

MAY 28 '77

VOLUME 38 No 10

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TWO ANARCHISTS in Huddersfield have been held by police under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA). It was originally given out that they had been arrested for shoplifting, so the outside world knew nothing about the connection with the PTA until they had been held for 5 days incommunicado. The story finally appeared on the front page of the Huddersfield Examiner on Monday, 16 May and in the national press that Wednesday.

Ronan was picked up in Northern Ireland three years ago on charges of bank robbery and the murder of a policeman. A closed tribunal found him guilty but the charges were quashed on appeal on the basis of dubious identification evidence. However, he had served 18 months in Long Kesh (May 1974 - December '75).

Since coming to England Ronan and Iris have been involved in the Murrays' defence and are well known as anarchists in West Yorkshire. They have been pick-

The determination of the State not to let go of such a useful piece of ammunition became evident when, despite initial assurances on Jenkins' part that it was temporary and even short-term, and despite the drop in the number of bombing incidents, a new and in some ways stronger Act came into force in March last year.

## TERRORISM ACT...

The two, Iris Mills and Ronan Bennett, are connected with the Anarchist Black Cross. Iris was released last week without being charged, but Ronan is still being detained under the PTA as we go to press, while an exclusion order is served against him. He has four days in which to lodge 'representations' with the Home Office against the order. This has been duly done (through a lawyer connected with the National Council for Civil Liberties, and a hearing is expected this week, probably Tuesday, 24th. The hearing will be 'blind', as in the case of Agee and Hosenball; the specific charges will be unknown and the 'defence' has therefore to be vague and wide-ranging. At present Ronan is being held in solitary confinement at Leeds prison, and is allowed only one quarter-hour visit per day, either from Iris or from his legal 'friend'. This and the vague nature of the charges must have a bad effect on his morale.

However, aware of the amount of support building up for him outside, Ronan has decided to fight the order as far as the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg - if only enough money is forthcoming. If the case does get as far as Strasbourg (and it would be fought under article 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights, concerning right to a fair trial) it would, say the NCCL, be the first time a PTA exclusion order is contested in an international court. The NCCL is giving its support to Ronan, along with the various solidarity groups, in fighting the order.

ed on for this reason. Return to Northern Ireland would be personally dangerous to Ronan, as his libertarian attitudes and history have made him unpopular with all three sides (IRA, UVF and police).

The usual amount of police irregularity has gone on around the arrests. Neighbours say that the police entered the house with a key before the arrests took place, and when Iris was released she was given a key that wasn't hers. After the arrests a friend from Black Cross phoned and the Special Branch answered with the words 'I'm Jeff, I'm looking after the dog.' On calling round the friend was arrested and held for two days. At present the phone to the Holm firth support group has so many clicks and buzzes you can hardly hear yourself think.

### Anarchist link to terrorist Act couple

A BELFAST man and an English woman who are connected with the Anarchist Black Cross movement have

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Under this Act a person may be held for interrogation for seven days (in practice often longer) without charges being brought, and 'reasonable force' may be used to obtain fingerprints and any other data. The suspect can then be held for at least five days longer while the Home Secretary decides whether to sign the exclusion order. As mentioned above, excludees and their lawyers have no right to know the evidence against them. They

## ... turned on anarchists

It is worth remembering that the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provision) Bill was passed after the appalling bombing of two pubs in Birmingham in 1974 in which 20 people were killed and many others severely injured. Although similar bills had been drafted before that time, in the wave of hysteria that followed it took a 'panic-stricken mob' of MPs (in the words of one of them) only a single night to slip through the Commons one of the most repressive pieces of legislation in post-war British history. And it took the Lords only the next morning.

The new Act brought to Britain a taste of what the Northern Irish have been experiencing for 50 years. In its booklet on the two Acts the NCCL shows the vicious circle it has brought on: 'The use of repressive legislation exacerbated the violence which continued and spread to the mainland - followed by the emergency legislation which helped create it.'

have no right to a public or even formal hearing, no right to know on what basis representations made to an 'adviser' are successful or - as in most cases - not.

In addition, under the new Act of 1976 UK citizens may be excluded from Britain. It is illegal not to inform on terrorist offences (the right to silence is thus dispensed with); to finance or in any other way support acts of terrorism of any kind in the UK. It can ban any organisation suspected of being involved in or of encouraging or supporting terrorism in the UK and connected with Northern Irish affairs. And terrorism itself is defined with convenient vagueness by the State as 'the use of violence for political ends.'

Since the PTA was rushed through, and up to 2nd May, the Home Office says that 2551 people have been detained under the Act (mainly in England and Wales). Of these only 112 have been charged and only 11 of these were for offences under the Act. 97 exclusion orders have been signed and 83 people forcibly removed.

### Irishman 'in dark' over exclusion

An Irishman appealing against an exclusion order under the Prevention of Terrorism Act was in the same posi-

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## PTA cont.

mainly to Northern Ireland. 19 have made representations to the Home Office and 5 orders have been revoked. Of the 60 people removed to Northern Ireland only 15 have been subsequently charged with criminal offences. In other words, out of over 2,500 examples of police harassment only a tiny proportion of people have been charged.



The vast majority of detainees are released within 48 hours.

The NCCL has compiled valuable documentation on the cases of excludees who, for no reasons known to them, have lost their homes, and jobs, and had their families broken - and all at the whim of the Home Secretary who may not be challenged and against whom the courts have no authority. (Even people acquitted of all charges by juries are known to have been deported with State exclusion orders after literally stepping from the courtroom).

The Act has brought personal tragedy, it has strengthened the political role of the police and enabled them to go on pure information-gathering "fishing trips" of considerable length. It has engendered a climate of fear which has been almost entirely ignored by a media themselves subject to it. Not only have meetings on Irish unity and other Irish issues been called off, but self-censorship by both BBC and IBA has resulted in the failure to broadcast controversial programmes and interviews already prepared. The treatment of Irish prisoners in British gaols has been passed over in silence. The hunger strike and death of Frank Stagg was reported by the media, unavoidably, but the reasons behind them were not made known to the public.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act, the Official Secrets Act, the conspiracy laws, the forthcoming Criminal Trespass Act (not to mention the implications of the whole nuclear question) gives the British State a many-pronged arm against the population of unparalleled viciousness in modern times. It is a direct challenge to the struggle of people towards self-government. It therefore comes as no surprise that anarchists have been caught up in the machinery of repression. As the most consistent, the most logical and the most implacable enemies of State power we must turn the exclusion of Ronan Bennett, no less than the Official Secrets deportations and the coming criminalisation of political and social activism in general, into a campaign of opposition, civil disobedience and direct action on an unprecedented scale.

G + D

## PLUTONIUM PLUTOCRACY

### A Window On Windscale

A VERY successful meeting organised by Friends of the Earth at Friends Meeting House, Euston on Saturday 14th May was virtually ignored by the press.

In the subsequent weeks, however, there have been many references to its subject material. There was some sensational journalism in *The Daily Express* about the ease with which an atomic bomb could be made and the dangers of plutonium going astray for that purpose. This last, however, apart from the inherent radioactive hazards, shows the social and political dangers of a nuclear policy. There is no doubt that a nuclear energy policy can only result in a totalitarian state, employing an armed police with unlimited powers.

The level of discussion on the subject, whilst giving an impression of obtaining democratic consent, is designed to ease the progress of the nuclear lobby.

Although the Chairman of the enquiry has stated that it will be within the widest possible limits, it is unlikely to go as far as questioning the basis of industrial capitalist society, with its profligate waste rendering such a dangerous form of energy production necessary.

The dangerous sort of mentality that is reflected in the American experiment with monkeys, to see how long a soldier can survive and operate his weapons after becoming a victim of a nuclear attack, is the same mentality that controls our society and is being entrusted with these dangerous technical proposals.

In this respect it is worth quoting Bakunin for the second issue in succession:

"... if one can be more or less sure that no scientist would dare to treat a man as a rabbit is treated, it is always to be feared that the scientific profession, if permitted, will subject living men to scientific experiments, perhaps less cruel, but which would not be less disastrous for its human victims. If scientists cannot carry out experiments on individual human bodies, they will demand no less than that they be carried out on the social body, and this is what at all costs must be prevented" - Bakunin

For, as the article in which this quotation appears, continues to say:

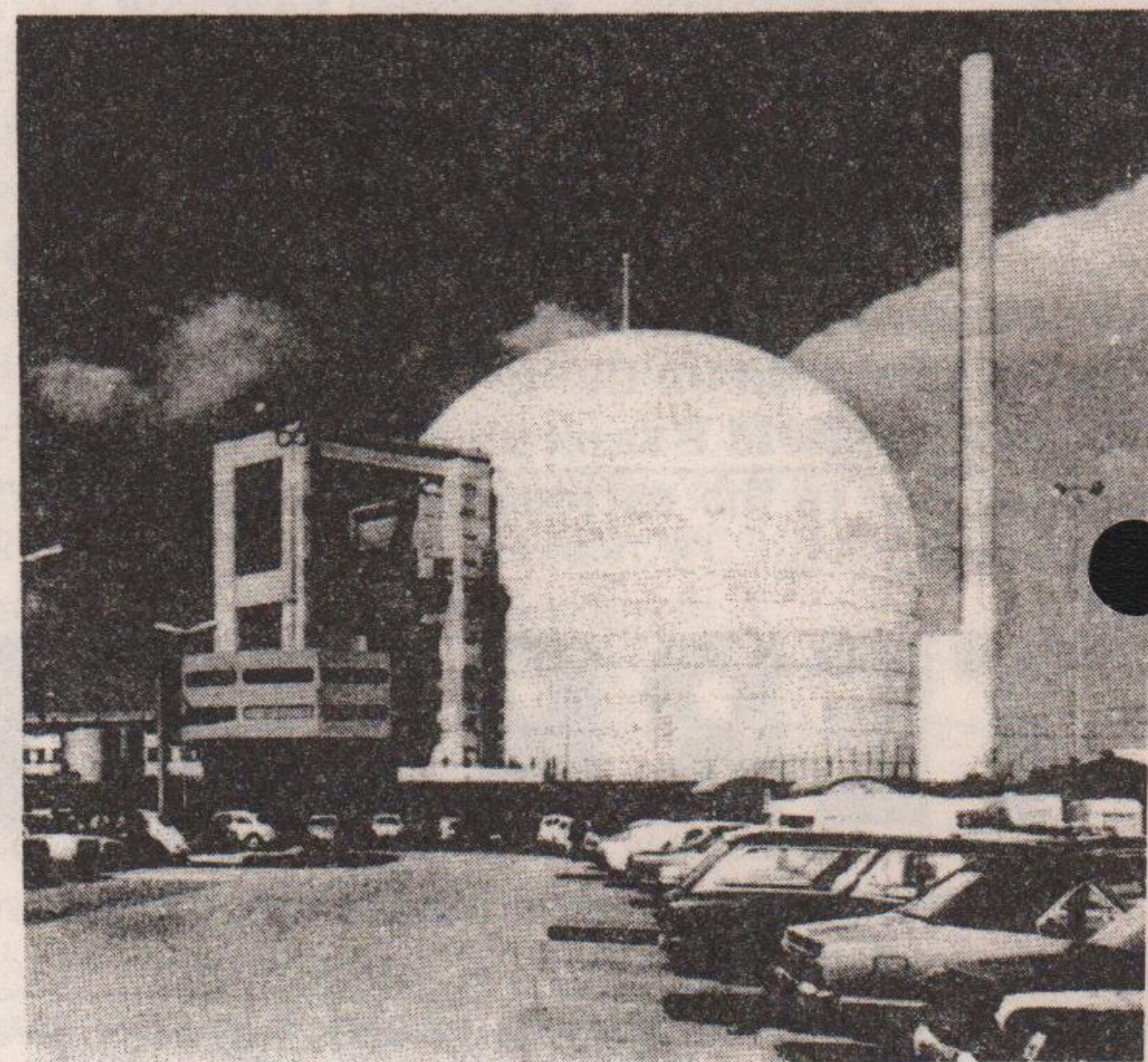
"... But though the social effects of full scientific "freedom" (the freedom of an elite equipped with esoteric knowledge to exercise total power) are by implication far greater still, still few people question it. On the contrary, it is often placed squarely among the classic human rights demands, on a par with full artistic freedom."

For the inquiry, no doubt, will attempt to allay our reasonable fears and to invoke the short term interests of ordinary people. Experts blinkered by their own expertise will dominate the proceedings by their obtuseness.

The real issues will no doubt be submerged in a welter of technical jargon. As one of the questioners observed at the Friends of the Earth meeting, the establishment can always get tame scientists and technicians to tell people what they need.

## International Action

In USA there is a movement called "The Clamshell Alliance", BOX 962, Seabrook, New Hampshire, USA. People occupied a nuclear power site and 1,414 were arrested. In France at Malville there are more occupations planned. At Whyl in the German Alsace region long occupation resulted in a court decision to abandon the scheme. In Sweden, the nuclear issue resulted in the defeat of the social democrats who had been in power for many decades.



## Who Are The Terrorists ?

Nuclear power was developed by governments to use as a weapon of terror. The US government was not content with dropping one bomb it immediately dropped another. Governments are successful terrorists, their terrorism is overt and in some cases consent is drummed up.

The Israeli elections show clearly that governments are successful terrorists. People cannot trust the established order with such a devastatingly dangerous form of power.

Modern political power is based on short term expediency and as one MP at the meeting reported, when he asked an official of a government department why the standards of radioactive tolerance are lower here, he was told that we are not as wealthy as the United States and can not afford such high standards.

In the next issue of Freedom we propose to deal with the subject of nuclear energy in more detail.

Make no mistake, the decisions have been made, the problem for the establishment is to persuade people to agree with them and to maintain a democratic facade. That is the function of this inquiry.

Alan Albon

## FLAG

There will be a meeting of the London Federation at the Roebuck Pub (Tottenham Court Road) on Saturday, May 28th at 1.p.m. The aim is to set up a Federation covering the south east, to link with other federations, such as that already well established in the North West and the new one in the Midlands. All comrades are strongly urged to attend, whether as individuals or as group delegates.



# EVERY MAN HAS HIS PRICE

corruption

RECENT REVELATIONS of alleged bribery by the British Leyland Motor Co. for buying their products follow closely upon the Old Bailey trial and harsh sentencing of detectives for receiving bribes for not deterring people from buying pornographic products. Throughout the world and history the outstretched greasy palm has been the rampant sign of preparedness to do a deal—every man has his price!

Probably the builders of the Pyramids got a rake-off from the brick supplies; they, in turn, paid off the architect who probably paid some court functionary for the job. History is full of bribe takers and givers from Warren Hastings to Sidney Stanley, from Judge 'Mountain' Lauder who 'fixed' the World Baseball series to the gang who sold the U.S. naval oil reserves. The United States is regarded as the modern fountainhead of bribery and corruption. This is mere professional jealousy—opportunity is a fine thing and the U.S. is the land of opportunity. The newly-risen liberated states have provided ample opportunity for 'dash', as bribes are succinctly called. Even the Soviet Union has not eradicated bribery; the growth of bureaucracy and the proliferation of laws are good growing ground for bribes and bribe-taking. Even the fierceness of sentencing (12 years for the London detectives) is only evidence of the increasing frequency and difficulty of detection.

Francis Bacon, Lord Viscount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England (1561-1626) wrote in his *Utopia New Atlantis* (1624) of a notary who, when offered some extra payment declined because "one must not be twice paid for one labour" since he was paid sufficient salary by the State. This was indeed Utopia since in 1621 Bacon himself was charged and convicted of taking bribes to settle a court case. Bacon wrote to King James, "And for the briberies and gifts wherewith I am charged, when the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart in a depraved habit of taking rewards that perverted justice: however I may be frail and partake of the abuse of the times." Bacon was sentenced to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure and dismissed and debarred from public office. Macaulay wrote of his trial, "If he was convicted, it was because it was impossible to acquit him without offering the grossest outrage to justice and common sense." Such was the common sense—or abuse—of the times that Bacon was released after a few days by the King's pleasure, possibly since he was no longer in a position to solicit or receive bribes.

The British Leyland case is not a straightforward case of the exposure of bribe-taking. The source of disclosure is corrupt, the occasion is prejudiced and the evidence is admittedly counterfeit. However, leaving aside the fact that the circulation-hungry popular press, fighting for survival, is avid for sensational exposures and that it is fashionably right-wing to denounce a nationalized (profit-making) industry, especially British Leyland, a favourite target. That the published evidence is an admitted and obvious forgery may be a fail-safe device since its admitted author has already written a report upon commercial practices which urges "a tightening up of the manner in which commissions are paid and the security surrounding the operation".

The *Guardian* states (20.5.77) "Business opinion yesterday had it that the dividing line between the moral and immoral is almost impossible to codify as Leyland seems to have been attempting. Indeed the suggested normal practice is that bribes, backhanders and other products of the 'slush funds' are permissible precisely as long as head office knows nothing about them. One manager, 'unattributable' says the *Guardian*, said "You sack a man if he is found to have given a bribe, and you sack him if he fails to make the necessary profit which only bribes will produce."

The next day the *Guardian* quoted with an honest realism (or cynicism) only to be expected of Latins a remark by Dr. Giovanni Agnelli, head of Fiat, that his company had declared £2½ millions in unspecified payments on its total sales in the western world of £8,000 millions. He said these payments were made outside Europe and the United States. He commented, says the *Guardian*, "If an order was substantial and the survival of the company was at stake I would surely take into consideration other ways to make the offer smoother."

Dr. Agnelli accepts that bribery is the 'abuse of the times' and big business merely partakes of that abuse. It is a persistent illusion that we live in the best of all worlds, that scandals rarely occur, that we only notice them because some equally rapsallion newspaper or politician exposes them for his own ends—often we accuse the newspaper or politician of making the situation worse by exposing them. (Witness the sad career of *Private Eye*.) A. J. Ayer once wrote of a similar exposure "But the point is that they are scandals. People are shocked and indignant when such things come to light, because they do not expect them to happen. If it were the rule, rather than the exception, for politicians to feather their own nests, for the police to fabricate evidence, or

for public officials to take bribes, we might think ourselves ill-governed, but we should not feel the sense of outrage that we now do when our standards of public life are violated. We should try to come to terms with the unsatisfactory system, or else take radical and possibly violent steps to change it." Anarchists are not shocked and indignant at such exposures, nor are they outraged, nor like Dr. Agnelli and other businessmen do they 'come to terms with the unsatisfactory system'.

Brian Inglis in his *Private Conscience and Morality* (1964) quotes Ayer and states that "the English are ceasing to be susceptible to those fits of morality... They are prepared to be titillated by scandal; but they can no longer be shocked. In so far as this reflects a growing tolerance of human weakness (and of human differences in taste) it is all to the good... But when it comes to tolerating the growth of an authoritarian executive, which can disguise corruption and legalise the self-interest of a class, without having to worry about the possibility of a democratic resistance in Parliament, that is a very different matter; tolerance becomes a form of appeasement; a hazard to the community."

Inglis goes on to quote Conor Cruse O'Brien on the specific subject of corruption in developing countries. O'Brien says "Personal bribe-taking, although obviously a serious vice in an official, can be less grave than a form of corruption much more general at various periods among servants of the Empire; that vicarious form of corruption which consists in being an unquestionable agent of collective rapacity. Thus Sir Charles Trevelyan was, according to the conventional view, an upright civil servant. It would have been far better for the Irish people who were unfortunate enough during the famine of the 1840s, to have their fate decided and sealed by Sir George if he had been a drunkard and a bribe-taker with some compassion in his heart and less complacency about 'iron laws' which enriched those whom he served."

Bribery is not corruption of the man but corruption of the institution. It has been said by some that the Spanish and Italian versions of totalitarianism were humanly preferable to the German version since the latter was incorruptible. And was not Robespierre, the bloody tyrant of the French Revolution, known as the sea-green incorruptible?

If bribery and bribe-accepting (it takes two) is the abuse of the times it needs "radical and possibly violent steps to change it".

JACK ROBINSON



# EAST ANGLIA LIBERTARIANS

ON MAY 7th I attended a meeting of East Anglian Libertarians at Norwich. This report is based on minutes sent to me by Richard, who starts tongue-in-cheek by saying, "By the time we reached Norwich we were a 100,000 strong; well nearly." At all events, people came from Cambridge and from Cambridge University, Essex University, and from Colchester and Norwich groups.

The meeting started with a discussion of experiences of the Essex people in occupations. Debate centred on democracy in such a situation, the role of committees (spontaneous, or "suggested" by politicians with a blueprint?); conflict of individuals and the committees, differing levels of 'consciousness', what conceptions of the purpose of the occupation were held by the people involved.

Essex may write something about this in the next East Anglian Newsletter. The last Newsletter was produced by Cambridge, the next will be produced by Norwich.

There was discussion on the Health Service and the State. The resistance to the threatened closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital was seen as not simply defensive but as bringing struggle (and medical care) back to the community. Some participants felt that we should aim at a fundamental critique of society rather than discuss separate issues during this meeting. Ron felt that the priority was to define the role of the E.A.L. Network.

Alan put forward a critique of medicare health services as part of capitalism; our concept should be not one of state dependency but of alternative organisation to cope with problems. This led to discussion on ideas of self-management and the building of alternatives now and away from student theoretical discussion groups; remove the "student role" concept in community. The Network is conceived as solidarity amongst libertarians in the area with the newsletter and conferences, and need for purpose.

## Huntingdon Plane Crash

This could be a starting point for some action, as East Anglia is alive with military bases and its population is exposed to further incidents of this kind. Leafletting at the RAF base was proposed so that the anger of local people is not dissipated by official private inquiry. A campaign for a public inquiry could be linked to a broader campaign against militarism.

It was generally felt it would be better to get local people to initiate a campaign (e.g. the Trades Council) and Cambridge said they would make contact. There was a need to gather information about the extent of military establishment in East Anglia which might make it, apart from accidents, a military target. On this basis an alternative inquiry could be held. The idea was put forward of a campaign for the demilitarisation of East Anglia. Those interested please contact C.D.E.A., c/o 41 York Street, Cambridge (with emphasis on research/dissemination of propaganda, etc.).

## CACTL.

Each group has been involved to a certain extent in the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law, yet if we had used the idea of federation/communication we could have compared experiences, tactics and developed a libertarian position. As things stand there is no such position. Cambridge is into legality, civil liberties, etc., Essex' attempts at communicating with the labour movement failed. Norwich is still embryonic but growing. There was a short discussion on reformist and revolutionist aspects of direct action, e.g. factory occupation. It is not easy to make solidarity with the difficulties of gypsies in their individual struggles with locals and councils.

A nationwide protest against high food prices was suggested and several interesting ideas were discussed.

## Forthcoming Events

At the Cambridge Folk Festival in August there will be an anarchist picnic.

Newsletter deadline is June 1st. Articles and news to Libertarian Socialists, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

Aims and Principles are to be discussed at the next meeting. An article as a basis would be welcomed for publication in the Newsletter.

Richard closed his notes with the following comment:

"The (notes) do not represent the views of the network but give an account of the ebb and flow of discussion during the conference. Groups do of course continue to operate autonomously, but the existence of the network will hopefully be more present in people's minds and more communication and joint action result. Attendance at the conference was greater than our first and new contacts were made. The general feeling seemed to be that the E.A. L.N. was viable and growing."

In connection with my own attendance at the conference another matter was brought forcibly to my attention: the public transport famine in the area. I reached Norwich by train and on returning to the station found that there were no trains to the other large towns in East Anglia at 8.15 in the evening. There were no buses either. Consequently I had to hitch-hike to Ipswich. This is a matter that could be researched and taken up—minicab services, etc.

It was a worthwhile expedition.

Alan Albon

We would like more information about squatting outside London, such as pamphlets, press cuttings and general case histories. If you can help, please contact us at the following address: Room 406, Polytechnic of North London, Ladbroke House, Highbury Grove, London N5. Tel: 607-2789 Ext. 5027.

If you want to visit the library it is open roughly between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. weekdays, but ring to check.

## SELF HELP HOUSING RESOURCE LIBRARY

THE squatting movement has become a powerful and effective form of direct action over the past decade. The forces of law and order have responded by propagating an impressive armoury of extravagant myths about squatters.

Local authorities, the police, the courts and the media have all tried to portray squatters as antagonistic or threatening. Cast in the role of political subversives or articulate scroungers, squatters are shown as a threat to the homeless, tenants, owner occupiers, the principles of justice, and, above all, the property owner.

Demands for a tightening up of the law began to appear in 1971 and the Criminal Trespass Bill is currently going through Parliament with only nominal resistance. It comes as a response to well publicised accounts of residential occupiers being displaced by squatters. In fact all these accounts have since proved to be inaccurate, some being complete forgeries such as Ms Elizabeth Harper's letter to the *Times* in July 1975. Some reports also advertised household policies to "insure your home against squatters" at an extra premium of £5.



Various attempts to analyse the political and cultural implications of squatting have been made by journalists, social scientists and by squatters themselves, and many groups have produced their own pamphlets and leaflets.

We are a group of people involved in squatting who are forming a library to maintain a record of the movement which will act as a service to others. The term "self-help" covers licences, housing co-ops, short-life housing groups and housing associations as well as squatters and we hope to gather material on these as well. With the help of ASS (Advisory Service for Squatters) and Release we have accumulated a fairly extensive file of press cuttings from 1971-1977 and there are cuttings about the main events between 1969 and 1971.

↖ (concluded in previous column)



## The Jubilee

# NOT JUST HARMLESS FUN

CONSIDERING the vast resources involved in selling the Silver Jubilee to the public, and the recurrent references to it on TV, radio, in advertisements and in the shops; considering all this, there has been surprisingly little discussion of the matter in the pages of the radical press.\* This is a pity, because the Jubilee is a very interesting and significant phenomenon on all sorts of levels. It is a major propaganda exercise, it is a godsend to the ad-men (how many Special Jubilee Offers have you seen this week in the local supermarket), and it is a good gauge of the distribution of ideas and loyalties which only serve to bind people to the structures which oppress them ("false consciousness" is what our Marxist colleagues call it).

I think the main reason why we have been slow to take up the issue is that royalty really seems a bit of an anachronism, an irrelevance. We are all ready to fight the good fight against capitalism and bureaucracy and imperialism and sexism and racism, but to start fulminating against royalty seems to be investing it with a significance which it does not really have. After all, the Queen doesn't really have any power, does she, she's only a symbol, a figurehead, and thus not really important. We grumble a bit about the size of her salary, and then turn to more pressing matters.

And in doing this we fall into the error of supposing that somehow symbols and figureheads cannot be important, of supposing that it is only "hard" economic or political power which counts. The Queen is "only" a symbol of the nation-state, of national identity and national unity, and as such is a tremendously important political factor. As I am writing in an anarchist paper, I feel sure that I need not indicate the inevitably oppressive nature of the State, the inevitable character of the State as a tool of minority domination over the majority, the inevitably reactionary nature of any ideology which preaches loyalty to the State or identification with the nation. Anything which serves to buttress the continuing ascendancy of the State, and popular acceptance of it, should be taken very seriously. Royalty does just that.

There are several ways in which this function is performed. Firstly, the Queen and royal family are a convenient focal point for nationalist appeals. We all know how the sentiments of nationalism are deliberately maintained, bubbling softly, by the politicians and industrialists and trade union leaders and media: how the 'national interest' is repeatedly invoked in support of a policy or party; how we must 'all pull together' and 'tighten our belts' or 'the country' will go bust. There is, in other words an ongoing process whereby problems and solutions are always discussed in a national framework, whereby it is tacitly assumed that really we are all British and thus all have the same interests.

The presentation of royalty is part of this ongoing process, gently reminding us all the time of the existence of this 'special' family, and thus of the values it symbolises. We see them at horse-shows and functions, we follow the children's progress and love-lives, we read fulsome biographies in glossy magazines. If we are really lucky, we see them in the flesh at some State ceremony.

And gradually, subtly, the idea seeps in that we belong to something ancient and hallowed called 'the nation', and that we have something colourful and ceremonial called 'the State', and that they are closely related to each other and are both very good things.

The mention of ceremony leads on to the second point, concerning royalty as spectacle. We are indebted to the situationists for the valuable and politically significant concept of the spectacle, of the event, which demands from the masses only passive observation, and which consequently saps them of the will and even the ability to act for themselves. Again, royalty is only one factor within the vast showbiz network which captures and dulls the minds of millions each night, but it is a potent factor. Royalty is good TV, the State can always put on a top-class show (there are, in fact, elegant arguments to suggest that the origins of the State may lie precisely in organized ritual). When this expertise is combined with the aura of hallowed tradition which the PR men have managed to construct around royalty, you have a powerful formula. Hundreds of thousands waited in the rain to see the 1952 Coronation, and millions watched it on TV. They didn't have to, remember, but they wanted to see the parade, and the soldiers, and the pretty young Queen.

Which brings us to my last point. The Queen and her family are symbols of the nation-state and, surrounded by the colour and pageantry of their status, are purveyors of the spectacle. But there's a more subtle dimension yet to the issue. The Queen is not only a Queen, but also a human, and the fulsome documentaries on the royal family usually cite as its greatest achievement the way in which it has become closer, more accessible, to 'ordinary people'. We all gasp in admiration at the woman's walkabouts, when she actually talks to us! The implications of this are far-reaching, in that royalty is taking on this 'human face' while still symbolising nationhood and State-power. The new-found closeness to the people is in fact a symbolic expression of the idea that we are indeed involved in the nation and associated in the State, the idea that these have something to offer us, and are not alien realities imposed upon us. This form of oppression is the subtlest of them all - with an ideology like this, who needs armed policemen.

What is more, by virtue of being simultaneously symbol and human, royalty becomes very difficult to attack. If you criticise the symbolic functions, you are met with the objection that the Queen is a very nice lady who works very hard. If you attack on a personal level, say on the question of her massive salary, you are told that it is necessary to uphold her dignity as Head of State. Of course these arguments can be met, but the point is that the whole issue is so subtly constructed as to turn aside any critical approach.

All of these dimensions of modern royalty are being played up greatly in Jubilee Year - books and magazines give us more and more intimate family detail; a whole new industry producing commemorative commodities, from beakers to biros, has appeared; and there will be a steadily swelling tide of pageants and displays and ceremonies and parades as the summer wears on. The point is that it's not all harmless fun. It's very harmful fun indeed, fun which sows seeds of confusion and alienation.

M.SPENCE.

## ... away from it all

Fed Up with the Royal Bores?  
Disgusted with Jubilee Junk?  
Angry at Millions Wasted?

Then join the Real Heirs to the Country at a

### P I C N I C

Bring - Food to Eat and Drink to Share  
Bubbles and Balls  
Kites and Flags and Banners  
Music and Voices  
Skate Boards.

There'll be Clowns, Poets, Celtic Gong,  
Throw the Welly, 3-Legged, Egg-Spoon,  
Raffles, Races, Footy, Tug of War.  
Lots more:

### S I N G L E T O N P A R K

Tuesday, 7 June. 2.00 p.m.

### S W A N S E A

Organised by Y Fflam ddu - Black Flame  
(Swansea Anarchist Group.)

For those who can't make the anti-jubilee picnic at Swansea, a one day seminar on the Russian Revolution is being organised at Ruskin College, Oxford, by the Alternative Culture Committee. Any anarchists interested in joining the fray please contact Bill Wells, Ruskin Hall, Headington, Oxford.



## ULSTER STRIKE

IN POLITICS, nothing succeeds like credibility. The United Unionist Action council strike was a setback for its leaders simply because it failed to cause the intended disruption. People just didn't believe in it, despite the fact that its stated aims - a return of Unionist majority rule in Belfast and a "strengthening" of security - are supported, according to every opinion poll and election, by most Protestants.

Ian Paisley and his friends, Ernest Baird of the United Ulster Unionist Movement, and the Ulster Defence Association, were outmanoeuvred by Roy Mason, who showed more tactical acumen than we've come to expect from British politicians in the Northern Ireland Office. In public, he punctured Paisley's balloon and conceded nothing, though we don't know exactly what he said in private to the handful of workers at the key Ballylumford power station.

The strike wasn't really about fighting the IRA and resuscitating Stormont. It was an attempt to take over the leadership of Unionism by freezing out Harry West of the Official Unionists and William Craig of Vanguard. West represents the old style pre-Civil Rights Unionism, which for fifty years maintained an appearance of monolithic solidarity by catering for the middle class and playing on the fears and frustrations of working class Protestants while being led by land-owning gentry. (Needless to say, the workers came off worst, although slightly better than the Catholics.)

Paisley's Democratic Unionist support has been in the lower middle class, and his flirtation with the paramilitary UDA must have looked like a way of tacking on working class following. The UDA, who have long been forsaken 'by Craig, saw the strike as an opportunity to enter conventional politics. The choice between welfare work and shooting Catholics must be a limited and somewhat frustrating one.

Paisleyism's mixture of hell-fire religion and siege politics may be fanatical, but beyond that constituency he's viewed with deep suspicion and distaste, not only by respectable Orangemen and traditional Unionists. Even the UDA don't subscribe to his fan club. The hard men under the leadership of Andy Tyrie (who with his dark glasses and Zapata moustache, looks like a Chicago gangster), might have wanted to use Paisley as a stepping stone, but UDA moderates were reluctant to join in.

If the widespread determination to get to work in the face of intimidation signified anything other than a reluctance to resort once more to primus cooking and candles, it showed that most Protestants would rather not see Paisley as the leader of Unionist opinion. What they would like instead is rather more nebulous.

It was a political game which the British won, as far as they could. However, one aspect is intriguing. The strike suggested how easily an industrial society can be disrupted.

The highly automated port of Larne, which handles a third of Ulster's trade, was shut for almost two weeks because 35 men were UUAC supporters. At one point, so the story goes, only seven workers were keeping Ballylumford going, aided by management and engineers. The Belfast shipyard, whose workers voted massively not to walk out, lost two thirds of its labour force because of a rumour of intimidation. In a small country, made smaller by sectarian division and local paramilitary mafia, it's very easy to frighten people.

Generally, people want quiet, they want to earn a living for their family and stay alive. (In this sense there really is an acceptable level of violence.) People will usually accept what is presented as a fait accompli if the means of rejecting it are too difficult - and they would have accepted the consequences of the UUAC strike if it had been as effective as the UWC strike in 1974. This is the foundation of political power, whether it be the power of terrorism, or the power of Westminster.

Two footnotes: What were the strike leaders doing while their men were 'persuading' shops and pubs to close. Some UDA leaders were to be seen slaking their thirst in the Europa hotel. And did Ernest Baird's chemists close. 'By arrangement' with the UUAC, they stayed open, and they didn't just supply prescriptions.

Robert Johnstone

## South London

The inaugural meeting of the South London group's public platform went off well with a steady state attendance of about 30. The meeting will continue, on Saturdays from about 3.00 p.m. (with an exception in the case of June 4th - most of us will be escaping from London). All are welcome, please phone to confirm: 622 8961 or 672 5681.

## FARE FIGHT

London Transport have escalated their reaction to the "Fare Fight" campaign. First, they took to sending forms saying: "Your credit has been withdrawn" to anybody who had handed in a deferred payment slip. Now they have sued one of the leaders of the campaign, Piers Corbyn for £ 9.95. The costs of the prosecution are estimated at over £ 10,000. Fare Fight intends to appeal against the court decision and to launch a new campaign against the 15 percent fare rise that is scheduled for July.

## POLICE CAUSE CANCER

Inhabitants of Forest Hill, South London, are objecting to a new 60 ft radio mast in the area. The mast would be a fourth for the local police transmitter. The locals claim that waves from the mast are causing increased cancer risk in the neighbourhood.

## Midlands Federation

AT AN inaugural conference held at Warwick University on Saturday, 14 May the guidelines for a Midlands Anarchist Federation were laid down. The purpose of the Federation is initially twofold: to provide coordination and joint action of campaigns (with the dissemination of information which this entails) and to provide a framework for the development of anarchist groups throughout the Midlands.

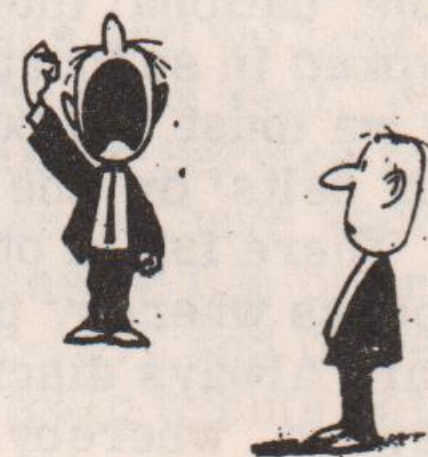
The groups represented at this conference were Leicester, Birmingham, Coventry, Leamington and the university groups, and we shall be contacting other groups in the Midlands area with a view to holding a second conference on Saturday, 25 June at Warwick University (overnight accommodation is available). We urge all groups interested in working with us to get in contact at the address given below. The area we envisaged covering was from Oxford and Cambridge in the south to Sheffield in the north.

The groups at present in the Federation came together naturally during the Murrays campaign when the advantages of both joint action (as in the occupation of Amnesty in London) and simultaneous action in different towns became apparent. It was felt that regular Federation meetings would allow action to be taken in the event of an issue like the Murrays case arising again; for instance, it would eliminate some of the long delay between when the Murrays were first arrested and when the campaign got under way. It would also allow easy diffusion of ideas and information and facilities.

It is to be hoped that other areas which do not at the moment have regional federations will see the advantages which this has and form them where possible: if we do not contact your regional federation, please let us know. The more we can do to foster communication between the various groups the better. In this way we can move towards a national organization built up from committed groups who are prepared to work together.

CONTACT: Steve Feller, 7 Waverley Road, Kenilworth, Warwickshire

subscribe





# OBITUARY:

## Dr. W. GREY WALTER

Our previous Review supplement carried an article on mental illness which referred to the work of Dr. Grey Walter. We were very sorry to learn of Dr. Walter's death that same week. The following memoir gives some information on the work mentioned by Geoffrey Barfoot as well as a biographical outline. Our sympathies go out to his son, our comrade and contributor, Nicolas Walter.

DR. W. GREY WALTER, the neurologist who was well-known for his pioneering work in electroencephalography and who was openly sympathetic to the anarchist movement, died suddenly at his home in Bristol on 6th May.

William Grey Walter was born in Kansas City, USA on 19 February 1910. His father was the British journalist Karl Walter, who had been active in the European anarchist movement a few years earlier, and his mother was the American journalist Margaret Hardy. He was brought to England during the First World War, and was educated at Westminster School, where he specialised in classics and divinity. But he read natural sciences at King's College, Cambridge, where he was elected to the semi-secret society of the Apostles and involved in the Philby-Burgess Maclean circle, and where he won first-class honours in the physiology tripos in 1931.

His postgraduate research was on the physiology of the nervous system. He worked for a time in association with Pavlov on conditioned reflexes, and then he became interested in the discoveries of Hans Berger in Germany about the electrical activity of the brain—a new area of neurology which was given the name "electroencephalography". After working under E. D. Adrian in Cambridge and under F. L. Golla in London, in 1939 he became director of research at the Burden Neurological Institute in Bristol where he worked until he retired in 1975.

He took a leading part in the early work which showed that electroencephalography had value both as a source of knowledge about brain physiology and as a method of diagnosis in brain pathology. He helped to distinguish the various types of electrical rhythms produced by the brain, and to use this information in such clinical work as the location of tumours, the identification of epilepsy, and the detection of some kinds of mental instability. As a result he was involved in such methods of treatment as electro-convulsive therapy and leucotomy, although he supported their use only in extreme cases of severe illness and distress.

He helped to found several societies and journals in his area of neuro-

logy, and he was a frequent contributor to international conferences, especially in the United States and the Soviet Union. After the Second World War he became a successful lecturer and broadcaster, and was best known to the general public for his ingenious electro-mechanical robots which were seen on television and shown at the Festival of Britain in 1951 and for his many appearances on the Brains Trust.

Apart from his technical writing, he produced two books for lay readers—*The Living Brain* (1953), a popular account of electro-encephalography from the vantage-point of his own work; and *Further Outlook* (1956), a science fiction novel expressing his utopian vision of a libertarian society. Politically he belonged to the left, being a Communist fellow-traveller during the 1930s and 1940s, and an anarchist fellow-traveller during the 1950s and 1960s; he supported the nuclear disarmament movement, and was a member of the Bristol Committee of 100. He was an occasional contributor to libertarian papers, and often expressed libertarian opinions in the media; but he was at most a philosophical anarchist with little taste or time for politics, and saw anarchism as a rational rather than as a revolutionary idea.

He was a lifelong atheist, but his positive philosophy was hedonist rather than humanist. He began as a materialist, but tended towards mystical ideas—especially after suffering brain damage in a road accident in 1970, from which he never fully recovered and which was the cause of his early death.

According to his obituary in *The Times*, "Although he had a fine flair for discovery, similar in some ways to the nineteenth-century scientists, much of his work was successful because of a tenacity of purpose coupled with a technical ability and ingenuity which few of his contemporaries could match" (9 May). And according to his obituary in the *Daily Telegraph*, he "was one of the most brilliant and versatile scientists in the field of neurology" (10 May). He will certainly be remembered for his ability to combine imaginative speculation and practical experimentation in one of the most significant areas of scientific progress during the mid-twentieth century, and also for his model of the brain as an electrical control system on cybernetic principles. Outside the specialised area of neurology, he will be remembered for his frequent insistence that the most efficient systems are not centralised but decentralised, and depend not on the exercise of authority but on the exchange of information.

He was married three times, and had three sons, of whom the eldest is Nicolas Walter, a frequent contributor to *Freedom* and other anarchist papers.

A. F.

## "COMMUNISM...."

Dear Comrades,

In the April 30th, 1977, *FREEDOM's Anarchist Review* you published an article by me entitled "Communism: Primitive, Utopian, Authoritarian and Libertarian". On exactly the same day, the *Libertarian Communist Review*, the official theoretical journal of the Anarchist Workers' Association, also published an identical article.

I feel that readers of both journals should know why this has happened.

Early last year, the AWA decided to hold a Day School at Conway Hall. The organisers asked me, among others, if I would participate. I indicated that, though I was somewhat unwell at the time, I would try and prepare a paper on Communism. About two weeks before the Day School, I began to work on the rough draft. It was not an article in the proper sense of the word; and I was not able to complete it in time. Hence, it was not delivered on the day.

However, partly to demonstrate to the organisers that I had not completely been wasting my time, I sent it to them. Also, shortly after, when I was passing through London, I visited one of the editors of *FREEDOM*, and gave him the other copy of the "Communism" draft, suggesting that he might find some of it of interest. Subsequently, first the comrades of the AWA, and then the editors of *FREEDOM*, both indicated to me that they wished to publish it. As it was originally intended for the AWA Day School, I said that they must have first refusal. For the last twelve months or so, they have said that it would go into the *Libertarian Communist Review*. But owing to a shortage of funds, they presumably have not been able to get the journal out until the other week. During

this period, one or two editors of *FREEDOM* have asked me if it could go into that paper. I have said that I agreed that it go into the *Libertarian Communist Review*—if the AWA ever gets it out.

Now, for reasons known to everyone except me, it has appeared in both journals! And in the same week!

Fraternally,  
PETER E. NEWELL

We printed our comrade's article in good faith, having held it for a year and thinking it deserved an airing. We do regret if this causes embarrassment to the author or hurt feelings to AWA, but we do not think any material harm has been caused—the article has simply had a wider circulation, since it is not likely that the overlapping readership is the majority of the subscribers to either *FREEDOM* or *Libertarian Communist Review*. EDS.

## JAKE PRESCOTT

JAKE Prescott, who is serving a 10 year prison sentence on charges connected with the "Angry Brigade" has had some of his remission restored. It is assumed that prisoners will have one third of their sentences remitted, however. Jake lost 700 days possible remission as a disciplinary action after the Hull prison riots last year. 180 days of this have now been restored. Anna Mendelson and Hilary Creek, also imprisoned in connection with the Angry Brigade, were released recently. There is no word on release for Jake Prescott, John Barker or Jim Greenfield.



# FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for next REVIEW is Saturday 28th May, and for NEWS section SATURDAY 4 JUNE (since Monday 6 is Bank Holiday)

NEXT DESPATCHING date is Thursday 9 June. Come and help from 3 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday 4-6 pm for folding session and informal get-together.

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## GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH Mike Sheehan, 59 North Parade, Aberystwyth, Dyfed. Anarchists in other parts of Wales interested in federation please contact.

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 36716)

BRIXTON (London) Tel. 674 7402.

CAMBRIDGE anarchists contact Ron Stephan, 41 York Street, Cambridge

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants

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

DURHAM—no contact at present

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

EXETER. Geoff Minshull, 129 Fore Street, Exeter (tel. 33084)

LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 4 Ingle Row, Leeds 7.

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

MANCHESTER. Contact Al on 061-224 3028

NEWCASTLE, Martin Spence, 91 Beaconsfield St., Arthur's Hill, Newcastle 4, Tyne & Wear.

OXFORD. Martin Harper, Keble College

PORTSMOUTH. Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ALBANS. John Morton, 21 St. Peter's Rd Road, St. Albans, Herts.

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

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

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation:

Aberdeen: Blake, c/o APP, 63 King Street

Dundee: Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place

Edinburgh: Gibson, 7 Union St. (tel. 557 1522)

Glasgow: Baird, 122 Benneray St. Glasgow G22 (tel. 336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tyme: 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks AUSTRIA

Canberra. Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2609.

Victoria. La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o

SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083

Libertarian Soc. Fed of Aust. c/o 4 Reservoir

St., Reservoir, Vic. 3073 (branches other areas)

New South Wales. P. Stones, P.O. Box 26, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney Fed. of Australian Anarchists, Box 92, Broadway, 2007, Australia.

NEW ZEALAND (new addresses)

The anarchist movement can be contacted at:

P.O. Box 2042, AUCKLAND

P.O. Box 22-607 CHRISTCHURCH

International Books, 123 Willis St. Wellington

Daybreak Bookshop, P.O. Box 5424, Dunedin

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842

G.P.O., New York 10001

MISSOURI: Columbia Anarchist League, P.O.

Box 380, Columbia, Mo. 65201

GERMANY

Anarchist Federation of Baden, Postfach:

ABF Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwaeb. Hall, Germany.

## MEETINGS

SATURDAY 28 MAY at the Roebuck pub, 108A Tottenham Ct. Rd. W.1. (nearest tube Warren St., turn right at exit). To discuss the formation of a London and South-East Anarchist Federation. All comrades are urgently requested to attend.

WEEKEND 17-19 June. Warwick Univ. Students Union. Libertarian Students Network national conference. All welcome.

18-19 JUNE London. BWNIC general mtg. at Pax Christi Centre, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Rd., N.W. 5. Starts 11.30 am with informal introductory mtg. for new supporters (Sat.) For further info. or sleeping place Fri. or Sat. write to BWNIC c/o 5 Caledonian Rd., London N1 9DX.

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

FARE FIGHT. Weekly mtgs. now held at Squatters Action Council office, 5 Huntley St. WC1 every Thurs. 8 pm

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcomed.

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

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

KINGSTON Libertarian group meets Weds. Ring Pauline 549 2564

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation.

For mtgs., activities & newsletter write 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton. (tel. Bolton 387516)

CAMPING INTERNATIONAL LIBERT-AIRE ECOLOGIQUE. At Ronse-Renaix Belgium. JULY 15 to AUGUST 15. Contact Eric Sobrie, Zonnerstraat 3 9792 Wortgen Potegem, Belgium.

SATURDAY JUNE 11. "Revolution and History" (speaker from Solidarity). One of a series of seminars organised jointly by Social Revolution, Solidarity, and AWA(London), with the aim to help libertarian communists clarify their ideas on what means and activities are best suited to modern conditions. The meetings are on alternate Saturdays, 2-5 pm at the Drill Hall, Chenies Street, London WC1 (off Tottenham Ct. Rd., tube Goodge St.)

THURSDAY JUNE 30. London. "Anarchism and Socialism". Albert Meltzer visits Hampstead branch of the Socialist Party of G.B. Questions & Discussion. All welcome at "The Enterprise" pub, Chalk Farm High Rd., (opp. Chalk Farm tube and The Roundhouse). 8 pm

## DESIRES

SUMMER holidays: Two French comrades want somewhere to sleep, eat and meet other anarchists, and would also like help to "find a little job". Write Jean-Pierre Laudignon, 10 Rue Henri Cavallier, 47500 FUMEL, France SINGLE ROOM, central London, Willing to abstain from meat. Minimal amenities required John O'Connor, 167 Worcester Rd., Bockle 20 Merseyside.

## PRISONERS

Mike Murphy (C01039) HM Prison, Ashwell, Oakham, Leics.

John Nightingale (336645) HM Prison, Parkhurst, nr. Newport, Isle of Wight

DUBLIN anarchists Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

Marie Murray and Noel Murray (Life sentences.) Protest letters to the Justice Minister, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 7 and The Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR (or in your own country).

## LITERATURE

NEWSLETTER for Libertarian Library Workers. No. 4 now out. Send S.A.E. to Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW ANARCHO-FEMINISM. Reprint of a USA pamphlet. 12p from Black Bear, 76 Peckham Rd. (Top Flat), London, SE5.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Martin Spence has moved from Durham to 91 Beaconsfield Street, Arthur's Hill, Newcastle 4, Tyne & Wear.

We have set up a MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION, 2nd Conference, June 25th at Warwick University. Overnight accommodation provided. Interested groups: Contact Steve Feller, 7 Waverley Road, Kenilworth, Warks.

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# FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

28 May '77

## WHY ARE YOU ANARCHISTS ?

This anonymous article first appeared in FREEDOM during the 1950s. It being as relevant now as it was then, we are reproducing it for this issue in an abridged and updated form. EDS

### WHY ARE YOU ANARCHISTS ?

- Because we want to be free to run our own lives.

THEN MULTI-MILLIONAIRES LIKE TIKOO, HYAMS AND THE OIL SHEIKHS ARE ALSO ANARCHISTS ?

- In a sense they are. The difference is that anarchists want a society in which all are free to run their own lives. The people you named, and many others besides, believe in freedom for a privileged minority only. And in our opinion one cannot be free in a society based on privilege.

SO YOU BELIEVE IN EQUALITY; BUT ISN'T IT OBVIOUS THAT HUMAN BEINGS JUST AREN'T EQUAL ?

- We believe that everyone should have equal rights - material and social - to develop their personalities and to satisfy their desires. Only in this way can each person be him or herself, an equal among unequals if you like.

BUT SUPPOSING I DESIRE POWER AND GREAT WEALTH, WHO WOULD PREVENT ME FROM ACQUIRING THESE IN AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY ?

- In an anarchist society no individual could own the means of production or be in a position to exploit the labour of others. In such a society even if money remained as a means of exchange no one would be in a position to accumulate or corner large amounts and even assuming s/he could, would not be able either to acquire property with it or exploit the labour of fellow men and women.

WOULD YOU THEN HAVE A LAW MAKING IT AN OFFENCE FOR SOMEONE TO EMPLOY THE LABOUR OF OTHERS ?

- Obviously not. Apart from the fact that the moment you create a system of laws such as you suggest, you also have to create legal machinery to implement the laws and then you are back to the old system again. Your question presupposes that people sell their labour to others by choice and not of necessity.

I AGREE THAT MOST PEOPLE HATE THEIR JOBS AND HAVING TO WORK FOR OTHERS.

- So if we are agreed that by creating an economic system whereby nobody lacks the necessities of life and accepts as normal the need to contribute an agreed amount of labour towards the production of those common needs, then surely there is no possibility of exploitation of one individual by another. Similarly, nobody wants to pay rent to a landlord but they do, because under the capitalist system they have no alternative.

BUT THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE. IF THEY HAD THE INTELLIGENCE, THE INITIATIVE AND THE "GUTS" THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO BECOME THEIR OWN BOSSES AND OWN HOUSES, WOULDN'T THEY ?

- Some do, that's true. But assume for a moment that we are all equally intelligent, that we all have an equal share of initiative and "guts": we should all get to the top. But in a capitalist system this is not possible. You cannot have "top people" without there being many more at the "bottom": you cannot have everybody living off the fat of the land, for who would be left to work the land. So a privileged society irrespective of

the mental capacities, the cunning and the ruthlessness of its members, can only permit a limited number of people to enjoy the privileged status. Would you agree

I SUPPOSE SO, BUT IS THERE ANYTHING WRONG WITH SUCH A SYSTEM? AFTER ALL, IT'S JUST PART OF THE NATURAL ORDER, THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST. WHY SHOULDN'T BRAINS, GENIUS, HARD WORK, PERSEVERANCE AND ALL THOSE KIND OF THINGS BE RECOGNISED AND REWARDED ACCORDINGLY? OR DO YOU ANARCHISTS ALWAYS WANT TO DRAG EVERYBODY DOWN TO THE LOWEST COMMON DENOMINATOR?

- The trouble with all these "scientific" arguments is that they are about as scientific as all the stories of the bees and the birds are relevant to sex education for the young! It is surely quite obvious that whatever truth there may be in the argument as applied to nature it has no application to the man-made society we live in. All other things being equal, the law of the society we live in is not "survival of the fittest" but of the "richest."

BUT THAT IS JUST A PLAY ON WORDS: THE RICHEST ARE THE FITTEST. THEY HAVE THE MEANS TO PROVIDE THE NECESSITIES IN TIMES OF SHORTAGE. ONLY THE OTHER DAY IN SOHO MARKET I SAW A WOMAN BUYING FRENCH BEANS AT 50p A POUND. SUPPOSE FRENCH BEANS WERE A MATTER OF LIFE AND DEATH, THAT WOMAN COULD OUTBID YOU AND ME EVERY TIME AND SURVIVE. WE WHO COULD NOT AFFORD THEM WOULD GO UNDER.

- But don't you see that in such a life and death situation as you describe the stallholder would himself have eaten the beans assuming that the wholesaler hadn't done so before him, and assuming that the grower, seeing how things were going, had sold them to him rather than literally salt them away for his own survival! In other words, if it is a question of survival it is the producer who is best situated to survive. What more and more reasonable people are asking these days is how comes it that the producers of the necessities of life and the services we need to make our lives more comfortable and satisfying are the underprivileged members of society.

BUT SOMEBODY HAS TO GIVE THE ORDERS!

- If by this you mean that where many people are engaged on a job there must be organisation, we would agree. But supposing an individual is what they call a "born organiser", why should s/he by reason of particular "gifts" enjoy privileged status or better conditions? That person can only use such gifts as long as there are people to carry out the work: without them where would the "born organiser" be? They, on the other hand could manage - less efficiently perhaps - but they could manage without that person. But let us return to our main argument.

We maintain that in a sensible society - that is, one geared to satisfying the material needs and encouraging the spiritual development of every human being - the criterion for doing a job would be that it satisfies an expressed need of our fellows. As such, all jobs would be equally worth doing and there could therefore be no rational argument for giving special rewards for certain jobs: and we see no reason for assuming that people would want it otherwise. There is nothing absolute about values. Obviously in a society divided into privileged and under-privileged the worth of an individual is expressed in terms of differentials. In a society in which all have free access to the means of production and enjoy equal rights this would seem ridiculous as well as being impossible to apply.





WOULD IT CHANGE THINGS VERY MUCH IF MONEY WERE DISTRIBUTED EQUALLY AMONG THE 40 MILLION OR SO ADULTS? EVERYONE WOULD RECEIVE A THOUSAND POUNDS OR THE EQUIVALENT IN PROPERTY OR COMMODITIES? AND I BET YOU THAT WITHIN FIVE YEARS SOME WOULD HAVE SQUANDERED THEIRS AND OTHERS INSTEAD WOULD HAVE USED THEIRS TO MAKE ANOTHER £4,000!

- Not that old chestnut again! Look, so long as money is power so long will it be used in exploiting the labour of fellow beings. We maintain that no individual or group has the moral right to control the wealth and the means of production of a nation for their own ends. That is why we are opposed to the capitalist system, to the nationalisation programme of the socialists, and we are anarchists and believers in revolution because we think that humankind will not be free until the ruling class are expropriated without compensation. This no government will think of doing. Where "revolutionary governments" have done this they have at the same time sown the seeds for a new ruling class, new privileges and incentives which inevitably lead to inequalities and injustice and to the same denial of freedom which the revolution was meant to destroy.

I AGREE WITH YOU UP TO A POINT. BUT MY POINT IS THAT THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO CAN DO THE UNSKILLED DONKEY WORK. ONLY A FEW HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE TO BECOME SCIENTISTS, DOCTORS, ENGINEERS, TECHNICIANS, PRODUCTION MANAGERS AND ARCHITECTS. FACE UP TO IT. THE QUALITY DAILIES AND SUNDAYS HAVE PAGES OF ADVERTISEMENTS FOR SPECIALISTS WHEREAS IN THE UNSKILLED JOBS THERE ARE MORE HANDS THAN JOBS.

- There is no proof that most mentally normal people could not be educated or trained to do more skilled work than, say, emptying dustbins or ploughing fields or driving trains or hewing coals, given a social environment no less favourable than it is for the section of the community who virtually monopolise certain useful and lucrative professions generation after generation.

But the point is that we need more nursing staff than doctors, more landworkers than plant breeders, more miners than mining engineers, more building workers than architects, more engineering workers than mechanical engineers and managers and so on. We could have a situation where most of the population has had a higher education and therefore, short of "importing" slave labour and "exporting" our qualified natives, we must learn to divorce education from the kind of work which individuals do as their contribution to the commonweal.

YOU ARE NOW BEING FANCIFUL. IN PRACTICE SUCH A SITUATION CAN'T ARISE.

- On the contrary. In countries such as Israel you had a situation where there were more qualified people than unskilled, and because of the pioneering spirit of the early days of the new State there were doctors, engineers, working on the land and in building works, etc., and proud of it. In most of the advanced industrial countries there is a surfeit of highly qualified people. The student troubles in France in 1968 were sparked off by very largely unrevolutionary motives: namely that the university courses were unsatisfactory in that they did not give the students the kind of training that would ensure that they eventually received the top jobs.

SO YOU ARE IN FAVOUR OF A REDUCTION AND NOT AN EXTENSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION?

- We are in favour of higher education for everybody. The "quality" of life about which the pundits prattle while instilling in mass fed minds the longings for a society of ever expanding consumerism, hinges on the quality of education. But I repeat that education has really nothing to do with passing exams, though it is obvious that we shall go on needing people to train as doctors, engineers etc. However, it could well be that we should have better doctors if they were to be trained from among nurses and better engineers if they first had workshop or public works experience. And in an anarchist society they would become doctors and engineers not because of the higher remuneration, because in fact they wouldn't get more.

DO YOU HONESTLY MEAN TO SAY THAT YOU THINK PEOPLE WILL GIVE UP TIME AND MONEY TO STUDY IF AT THE END THEY ARE NO BETTER OFF THAN THE PERSON WHO HAD NOT BOTHERED?

- In an anarchist society the pursuit of higher technical qualifications would not involve the kind of "sacrifice" you suggest. And there would no longer be the kind of mentality which puts a material premium on excellence. If one must talk in terms of reward this would be the satisfaction of the achievement. After all, even today some of the most satisfying things people do in their lives have no material reward as their inspiration.

I GET YOUR POINT. BUT THE TROUBLE IS THAT WE ARE NOT LIVING IN YOUR IDEAL ANARCHIST SOCIETY AND PEOPLE DO WANT TO SEE A MATERIAL REWARD FOR INITIATIVE AND INTELLIGENCE. SO WHAT CAN ONE DO IN A PRACTICAL WAY EXCEPT SUPPORT THE LABOUR PARTY'S PROGRAMME WHICH ADVOCATES EQUALITY FOR EVERYBODY TO GET TO THE TOP?

- Well, as I have already pointed out, if everybody gets to the top there is no top and so the top will become the bottom and a new élite will rise to a new "top." In other words, a new ruling, owning hierarchy would emerge. Anyway, events have now caught up with this "equality of opportunity" socialism which only differs from that of the Conservatives in that it would not limit the "equality of opportunity" to the class that has so far enjoyed the monopoly of top jobs. I am of course referring to the emergence of powerful Unions whose power resides not simply in their militancy but in their economic and social role in society....

ANOTHER FACTOR IS THAT WORKERS THEMSELVES INSIST ON THE MAINTENANCE OF A SCALE OF PAYMENTS WHICH DIFFERENTIATES BETWEEN THE SKILLED AND THE UNSKILLED, BETWEEN DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF EMPLOYMENT. SURELY THESE ARE HEALTHY INCENTIVES FOR "GETTING ON"?

- To our minds, so long as workers insist on maintaining social and economic differentials they will never be able to unite effectively to rid themselves of the common yoke of dependence. And unfortunately the capitalist class will make no attempt to dispense with differentials: on the contrary, it is they who have created them in order to weaken the resistance of the working class. How else can a ruling minority retain its power "Divide and rule" is not a tactic limited to Imperial power in the bad old days of colonialism. It manifests itself in all unequal societies, whatever their state of general "affluence". Indeed it is the basis of authoritarian rule in the smallest of groups, not least the authoritarian family!

To believe, as you seem to, that a sort of tooth-and-claw competition is an incentive, can be disposed of by just a moment's reflection. Suppose you are working on a job with another man or woman who you know is being paid more than you, but who could not carry out their job if you were not doing yours. Would you dismiss any resentment you might feel by saying to yourself that each of you was being paid the "rate for the job"? Would you work as efficiently as if you had been treated as an equal with the other person? And don't you see that the moment you start thinking this way you not only question the differentials between you and your workmate, but between you and everybody else earning more than you in the firm? Co-operation and not competition is the most efficient form of work. And free cooperation is only possible among equals.

SO IN THE END, AFTER ALL THE BLOODSHED AND MISERY OF A REVOLUTION THE PEOPLE ARE BACK WHERE THEY WERE

- If they make the revolution to destroy State institutions and the system of privilege and then replace them by another government, of course in the end they will be back to where they were (apart from a change of masters). But for that very reason we are anarchists and not believers in "good governments" or "revolutionary governments." As Byron put it:

I'd have mankind be free!  
As much from mobs as kings -  
from you as me.



# PORTUGAL

## THE IMPOSSIBLE REVOLUTION ?

Book Review.

PORTUGAL : The Impossible Revolution, by Phil Mailer  
(Solidarity London, 400pp, paper £2.25)

"This is an uncooked slice of history. It is the story of what happened in Portugal between April 25, 1974 and November 25, 1975—as seen and felt by a deeply committed participant. It depicts the hopes, the tremendous enthusiasm, the boundless energy, the total commitment, the released power, even the revolutionary innocence of thousands of ordinary people taking a hand in the remoulding of their lives. And it does so against the background of an economic and social reality which placed limits on what could be done. This tension dominates the whole narrative."

THUS Maurice Brinton opens his long introduction to Phil Mailer's account of the 'impossible' Portuguese revolution. Histories are written by historians and accounts by journalists who, with few exceptions, have little to do with the action and still less to do with the thought processes of the ordinary people who in essence provide the grist to the mill of changing life, particularly when the speed of change accelerates.

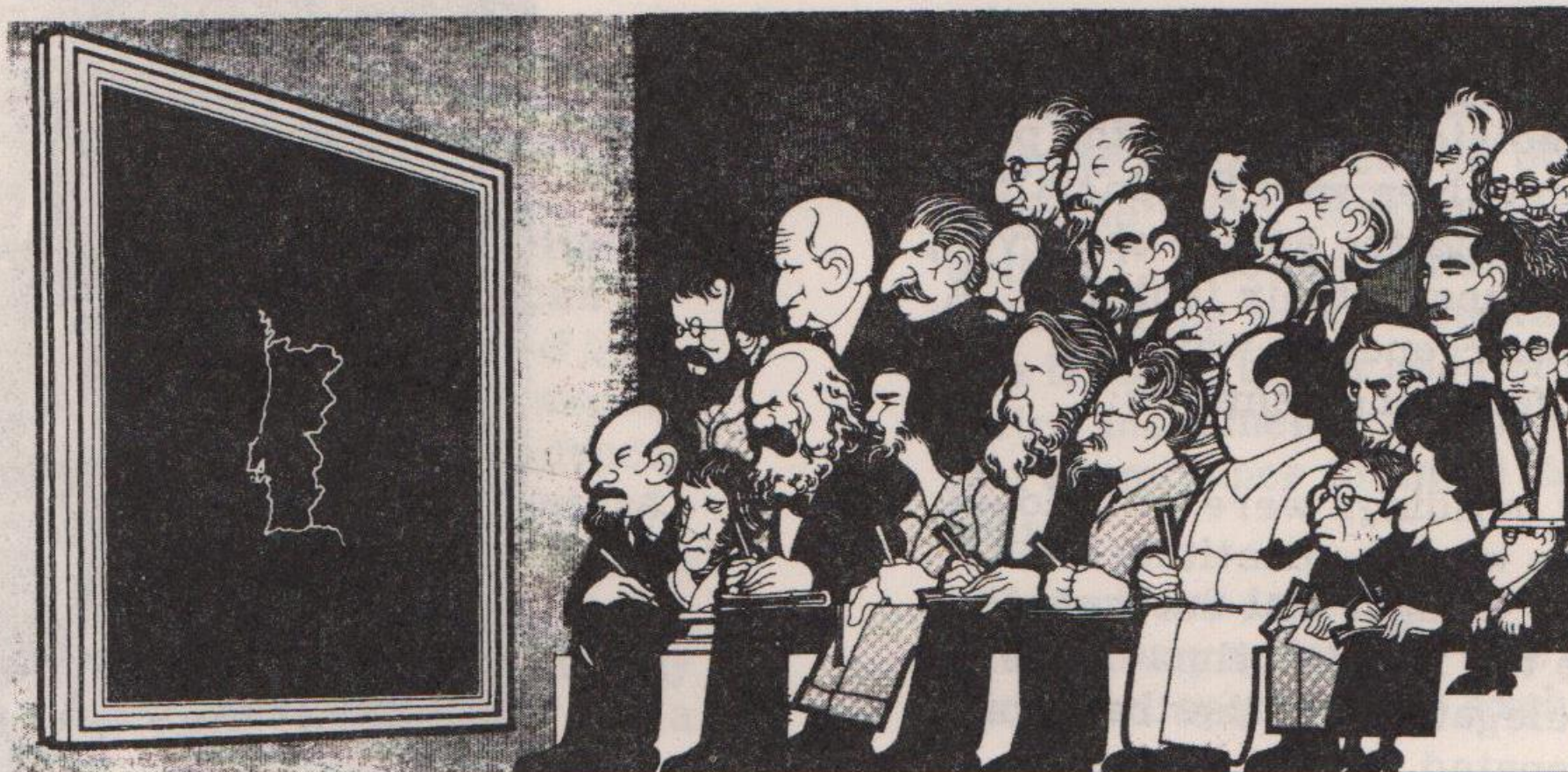
This book was written by a Portuguese-speaking foreign resident who obviously had the necessary feeling of commitment combined with a certain objectivity. What comes through is the joy, enthusiasm and realism which contrast with the irrelevant manoeuvring of various political factions.

Perhaps in Portugal the opportunity for revolution has receded for the time being, but this role of the revolutionary never ceases (and has certainly not ceased in Portugal). Soon, in Spain, the Stalinists will be dusting down the living corpse of La Passionaria—a far more potent symbol of 'resistance' than Alvaro Cunhal. The illusionists will be at work again, having learned nothing from the experience of Portugal, and living on the battle-cries of 1936.

Words such as 'possible' and 'impossible' have an historical dimension as well as an immediate one. What is impossible today may become feasible tomorrow. Moreover it may become feasible because of today's unsuccessful endeavours.

The first chapter of the book deals with the first days and the first weeks, the uncertainty and the joy, with the soldiers from the people become part of the people instead of being the instruments of privilege. The first action was against the secret police (PIDE)—the freeing of prisoners. Considering the activities of that organisation the people acted with considerable restraint.

For forty years there had been no demonstrations of joy in Portugal. Two generations had passed without being able to walk the streets freely: now fathers and sons were there together. An old man in rags, an old man for whom Salazarism hadn't done anything, carried the Republican flag. He was embraced so much I thought



Portugal: the impossible revolution?  
Front row: Lenin, Hegel, Marx, Che, Engels, Trotsky, Mao, Jean Paul Sartre, Rosa Luxemburg, Kissinger.  
Back Row: Proudhon, Marcuse, Stalin, Bakunin, Ho Chi Minh, Jose Marti, Castro, Gandhi, Bertrand Russell, Arnold Toynbee, Kropotkin, Rudolph Rocker, Gramsci.

By Western standards, Portugal is a small undeveloped country and the pressures brought on by a colonial war which could never be won and which sucked in vast numbers of people from all segments of Portuguese life, led to the ultimate collapse of the dictatorship. The resistance to the dictatorship had been sporadic and came from a variety of sources. However, the Portuguese state has always had considerable support from British and other foreign investment—recently U.S. capital had become the largest investment. Even in 1970 agricultural workers comprised 33% of the population, the urban working class 39% and service industries and government 27% (figures on p. 68).

Maurice Brinton says 'The book deals clearly, concretely and honestly with the problems and limitations of self-management attempted in a capitalist context.' It will be a matter for history whether experiments in self-management will be overwhelmed by the emotional and external forces, but as we know from Spain and other revolutionary situation, the midwives of defeat are often the revolutionary elitist groups, amongst which in Portugal the Communist Party is very prominent. However, as Brinton suggests (writing in October, 1976):

he'd have a heart attack. I asked him if it was like this in the days of the Republic and he said it had never been so good. I too wanted to embrace him, he was so baby-like. He knew I was foreign from my accent. Which part of Ireland? The South, I answered. He clapped me and told me he remembered the Easter rebellion. He probably remembered 1917, 1918, 1936 as well, though I didn't ask. What beauty can be found in people at such times!

From the euphoria of the first heady days Phil Mailer brings us back to the problem of Portugal's capitalist underdevelopment and the history of Portugal based on its maritime position and how 'Profits and plunder formed the basis of a privileged stratum in Portugal itself...', feudal privilege claiming the lion's share from the bourgeoisie. The Peninsular Wars resulted in a weakened Portugal in debt to Britain who gained favourable trade terms in the remaining Portuguese colonial territories.

Unlike Spain where there was a workers' movement strongly influenced by anarcho-syndicalism, the revolutionary movement in Portugal early in this century was bourgeois-repub-

continued over page:



lican. When a republican government took power in 1910 it had no real support from workers or peasants, whose situation remained unchanged, the resulting disorder led to the republican regime being replaced by the Salazar dictatorship.

Salazar's type of fascism was the form best adapted to an underdeveloped country. Originally, Salazarism was based on an alliance of financial-colonial and agricultural capital. The policies of the Estado Novo were designed to reduce the class struggle at home and opposition in the colonies. The price of agricultural goods was maintained by the State at a very low level, thus progressively ruining the smaller landowners. At the same time the unions were replaced by official 'sindicatos'. The industrial bourgeoisie also had to toe the line, being obliged to organise on a corporative basis. There was a ban on all public meetings, strikes, etc. No opposition was tolerated.

The brief insurrection and general strike in 1934 was ruthlessly suppressed. Following the First World War a strong trade union movement (CGT) inspired by anarcho-syndicalism had grown up, but by process of reorganisation the Portuguese Communist Party had achieved dominance of the union structure by the early 1930s. 'The effects of the defeat,' says Phil Mailer, 'were the further centralisation of the PCP and the virtual annihilation of the CGT, whose militants had played a prominent and courageous role in the rebellion.' The anarcho-syndicalists were completely smashed; the Communist Party recovered, partly no doubt due to its international character.

#### FORTY YEARS ON

After the army coup of 25 April 1974 the politicians emerged and formed a government with communists and socialists predominating but the essence of their policies was caution; the revolution had outstripped the so-called revolutionaries. The Maoists denounced the coup as bourgeois, analysing the situation as 'flowers for the bourgeoisie, thorns for the people'. They subsequently allied themselves with the socialist party (PS) in the struggle for power. As the author observed, the problem with 'revolutionary' groups is their isolation. A feature of the revolution was the emergence of women's groups who demonstrated with the following demands:

After April 25th certain fascist buildings were re-allocated to political groups. Since we women constitute over 52% of the population it might be thought that our groups would be given a place. We are the main victims of fascist ideology which sought to relegate us to the traditional toils of women, completely alienated from the rest of society. It is known that the depolitisation of women and their tendency to vote right-wing is directly related to the complete absence of movements and organisations acting in their interests. Despite this the Junta is not considering the Women's Movement as worthy of attention or interest. Why? Is it, yet again, to be discrimination against women?

Much of the industrial unrest was used as a challenge to the government and was attacked by the Communist Party. Alvara Cunhal, the leader of the PCP, said that the great reforms would only appear after the elections. The Communists were as usual keen that they and not the people should make the revolution, their revolution.

After three months of several Provisional Governments the situation was still fluid, and as Phil Mailer says

What had happened had certainly been a political revolution. A new section of the ruling class had assumed power, who saw its interests better served by modern bourgeois democracy than by old-style fascism. The new rulers dreamt of changing the basis of the power structure from a dictatorship of the aristocracy (linked to a weak bourgeoisie) to the type of dictatorship exercised by modern industrial states. In the upheaval the working class sought to seize what it could. In July 1974 two main questions confronted the powers-that-be. How much would the workers ask for?

And how little could they be given?

While the workers occupied the factories, and in one case changed the products to those that were more worthwhile, the agricultural workers set up cooperatives, particularly in the south where the large landowners had their estates. In the north there were predominantly small farmers and tenants. Both large and small holdings were underdeveloped and the employed and self-employed agricultural workers were equally badly off. The PCP slogan, seeking to gain electoral support, was 'the land to those who work it'. Many agricultural workers, much to the dismay of the caucus, proceeded to implement the slogan. The occupations took two forms: reoccupation by tenants and collective occupation by agricultural workers.

The workers of Alcoentre, in Ribatejo, had suffered much hardship... They occupied the land, setting up the cooperatives of Torre Bela and Ameixoeira. 'When the nation needs food, it is a crime to allow the land to lie fallow, or to be overgrown by eucalyptus. What right have the capitalists to leave the land in such a state?' the workers asked. Occupying the estate [of the Duke of Lafoes], they requested some old agricultural machinery belonging to a nearby penal colony. 'The agricultural workers demand that these machines, which are lying idle, be put at the service of the people. They are just rusting. There are properties managed by the penal colony which are not being cultivated. These could be put at the disposal of the workers of Alcoentre, who are thinking of organising themselves in a cooperative. Collectivisation and socialisation of these lands is the only way of giving control to the producers.'



Armed workers occupying farm near Beja

One cannot review this book without referring to COPCOM (Continental Operations Command, security force of MFA—Armed Forces Revolutionary Movement), set up in July 1974 and dissolved in 1975. This appears to be an ambivalent organisation which is not without its benevolent functions, interceding between various interests and protecting some of the occupations by the workers. However, with the consolidation of power it could well have developed into the instrument of a particular interest.

\*

One could endlessly quote from this interesting book. I hope that much of the revolutionary left will read it. Many anarchists also could think about many of its implications. For people need to eat, to have shelter, before, after and during a revolution and you cannot eat slogans or wear ideologies. Somebody still has to dig the garden.





# "in my opinion, sir ...."

**SPEAKERS' CORNER**—An Anthology. Edited by Jim Huggon, published by Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications on behalf of the Hyde Park Speakers' Union. Price £1.75 (plus 25p postage). Available (including to the trade) c/o Freedom Bookshop\*.

\*which still opens every day except Sunday & Monday though not all day—see details in Bookshop Notes column.

**SPEAKERS' CORNER**—an anthology edited by Jim Huggon, the foreword by Philip Sansom and with a jolly pictorial recollection of Express Printers by Arthur Moyse is, in spite of a touch of editorial gloom, a cheerful document which sent me back on a nostalgic trip to the vintage years of the fifties.

The articles on the early big rallies (especially the piece on the Militant Suffragettes) are really quite uplifting when one considers the optimism and energy which went into the organisation and participation.

I must say I lost my initial interest in the long list of Park Regulations. The 1872 Act seems to have been primarily concerned with the prevention of assault on park keepers. I never remember ever seeing a park keeper. Perhaps the fifties were particularly non-violent and it was thought supervision was unnecessary!

The Editor states that 'Hyde Park's much vaunted freedom of speech is in reality, a myth'. Well I suppose it depends how high you set your sights and how far you are prepared to go in provoking reaction from the state. Given the limitations of the society we live in, speech is relatively free. I can never remember any occasion when we were challenged by authority within the confines of the Park. Some would say that was because we were so ineffectual, maybe. Had we advocated a violent revolution it is true we would not have survived for very long, but none of us thought then that violence against individuals or institutions would usher in the free society. I still don't. If we had propagated such views we would quickly have been yanked off the platform and put behind bars. For a

few weeks perhaps Hyde Park would have been alight with heated demands for a change in the law, and then what comrades and friends?

We had an articulate and well organised group whose objective was to carry on as many activities as possible. We had a pool of well informed speakers who not only conducted regular weekly indoor meetings but who also spoke to university and other groups. Socials and Summer Schools were also among the regular activities. The book shop at Red Lion Street was open every day\* and the Malatesta Club every evening (and congratulations to some of the 'old guard' still going strong at Freedom Press).

It seems to me that all that was more constructive, and certainly more interesting, than sewing mail bags!

Each one of us no doubt was differently motivated. My own reasons were very simple, to be free to say and do as I pleased while enjoying myself at the same time; this I did!

Old friends of Bonar Thomson's will be pleased that he was included in this Anthology. A cheerful kindly man, he used to entertain us at the Malatesta Club with his lively recollections from the past. Donald Soper's piece on Tower Hill does not make the same impact as his platform performances. The illustrations of the theatrical adaptation of *The Speakers* by Heathcote Williams are less depressing than the book itself.

Antagonists of the S. P. G. B. will be amused by the article taken from the *Socialist Standard* under the authorship of 'Horatio' who, looking at events through his patched eye, writes "...to hear /their speakers/reduce ... Anarchists... to stuttering impotence was sheer mirth-provoking delight"! The truth is that a good belly laugh would have ruptured their entire movement. As for his interpretation of events it bears no resemblance to any Anarchist/Socialist encounter I ever heard.

Hyde Park is a fun fair but it is also a place, as Philip Sansom says, for the face-to-face encounter "for the immediate and spontaneous exchange of ideas".

R. M.

## PORTUGAL (cont)

A review is no alternative to reading the book, and in choosing to close with the following quotation I hope that those to whom it is addressed will read the book.

The left groups as a whole should have benefited most from the political vacuum left in the wake of April 25th. But, fossilised in their orthodoxies, they had no internal dynamic which might have led to revolutionary forces gathering around them. Their constant claims to be vanguards (and the discussions round this theme) isolated them time and time again. No self-respecting worker was going to allow himself to be led by a bunch of student radicals, for by and large that is what the groups were. Even when they attracted workers they never managed to rid themselves of their leadership complexes: the workers remained the mass whose function it was to confirm the correctness of duly worked out revolutionary theories. No amount of magic formulas about 'the emancipation of the workers being the task of the workers themselves' could get round this.

Alan Albon

## "The play's the thing ... RIGHT ON"?

"A RIGHT WING dictatorship could well come to Britain but it is not likely to appear in the trappings of the discredited ideas of Hitler, Mussolini or Mosley. It will not be loonies frightened of blacks that will suspend Parliamentary democracy but respectable colonels, businessmen and farmers reacting to a real or imagined threat to law and order from the Left. They will no doubt include a Pakistani or West Indian in their Government."

—Milton Shulman, theatre critic of the *Evening Standard*, reviewing the play *Destiny* by David Edgar (showing at the Aldwych) in issue 13.5.77



# With A View To Death



THE REDFERN Gallery in Cork Street deal in thousands of pounds as we deal in single pound notes and the work on their gallery walls is aimed at the pockets of the wealthy. All art dealers are, like all shop keepers, hard faced bastards which is why they are rich and we are not and what they offer for sale is work reminted and exciting to view. Here are David Oxtoby's paintings of the 'Rockers' and here in the gallery was the artist garbed in fashionable poverty jeans and there was the actor Michael Caine looking the spitting image of the actor Michael Caine and while he peered at the paintings and worked out his tax deductions in relation to the Redfern's lip-whitening prices I admired the work and mentally registered the return to Pop Art.

Pop Art was a poster style of painting aimed at the wallets and the with-it-ness of the cosmopolitan middle class. It took the images of working-class entertainment and for a price they could believe that they had made contact with the masses, yet as the work was produced by artists cut off from the main stream of working-class culture it was always dated and what the middle class bought was a segregated version of a culture they openly despised in real life but never the living realities of the hour. Oxtoby's paintings are exciting as any good film poster might be, but with Elvis Presley, Jayne Mansfield, Bob Dylan and/or Stevie Wonder doing their dumb mouthings from the walls of the Redfern it is work strictly for Michael Caine of the cultivated cockney accent and friends. For I feel that if the Punk Rock boys had appeared on the walls of the Redfern blank-eyed stares would have been reflected back from the canvases, for though the television networks and the recording companies may have sacked the Punk Rock group they are still fetching in the teenage working class and it will be ten years before Bond Street enshrines them, mouths washed out with soap etc. But it is return to figurative painting and Oxtoby has produced some magnificent watercolours for he knows his craft, but only the Portal Gallery ever produced any genuine Pop Art and that was the early work of Patrick Hughes using current working-class street comics as his subject matter.

But the wheel turns and abstracts are out and Pop Art is back in fashion again even with Peter Blake's primeval Pop Art Self Portrait 1961 back on sale within the Waddington Gallery, this and some good wood engravings by the same artist.

But the wheel turns and it was the fashionable Fraser Gallery, ten years ago?, that showed Jim Dine's quaint rubbish. An old pair of trousers hanging on the gallery wall, a pair of boots standing on the gallery floor and it was the fashionable art of the hour and the Fraser Gallery is now kaput. Fraser went to prison and ended up as a subject, handcuffed in a police wagon, for an extremely good print by Richard Hamilton and in 1977 Jim Dine is back in Town at the Waddington with a collection of magnificent charcoal drawings. Brilliant workmanship and I retract whatever I said about him those years ago. At £6,000 each they hang on the gallery walls and the stench of death is in these deliberately torn papers. Like graveyard shrouds each holds a portrait of a figure lost to life and they have the brute contempt for the human figure of the German artists of the political thirties but Dine offers no overt message, the artist records and he has triumphed. It is a simple saleable fact that there is always a market for the macabre for without graveyards and the charnel house most English poetry would never have been penned and the Victorian painters would have been hired out to paint pub signs and it is to Gimpel Fils and the 'private world' of Jurgen Brodwolf.

Half emptied metal paint tubes twisted and tortured into the poses of the dead and entombed in small cigar size boxes, muslin sheets hanging from the canvas backgrounds as worn shrouds giving the last earthly appearance of the human body when time and decay have taken their toll. Life size upon the gallery walls they offer the vicarious excitement of tomb robbing but who dare deny that the work of Brodwolf excites.

And the Town is mine and it is to the international Marlborough Gallery where once more death commands the scene for here is the first exhibition of the Spanish painter Daniel Quintero. Spain in the last ten years has produced many brilliant painters, be they abstract or realist, and their work has a brooding intensity. Unlike the Italians they offer no flamboyant message of fashionable revolt yet the anger of their work condemns their society. So with the figures of Quintero. Muted in their colour, sombre in the pose they reflect a society given over to death.

If it is claimed that I read the artist wrong then his huge pencil drawings bear me out for they are of the broken shells of men existing, like Brodwolf's people, only by virtue of the clothing that binds them. It is the age, but then comrades it always was the age for fashionable decay and the brooding fear of death. There was a grey fine rain from a leadened sky the day they buried Harry Fischer and we who assembled within St Mary's Catholic Church were conscious of the hour and it was fitting that the Fischer Fine Art Gallery in lordly SW1 should remain open on that day for the old man did much to make this one of the valid London galleries. And the exhibition was 'Utopia and Apocalypse : A view of Art in Germany 1910-1939' and it spelt out the misery of the age in the work of artists now lost to the Shades. When the fascists march in gathering strength through the streets of London we can once more come to terms with the message of the German artist, for death scents the gathering winds.

But there is minor pleasure in the work of Eric Holt at the Piccadilly Gallery (God I love the two women who run the gallery), gentle work in the style of Spencer but without his mystic rage. R. B. Kitaj failing to find a suitable subject matter for his limited talent at the Marlborough, Franz Kline's powerful daubs at the Mayor and Suzanne Lucas's lovely watercolours of flowers and toadstools at Liberty's.

Yet when all is said there is pleasure in the minor, yea so minor, work of Richard Eurich at Bond Street's Fine Art Society, that supermarket of cosmopolitan culture give or take a cheque. Pleasure in viewing work that at one moment is abysmally bad yet within another small canvas so very lovely. So very parochially English in the handling of landscapes. And to the Portal Gallery for the paintings of Jack Crabtree. Sir Derek Ezra the chairman of the National Coal Board opened the exhibition and the work needs no praise from us for it has a naive beauty that captures the spirit of a way of a working life. I would be foolish to pretend that Jack Crabtree's work will outlast that of Dine or Quintero but in a fashionable quarter of the Town given over to love of death, decay and dealer's profit Eurich and Crabtree offer a welcome relief and never more so than with Crabtree's paintings of working men who never know when their working shift will be marked by their own or a companion's death.

And I shall sit in Wards with my pints of Guinness and think on these things and get quietly drunk.

ARTHUR MOYSE.



# Queen of Diamonds

ONE IS LED to believe that an apparatus called television is showing films of the Royal collection of antiques, old masters, miniatures and jewels. This collection of, to put it simply, loot, is rarely shown to the public, and as a Jubilee treat the suckers are being given a look at it—on the telly, that's the nearest they'll get. It is difficult to get any reliable figures on Royal wealth. Not only do the family not pay full income tax—why should they?—but they are exempt from the Companies Act.

The Queen is reported to be a large investor; these shares could be held under Bank of England nominees who are said to hold a hundred million pounds' worth. This of course includes sundry anonymous foreign political notables who have stashed away a portion of their loot in England—just in case the Swiss should be unhelpful. John Gordon of the *Sunday Express* (a most loyal man who saw no harm in getting rich) repeated a story that King George V made a million pounds in "one swift American stock deal in steel". He also recounts that Queen Mary had a fortune which came down from Queen Victoria who 'padded out' her Civil List (from the taxpayer) and paid no direct taxation. King Edward VII inherited it and wisely invested it with the help of Sir Ernest Cassell. Queen Mary, it was estimated by other writers, had £3,500,000 in land and property. £1,500,000 in jewellery; she collected antiques and had a valuable collection of

fully furnished dolls' houses. Her husband (George V) collected stamps.

Of course, says Gordon, the Royal family fortunes are 'liable to death duties like every other fortune'. But, says Gordon diplomatically and loyally, "I hesitate to accept the prevalent idea that these duties will transfer most of it to the tax collector."

One is reminded of the recent case of Judge Sir William Bagnall, an expert on property and trust law, who had an estate of £96,837 gross, which he seems to have taken with him, for there was nothing for the tax-man. His widow, according to the *Sunday Times*, said, "This is not surprising, he was a tax expert and very astute," and says the *Sunday Times* 'she declined to elaborate'.

One declines to elaborate on how the Royal fortunes seem to expand and perpetuate themselves through the ages. Even with the decline of the British Empire and the falling off of tributes from pine and palm we see every royal tour marked by gifts of souvenirs, appropriate and inappropriate, valuable and not-so-valuable, and every zoo seems to have profited from some royal visit. The greatest acquisition apart from India itself, in the days of Victoria was the literally priceless Koh-i-Noor diamond which Queen Victoria acquired. Diamonds always have been a girl's best friend so it was no surprise a year or so ago when the Governments of India and Pakistan both put in a bid for the return of the Koh-i-Noor that the British Government—and probably the Queen too!—said 'Nothing doing'.

The English Civil War was launched on the occasion when the King overreached himself with forced loans and 'ship-money' which hurt the rising mercantile class; up to then he had not picked on them. A system was then worked out whereby the King (after the Restoration) was financed by what was called "The Civil List", in short his pocket money or expense account which was often well-padded and always had to be voted on by Parliament which, theoretically, had the sanction of withdrawing the money. In 1820 a special part of the Civil List was earmarked for the sovereign's personal use. George IV got £60,000 a year and got into debt as did all the Hanoverians. However Parliament also settled these debts. William IV made a new arrangement that some of the Crown property does not in fact belong to the Crown, it is put in pawn as it were, in exchange for the Civil List grant.

This Crown property is highly impressive. It includes, according to Kingsley Martin, profitable properties in Central London including Regent Street, Carlton House Terrace, Mayfair, Piccadilly, Whitehall, properties in Outer London and on the South Coast, as well as Ascot and Windsor. There is also 150,000 acres of English agricultural land, 105,000 acres of moorland in Scotland (for the shooting, of course), 1,000 acres in Wales, and much of the foreshore round the coast.

## inflation~proofed social security

Victoria received £385,000 from the Civil List. Edward VII £470,000, George V £410,000, Queen Elizabeth got £475,000—with provision against inflation, £25,000 was for other members of the Royal Family "who," Martin delicately puts it, "are not ordinarily in a position to earn their own living".

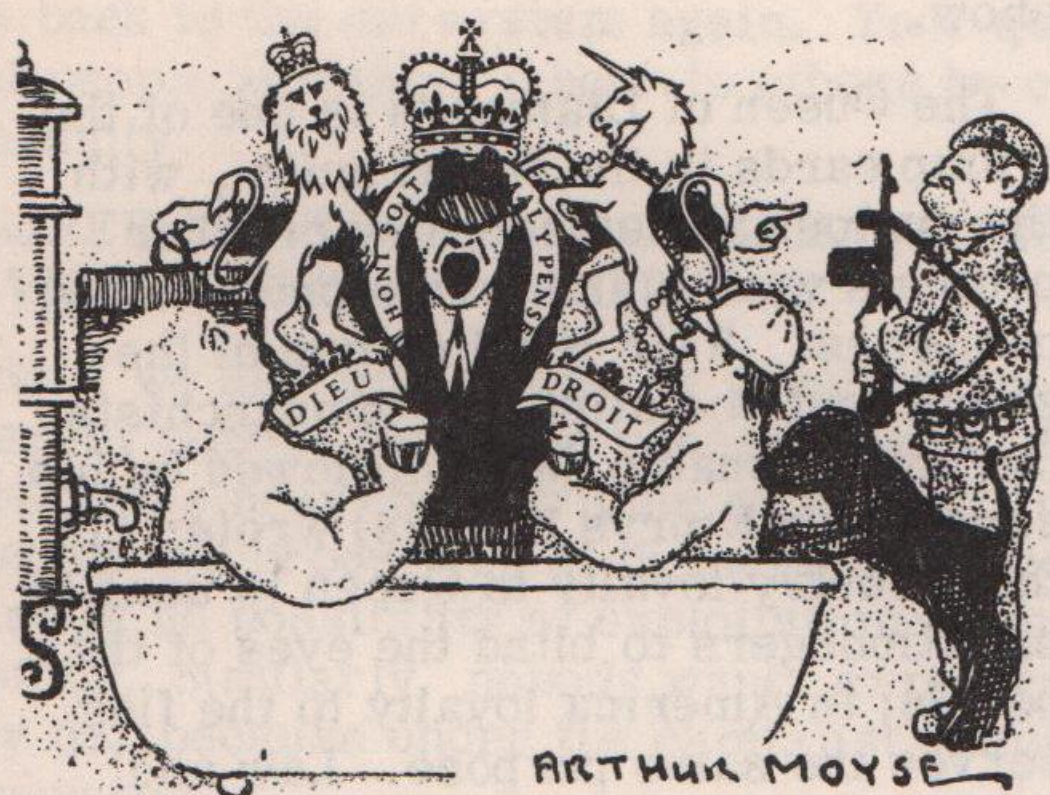
Estimates of Royal incomes are hard to come by or completely understand with the various inflations, tax dodges, budget wangles and, above all, the screen that is erected because there seems to be something regarded as obscene to talk about the Royal Family and money in the same breath.

Curiously enough it is regarded as an honour reflecting back on the poor subjects to have a wealthy or ostentatious queen. One recalls the Aga Khan's tribute of his weight in gold, the showy ostentation of the Crown jewels (including the Koh-i-Noor) and the ceaseless harping upon the Royal treasures, the Royal houses, the Royal yachts—Victoria's £101,500 per annum "Britannia" (£200,000 for fitting, £7,000 a week upkeep) not to mention various Royal trains and aircraft always kept at the ready for possible use. It is not with any feeling of envy that one regards all this little-used junk (not always in the best of taste) and its bemused puppet 'owners' but with despair for the waste of lives and material in erecting and maintaining this undiverting show.

One could advocate as Labouchiere did in 1890 (on the Royal Palaces vote) that Buckingham Palace should be

turned into a shelter for the destitute,

continued over page:



IN THE NAME OF THE QUEEN  
I'M ORDERING YOU  
TO GET OUT OF THE BATH  
AND CELEBRATE!



# BOOKSHOP NOTES

## FREEDOM PRESS

in Angel Alley

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ONE OF THE very earliest Bookshop Notes I wrote for FREEDOM over a year ago was around the theme of Utopias; this one could be said to be around the general theme of "anti-Utopias": pessimistic fears, sadly all too often proving in the fullness of time more prophetic than their authors would have wished.

Firstly, a very important book re-entering the catalogues this month—Yevgeny Zamyatin's WE (75p plus 14p post), a book until recently so little known that I once read a critic who criticized it on the grounds that it was too derivative of Orwell's 1984—until one realises that it was written in 1920. It deserves to be read at least as widely as Orwell's later work.

Incidentally also available by Zamyatin is his The Dragon and other stories (45p + 17p), sixteen short stories showing Zamyatin to be a master of that most difficult of literary forms.

Also still available, of course, is Orwell's 1984 (60p + 14p). If you haven't already read it I heartily recommend it as an antidote to that "Joy Joy Joy" school of anarchism that I was once "accused", in the columns of FREEDOM, of belonging to myself. (In parenthesis, I would plead guilty to the "charge"—but with extenuating circumstances.)

Next, another classic work of Utopian misanthropy: Aldous Huxley's Brave New World (60p + 14p), science, technology and bureaucracy gone mad. Everything sacrificed to the God of Progress—it sounds familiar.

A work possibly not conceived in pessimism, nevertheless conveying that impression to me, is Ursula le Guin's The Dispossessed (75p + 17p), a work more overtly in the "Sci-fi" tradition than the others. A "war of the worlds" between the anarchist planet of Anarres and the authoritarian Urras, albeit a war fought with ideas rather than missiles.

or, as more recently advocated, "squat-  
ted". But this would be mere symbolism  
since, firstly, the early Megalomaniac-  
al style of architecture adopted by the  
powerful is rarely comfortable or utili-  
tarian—its purpose is to impress, not  
to be lived in. Whilst the institutions of  
power remain the seizure of the sym-  
bols has little validity.

Power, as one has seen, has largely  
passed from the monarchy, except for  
occasional fits of Conservatism, but  
one of the powers of the monarchy still  
shapes the constitution, the state and  
society. British history was coloured  
by the advancement of friends of the  
Royal family. Harold Wilson's retire-  
ment honours list pales into insignifi-  
cance before some of the Royal choices.  
For example the Churchills, a name  
vaguely familiar. The Duke of York,  
afterwards James II, took Arabella  
Churchill as his mistress. Charles II's  
mistress the Duchess of Cleveland,  
conceived a passion for John Churchill  
(Arabella's brother) who was discreet  
enough to make his escape when Charles  
II surprised them. Churchill leapt from  
the bedroom window. The Duchess in  
gratitude for this escapade gave him

£5,000 which he invested and founded  
the family fortunes. He advanced him-  
self, deserted James's cause for Wil-  
liam of Orange who created him Duke  
of Marlborough. In gratitude (accord-  
ing to Davidson) he plotted to restore  
the Stuarts. He told James of a pro-  
posed expedition against the French.  
James, naturally, told the French king  
and 800 British soldiers were killed in  
the expedition to Brest (1694). David-  
son claims that the Duke of Marlborough  
and his wife were the actual rulers of  
England during Queen Anne's reign and  
lined their own pockets from the public  
purse. Davidson sums up, "Such then,  
was the founder of this House of Marl-  
borough. He had great ability; but it  
was the ability of the devil—ability di-  
vorced from honour, conscience, hum-  
anity. He was one of the greatest gener-  
als and one of the worst men Europe  
ever produced."

This is but one of the examples of the  
financial preferments gifted by the  
monarchy which have shaped and dis-  
torted English history. Two major in-  
cidents in English history, the dissolu-  
tion of the monasteries and the planta-  
tion settlements in Ireland, raised to

Equally pessimistic but somewhat less utopian—more a  
documentary novel—is Victor Serge's The Case of Comrade  
Tulayev (30p + 23p) set in Russia in 1939 between defeat in  
Spain and the coming defeats of the early part of World War  
Two. It is centred in the factional Stalinist intrigues surroun-  
ding the murder of Comrade Tulayev, a key party man, on  
impulse by an unimportant clerk—and the fear and suspicion  
that grow out of all proportion within the completely central-  
ised system as a result of this.

Continuing on a more hopeful and truly utopian note, three  
works not included in my original round-up. Firstly, Colin  
Ward's Utopia (75p + 17p), profusely illustrated and useful  
for younger readers too; this delves into Utopias past, pres-  
ent and future and points up precisely both how near and how  
far we are from realising our dreams—and our nightmares.  
Lastly, William Morris. His classic News from Nowhere is  
available complete in a really bargain little paperback, to-  
gether with The Pilgrims of Hope and A Dream of John Ball,  
over 400 pages in all for £1.00 (+ 29p post). And The Politi-  
cal Writings of William Morris edited by A. L. Morton  
(£1.00 + 20p), fourteen short pamphlets by Morris in one  
volume, including "Useful Work versus Useless Toil", "Art  
and Socialism", "How we live and how we might live", "Soci-  
alism and Anarchism", and much more.

Finally, some new titles:-

Mike Fitzgerald: Prisoners in Revolt, the story of prisoners'  
fight for their rights in U.K. and U.S.A in recent years  
(£1.50 + 20p). Jose Peirats: La C.N.T. nella rivoluzione  
Spagnola (£2.50 + 29p). Paul Avrich: Russian Rebels 1600-  
1800 (£2.95 + 23p), now available in paperback for the first  
time. William Godwin: Enquiry Concerning Political Justice  
£2.25 + 47p). Complete and unabridged edition of this anar-  
chist classic from the third (1798) edition.

J. H.

### THE BOOKSHOP IS OPEN :

Tuesday - Friday 2 - 6 pm

(Thursdays until 8 p.m.)

Saturdays 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

(Aldgate East underground station,  
Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and  
turn right. Angel Alley is next to  
Wimpy Bar. On Saturdays take  
Toynbee Hall exit and turn left.)

eminence and prosperity nonentities  
and villains whose only claim to power  
was questionable friendship with the  
monarch. Throughout history such  
were the levers that moved the puppet  
show.

The Queen of Diamonds is one of the  
trump cards in the Royal suite, with  
the curious reflected glory of other  
people's wealth and man's pride in his  
parasites. Keir Hardie, one of the  
staunchest Socialist anti-monarchists  
(an unfashionable cause followed by his  
son-in-law Emrys Hughes) wrote: "In  
this country loyalty to Queen is used by  
profitmongers to blind the eyes of the  
people; in America loyalty to the flag  
serves the same purpose. Law and  
order, by which the commoners are  
kept quiet whilst they are being fleeced  
by their masters, must have a symbol  
and anything will serve. Therefore, un-  
til the system of wealth production has  
changed, it is not worth exchanging a  
queen for a president. The robbery of  
the poor would go on equally, under the  
one as the other. The king fraud will  
disappear when the exploiting of the  
people draws to a close."

Jack Robinson.