exercise of the faculties; necessary work that would otherwise be drudgery would be done by machinery or in short spells: no one being condemned to work at unpleasant work all his life.

6th - As no incentive to work would be needed save its obvious necessity and the pleasure involved in it; and as the division of labour into more or less worthy work deserving different standards of livelihood would create fresh classes, enslave the ordinary man, and give rise to parasitical groups, there would be no differentiation of the "reward of labour". (This last phrase I consider a misleading one, involving a begging of the question). I am aware that this implies the abolition of private property.

7th - Nationalities as rival corporations would have ceased to exist and centralization in our present sense of the word would give place to Federation for definite purposes of small units of administration, so that the greatest possible number of persons might be interested in public affairs.

Some such ideal as this I believe will be realized, and I earnestly hope it will be. We have been told that the logical sequence of the development of man's ingenuity will involve the gradual loss of his bodily faculties, and this seems probable: but the logical sequence of events is sometimes interrupted and turned aside by the historical; and my hope is, that now we know, or have been told that we have been evolved from unintelligent germs (or whatever the word is) we shall consciously resist the reversal of the process, which to some seems inevitable, and do our best to remain men, even if in the struggle we become barbarians, which latter fate I must confess would not seem to me a very dreadful one. □

Note: This piece has been slightly shortened for reasons of space.