

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

APRIL 2 '77

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FIFTEEN PENCE

Free the Murrays! P2



Antifascism P6



Anarchism in Poland P15

BIG DEAL!

IT IS ONLY to be expected that the cries of "betrayal" will go up from Liberal and Labour ranks on the "betrayal" of principles involved in the deal between David Steel, the Liberal leader and James Callaghan, the Prime Minister, to avoid defeat in a Tory-inspired vote of no confidence. In fact a Conservative MP hissed a bibliotorous "Judas!" at David Steel and Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire miners' leader, said rather sententiously that the government had committed the "unforgivable sin" by accepting that they should "maintain their position by accepting a part in the ideals and philosophy of another political party which is in total contradiction to the basic aims of the party to which I (Scargill) belong."

It is impossible to betray anybody who is fully aware of the price tag upon the glittering prizes offered by the political hucksters - and anybody who is involved in politics knows the price of everything.

The Tribune group knew what was going on but voted for Callaghan as the lesser evil. Some of the Northern Irish, including the eccentric Mr Enoch Powell, loyally abstained. The Young Liberals, including that crypto-anarchist Peter Hain, rallied with a letter to the Guardian welcoming the thwarting of Mrs Thatcher but desiring the Liberal leader to raise the ante by seeking more radical measures from the Labour government. So much for political virginity!

Regardless of the fact that it was only the terms of encounter in a Parliamentary kerf crawl that made Mr Steel the favoured doxy rather than the Ulster leader. Witness the abstention of the Ulster three.

The joke of the week was Mr Steel's threat or promise to get the Labour Party to abstain from full-blooded socialism - like getting an alcoholic to abstain from Coca-Cola. Hugo Young of the Sunday Times points out the absence of "anything resembling socialism from the Government's present plans." It has been pointed out in these columns that the plans and actions of the present Government have resembled more than anything a corporate state dedicated to paternalistic expensive welfare and the propping up of a capitalistic system coupled with the maintenance of a foreign policy dedicated to the status quo.

It will not do the Liberals any good whatsoever. As a political party their

days are numbered and this collaboration can be seen as a gambler's last throw. Was not the unlucky Mr Thorpe prepared to do a similar deal with Mr Heath's Conservative government? However, Mr Thorpe's fee for his services was too high.

And what of the Conservatives? There is some chagrin that Mrs Thatcher has been outsmarted. Indeed the inherent Tory male chauvinism has been sustained by Mrs Thatcher's deplorable performance in the Commons. But privately there is probably some relief that the Labour government still has to clear up the mess (if possible) and take the blame.

Peregrine Worsthorne of the Telegraph comments that "the Tories shot their own fox." Mr Worsthorne, a percipient and intellectually honest man (this is not solely the prerogative of the Left) sees that the Tories fell into the trap of denouncing the Labour Party

POLICE STATION BESIEGED



AGAINST A CRIMINAL TRESPASS
LAW—SATURDAY 19 MARCH 1977

THE BLACK-AND-RED flags were once again in evidence on the streets on a matter which is central to the purposes of the State. With a Labour government in power, with many of its members paying lip service to the common ownership of the means of production, that government is, in the proposed Criminal Tresspass Law, proceeding to strengthen the property basis of society.

Human beings are born and breathe, the air is still free, but every other requirement is subject to some restriction. The human being has no inherent right to occupy space. This Bill still further restricts that right.

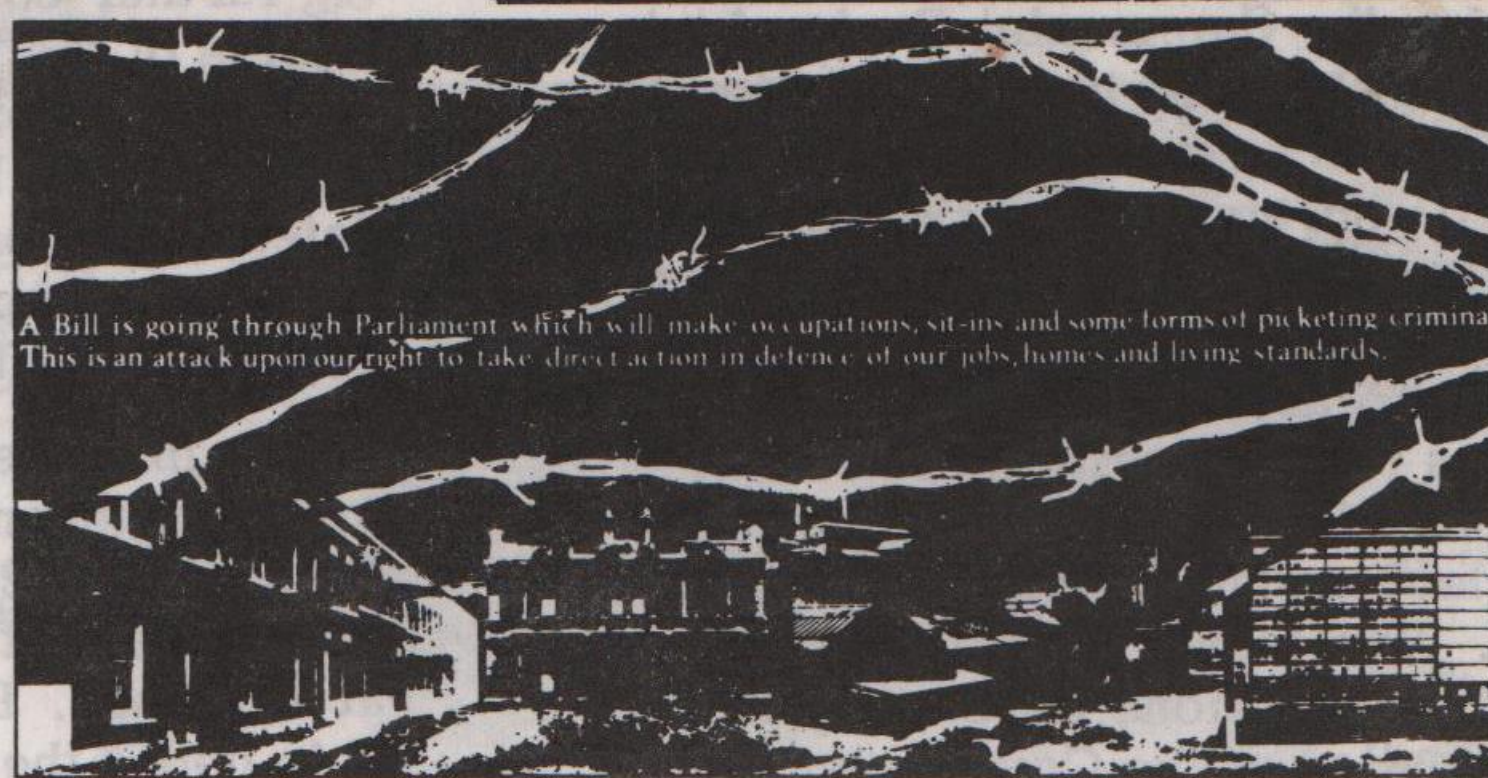
The demonstration began with the usual assortment of Left groups and Young Liberals, with band, and a large judge wobbling along the pavement. When the demonstration reached Islington it came

and its leaders as a Communist plot, and when, as on Thursday, they compromised with a respectable minority party and apparently junked their socialist programme, the Tories' main propaganda plank was sawn in half. Indeed, the wily Mr Callaghan steered Mr Benn and Mr Shore into a disloyal leftist minority position. And what happened to the fiery rebellious eloquent Mr Foot? He felt it necessary to preserve the government by virtually destroying the party.

The party system has been in confusion and question for some time. It was not an integral part of the Parliamentary system or of democracy (to both of which it is inimical). It was brought into being, in its present form, in the late 19th century by Joseph Chamberlain, who wished to build up a Liberal party from the remnants of the old Radicals. This party machine was so admired by the Conservatives that they followed suit.

The party system is not such a class system as Marxists would claim. During moments of great crisis the party system is forgotten in a joint effort to preserve the fabric in which the party

continued over page:



A Bill is going through Parliament which will make occupations, sit-ins and some forms of picketing criminal. This is an attack upon our right to take direct action in defence of our jobs, homes and living standards.

to a halt. I understood two demonstrators had been arrested (but a subsequent report in the Sunday Times said only one). The arrest was made because of an argument between a man outside a betting shop and a demonstrator. There was quite a lot of confusion but the demonstration went into reverse and pulled up outside the police station. There the demonstrators sat and stood for about one and a half hours until the demonstrator was released.

After the confusion, which could have been a riot, a very dignified demonstration of solidarity took place which ended successfully when the demonstration marched off, somewhat delayed, to its destination at Highbury Fields.

Various streams of anarchist thought were represented and I hope this is a small foretaste of a larger and renewed interest in the anarchist contribution to the problems of our society.

ALAN ALBON

The Elected Mouthpieces

TRADE UNIONISTS are well aware of the difficulties of unseating members from leading positions of office. Hopes of outvoting a general secretary can be compared with removing a mountain with a teaspoon - it's just impossible. I don't believe it has ever happened, although I stand to be corrected.

Although this is plain to see we still witness the ritual battles between the "left" and "right" when election time comes round. Each side agrees on its candidate and then the verbal battle begins. However, the average member either doesn't even know about the election, thinks there's nothing much between them anyway or knows the present holder of office will win again. Despite this there are some unions who allow their officials to hold office until retirement or when they drop dead, whichever comes first. They're certainly taking no chances. Other union executives use other methods to ensure the reign.

One such union is the Electrical, Electronic, Telecommunications and Plumbing Union. They continuously erect the communist bogey when they think they are threatened. They have in fact been very successful with these scare tactics. The main reason for their success is that some ex-members of the Communist Party were successful in 1961 with a High Court action against Communists who were found by Mr Justice Winn to have rigged an election. These well known and respected Communists, Foulkes and Haxell were dismissed from office and the union and the prosecutors, Byrne and Chapple, took over power.

The electricians' union are again accusing the Communist Party of interfering in elections and of directing a campaign to unseat Mr Chapple, the general secretary. The Communist Party's candidate Mr Best was unsuccessful. But the accusations are based on an increased number of branch nominations for the position of general secretary than he got in 1973 when he was elected onto the executive of the union. The increase from only 6 to 97 branch nominations is, say the union, an indication of the Communist Party support.

Of course this has been denied "as a tissue of falsities" by Mr Ramelson,

Big Deal!

system can flourish. The slow infusion of so-called socialist (i.e. corporative) ideas into Conservative government and the swift acceptance by Labour party MPs and members of the values of a profit-making, acquisitive, consumerist society have blurred the lines between parties as the rapid turnover of MPs (and voters) from one party to the other attests.

What happened last week was not a betrayal to those who did not repose their trust in parties. It was but one more step to the inevitable consolidation of power by those of right or left who seek, not our welfare, but their own personal power. JACK ROBINSON.

industrial organiser for the CP. But it is common knowledge that all political groupings within the unions campaign and support their own or selected candidates. Basically there is nothing wrong in this except that, once they are in, there's little or nothing one can do to remove them.

Granted that the CP has campaigned for Mr Best as the "right" did for Mr Chapple, this attack is motivated by resolutions submitted to the rules revision conference which call for the removal of the present ban on CP members holding union office. Such a ban is contrary to democratic practice and should

be removed. However, no union should be pulled this way and that by politically motivated groups, but should be strictly controlled and run by the rank and file. With this sort of control and the end to well paid full time jobs, members could assert their independence and elect on a re-call basis those officials they thought were necessary to run the affairs of the union. They would be delegates rather than officials, receiving the same money as the members to carry out their wishes, instead of being the mouthpieces of the CP, Catholic Action or the Labour Party. PT

Free the Murrays!

THERE IS NOW less than a month before the re-trial of Marie Murray at the Special Criminal Court in Dublin on 25 April.

During this time the Murrays defence groups are hoping to publicise the case as much as possible, to bring pressure on the Special Criminal Court and also the Cosgrave government. The recent allegations of torture and police brutality have been a serious embarrassment for the Irish government, coming so soon after they had themselves taken the British government to the European Court of Human Rights on charges of torture and brutality carried out in the North.

For this reason the Irish authorities will be hoping that Marie's re-trial can pass off as quietly as possible, so avoiding further controversy. The combined efforts of the Murrays defence groups, here and abroad, could upset the authorities' plans - but only if the various defence groups receive much more support than has recently been forthcoming, especially in London.

The main period of activity is planned for the weekend before the re-trial. On Friday, 22 April a public meeting will be held at the Conway Hall, starting at 7 o'clock. Besides Murrays groups it is hoped the Prisoners Aid Committee and People Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act will also participate. On the 23rd a mass picket of the Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place, SW1, will take place from 12 o'clock onwards. If everyone planning to attend brings a musical instrument or group banners, or could get together with friends to perform street theatre, our presence could become more effective. Other events will take place during the day - these will be discussed during the picket.

In the evening a benefit concert of folk music will be held to raise funds for the Dublin Defence Committee. (Time and place still to be arranged). Contact is being made with all Murray defence committees abroad, and it is hoped they can stage actions the same weekend in their respective countries.

Noel Murray, serving a life sentence, is now allowed free association and can receive books (as long as they're not

political!) If anyone would like to send books or a parcel etc to Noel, please send anything through the Belfast Committee, c/o 123, Springhill Avenue, Belfast 12.

Marie, however, is allowed no books and very little contact. Since the Supreme Court's decision in December, Marie has had just one meeting with Noel and one with Mrs Murray. Through the Dublin Committee we have heard that Marie is in defiant mood, and determined to fight the case.

Ronan Stenson, released in January, is now active in the Dublin Committee, even though the Irish police have never ceased to try and harass the Committee members and supporters.

FREE THE MURRAYS!

RW

MAYDAY

MAYDAY PICNIC and public meeting
May 1st - Saturday

PROVISIONAL PROGRAMME

1 p.m. Picnic starts on Clapham Common, London SW4 (Clapham Common, Clapham South tubes) near Windmill public house (Youngs) and children's playground. Bring your own food (+ some for somebody else). Fruit and soft drinks will be on sale at wholesale prices.

3 p.m. Football match: North London v South London. Players on free transfer from outside London, particularly Scots, welcomed by both sides.

4 p.m. Public meeting at Clapham Common bandstand. Speakers will include Philip Sansom, Nicolas Walter. Speakers from outside London welcome.

* * *

London squatters are holding a conference on the weekend of April 16-17 at Jackson's Lane Community Centre. There will be workshops and discussions on squatting law as it exists, what the criminal trespass law will mean, and workshops to discuss new forms of organisation. Any discussion documents sent in will be duplicated and distributed at the conference. A creche will be available, and there will be a social in the evening on Saturday. The centre is at 271 Archway Road, N6.

Police shut Hostel

THE FREE hostel set up by Newcastle Anarchist Group at 4 Mosley Street Newcastle in January (see *FREEDOM*, vol 38 no. 3) is now closed. On Thursday, 17 February the police entered the building to arrest four outsiders who were allegedly trying to rip lead off the roof. Some brass fittings had also been stolen from inside the building. The Newcastle Anarchist Group, in the first issue of their new paper, *Black Jake's Occasional Organ*, add: "We would not want to condone stealing, and we certainly didn't open the building up in order to encourage stealing. But it is hard not to sympathise with the feelings of men who, after a lifetime of deprivation and exploitation, see an opportunity to take something back. The incident points up the absurdity of a society where a richly-equipped, enormous building can stand empty and unused while people are out on the streets at night."

The group describe the free hostel as a place run with a minimum of rules, people being free to come and go as they pleased, and generally being encouraged to help in the running of the place. "In this way," they say, "we were starting to build a friendly community, and the skippers (the name 'tramps' use for themselves) were beginning to run it on their own behalf."

"This contrasts with the situation in other 'official' hostels, where skippers are seen only as passive recipients of charity, who ought to be properly grate-

ful and do as they are told. In the Cyrenians they have to be in by 8 p.m., and if they go out after that they are not allowed back. They are sent out again in the morning and have to spend the day outside. At least in the Salvation Army hostel they can stay in during the day, but they just have to sit around, while other people run the hostel and their lives.

"The common attitude to skippers seems to be that they are just idle layabouts who deserve all the shit they get. This is illustrated by Labour Councillor Abraham's comment that there is no homelessness problem in the city, but 'only irresponsibility.' One policeman we spoke to couldn't understand why we bothered to help people who 'chose' to spend their money on meths or surgical spirits. In fact, few skippers 'choose' their way of life consciously. They are generally forced into it by various circumstances, such as domestic problems. One thing they do have in common, of course, is that they come from the most oppressed levels of society, the lowest-paid sectors of the working class. Just to say a skipper 'chooses' to go on the road is a vast simplification of the real situation.

"The Free Hostel gave shelter to skippers in a way which, we hope, offered a basic degree of dignity through self-management. It wasn't a charitable institution, with 'us' generously handing out succour to 'them'. It offered some self-respect to society's outcasts."

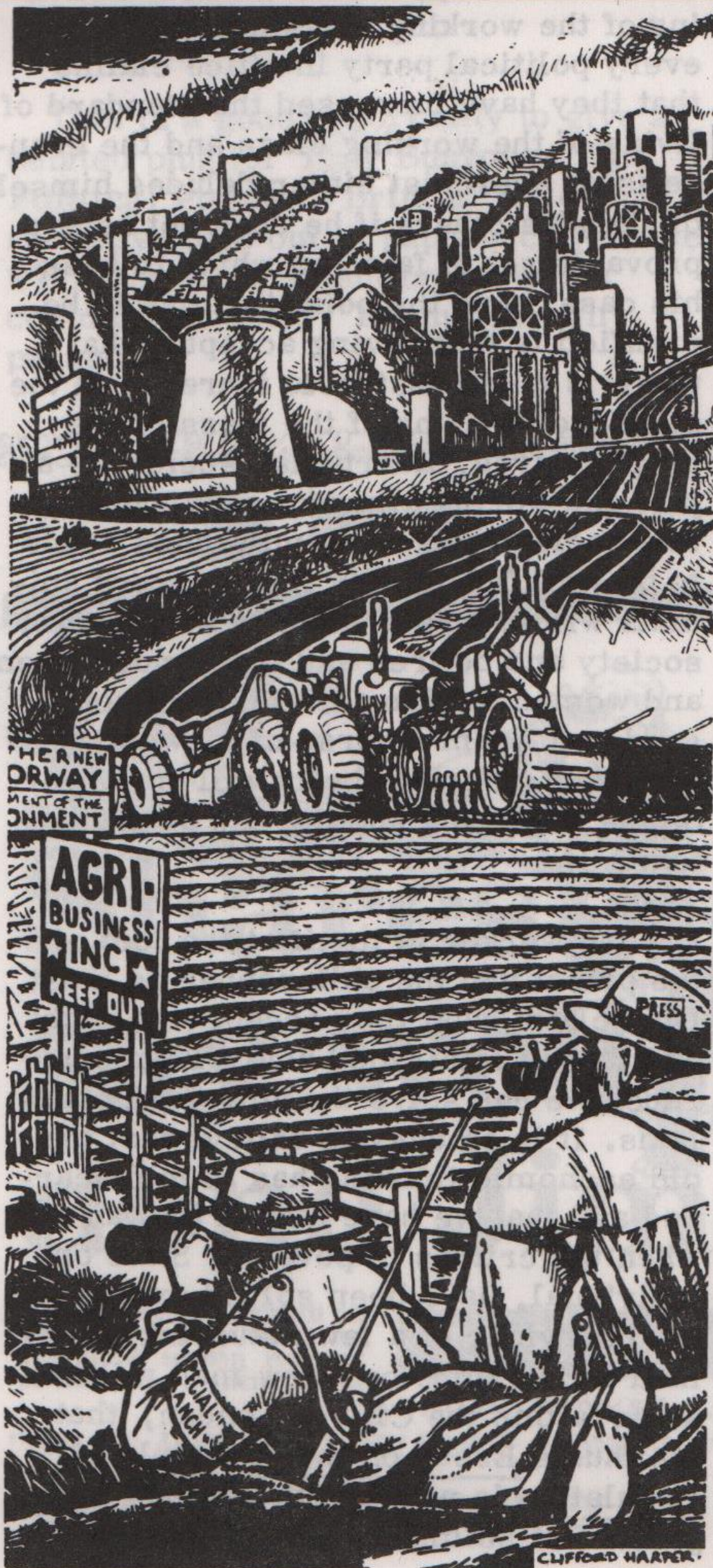
LAND for the People

LAND for the People are now organising regular meetings every Tuesday in Kentish Town (see contact column). The purpose of the meetings is to organise a London group of Land for the People as part of a national structure of small groups of people meeting regularly in local areas, building up good communication between each other to form an effective grass roots movement.

The immediate task of the meetings are:

- a) to organise the Land for the People conference/meeting in April and later an exhibition,
- b) to draft and register a cooperative constitution,
- c) to set up an effective campaign or campaigns on specific land issues, including the possibility of building new villages,
- d) to bring out future newsletters and other publications,
- e) to work out campaign strategies in more detail.

A conference on land will take place on 30 April and 1 May in Notting Hill, and a new catalogue produced by Land for the People, called "The 1977 Catalogue of Organic Politics, Community Technology and Survival Skills" (40 pages, A4 size) is available direct from Compendium, 234 & 240 Camden High Street, London N.W1.



SPANISH ORPHANS?

THE classic anarchist film 'Fury Over Spain' is to be shown on Sunday, 17 April at 7.30 p.m. at the Tabernacle Community Centre, Powis Square, Westbourne Park, W.11 (Westbourne Park tube). Made in 1937 by the cinematographic collective of the CNT, it is a unique documentary of life behind the Spanish barricades as civil war is turned into social revolution. The film showing is organised by Centro Iberico, by courtesy of the CNT in aid of Spanish Orphans. Admission: 50p.

BLACK JAKE

WE HAVE received the first issue of *Black Jake's Occasional Organ*, which is produced by the Newcastle Anarchist Group (see also news item on the Mosley Street hostel). The paper is a real pleasure to read, full of lively articles and humour. Contents include "Walker-gate: the myth of priority housing," Northern Ireland, the Murrays, a song, a Horror scope and some irresistible small ads. Comrades are invited to contact the Newcastle group c/o Cradwell Books, Jesmond Road, Jesmond.



THE TROUBLE IS, THE WRONG PEOPLE WERE STERILISED!

ONE OF US cont.

A letter in The Daily Telegraph (no less) notes that a comprehensive school was set on fire immediately after being featured in a television programme and enquires, "is this not a further argument in favour of televising the proceedings in Parliament"

cast thy bread

Who can you trust these days. A clergyman from Kent is doling out pound notes. "The idea is for anyone who takes a pound to use their talents to multiply it." Inventive suggestions include making cakes, knitting, and small scale car wash businesses, and the proceeds will finance a vestry extension. No doubt the Government is pleased to see investment in these troubled times. And true Christian trust "Everyone who takes a pound note has to sign a form."

But We Were Happier!?

THERE IS A TRUTH OR A MYTH THAT EVERY DYING GENERATION WISHES TO BELIEVE—THAT 'TIMES WERE HARDER WHEN WE WERE YOUNG BUT WE WERE HAPPIER'. Happiness, as with all human experiences, is relative and the comfortable middle aged who as children played out their games among the bombed ruins of their town probably remember only the happiness of childhood when fear and hunger were absent. But age sours the mind's eye as they look upon the children of 1977 storing up their memory banks in an age wherein the young are affluent.

And I am happy that it should be so, for poverty destroys the dignity of both young and old and youth has learned to come to terms with the money in its jeans. Yet the old question remains, are we the working class better or worse off materially than we were in 1936 and the answer is, deplore it if one wishes, that we the unskilled working class are infinitely, or definitely—whichever word suits—that much better off than in the grim and awful 1930s. And in this matter I refer to the employed worker for I have no illusions about the unemployment misery of those days. I sat out the long hours in the unemployment queues and marched in the Unemployed Workers plea for winter relief marches, and at sixteen knew what it was to have my dole pittance cut by the Court of Referees.

I will accept that even though I labour as an unskilled 62-year-old worker still, I have now lost touch with the complexities of the present day unemployment situation and I would offer no judgement or opinion but gutwise, drinkwise, entertainment wise my world of 1977 is preferable to that of the employed worker of the 1930s. Let us apply the only test that ignores time and distance, and that is time worked for a loaf of bread. Tell me not what the Russian road worker, the Japanese car worker, the American factory hand earns, but tell me how many minutes it takes a Russian, Japanese or American worker to earn the wages to buy a loaf of bread and I will tell you who has the higher or lower standard of living. Ignore all the complexities of the different wage systems but show me the rent book and the foods on the table and tell me how long each man had to labour for them and I will judge that society in relation to the interest of the working class.

In the 1930s a skilled man could earn one shilling an hour and let us accept that a 1977 worker's take home pay is £1.00 an hour and with that in mind let us compare time worked for the essentials of living. The sociologists maintained that in the 1930s rent was one-sixth of a man's wage and with a weekly 1930s wage of £2.0s.8d old money rent was 8s.0d a week: eight hours' work. In 1977 it should be £8.00 for a comparable figure. Cigarettes were five for 2d, one-sixth of an hour's pay; 1977 should be 16p for five. Whisky at

12s.6d a bottle was 12½ hours' pay; in 1977 it is four hours' pay.

It will be said that I am jumping from the essentials to the sublime but it is on these figured facts that one places a society into its historical context. I will quote an accepted expert such as John Burnett yet one finds that he in his turn is quoting other experts and in the end quoting George Orwell to give feeling to his figures, but in *Plenty and Want* (Nelson, 1966) Burnett quotes a 1936 Cardiff survey of a 6.1 working class family and for a £2.13s.6d (old money) wage gives the following figures for food. Add 8s.0d for rent and that left £1.2s.9d (old money) for clothes, lighting and heat. And here is his breakdown of figures for a family of 6.1 members for a single week in 1936. To earn Bread 5½ hours (1977 £5.50), Butter, marge, 4¾ hours (1977 £4.33), Sugar 1 hour (1977 £1.00), Meat, fish etc. 4½ hours (1977 £4.33), Vegetables, fruit etc. 2 hrs. 10 mins (1977 £2.17) Milk, eggs etc. 3 hours (1977 £3.00), Tea 2 hours (1977 £2.00). I have translated these 1936 figures into 1977 time worked for it is only by judging the food on our table and the rent of our rooms in terms of time worked that we can relate our standard of living to the past and how we live in respect to distant workers separated by town or country.

One can rightly ask if these types of quoted figures are relevant and the answer is yes, for every political party out of office claims that the standard of living of the working class has fallen and every political party in office claims that they have increased the standard of living of the working class and the evangelising anarchist either deludes himself or deludes others if he does not have a provable set of facts on which to base his case. And the point that has to be justified is that having accepted that there is a demonstrable increase in the standard of living of the mass of the people a free, libertarian society is a just and worthy aim, for only within that society will men and women cease to be well fed, kindly treated work animals within a paternalistic managerial society and be free and independent men and women working for the common good and Adam's curse of a sweating brow and an empty belly will no longer be the beginning and the end of man's brief life.

If the worker is to sit at the feet of the priest and the philosopher he must first claim what they accept as a right and that is a full food bowl. Then comrades we can solve the universal problems. It is so easy to believe that the old economic thinking has been discarded and that we have moved into an age when the crimes of poverty, State or individual, have been solved except for the behaviour of a few maverick workmen at Leylands or a few mad millionaires within the City of London, that Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* is now a 19th-century sick joke. But Malthus's contention that the

natural way to control populations is to let the fuckers starve to death and that charity, State or private, can only upset the balance of nature is in 1977 already gaining a gathering among the entrenched middle classes. And the demand to let the elderly working class be killed off within the State hospitals is now a matter of open debate for while Malthus advocated the acceptance of mass starvation as a natural way of limiting the population he failed to answer the major question of who should starve. In an age when millions were murdered by the German State, millions worked to death by the Russian State and Christ knows how many castrated by the Indian State the matter, comrades, is not academic.

We have grown up or old in the accepted belief that the State will always accept the Keynesian solution and that Keynes's logical answer to every collapse of capitalism was to pour State monies into the internal economy to turn the wheels of industry. Keynes was correct and the 1930s American and German governments proved his case but, comrades, we have grown to believe that it will always be so. But the voices grow louder and louder against the policies of Keynes—"No more money for Leyland and other ailing industries"—for the voice of the American Milton Friedman is becoming the State-accepted voice of economic authority and all that Friedman is advocating is a return to the 19th-century teachings of Ricardo and his 'iron law of wages' for this was the man who fed at the trough of Adam Smith and gave Marx a trigger with his Value = Labour. All teachings, all philosophies can in the end be reduced to brute simplicity or they are meaningless and Ricardo argued, and correctly, that Value was Labour and that in a free market the minimum and the meanest wage must be paid to the labourer, and judged by his class standards he was perfectly correct. When Scrooge paid his clerk Cratchit a starvation pittance wage he was perfectly correct for he paid the market price for that labour. If he had given one halfpenny more it would have been charity, but when Scrooge raised his clerk's wage for fear of his own salvation then again he was doing no more than paying the market price for a loyal and contented staff. Show me a 1977 industry that pays a high wage and they will tell you that they have a loyal and long-serving staff, show me an industry of casual labour in an area of high employment where only the minimum wage is paid and both can claim that they are doing no more than obeying Ricardo's 'iron law of wages': the smallest coin for the greatest amount of labour. In this 1977 age of huge corporations and huge nationalised industries there is little place for Marx's theory of Surplus Value, for that good and worthy platform point went out of fashion in the 1930s with the back street factory when the employer and the worker literally lived out of the weekly till takings. We the working

tell us another.....

Amazing facts discovered by statisticians:

1) A group of psychologists (employed by management) have come to the conclusion that there are basically two groups of workers. Some who positively like the firm and live for their jobs, and others with less dedication. They also conclude that this state of affairs is not due to the treatment meted out, but because of something in their make up. Apparently the pro company types are more "competent" and "independent." Competent by whose criteria? and independent?

2) One Benjamin Gorman has decided, after a survey of 500 women, that those who have only sisters do better than

those who have brothers. Gorman concludes that when there is a son around he is urged to succeed, at the expense of his sisters.

3) It also appears that sex is the second most common source of trouble for clients of the National Marriage Guidance Council; the first was "personal traits". It seems that men with retarded ejaculation tend to do better than those with premature ejaculation. The professionals are worried about the spread of "lay" councillors.

4) It has been announced that HM Government is going to set up an enquiry into why the state of health of unskilled workers is, on the whole, lower than that of managers. Certain specific examples, such as bronchitis, are mentioned.

school reports

AMIDST THE FLURRY of the Great Debate on Education some revealing points about the purpose of schools have emerged. Phyllis Bellchambers, who has been teaching for forty years, resigned from Bay House comprehensive, Gosport, last October. Now she is claiming "wrongful dismissal" at an industrial tribunal because she says that she was morally forced to resign as the school kept secret files on students. These had been introduced in 1973 and required staff to grade the students on each of 35 adjectives, including "stable, well balanced, altruistic, attention seeking, sycophantic and honest." Apparently parents were not to know of their existence.

These kind of rumours have cropped up before. The discovery of secret files at Warwick University in 1970 caused considerable fuss at the time, as university students are in a better position to agitate than those at school. However, despite the hand on heart protestations of the authorities at the time, political files were also discovered at Essex University during the occupation a few weeks ago.

we were happier!?

class have moved into an age when our labour no longer relates to the manufactured article. For in the end all surplus value vanishes when the next meal is eaten, like a Rolls Royce car abandoned in a devastated city its labour value and surplus values are no more than a minor historical footnote.

Comrades, the point is to accept that the standard of living of the mass of the people has risen, to argue that this is but a means to our common and worthwhile end, and to warn those that listen that in the wings and claiming the stage are the new economists speaking with the nasal voice of Milton Friedman, and their names are Thomas Richard Malthus and David Ricardo.

LUMPEN PROL

According to reports published on 28 March the Special Branch has been visiting schools in Sussex to check on the political affiliations and activities of teachers. The Home Office are being reticent on the matter. When the NCCL wrote to the local chief constable, the reply did not deny the reports but said "We thought it wrong that the police should hold investigations into political affiliations where no crime had been committed." There are many who manage to be shocked by such things. They should realise that this is standard operating procedure for police forces.

This is a good opportunity to give a belated plug for Tony Bunyon's "The Political Police in Britain" which has recently come out in paperback (Quartet £2.50). An excellent book, which could be subtitled "Teach yourself paranoia."

D.P.

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SHARES surged forward on the stock market today for the third session running so that the Financial Times

The £ today

ARTHUR MOYSE

"WHAT ARE YOUR SHARES, HONEY"

"THE USUAL, WORK, POVERTY, SORROW."

## Read All About it!

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IN THIS issue we list a small selection of the many anarchist, libertarian and decentralist journals stocked by Freedom Books. I include a rate for subscription for each, although I am aware that our rates do not always coincide with those advertised in the journal concerned. This is because mags can subsidise their own subscribers in a way that a bookshop, acting as an agent, cannot. However, many friends like to subscribe through us (a) to help us and (b) it may be more convenient to subscribe to a number of mags through one source — particularly for overseas subscribers. Postage on single issues is shown in brackets.

J. H.

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Fifth Estate (US) 20p(9p) £1.60/6 "  
The Leveller 35p (9p) £2.60 for 6 "  
The Ecologist 50p(11p) £3.69 for 6 "  
The Freethinker 12p(7p) £1.10 for 6 "  
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Rights (Jnl. of the NCCL) 20p(7p)

£1.60 for 6 issues

WIN (US) 20p(7p) wkly. £7.00 for 26 "  
Peace News 15p(9p) £6.20 for 26 issues  
Anarchist Worker 10p(7p) £1.00 for 6 "  
Black Flag 15p(7p) £1.30 for 6 issues  
Industrial Worker (US) 15p(7p)

£1.30 for 6 issues

Minus One is now entitled EGO: An Individualist Review, price now 12p(7p) else unchanged, £1.10 for six issues.

\*

The third issue of The Storm! A Journal for Free Spirits, a finely produced journal of Individualist anarchism has now been received from the US. 20p(7p) £1.10 for four issues (quarterly) or from the publisher Mark Sullivan, ZG, 227 Columbus Ave., New York, N.Y. 10023 50c per copy plus postage.

†

If in London call and see our wide selection of anarchist and libertarian books, pamphlets, etc. and Freedom Press publications.

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(Aldgate East underground station, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and turn right: Angel Alley is next to Wimpy Bar. On Saturdays the art gallery exit is closed, so emerge via Toynbee Hall exit and turn left & continue straight as far as Wimpy Bar.)

HOUSING: An anarchist approach, by Colin Ward (Freedom Press) £1.25 post 20p (\$3.00 post paid)  
MAX STIRNER'S EGOISM, by John C. Clark, a critical study £1.50 (17p) \$3.  
Back in Print; Alexander Berkman's ABC of Anarchism 50p(11p) \$1.00



# BY THE RIGHT

## Beacon Bright

The first issue of *Beacon* is out. At first glance it appears to be yet another independent, right-wing literary journal. At first glance.

*Beacon* is edited by Dave McCalden, and is published from 50 Pawsons Road, Croydon.

And 50 Pawsons Road is, in fact, the HQ of the National Party, the "Strasserite" breakaway from the National Front; Mr McCalden is a member of the NP executive. When challenged about *Beacon* Mr Kingsley-Read, the chairman of the National Party, admitted that the idea behind leaving the NP name off the journal was to try and get contributions from people not necessarily associated with his party.

But even so, he is not being completely forthcoming.

In a letter sent out to certain subscribers of Britain First, the NP propaganda sheet, McCalden states that "in order to encourage commercial distribution and stocking of *Beacon*, it will not be immediately apparent that it is a magazine published under the auspices of the NP. But as soon as its circulation has stabilised, then it will be more able to promote the party's political, as opposed to philosophical line".

Honesty's the best policy.....

## Election Fever

The National Front hopes to field 318 candidates at the next general election. With over 300 candidates, they claim that they would have as much time on radio and TV as the Conservative and Labour parties.

But the NF has problems.

Money does not appear to be among them, however. It is an open secret that the Front can always call upon a number of affluent members and supporters to come up with the cash.

No. The problem is getting candidates. In 1974, the NF only had 90 candidates, and it was obvious then that

very few of them were capable of defending the official Front policy coherently. Since then, the "Strasserites" and populists have defected, leaving the Front ranks somewhat depleted.

This has necessitated the calling of a special conference of the executive council of the NF directorate and selected organisers to discuss the matter. Chaired by John Tyndall, the conference set up an 'Elections Department' under the 'leadership' of a Mr Desmond Fenwick, chairman of the Islington branch.

Who is Desmond Fenwick.

Desmond Fenwick is an ex member of the SPGB and other left wing organisations. During the late forties and early fifties he was a member of the "Libertarian Youth" group. He has spent some time in prison on charges of thieving books.

~~~~~

N.F. Membership

The exact membership of the National Front has always been a guarded secret. This is not surprising, as the leaders of that organisation have attempted over the years to give the impression that it was - and is - far larger.

In 1968, it was reported that the NF "appears to be growing rapidly claiming a membership of 10,000 in April 1968". Yet a year later, *The Observer* said that "the National Front now claims 7,000 members in 80 branches", and the *Guardian* reported Martin Webster as saying that the Front "boast 8,000 members, but a more realistic claim would be 7,000".

That was just over eight years ago. What has happened to the membership since then.

The March 1977 issue of *Spearhead* informs us that "In its rate of growth the National Front has, like most organisations, followed an irregular trend. In the initial years of 1967 and 1968 the impetus of its newness, and the regenerated

morale it created in the nationalist ranks by virtue of its unifying role brought a rapid expansion of membership. Then over 1969 and 1970 this growth began to tail off and a certain stagnation set in. Afterwards was to come a definite downward trend until 1972, followed by a massive surge again from thereon. In the year of Tyndall's leadership the National Front doubled its strength; in the second year it repeated this achievement, and by the end of 1974 it had reached by far its greatest size to date, having grown four-fold since it stood, in mid-1972, at its lowest ebb".

In 1974, however, the Front lost possibly 300 members when Kingsley-Read and his faction defected. Nevertheless, according to *Spearhead* "progress gathered speed again and 1976 saw yet another great growth period, in fact the greatest of all. 4,500 new members were won in that year".

All of which should have made it a really mass party by 1977. But is it.

The March 1977 issue of *Spearhead* also lists all the branches and groups of the National Front - 174 in all. On paper, and at first glance, the list looks fairly impressive. Until one looks for the gaps! Only one branch in Manchester; not even a group in Liverpool or in Glasgow. And only one branch - Belfast - in Ulster. Indeed, except for some small groups and branches up and down the country, the only really viable large branches are in areas of relatively high immigration.

So, how many members has the NF got. If you can find a member, ask him. On paper, it could be anything between the 1968 figure of 7,000 to 10,000 and, in 1977, around - 10,000.

Of course, in cutting the Front "down to size", we should not underestimate its actual and potential danger to working-class unity in particular areas. Its racist policies aim at splitting the workers and making their self-emancipation that more difficult. Wherever active, it must be combatted, and its policies exposed.

PN

ANTIFASCISM

We have received three of the discussion papers prepared for the small meeting held in Oxford on 19 February to discuss fascism and racism. Two of these come from areas where fascist groups are active and related more to appropriate methods of countering their activities than to theoretical study. A Leeds group took part in several confrontations in Bradford where fascist groups have been provocative towards the large immigrant community. They say they have "a class war approach to anarchism and believe in physical self-defence when necessary, but do not pursue a policy of fascist-baiting. We do not foresee fascism taking power - racism dividing the working class is the main problem". A group (unnamed) in the North West of England had also taken

part in anti-fascist exercises. Like the other, they recognized that fascist groups pose a threat; in the possibility of their presence changing the grounds for political discussions and decisions so that right-wing forces are more favoured, and to small groups in their physical attacks. However they felt that while the present social, economic and political conditions are ripe for growth in fascist groups they also see no likelihood of fascism coming to power; the real threat is the attack by the present ruling class (capitalist, government and TU leadership) on the working class. They react to fascist activities as appropriate - "countering their propaganda - by word by ours. If they pose a physical threat we react according to the odds on that level".

A third, longer paper by Martin Spence is a pilot for a fuller document on anarchist approaches to fascism and racism. He is concerned to go beyond the conventional vision of fascism propagated by the left and to isolate and recognise its true heirs in modern society. The greater part of the paper is based on the history of fascism in Italy and Germany and the rise of its successor, the technobureaucracy as analysed by Luciano Lanza (*Freedom Supplement* to Vol. 37 no. 22 6.11.76). Martin Spence's thesis is that social democracy smoothes the rise of the technobureaucracy in ways different from those of fascism. He thinks it is wrong to speak glibly of a 'fascist threat' in this country when referring to the small ultra-right parties

Prison Secrecy

Dear friends

The headline story in your 5 March issue "Fight for the Right to Know" gives me a convenient way of appealing to fellow FREEDOM readers for help on a project about the workings of the Official Secrets Act in another area: the British prison system. Together with my colleague, Laurie Taylor, I am collecting material for a booklet (jointly sponsored by Radical Alternatives to Prison and the N.C.C.L.) documenting the workings of the Official Secrets Act and similar restrictions. We are interested in cases where those inside prison (prisoners, prison officers, psychologists, teachers, etc.) have been restricted in their attempts to communicate to outside individuals or organisations and cases where outsiders (friends, relatives, lawyers, social workers, researchers, etc.) have been denied access of any kind to prisoners.

We would therefore be very grateful for any documented examples in this area. These should be sent to the address below and marked 'PRISON SECRECY PROJECT'. Obviously, examples in which the Official Secrets Act was specifically cited by the Home Office or Governors as a reason for applying restrictions, would be particularly welcome. No material or sources would be published without written permission.

Laurie Taylor & Stan Cohen
PRISON SECRECY PROJECT
National Council for Civil Liberties
186 Kings Cross Road
London, WC1X 9DE

Brokdorf

Dear Comrades

As someone who was in Germany during the Brokdorf demonstration (although not at it) I should like to correct your article "Brokdorf: Vision of the Future?" of March 19. You are right about the number of police and their armaments - coming into Hannover four days before Brokdorf I passed a whole train load of tanks going there! - but you have accepted the wildest under-estimates of the

antifascism

such as the National Front or National Party, but that these are racist parties and as such prove highly significant and dangerous. He thinks that today social democracy serves the purpose in consolidating a central and fundamental shift in power-relationships that fascism did in earlier decades. He concludes that as anarchists we ought to be aware of the implications of the conventional view of fascism; that capitalism has to a large extent been replaced by a new form of society (technological advances, alignment of government, managerial class, trade union managers), that the Marxist left is unable to abandon its outmoded concepts and face up to this new reality. "It is thus left up to the libertarian left to tackle it, less shackled by dogma and discipline". No doubt this paper could be supplied by Martin Spence (11 Front Street, Sherburn Village, Durham.



demonstration. It wasn't 10,000, it was 30,000! And in Itzhoe it wasn't just another demonstration including Scandinavians, it was another 20,000! The split was between the left-SPD and Moscow DKP (the smaller "legal" demonstration at Izhoe) and the rest in which you indeed find nearly all the Maoist parties, the Trotskyists, the "Spontis" and the anarchists. It might be interesting for your readers to know that the "Spontis" - or "undogmatic left" - are now growing rapidly in influence in the student movement against the orthodox Communists, Maoists and Trotskyists. They are not any sort of Trotskyist as your writer seems to think. Of course they are not anarchists either - the German anarchists have considerable contempt for their eclecticism, "anti-dogmatist" organisational formlessness masking the dominance of key individuals, etc. However, they are doing interesting things in the youth movement and are a thousand times better than the Leninist microgroups of all persuasions.



from Befreiung

Probably in England you can't realise just what a victory the Brokdorf demonstration represented. After all, not only was the demonstration illegal, but the heads of the government had been on television every day - almost every hour - to warn citizens that the "chaoten" had plans to attack the police, that there was going to be heavy bloodshed and so on. Furthermore, the police certainly wanted it! The police tried to make all Brokdorf inhabitants leave home on the weekend and told them to stay inside if they didn't leave. They confiscated all hay from the surrounding area so the demonstrators couldn't use it for fire, etc. Under these circumstances - and with the DKP plugging another demo - 30,000 people still

turned up without anyone really knowing who else would be there (apart from the well-advertised police numbers) and without knowing whether they wouldn't be killed by the police. Even though the demo was totally peaceful, the police made gunpoint arrests as the people were going home. (If FREEDOM ever wants to run a "Who are the terrorists?" quiz, Stern magazine's article on Brokdorf has the perfect picture. Perhaps too, the state government in the region reached the all-time high point of governmental stupidity when they banned the flying of kites in the whole state on the day of the demonstration - the demonstrators had said they would fly kites to interfere with the police helicopters.

As for the idea that the bugging of Traube's phone represents the "nuclear state of the future", it represents the Germany of the present! However, this time there has actually been some sort of liberal reaction in the bourgeois press and SPD since Traube, contrary to the initial press hysteria, is no "chaoten." He is probably himself just a loyal servant of the state.

Yours

Andrew

C.N.T. out in the open!

LAST weekend finally saw the first large scale open meeting of the CNT since the Civil War when about 8000 people packed the bullring at San Sebastian de los Reyes. (Other left groups also held meetings). Black and red flags, a large picture of Bakunin and



C. N. T. IN BARCELONA, 1936. a Jolly Roger were displayed.

Juan Gomez Casas, the secretary general of the CNT, who has spent 14 years in prison, told the crowd that the CNT was in the throes of reorganisation and called for a one minute silence for all who had died in the cause of liberty. Luis Edo, the Catalan delegate, said that for the CNT there was no difference between "ordinary" and "political" prisoners, all should be released. After some recent releases about eighteen CNT members are still in prison.

Several hours after the meeting young people on motorbikes were parading black and red flags through Madrid. Throughout, the police seem to have been conspicuous by their absence.

FREEDOM CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next REVIEW is Saturday 2 April and for NEWS section Monday 11 April.

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 14 April. Come and help from 4 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday 4 - 8 pm for folding session and informal get-together.

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John Nightingale, (338645) HM Prison,
Parkhurst, nr. Newport, I. of Wight
DUBLIN Anarchists Bob Cullen, Des
Keane & Columba Longmore, Military
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Marie Murray and Noel Murray, Pro-
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Groups

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Anarchists in other parts of Wales in-
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BIRMINGHAM. Bob Prew, 40c Trafal-
gar Road, Mosley, Birmingham 13
BOLTON anarchists 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 St.
Sherburn Village, Durham
EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn
Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron
Walden, Essex.
LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12
Winston Gardens, Leeds 6
LEICESTER. Peter and Jean Miller,
41 Norman Road (tel. 549642)
MANCHESTER Anarchist Group contact
Al on 061-224 3028 for info, & mtgs.
NEWCASTLE anarchists. Neil Jarman.
tel. Newcastle 20403
PORTSMOUTH. Caroline Cahm,
2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park
Old Portsmouth.
ST. ALBANS Anarchists contact John
Morton, 21 St. Peter's Rd. St. Albans
SWANSEA. Keith Sowerby, House 35,
Student Village, Landrefolien, Swansea
THAMES VALLEY anarchists contact
Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress
Rd. Maidenhead SL6 3EE (tel. 062 2974)
SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:
Aberdeen: Blake c/o APP 67 King St.
Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl.
Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union Street
(tel. 557 1522)
Glasgow: Baird, 122 Bennerary St.,
Glasgow G22 (tel. 336 7895)
Stirling: D. Tyme, 99 Rosebank,
Sauchie, Clacks.
(also contacts in Dumfries, Fife, West
Lothian, Port Glasgow, Highlands.)
New OXFORD anarchist group being
set up. Contact Martin Harper, Keble
College

International

AUSTRALIA:
Canberra. Alternative Canberra Group
10 Beltana Rd., Pialligo, ACT 2609
Victoria. Monash Anarchists, c/o Stu-
dent Union, Monash University, Clayton
Vic. 3068.
Latrobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o
SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora,
Vic. 3083
Libertarian Socialist Federation of Aus.
c/o 4 Reservoir St. Reservoir, Vic.
3073 (& branches in other areas).
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 Anarch-
ists, P.O. Box 22 607 New Zealand.

NEW YORK

LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB Lectures
(Monthly) Thursdays 7.30 pm at
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Apr. 14 Sam Dolgoff: Anarchism in
the Cultural Revolution

May 17 Murray Bookchin: Environ-
ment and Anarchism.

MISSOURI

Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.
Box 380, Columbia, Mo. 65201

Meetings

TONIGHT Sat. 2 April. PROP HULL
INQUIRY fundraising dance in Gold-
smiths College, Lewisham Way, SE14.
Starts 8 pm, licensed till 12.30. £1.

LAND for the PEOPLE. Mtgs. every
tuesday, 8A Leighton Crescent, London
NW5 (Kentish Town). Upstairs at No. 8
tel. 267 1184 or 485 3572. (See news pp)

FARE FIGHT. Weekly mtgs now being
held at Squatters Action Council office,
5 Huntley St. W.C.1. every THURS-
DAY at 8 p.m.

BIRMINGHAM. Murray Defence Com-
mittee. TUESDAY 29 MARCH Benefit
Folk Night 8 - 11.30 p.m. Ian Camp-
bell Folk Group, Nigel Denver, Barry
Roberts, Cockayne. AT THE CROWN,
corner of Hill Street & Station Street.
Birmingham City Centre. 50p.

PIONEERS OF FAMILY PLANNING,
Public meeting at Conway Hall, Red
Lion Square, WC1. WEDNESDAY 13
APRIL, 7.45 pm. Centenary of Charles
Bradlaugh's and Annie Besant's publica-
tion of "The Fruits of Philosophy".
Organized by National Secular Society.
HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble
Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sun-
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hecklers welcomed.

BIRMINGHAM Libertarian Socialist
group meets Sundays 8 pm at the Peace
Centre, 18 Moor St. Queensway, and
afterwards in The Fox & Grapes,
Freeman Street

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

GLASGOW Scottish Libertarian Fed.
'extraordinary' public mtgs. First &
Third Monday in month at St. Bride's
Centre, Rosevale St. Partick. 7.30 pm
EAST LONDON GROUP holds regular
fortnightly mtgs at 123 Latham Rd. E.6
Phone Ken on 552 3985

KINGSTON Libertarian group meets
Wednesdays. Ring Pauline 549 2564
S.E. LONDON Libertarian Group meets
Wednesdays. Ring Georgina 460 1623
NORTH-WEST Anarchist Federation
For mtgs. activities & newsletter write
6 Stockley Av. Harwood, Bolton (tel,
Bolton 387516)

CAMPING INTERNATIONAL LIBER-
TAIRE ECOLOGIQUE. At Ronse-
Renaix, Belgium. JULY 15 to AUGUST
15. Contact Eric Sobrie, Zonnestraat 3,
9792 Wortegem-Petegem.

FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

APRIL 2 '77

"THE MOB & THE FUTURE"

WE ARE OF that century that has witnessed the babblings of the philosophers, the rantings of the mystics and the alchemy of the hipped witches become an accepted part of our way of living. Universal wars have been our lot, our fellow men have walked upon the faces of the moon and the silver sharded spacecrafts push open the doors of God's infinities and the price of beer goes up and up. The pulp science fiction magazines mapped out that future as no more than cheap fantasy rubbish for us the moronic mob yet comrades, in one single generation, those who wrote and illustrated those cheap and tatty magazines were indeed the prophets of our future.

Yet it is curious that, almost without exception, the market for the future was the working class. The film buffs may queue to watch Hans Jurgen Syerburg's *Ludwig -Requiem für einen jungfräulichen König* but they would never have queued to watch the clowning of Chaplin in those early tatty fleapits; the ball point pen was mass produced for we the horny handed and in the beginning could not be used on legal documents; the 'wireless' was a thing to be derided until the State decreed, in the 1930s, that with the bed, the chair and the table it could form part of an unemployed worker's home and he could not be forced to sell it as part of the State's Means Test, for the 'wireless' was now held to be part of the State's national war call up system. And no intellectual or pseudo intellectual would admit to watching the television screen for it was the 'idiot eye' whose only function was to amuse we the moronic mindless great unwashed. And comrades I would want all the foregoing no other way.

The scientist, the technician and the intellectual will cry that without them these things would never have been produced and this is true, but without the hucksters and the market mob they would have been no more than notes and diagrams for university seminars be it the spacecrafts, the ball point pen or Concorde. Throughout each man's or woman's life there is a poem, a phrase, a painting, a statue or a chord of music that becomes a recurring theme, trivial but recurring. For me there are a painting of Christopher Wood, a sad suicide of the '30s, that appears and disappears on and off Bond Street gallery walls over the dying years--the grey sea at the end of a street in a seaside town, and an Aztec skull of pure light crystal. I have seen this skull within the I.C.A., when it was indeed a place to seek out, in the British Museum and now within the Royal Academy. Sad and silent, carved by an unrecorded craftsman centuries ago, it has played host to the human eye, the camera, the film, the television screen, and now holography. Its image in three dimensions moves into the future with us. In those old and tatty pulp magazines 'they' wrote of the Death Ray and the world sneered at this fantastic juvenile rubbish, and on Monday the 14th of March 1977 I asked the residential expert attached to the *Light Fantastic* Royal Academy exhibition if the laser beam used within this exhibition was a run off of the 'death ray' ploy and in that crowded room he raised his eyes ceilingward and said that talk of the laser beam and "death rays" was uninformed rubbish and that it was impossible to communicate with moronic slobbs such as myself for I had no understanding of the work of men such as Lieth and Upatnieks or of the functions of Continuous Wave Gas Laser and Pulse Ruby Laser and I thanked him and turning away into the mob said "and fuck you too mate".

Yet on the same day that this exhibition opened at the Royal Academy, in Geneva the Russian government demanded a ban on "new weapons of mass destruction" and these were specifically wave energy devices such as the lasers or other forms of concentration sources of sound or light energy. Atomic and germ warfare were not discussed and the British government argued that as such a form of micro-wave warfare did not exist then there was no point in banning it, which means to my peasant mind that the 'death ray' of the old pulp magazines is now a practical means of dealing out death. The visiting expert at the Royal Academy did not use those specific words about me but I feel that I had got his gist. Yet in 1942 with primitive radar I would have to measure the wave-

length by an UNCONNECTED electric light bulb held in my hand in front of the huge aerial and as one walked away from the aerial the bulb would light up according to the length of the radio wave and we measured that wavelength with an ordinary housewife's tape measure and comrade that primitive wavelength would burn our hand. So I am never impressed by the jargon of the 'experts' or the dials on the plastic covers, for in the end every advance in science, politics or religion can be reduced to a brute simplistic explanation for if it cannot then the human race is indeed doomed. And in that damned division I will take my place and my stand with the children of Adam for in that eternal primitive simplicity lies the only future worth seeking.

It was this year that the G. L. C. tried, unsuccessfully, to ban the use of lasers at the pop Genesis concerts and the laser has been used by the Who group and here it is now within the Royal Academy. One cannot deny, nay must not deny, that this is an exciting exhibition, the best that the Royal Academy has mounted for many a long long month. Thin lines of light rise and fall above our heads and descend upon us. From corner and corner laser beams streak across the room and in that crowded room I could see Griselda Hamilton-Baillie the press officer smiling among an involved crowd. This public exhibition is indeed a step into our future, not of years but of months, for the scientists and the technicians have trumped the science fiction writers, creating an image of an object in three dimensions so real that if one did not know one could assume that it was the actual material object. Ever since man could record he has tried to overcome the problem of creating that third dimension on a two-dimensional screen and now on a screen no thicker than a sheet of hard board a telephone, a water tap, an apple and or an Aztec skull is reproduced as a three-dimensional image. We have over the last few years lived with attempts by men to achieve this and the results are there in beer adverts and the 3D cinema screen when we had to parblind ourselves with the use of special spectacles, but one aspect of the future is before us within the Royal Academy. And I for one found it fantastically exciting, for we are witnessing a major breakthrough in human communication. As with the primitive film, radio, television, tape recording, the duplicator and the space satellite we are witnessing an innovation that offers new and boundless possibilities in man's communication with his fellow man and woman. Three people can now stand before a thin two-dimensional screen, look at a recorded object, and each person can view a side of that recorded object that the others, inches away, cannot see. I know that this exhibition is comedy for the mob, but then, comrades, every halting step into the future was rejected by the intellectual elite until they caught up with the human race and used the happytime innovations for the morning masterpiece, film camera, ball point pen and television. As in all major breakthroughs in creative art forms it is the crowd and the mob who have been the first to accept its potentialities, if only to amuse, and in the matter of laser beams and three dimension it is the Pop Groups banging away who have proved that it is workable as a new form of man's ability to communicate with his fellow man. The technique is as with all things simplicity itself but I can do no more than quote the jargon of the experts that to create this three-dimensional image one bathes 'my Aztec skull' "in laser light which is then reflected on to a sensitised plate. Simultaneously another beam (the reference beam) is directed at the plate from a specific angle. The two beams of light meet and an interference wave front is set up—and it is this information of 'interference' which is recorded on the plate". Expert, elitist jargon, comrades, for the explanation, as with the operation of the ball point pen or the petrol engine, is that much simpler, but it is a new and exciting breakthrough in human communication and it is there to amuse the mob and I was happy to be one.

And for the Town and his laser lit frau there are all the preparations for the Royal Jubilee and all the wits are sharpening their ball point pens. With *Light Fantastic*, the Royal

continued over page:

Bakunin, A Failure

Bakunin, an Invention, Horst Bienek, pb. Victor Gollancz, 1977, £3.95, 119 pages (first pb. Carl Hanser Verlag, 1970)

THERE'S no way you can escape from it - it's autumn and it's raining, all through the book. A young anarchist on the run from a failed assassination attempt in Berlin (in the end he couldn't do it) is depressing himself in this autumn and this rain, collecting material for a biography of Bakunin, in Bakunin's old haunts.

The young anarchist is depressed because he considers himself a failure, because, if you are to believe the blurb, he is "unable to solve his personal problems, wishing he was still an activist, baffled by the period he is studying." He identifies with Bakunin, he "invents" him - especially the Bakunin of the last years - because he too knew failure and was very much on his own ... And here already, you understand why the young anarchist can't write his biography. So much is he determined to feel sorry for himself (or so it seems), so much has he identified the subject with himself, that what emerges is a particularly pathetic old man, one who not only has known no successful uprising, but is not even able to preserve his personal dignity. (This is symbolised, for instance, by his horrified refusal to crawl into the hay cart after the fiasco of Bologna - then his crawling into it after all - his vehement refusal to take the basket of eggs that is part of his disguise - then his taking it after all, and so on).

In contrast Nechaev appears as a real activist. Bienek, who is naggingly hard on Cafiero, shows more sympathy for the "tiger cub", and is clearly fascinated by the mystique of "bomb-anarchism". He takes up eight whole pages of the left hand side of this really very thin, even skeletal, little volume with a reproduction of the Catechism for Revolutionaries, counterpoised with the main narrative on the right.

One can at least understand that the wholesale inclusion of the Catechism has for Bienek a bearing of some import on the body of the text to the right, as a study of ineffectuality. But when one comes across so many other long quotations and some, if not all, from books easily available, one can't help resenting the waste of good paper. And this apart from the page all taken up with particularly stupid and tired student graffiti from 1969 (there were, after all, some good slogans from 1968/9), another page consisting of a prison list of Bakunin's physical characteristics, and over three pages of the text of the old anarchist song "Addio, Lugano bella" in both Italian and English ...

A philistine reaction, perhaps, since, again according to the blurb, a "distinguished critic, Gunter Blocker, wrote '... with Bienek fact meets fiction - only then are they fully revealed, reality turned into poetry; this was the only way to create perfect prose. Bienek's achievement is extraordinary'".

Personally, I'm not convinced that Bienek has achieved anything more than a conquest of his publishers in this instance, for putting out, yes, something extraordinary, but only in the tedium, pretension, self-consciousness, naiveté, plain uselessness (from the point of view of shedding any new light on the personality or life of Bakunin himself) of these rough notes masquerading as "perfect prose." Even the interview with

The Mob (cont)

Academy have mounted This Brilliant Year, a rag bag of provincial gallery rubbish but for those who love great slices of Victorian daubs 1887, then, friend, this is your life. It is the National Portrait Gallery who as always have given, at this moment in time, the most interesting exhibition with their Happy and Glorious : 130 Years of Royal Photography. With a handout of free champagne one can afford to be mellow and accept these photographs as historical documents of a particular age and in that context one can spend a pleasant hour. Only Henrietta Rattray at the Editions Graphiques had no use for the future for she was hepped on the ancient past and in 1935 she joined her ancient sitters. So for me it is the Royal Academy, the mob and the future.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

Book Review

Arthur Lehning of the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenes, still at work on his mammoth compilation of Bakunin's works in Amsterdam - in which, incidentally, Lehning appears by contrast refreshingly straightforward - has already, in substance, been incorporated into the anarchist press.

Most successful, to me, is the passage where Bienek finds, and stays at, la Baronata, the place of Cafiero's which served for a time as Bakunin's base and a rendezvous for social revolutionaries. Bienek can be good at evoking atmosphere (it's a pity he didn't concentrate on this) and here is a real, a poignant sense of place, and passing time. It is still, of course, autumn and still raining when in Locarno he finally discovers it, with its decaying yellow walls, among the chestnuts, on the edge of Lake Maggiore across which it seems, Bakunin sent signal lights to Italy. It has become a pension and from the ceiling of the reception room hang model aeroplanes, part of the disintegrating collection of a pilot who has since crashed and died, and which crumble, and float and fly away in the draught.

Here, one feels, as he wanders through these empty rooms imagining, Bienek has almost forgotten himself. But unfortunately, not quite. We return to the tiresome (however deliberate) repetitions, disjointed meanderings posing as art, unconvincing reconstructions, unsatisfactory attempts at psychological portrayal.

And of course the biography was a failure. And Bienek was perceptive enough to admit it and give up. But he evidently could not bear to waste all the notes and jottings that remained. The result is this really rather miserable concoction.

Anarchists will always no doubt be the severest critics of other anarchists, and that is as it should be. Yet if there is a way of making success out of past failures, Bakunin, an Invention is not a good example.

GILLIAN

Ends and Means

THE END justifies the means. This saying has been much abused; yet it is in fact the universal guide to conduct. It would, however, be better to say: every end needs its means. Since morality must be sought in the aims, the means is determined.

Once the goal one is aiming at has been established, consciously or through necessity, the big problem of life is to find the means which, in the circumstances, leads to that end most surely and economically. In the way this problem is solved will depend, so far as it can depend on human will, whether the individual (or party) reaches or fails to achieve his ends, whether he is useful to his cause or unwittingly serves that of the enemy. To have found the right means, herein lies the whole secret of great men and parties that have left their mark on history.

For mystics, the aim of the Jesuits is the glory of God; for others it is the power of the Company of Jesus. They must therefore make every effort to brutalise, terrorise and subject the masses.

The aim of the Jacobins and all authoritarian parties who believe themselves to be in possession of absolute truth, is to impose their ideas on the ignorant masses. They must therefore make every effort to seize power, subject the masses, and fit humanity to the Procrustian bed of their concepts.

The problem for us is a different one; because our aims are so different, so also must be our means.

We do not carry on our struggle in order to put ourselves in the place of the exploiters and oppressors of today, nor do we even struggle for the triumph of an empty abstraction. We have nothing in common with that Italian patriot who declared: "What does it matter if all Italians die of hunger so long as Italy is great and glorious!"; nor even with that comrade who confessed to being indifferent to whether three quarters of humanity perished in making the world free and happy ...

In our opinion all action which is directed towards the dest-



Nel Nome del Padre ~~THE OTHER CINEMA~~

Every night at 9.00 only from April 2
IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER
by Marco Bellocchio

"The setting is a school run by Catholic fathers, a sort of approved institution for the sons of rich bourgeois rejected as hopeless by other establishments. No prizes for guessing, with the priests muddling through a ritual of authority at the head of the hierarchy and illiterate peasants serving as kitchen slaves at the bottom, that this is designed as an image of Italy. The allegory, however, is lifted into something much more concrete by the atmosphere of total manic depression. In class, a teacher stares impassively at his pupils, who stare blankly back. One boy, followed by another, secretly bends to tie his shoelace. Behind his desk the teacher rolls a pair of dice. All the boys now seem bent double. And Bellocchio compounds the sense of dislocation, held in uneasy equilibrium by those twin stares, with an image of one boy defying anatomy to sleep with his head inside his desk.

"The disorientation starts almost from the beginning, with the school suggesting alternatively a prison (with its galleries, guards and locked doors, the dormitory block might be lifted direct from *The Criminal*) or an asylum in which everyone is secretly gratifying his fruitless fantasies. A priest meditates under the lid of a coffin-like chest; an assistant prowls by night, spreading aimlessly blasphemous graffiti on the walls; a pupil masturbates dreamily through a lecture on the terrible wages of sin. And in this madhouse of inertia the only moment of common purpose comes when everyone crowds round to gape into the mouth of a missionary whose tongue has been mutilated by Chinese communists, and who looms into the camera, as demoniacally compelling as Rasputin, to lisp the unfathomable word of God.

"Literally beaten into this slough of despond by a father demanding respect but receiving a fist in the face (a galvanically funny opening scene), comes Angelo Transeunti (Yves Beneyton). Cool and inflexible, he remains withdrawn from the frenzy about him, obsessed within by his belief in the power of power and by the need to create freedom, order and purpose. But his revolt against the system, escalating wildly in scope and ambition, is simply absorbed, leaving no change. Hence the snarling anger of the film, which chronicles a lost opportunity; for the time is 1958-9, a moment following the death of

Pope Pius XII when it seemed that the old era had finally ended for Italy and that a new age might begin. Hence too, its image, which would otherwise be pure fantasy, of a clergy hovering uncertainly between old and new, smiling at blasphemies and wondering if this might be the new dogma.



"Transeunti (and by implication his revolt) is neatly characterised in an early sequence where he casually takes up a boy's idle boast that for ten thousand lire he would hang for an hour from the rings in the gym. Later, when the sweating, pain-wracked boy re-emerges, impelled to confess that he fell off four minutes before time, Transeunti simply snaps his wallet shut. He is, in other words, an idealist cushioned by wealth and privilege into inhumanity, a budding Mussolini by any other name: and his total regard for the human element whether pulling his schoolfellows in his wake like so many sheep, or irritably urging a fellow-conspirator to shoot his manically possessive mother - is the key to both his rebellion and its failure.

"The *pièce de résistance*, for instance, is the school play, specially rewritten and designed to spread terror through the school. A wild and woolly amalgam of 'Faust', blasphemy and medical-student japery (whose main delight on the side is that it features a bizarre Hound of the Baskervilles which subsequently haunts the school by night with ferocious intent), it succeeds only in spreading alarm among the inoffensive younger boys, and has whatever teeth it possesses drawn by a round of indulgent applause from the assembled clergy. The rout is finally completed when Transeunti musters his troops for a grand alliance between pupils and servants, only to find them split by class and economic barriers.

OTHER CINEMA CATALOGUE

ends & means (cont)

ruction of economic and political oppression, which serves to raise the moral and intellectual level of the people, which gives them an awareness of their individual rights and their power, and persuade them themselves to act on their own behalf; all activity that encourages a hatred of oppression and awakens love among man, brings us closer to our ends and therefore is a good thing (subject only to a quantitative consideration: of obtaining the best results from the available forces at our disposal). On the other hand, all activity that tends to preserve the present state of affairs, that tends to sacrifice man against his will for the triumph of a principle, is bad because it is a denial of our ends. We seek the triumph of freedom and of love.

Should we, for this reason, renounce the use of violent means? Not at all. Our means are those that circumstances allow and impose....

There are, and there always have been in all socio-political struggles, two kinds of hypnotisers.

There are those who consider that we are never mature enough, that we expect too much, that we must wait, and be satisfied to advance a little at a time with the aid of small reforms ... which are periodically won and lost without ever solving anything. And there are those who effect contempt for the small things, and advocate all or nothing, and in putting forward schemes, probably excellent ones which cannot how-

ever be realised through lack of sufficient support, prevent, or seek to prevent, others from doing the little that can be done.

For us what is most important is not what we achieve ... but how we achieve it.

If in order to secure an improvement in the situation one abandons one's basic programme and stops propagating it or struggling to realise it; if one induces the masses to pin their hopes on laws and the good will of the rulers rather than in their own direct action; if one suffocates the revolutionary spirit and ceases to foment discontent and resistance - then every advantage will prove illusory and ephemeral, and in all cases will bar the roads to the future society.

But if instead, one does not forget one's final objectives, and encourages the popular forces, as well as inciting to direct action and insurrection, very little may be achieved at the time, but one has made a step forward in the moral preparation of the mass of the people, and in the achievement of a more favourable social climate.

"The optimum is enemy of the good", says the proverb: let us do what we can, assuming we cannot do all we would wish; but do something we must.....

MALATESTA



The King Of Spades

MORRISON DAVIDSON wrote in 1902: "The people interested in royalty may be roughly divided into two great classes. They are either knaves or fools—persons moved by self-interest or superstition, or, it may be, by a cunning compound of both. Political superstition, like religious superstition, is merely belief without evidence. The privileged ring, and those who are struggling to enter it, compose the former class, which is made up of courtiers, sinecurists, pensioners, peers, parvenus landlords, who neither toil nor spin, self-seeking clergymen, venal writers, lawyers, army and navy officers, snobs, *et hoc genus omni* [and all of this kind]. This motley crew have one characteristic in common. They are all dishonestly bent on living luxuriously, and without toil, at the cost of the industrious portion of the community. To them the Crown is a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night. Let them be but deprived of its protection, and they would be like sheep without a shepherd. They would be taken in detail, stripped of their borrowed plumes, and relieved of their booty. They magnify Royalty and prostrate themselves before it, not because they believe in it—they are too near it not to know how great an imposture it is—but because it effectively dazzles and stupifies the industrious classes—the fools—whose sore toil allows them neither time for reflection nor opportunity for study." This was in *New Book of Kings*, Coronation edition.

They don't write books like that any more. Too bad, since the situation has not, given a point or two, changed since those words were written. The situation remains the same but the attitude surrounding royalty and their activities is rather more subtle, the club has been discarded for the spade, and royalty prefers to tunnel and dig at the roots of freedom and democratic institutions rather than be seen interfering directly in politics.

It is a proud boast of the English that their monarchy is above politics; like many such boasts it is untrue, as a short modern history study will show.

It is well-known that it was the interference of the monarchy in the mercantilism of England which led to Britain beheading a king. Foreign comrades of a republican turn of mind who reproach Britain for its lack of a revolutionary class, and—worst of all—for its monarchy have a point but it must be remembered that this is an old country (don't clap!) and much of the 'revolutionary' activities that new and younger countries doubtfully enjoy have happened here centuries ago. Our dethronement of the king was swiftly remedied when it was found by the dethroning (merchant) class that the 'new presbyter was but old priest writ large'. It was concluded that we might as well

have the king back with his comparative stability in place of the rabble of Roundheads, Levellers and Diggers.

Since then the Kings (and Queens) of England have rarely been so obvious in interference. William (of Orange) and Mary (1689-1702) were introduced to save England from unlimited monarchy and compulsory Romanism. According to Davidson "for these evils they substituted unlimited Oligarchy, Continental Wars, Standing Armies and the National Debt". William, in his extreme Protestantism, was responsible for the awful and bloody heritage of Ireland in which his exploits are commemorated by 'Orangemen' to this day. He was also responsible for the massacre of Glencoe.

Queen Anne reigned but did not govern for thirteen years. She was, claims Davidson, "physically lethargic and mentally imbecile hence 'physically and morally incapable of government'".

The Four Georges were all disasters in their own ways. George I spoke no English, looted the Court and Treasury; George II increased the National Debt to £146 millions and quarrelled with and disowned his Queen, Caroline; George III lost the American colonies, was accused (privately, with some evidence) of bigamy and increased the National Debt to £900 millions (he died mad); George IV's reign is (says Davidson) "crammed with little but adulteries, lies and debts. An old rhyme ran (optimistically alas)

George the First was reckoned vile
—viler George the Second;

And what mortal ever heard any
good of George the Third?

When from earth the Fourth descended,
Heaven be praised the Georges ended.

Greville (Clerk to the Council) describes William IV (1830-37) thus: "He was a man who, coming to the throne at the mature age of sixty-five, was so excited by the exaltation that he nearly went mad, and distinguished himself by a thousand extravagances of language and conduct, to the alarm and amusement of all who witnessed his strange freaks; and though he was shortly afterwards sobered down into more becoming habits, he always contrived to be something of a blackguard and something of a buffoon." He tried, according to Davidson, "to bring about a collision between the reformers [who were putting forward a very modest—and typical—Reform Bill] and the military. What distressed him most was the orderly character of the meetings, which afforded no sufficient pretext for violent interference. Though he did not ultimately dare to veto the [Reform] Bill, his deceitful and protracted opposition brought the country to within twenty-four hours of revolution".

He had, as was usual with kings, a mistress, Mrs. Jordan, by whom he had nine children. Mrs. Jordan died in

poverty and exile. The nine children were handsomely provided for—at public expense.

This brings us to his niece, Queen Victoria, who was the most popular monarch of England: this was presumably due to the habit-forming length of her reign (1837-1901) and the fact that the growth of the popular press, co-existent with increased literacy, had exposed more of the population to the mythology and hagiography of royalty. As Geoffrey Dennis writes, "Old age, glorified by the gathering legend of duty and devotion, and magnified by the people's belief that she was immortal, made her something more than monarch; made her matriarch, monument, myth."

Yet republicanism only briefly became an attitude of the radical politician (Bradlaugh prophesied in 1873 a republic in five years) during her reign, was fomented by her inertia after the death of the Prince Consort (whose well-meaning and progressive paternalism only intensified chauvinism) and only died away in the access and excess of popular feeling about the illness of the Prince of Wales. To her credit Queen Victoria disliked 'jingoism' and argued with Lord Palmerston about the wisdom of the Crimean War (which was a useless disaster), she was not a religious bigot or racially prejudiced, insisting on mercy and moderation after the Indian Mutiny—she even employed an Indian servant, which seemed to some at court to be on the verge of toleration. She was however anti-Irish.

She exercised an important influence on ambassadorial appointments; she held on to her prerogatives regarding the army; she attempted with some success to veto cabinet appointments. She was flattered and charmed by Disraeli and when Gladstone won an election in 1880 she at first refused to accept his victory, writing to Disraeli that she would "take no notice of Mr. Gladstone, who has done so much mischief. It is most essential that that should be known". When she was finally forced to accept Gladstone, she obstructed a number of his appointments, including those of Chamberlain and Dilke (formerly republicans). Her dislike of Republicanism (naturally!) led to difficult relations with France and the United States. She interfered with many Liberal measures which she regarded as dangerous and subversive. She privately manoeuvred to get the army a 'free hand' in the Sudan, where Britain had suffered a defeat. Furthermore (in 1885) she suggested that the Whig and Conservative moderates form a coalition to defeat the Irish Home Rule Bill to which she was opposed. She excused her interference by stating that foreign affairs and Home Rule were not "Party questions".

Kingsley Martin, who gives much of this history in *The Magic of Monarchy*,

sums it up by saying "The Queen's views were Conservative and opposed to the main tendencies of the century. But her prejudices and her conventions were so exactly those dominant in her age... Her influence moreover was almost always in the direction which middle-class sentiment would have approved." Arthur Ponsonby (whose father was Private Secretary to Queen Victoria) quotes her on 'Women's Rights' writing that she was "most anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Woman's Rights' with all its particular horrors on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety... God created men and women different—then let them remain each in their own position'."

Edward VII agreed, politically, with his mother. He acquired a mythical reputation as an international diplomat, 'a Peacemaker', but he was instrumental, with Lord Esher—his confidential advisor—in setting up in 1905 a Committee of Defence which was kept a secret. Esher was in favour of conscription and no doubt influenced Edward VII in this direction. Ironically, one of the politicians they worked underground to counteract was Winston Churchill, who, at that time, was demanding economy in the Service Estimates. Additionally, Edward VII carried on life-long intrigues with Douglas Haig who was later to preside at the bloodbaths of World War I, thanks to Edward's influence. He was credited with cementing the *entente* with France; a fact put down by some to his liking for the Moulin Rouge. Coupled with this was his detestation of his nephew the Kaiser. These factors combined to make 'Edward the Peacemaker', as he was known, one of the contributors of a grain or two to the gunpowder barrel which exploded in 1914.

Edward had enough prescience to realize that monarchy had become an anomaly in a democracy and as Kingsley Martin said, he "understood the lesson of the unsuccessful rising against the Czar in 1905". He is said by Martin to have introduced his son (George V) as the future 'last King of England'. Unfortunately he was wrong.

George V was not 'trained' for the throne. His brother, Prince Eddie, heir to the throne, died and George was left with the job—and Eddie's fiancée Princess May (later Mary) of Teck who obligingly transferred her supposed affections to George. The embarrassment of the family's German origin was solved during the Great War by changing the family name from Guelph to Windsor (the Battenburg relatives more ingeniously changed to Mountbattens), a device which was insufficient to protect many a poor German shopkeeper in England, who was villified and had his windows broken merely because of his German name.

Laski points out that early in his reign, in the struggle between Lords and Commons (in 1911) when the Liberals threatened to create new peers to defeat the Conservative House of Lords by enterism, the King insisted on a General Election. "If," says Laski, "Mr. Asquith [the Liberal leader] had been returned at the second election with a majority of even five less than he had had at the first election, the Royal prerogative would not have been exercised in his favour." Lord Esher in connection with this situation commented that the creation of new peers by the King "mortally offends the whole Tory party to which he [the King] is naturally bound".

It is probable that in 1923 King George intervened to place Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister against Lord Curzon; it is claimed by L. S. Amery that this (like a later instance) was because a peer was unacceptable to the House of Commons as Prime Minister.

However the major instance of Royal interference in democratic procedures was in 1931. This incident was denied for many years and Laski, who first exposed it, was denounced as a liar. But it has now achieved the respectability and credence of a textbook—*Constitutional History of England*, by G. B. Adams (1941 revised).

The situation was similar to that of today: a Labour government was in economic difficulties in trying to run capitalism and was trying to raise an American loan; a cut in the dole was deemed necessary but three-fourths of the Cabinet—and the General Council of the

T. U. C. —opposed this.

J. Ramsay MacDonald, then Prime Minister, consulted the Conservative and Liberal leaders and had an audience with the King—who returned hurriedly from a Scottish holiday of grouse shooting presumably. "On the evening of August 23rd," writes Adams, "the cabinet authorized the Prime Minister to tender to the King the resignation of the ministry, it being assumed that Mr. Baldwin, as the leader of the Conservative party, would be called upon to form an administration. On Monday morning, August 24th Mr. MacDonald had another audience with the King. Precisely what transpired is not known, though rumour, of course, was active. At noon he informed members of his cabinet that the Labour ministry was at an end, and, to their amazement, that he had accepted the King's commission to form a 'national government' (in which, of course, he would be Prime Minister) to deal with the financial emergency. In the evening of the same day, the following announcement was issued: 'The Prime Minister, this afternoon tendered to His Majesty who entrusted Mr. Ramsay MacDonald with the task of forming a National Government on a comprehensive basis for the purpose of meeting the present financial emergency. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald accepted the commission, and is now in conference with Mr. Stanley Baldwin and Sir Herbert Samuel, who are co-operating with him in the constitution of such an administration'."

This 'emergency administration' lasted (with some adjustments) from 1931 to 1945. In 1935 the jubilee of George V gave an opportunity for an election to bathe the 'National Government' in the reflected glory of the monarchy and patriotic feeling. The National Government was returned again with its support of National-Labour and National Liberal members. Ramsay MacDonald was defeated in his old seat by 20,000 votes but was 'smuggled in' as a member for the Scottish universities.

JACK ROBINSON
To be continued

Riff Raff

White Lion St. Free School

SITTING in a lecture theatre listening to a group of "education" lecturers and student teachers fire questions of an uninvolved or hostile nature at a person who has set up his very own project - committed himself for the past five years to a community, through a Free School, is pretty depressing.

But listening to Peter Newell's account of the school, and the way in which he answered questions, created a totally different impression. For here is a free school, community school, where all in the building from cleaners to cooks, as well as kids and teachers have "control and choice" over their work situation. Unlike Summerhill where, according to Peter Newell, "domestic" staff are not part of the libertarian set-up.

(Perhaps A S Neill's wife who has run Summerhill since his death, has changed this?)

White Lion Street Free School is a very tight community involving parents almost as much as their kids. Of the 49 kids (and nine adults) not one lives more than 500 yards away. For the first three years Peter Newell and his companion lived in the building: there are evening activities and it obviously makes sense to leave a caretaker cum "community worker" on the premises. Now another teacher has taken over this job. There are weekly meetings involving everyone in the school, one in the morning, another the same evening for those (parents and others) who cannot make the morning one. When the school opened people came in to help paint and decorate - word of mouth got the idea round that this was to be opened as a school - there was no advertising; so that all who came did so because their parents decided to send them!

continued over page:

SOLZHENITSYN AND HISTORY

Lenin in Zurich Alexander Solzhenitsyn Farrar, Straus and Giroux. \$8.95 : The Bodley Head, £3.75.

THE WORKS by which Solzhenitsyn made his name, in Russia and outside, were so directly based on personal experience as to verge on autobiographical fiction: books like *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* and *Cancer Ward*. His other best known book in the West, *The Gulag Archipelago*, sprang out of the passionate desire to expose the truth about the world of prisons in which, like Dostoevsky, he spent so much of his life; it was his *House of the Dead*.

It is not however of Dostoevsky that one thinks mostly in reading Solzhenitsyn's less personal fiction, and on observing his life, but rather of Tolstoy. It is true that the Christianity which Solzhenitsyn has embraced is somewhat nearer to Dostoevsky's orthodoxy than to Tolstoy's rational primitivism, but as a Russian public figure his role has been much closer to Tolstoy's. Where Dostoevsky, once he returned from exile, shifted his political direction so as to ensure no repetition of official displeasure, Solzhenitsyn, like Tolstoy, became an international symbol of moral resistance to autocracy (which in Russia has merely changed its name and not its nature) and relied on the power of world opinion to protect him against his enemies. It was the Russian authorities who lost immeasurably in prestige through the confrontation with Solzhenitsyn, just as their predecessors had lost through the confrontation with Tolstoy.

In his less personal fiction Solzhenitsyn is quite evidently following the example of the Tolstoy who wrote *War and Peace* in seeking to meld history and fiction. His *August 1914*, deal-

ing with the early days of the First World War and the initial Russian defeats through the incompetence of Tsarist generals as much as the strategic wisdom of the Germans, is evidently only the first of a series portraying the entire collapse of the Romanov Empire; two more are planned, which will be entitled *October 1916* and *March 1917*. Solzhenitsyn calls all these books "Knots", by which he evidently means that rather than writing a continuous narrative of events during the period he considers, he is choosing nodal points at which various lines of action come together to create the key military and political crises leading to the culmination of the Russian revolution.

Lenin in Zurich is not really a novel in its own right, but a series of extracts from the various Knots. The first chapter, dealing with Lenin's hurried departure from Austria, into Swiss territory on the outbreak of the Great War, is a part of August 1914 which was omitted from the published version of that work. The other two chapters will appear in *October 1916* and *March 1917* respectively, when these two books are published as Solzhenitsyn says "not ... in the very near future." The first of them deals with the division in Lenin's mind as to whether his destiny lies in the provocation of revolution in western Europe or in continuing the agitation in Russia (a dilemma that preoccupied other Russian revolutionaries before him like Bakunin and Kropotkin), and the second deals with the resolution of those difficulties through the outbreak of the February Revolution and the decision of the German authorities to send Lenin and his Bolshevik companions by the famous sealed train into Russia, with the promise of the Russian war effort collapsing as soon as Lenin attained power.

Riff Raff (cont)

They were eventually "recognised" by the education authorities and have also become involved quite closely in the local community as whole. They get £3,000 from the Social Services Department, the equivalent of a community worker's salary - since they are seen to be doing such work with their building open (as it is) after-school hours with a wide range of activities. They have received other amounts for their extra-activities. Even to attracting a three year grant of £8,000 per year from Wales.

Also Islington Borough Council have given considerable support. In other words the founders have gone out of their way to point out the advantages of a free school, and have involved all those concerned closely from the start - parents, teachers and most crucial of all, the kids. The school is free also in the sense that it does not take children for fees; the age range of those coming into the school is three to 14.

White Lion Street Free School is open for visitors between 7 - 9 pm on Tuesday evenings. Telephone if that is impossible and other arrangements can probably be made. (01.837.6379)

A magazine/bulletin has so far been published about once a year (copies 30p, three issues in print).

The handbook *How To Set Up A Free School* is absolutely essential for anyone concerned to know. 40p plus postage (plus donations! - Should you be able to contribute a donation then this will help the school to continue).

Uhuru

Should you visit Oxford then take a walk out to Cowley Road (five minutes from centre) and call in at Uhuru cafe. This, and a whole food shop, is run by a non profit making collective. The cafe is cheap, there are magazines and pamphlets to read, there is an air of being in a meeting place.

The cafe is a centre of discussion and action. It came into being out of the "Third World" movement. To find out more send for their pamphlet *Uhuru: a working collective* (40p plus postage) which gives a good idea of difficulties and re-

wards. An amazingly important contribution towards a more libertarian society.

(Opposite is a community bookshop, E.O.R.)

* * *

In Nottingham Mushroom Community Bookshop has crossed the road to a larger shop and has a really fine selection of books, magazines and pamphlets, including an anarchist shelf and a strong selection on ecology and feminism.

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Snappin'

At Keele University anarchists have been running a Saturday/Sunday lunchtime and evening cafe-collective called "Snappin'", the local name for workers' mid-morning break. This serves as a focal point in the students union building, serves good, cheap, wholesome food, soups, oatcakes, salads, etc. They also run a bookstall supplied by Freedom Press and Publications Distribution Cooperative. Profits are being saved in order to open a cafe/bookshop in the Stoke/Hanley/Bussan area - a community centre really for an area much in need of bookshops and cafes of almost any sort! Also they have just published a pamphlet *Family, Community and Education* which arose out of a conference here a year ago. Price 10p. a copy (plus postage) from Judith Smith, c/o Students' Union, Keele University, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.

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Housing Alternatives?

Alternatives in Housing? A Report on Self-Build in Britain (pb by A.A. Bookshop/Printshop, 60p. from 34/36 Bedford Square, London WC1.)

A very useful guide to varied methods of building your own home. Examples vary from "rehabilitation" schemes to independent activities. Photographs and bibliography give useful picture. Compiled in 1976. Worth taking for bookstalls and bookshops. Send to Architectural Association bookshop, address above.

D.GOULD.

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF ANARCHISM IN POLAND

THIS ARTICLE is intended to supplement Nagorski's *History of the Anarchist Movement in Poland* (published in *Cienfuegos Press Review* no. 2 1977) which covers the period 1905-1915, a period of intense anarchist activity. Together they remain incomplete, and before a full history of Polish anarchism is unearthed much more research needs to be undertaken. Please note that I have not really mentioned Jan Machajski, who is probably the most famous Polish anarchist, as Max Nomad's article and Paul Avrich's essay cover his work in more detail than I can here.

Anarchism in Poland grew out of the revolutionary fervour of the early and mid-nineteenth century struggle for national liberation, and as usual Bakunin was at hand (his coach fares must have been fantastic!) Poland was at this time divided between three oppressive powers: Germany, Russia and Austria-Hungary, and a strong liberation movement sprang up in each sector. Warsaw, the capital, which was in the Russian sector, became the centre for a series of conspiracies intended to lead to insurrection. The conspirators were part of the National Central Committee (CNC) which was divided into two camps, the "whites" and the "reds" (- the latter working for social justice and not solely national independence). Many of the "reds" established contact with Russian revolutionaries, especially within the Russian troops garrisoned in Poland, and at the military academies within Russia. Walery Wroblewski, Jaroslaw Dombrowski and Zygmunt Padlewski made contact with Bakunin, seeking assistance from *Zewla y wola* for an uprising planned for 1863.

Although the uprising took place, it failed for three reasons: *Zewla y wola* did not have the resources or ability to help to extent that was necessary (although Bakunin did try to raise a brigade of volunteers in Finland to support the rising); the "white" faction took control of the CNC preventing any effective establishment of links between the predominantly military CNC and the artisans and workers of the large towns; and thirdly, although links had been established with the Russian revolutionaries, the Poles felt unwilling to wait for the outbreak of the social revolution in Russia before they made their move.

Dombrowski was arrested after the rising, but while being transported to Siberia escaped from a transit prison in Moscow, with the help of some Russians, before fleeing to Paris via

St. Petersburg. He was killed on the barricades of the Paris Commune.

Walery Wroblewski, another Commune survivor, and like Dombrowski, was a member of the First International. Despite his early association with Bakunin he sided with Marx during the break-up of the International (to which he was at one time secretary). It is a little confusing, as both Wroblewski and Dombrowski are fairly common Polish names - there was an active anarchist in Cracow during the same period, and Dombrowski is often muddled, with (1) another J. Dombrowski, a general of a slightly older generation, (2) another J. Dombrowski, active within the Polish Communist Party, (3) Teofil Dombrowski, who also took part in the 1863 uprising, fought in the Paris Commune, escaped, coming to London in 1872. He took an active role in the First International, and was co-editor of a paper called *Pravda* until he mysteriously (?) disappeared in 1878.

Zygmunt Padlewski (son of Wladyslaw Padlewski; a leader of the 1830-31 Polish uprising) worked hardest at the alliance with *Zewla y wola*, becoming an organiser within the army. In January 1863 he took an active part in fighting around Plocku, but in April he went to Warsaw in an attempt to resolve the friction between "reds" and "whites" within the CNC. On his return to Plocku in May he was arrested by the Russians and shot.



E. J. Abramowski



Z. Padlewski

The first organised anarchist pressure was within the *Second Proletariat*. In 1884 the Russian authorities arrested many members of the socialist organisation *Proletariat*; although characterised as anarchists, the group had links with the Russian People's Will and with socialist Lavrov, and was not in fact anarchist, but the forerunner of modern Polish socialism.

At the initiative of anarchists Ludwik Kulczycki, who was in contact with a group called *Class Fight* and M. Kasprzak, who had broad contacts among the workers, the *Second Proletariat* was created in 1888. This group was predominantly, although not completely, anarchist, containing among its membership people such as Machajski, Abramowski, Adam Dombrowski, Stanislaw Padlewski. It was active in the organisation of the first May Day demonstrations in Poland in 1890.

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Solzhenitsyn

The very fact that the three chapters belong to different books gives Lenin in Zurich a disjointed form, and conviction is not increased by Solzhenitsyn's clumsy use of phantasmagoria devices to put Lenin in hallucinatory contact with some of his less reputable associates; Dostoevsky did that kind of thing so much more adeptly. Indeed, one is inclined to value the book less for the rough-hewn fiction it presents, or for the almost vindictively disparaging picture of Lenin that is painted, than for its historical insights, which Solzhenitsyn, like Tolstoy, is not in the least afraid to state explicitly.

Solzhenitsyn's attitude towards history appears to differ from Tolstoy's, in that *War and Peace* presents the great actors in world events as self-deceiving puppets of mass forces, while Solzhenitsyn tends to stress the role of individuals, even if they are often hidden movers, in determining the course of history. Indeed, one of his ways of belittling Lenin is to suggest how important other individuals - such as the historically obscure multiple agent Parvus - became in

determining the Russian revolution, and how much shrewder were their insights, so that in the end one feels that Lenin is the only real puppet in the whole situation, catapulted into power by events and people whom he almost alone does not understand, so immersed is he in the petty intrigues of the revolutionary expatriate's day-to-day existence. One gets no real sense of Lenin's cold ruthlessness which played so great a part in shaping his and Russia's destiny, and one has an uneasy feeling that Solzhenitsyn has little real conception of the psychology of power; an irritable revolutionary pedant of the kind he portrays during most of his narrative could hardly have succeeded in the appalling way that Lenin did.

Perhaps in the larger volumes to which they really belong these chapters will take on more meaning than they do now, arbitrarily picked out of context and joined together. As it is, the best parts of Lenin in Zurich are the two glossaries of names, prepared by the author and the translator respectively, which provide a fascinating gallery of Russian Marxist dissidents in 1914-17, a surprising number of whom vanished in 1936-7 when Stalin purged the Old Bolsheviks.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

Poland

In 1891 Stanislaw Padlewski went to Paris to attempt the assassination of a Russian general, Siliwiestrow. The attempt failed, and Padlewski left France for the USA where he committed suicide in San Antonio on October 28 1891. Stanislaw Padlewski was born near Kiev in December 1857, and became an active member of the workers' movement. At the age of 19 he took part in the fighting in Bosnia; by 1879 he was living in Cracow where he was arrested for his activities and deported over the Austro-Hungarian border. He went to Switzerland and made contact with Polish socialist exiles there. In 1882 the Geneva Socialist Centre sent him to Poznan to assist in its organisational activities, but he was imprisoned by the Prussian authorities until 1886, when he was released only to be imprisoned again - this time by the Russians. Padlewski's assassination attempt led to a split within Second Proletariat when the United Workers group was formed.

In August 1992 another member of the Second Proletariat attempted to assassinate the Russian Governor General of Warsaw, I.W. Hurko; this attempt (by Michael Zielinski, author of an 11-page pamphlet Katechizm rewolucjonisty) also failed.

Members of the Second Proletariat took part in the work of the First International and played an active role in the creation of a genuine socialist movement in Poland, until in 1893 it split into three groups, some members joining socialist (as opposed to anarchist) organisations, some members dropping out altogether, and a residue going on to take part in the formation of the Third Proletariat. This last group included Ludwik Kulczycki, activist founder of Second Proletariat and a psychologist. Kulczycki (often known as Mieczyslaw Mazowieki - most anarchists used more than one name because of the clandestine nature of their activities - S. Padlewski had at least four or five!) studied in Warsaw and Geneva, and first published his revolutionary propaganda in 1886. In 1895 he was imprisoned for his activities and sent to Siberia, but escaped in 1899, when he went to Lvov, where he began publishing his more academic work and founded Third Proletariat. After 1907 he played a less central role although during World War I he was a member of the organisation Activists. After 1920 his ideas moved closer to those of the National Party of Workers, although he remained an anarchist, a strong practical (?) streak led him to cooperate with people of other tendencies.

Between 1918 and 1932 he was a professor in a school for political studies and often lectured in the higher school for journalists in Warsaw. He died in August 1941, his main writings included:

Outline of Sociology (1900)
History of the Socialist Movement in the Russian Sector of Poland (1905)
Russian Revolution (4 vols) (1909-11)
Today's Anarchism (1902)
Rules of Sociology (1923)

Abramowski

EDWARD JOZEF Abramowski, community worker, philosopher, psychologist and creator of the Polish cooperative movement, was born on 17 August 1868 in Stefaninie (Ukraine). While still a youth he made contact with the First Proletariat and became an active member of the Second Proletariat, after returning to Poland from three years (1886-1889) of study in Geneva.

In 1891 he created the short-lived workers' party Unity and published his first writings, from a Marxist viewpoint.

He attended a conference in Paris in 1892 and was elected to the Committee of the Society for Polish Socialists in Exile, an organisation which was the forerunner of the Polish Socialist Party. Between 1894 and 1897 his ideas evolved away from Marxism, and picked up influences of French syndicalism, cooperation, and Kropotkin's anarchism.

In 1900 he left Paris and went to Poland again and started his agitation, founding a number of ethical circles, and the beautifully named Commune for the Soul as well as societies for the propagation of cooperativism in 1906. During this period he was advocating a general strike against the government. Abramowski believed that social freedom would be won through an ethical movement - a moral revolution that began within the shell of capitalism and would lead to social revolution. The tools of the revolution were the unions, and the cooperative movement, both voluntary associations for mutual aid.

The last years of his life were devoted to sociological research, and lecturing in psychology in Warsaw (he was creator of the Warsaw Psychology Institute) where he died in 1918. His major works included:

Conspiracy against the Government (1905)
Social Ideas of Cooperation (1907)
What is Art? (1898)

After the Russian Revolution many anarchists went to live in Russia, fighting against the whites, and the Polish movement was further depleted with the growth of syndicalism, which attracted many militants. I know only a little of the history of Polish syndicalism, but that which I will relate here is of interest.

The Polish Syndicalist Movement was known until 1941 as Freedom and People, a clandestine organisation created in 1939 by a core of activists in the ZMP, an organisation formed from the Patriotic Workers' Party (remember that "patriotism" is something different in Poland) and the Institute for Culture and Learning in Galicia.

Its main aim was to fight the Germans and regain independence for Poland, but its programme outlined far-reaching social reforms and was based on worker self-government. The membership was composed predominantly of young workers, students and apprentices who formed themselves into "hundreds of youth." There were also groups of school students known as "poppies." In 1942 and 1944 its membership was increased by alliances with renegade groups from other political organisations. The movement took an active part in the Second World War, although it was opposed to the government in exile, and had its own armed resistance, which went by the initials ZET. ZET carried out at least 35 successful actions, undertaking sabotage acts in the "Third Reich" territories (i.e. those parts of Poland considered integral parts of Germany), and playing a major part in the 1944 Warsaw uprising. It also formed a working alliance with the underground "Country's Army" and "People's Army."

The movement, which ceased to exist in 1945, had several papers, Akcja, Sprawa, Czyu, Sprawa Chtopska and Mysl Mtodych. Prominent activists included Leon Bigosinski, S. Bukowiecki, Stanislaw Kapuscinski, Stefan Kapuscinski, Stefan Szewdowski, J. Szuriy, K. Zakrzewski and Jerzy Ztotowski.

There were, I know, other syndicalist organisations. Stefan Kapuscinski was a member of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Work (syndicalist trade union federation) between 1928 and 1930. Between 1930 and 1939 he was on the Central Committee for Trade Unions (like the TUC) and a member of the Silesian regional parliament, before reverting to syndicalism with the outbreak of World War II, when he became a member of the Central Committee of Polish Syndicalists and a general commandant (?) for action groups. He was arrested by the Nazis and shot on May 29, 1943 in Warsaw.

Zapatista