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SUPPRESSING THE REFUGEE

THE European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism was adopted on 10 November 1976 by the ministers of the Council of Europe and has been signed by 17 member states of the Council of Europe (i.e. except Ireland and Malta). It is designed to cut drastically down on the right of political asylum by removing all recognition of political character from a wide list of offences. Under articles 1 and 2 political motivation is denied to hijacking, offences against 'protected persons', kidnapping and the use of bombs and automatic weapons; but also - under article 2 - to any other offence against life, physical integrity or liberty of persons, and acts against property which 'create a collective danger for people.' This is justified to critics by the argument that, after all, the member States of the Council of Europe are democratic regimes

'LONDON! Well, yes, I love London where by banned friends have always been welcome', writes Louise Michel in her memoirs.

'...London railway station shook with the Marseillaise, which we heard reverberating around us for a long time without it in any way affecting English susceptibilities, and as long as we heard it we responded without anyone trying to incriminate us ...'

What would happen to Louise Michel under the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism which Britain - unlike Malta and Ireland - is about to incorporate into British law? Louise Michel, who had taken an active part in the Commune fighting and had thereby committed crimes or been party to them in the eyes of the established order; who had narrowly escaped judicial murder, had been sentenced to deportation in New Caledonia and had then been gaoled in France again; who had openly advocated violence, on occasion - and furthermore, as an anarchist (which always makes it worse) - and expressed herself as more than ready to carry out assassination (e.g. her offer to assassinate Thiers)?

The answer is simple. It has already been provided for us by the far more innocuous Rudi Dutschke, chucked out of Britain by Maudling in 1971 on the grounds that he might become a security risk, or again of late by the Agee and Hosenball case. Louise Michel, this 'terrorist' communaire, this 'petroleuse' ('without hatred, without anger' but also 'without pity for herself or for others, it was necessary, whether the heart bleeds or not'), whose presence in London was politely acknowledged in the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, would not today be allowed to leave the airport. Moreover, under the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism she would not be recognised as in any sense political. She would be speedily returned to her place of origin there to undergo due process of law, etc. Alternatively she

could be put on trial in this country on the new, but not unreasonable assumption, that the interests of the French state are those of the British, and that enemies against 'France' are also enemies against 'Britain' ...

What is surprising is that governments have been so slow to admit to an international solidarity which the revolutionary left have always proclaimed. But where we are far less efficient than governments is in our capacity to act upon that basic principle. Very little, indeed, has been said in radical papers about the British ratification of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism. This is partly perhaps because the text has been unavailable. But it must also be because of a resigned sense of inevitability that exists among people in general, including anarchists. Sometimes, I think, the scepticism or cynicism that is natural and necessary to anarchism is at the same time its worst enemy. Unlike liberals or conservatives we don't refer back to a sort of golden age of political freedom, whose remnants must be defended from the ravages of state socialism. We are aware that the extradition act of 1870, extending protection to refugees whose offence was of a political character, depended on a power system of unusual wealth and stability whose political conflicts had been bred on a sense of racial superiority and channelled outwards across the rest of the world. We know that if a Louise Michel or a Johann Most had refugee status in England, or if that 'terrorist' Garibaldi gave his name to

(cont pg 2)→



SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT
SURREALISM

prepared by Conroy Maddox



REFUGEES

(cont from page 1)

English biscuits and country pubs, it was because of the profound self-confidence of the British ruling class of the time - one that we should hardly wish to restore as the price for greater civil liberties than we now have!

If there was any hint of danger the smooth facade would crack very quickly. As *The Times* admitted in a recent article entitled 'The End for the Political Refugee?':

'The legislative fathers of section 3 of the 1870 Extradition Act, John Stuart Mill among them, anticipated that the courts would take it upon themselves not only to examine the offence for which extradition was requested, but also to consider the bona fides of the demanding state. This expectation proved somewhat over-optimistic. Within a few years United Kingdom courts had indicated that they would only detect political character in offences occurring between competing factions, each struggling for power in a state. The anarchist, "the enemy of all governments", was soon excluded and the question of good faith abandoned to that political expedient, the Secretary of State's discretion'.

Because we are naturally aware of this there is a tendency among us to adopt a world-weary attitude that is not exactly conducive to active campaigning, or at any rate to the type of campaigning that has none of the easy and immediate gratification of fasci-bashing. But, in particular as anarchists, should we not passionately care about the practice of asylum and have we not an obligation to ourselves and to others to set up far more effective resistance than we have done so far against all attempts by the state to facilitate its repressive task through the steady accumulation of anti-terrorist measures?

It is true that the right of political asylum has already been largely destroyed by successive governments and that, as stated above, the anarchist was soon excluded from the provisions of the Extradition Act. The exclusion orders under the 1976 Prevention of Terrorism Act led to the deportation of at least 83 people by 1977, and amount to a system of internal banishment which, though so far still limited to UK rather than British citizens, bears comparison with that practised against dissenters in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, or with confinement under Mussolini and in Italy again today, as the case of the anarchist Mander shows. But the ratification by the British government of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism will add one of the most dangerous weapons yet to the arsenal that has been built up around the PTA, the OSA and conspiracy laws, the criminal trespass law, the public order act banning marches etc (not to mention the erosion of the right of habeas corpus, and recent police attacks on trial by jury).

Most striking is the legal sanction it gives to the full solidarity already being practised between the Convention states (notice the Wanted signs up outside British police stations for German RAF members? remember the role of the SAS at Mogadishu or again, recently in the kidnapping of Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades in Rome?) and its effective recognition of

the honourably democratic credentials of the other member states! (Indeed, this is the comforting point about it for watchdog bodies like the International Commission of Jurists who in their *Review* conclude, 'It is unlikely that the application of the Convention will affect the right to grant asylum as long as the Contracting States have a democratic regime in which the rule of law prevails'!) In fact, once the Convention is ratified all critical assessment of the bona fides of one contracting government by another - were it ever practised - is already surrendered.

It doesn't take a paper like *FREEDOM*, it was said in that same *Times* article quoted above, to point out that '...there can be no doubt that the European Convention is potentially a most serious threat to the practice of asylum and the protection of refugees.' But it does take such a paper to point out that it is not a question of facing what governments may do in the future, as the *Times* obviously believes. ('Is it beyond the bounds of belief', it asks, 'that, at some future time, governments may discover that their own power and authority are best preserved by rigidly controlling, confining and channelling all opposition? And that there is a mutual interest in maintaining the power and authority of all other governments, regardless of creed or complexion?') The answer of course is that it is not a matter of belief in a potential danger but of established danger - not a matter of some future time but of some long distant past when governments first went into the business of 'controlling, confining and channelling all opposition.' So what can we do?

Directly there can be no doubt that we should make a more serious effort to inform ourselves in advance on this kind of legislation so as to discuss together how best to campaign against it before it becomes law. We should put more pressure than we do on specialist civil liberties groups (the NCCL doesn't seem to be planning any campaign of its own against the Suppression of Terrorism Bill), and improve contacts with our comrades abroad. (In France at least 23 different organisations and groups have been campaigning against the Convention since the extradition of Klaus Croissant to Germany last November).

In the long term there is of course no answer but to continue to build up an anarchist network in this country. In Britain today there are two conflicting forces at work. There is the move towards massive corporate bureaucracy and Continental centralism, of which the Suppression of Terrorism Convention is an eloquent example, and there is the move, classic to anarchism and now supported in varying degrees by ecologists and futurologists, towards decentralisation and the small-scale unit. As a *Guardian* item on the recent 'Europe 2000' report supporting the latter commented, 'It is at least as possible that individual European countries will move, under the pressure of crisis, to authoritarian, corporatist regimes as that they will break up into small, self-governing communities.'

It is our task, as anarchists, to give political structure and coherence to this second force, working deliberately towards government crisis but in such a way that it is very difficult for governments to resort to their arsenal of law. And in the last resort this is only possible through a great increase in anarchist propaganda in the local community.

GAIA

ITALY



Roberto Mander

A WAY of dealing with revolutionaries and dissidents, not used since Mussolini's time against the left, has just been re-introduced in Italy. Last month three people in Rome were ordered into confinement - Daniele Pifano, Paolo Rotondi and the anarchist Roberto Mander. While Pifano is serving a prison sentence, and it seems that Rotondi may be able to continue working in Rome, Roberto Mander has been sent to the island of Linosa - a volcanic island of five square kilometres and around 400 inhabitants, a few miles off the Maltese coast. Until 17 February, the date of Roberto's arrival on Linosa, the confinement system had been used by post-war governments only against mafiosi and prisoners who have not been tried after a certain lapse of time - mainly fascists. But, it seems, Roberto has been charged with nothing, the only justification being that he is a security risk. He is now faced with the absurd situation of trying to earn his living on an island where he is unable to get a job, there being already 37 unemployed people among the inhabitants. "They have forced me to find myself a job at once", he is quoted as saying, "But I can't go into the bar or restaurants where I could be a waiter, and I can't take out a boat, so fishing is precluded. I just don't know how I'll manage to live."

Before leaving Rome Roberto spoke on one of Italy's several free radio stations, Radio Faraci. He reminded listeners that others would follow after him, also that among the 'confinati' of Mussolini's time had been the Communist senator Terracini, founder member with Gramsci and Togliatti of the Pci, which now (of course) condones the practice. With more integrity than most of his fellow Communists, and a better memory sharpened by personal experience, Terracini has nevertheless come out in opposition to Mander's confinement. The confinement law was strengthened in 1965 when mafiosi were brought into its orbit, and ten years later a new law permitted its use against political dissenters (on just the same principles as the police militia law, for example, in Bulgaria). "Today it suffices that any head of police in any Italian town who suspects someone of something can be sent away for a period of between one and five years, depending on the decision of the judge ... there is no legal appeal", says Terracini.

Unable to find work, Roberto is also homeless and has to stay in the only municipal building, sleeping on a bench. The inhabitants are reported to have said they have nothing against him but fear he could scare away tourists! They are therefore said to be refusing to serve him hot food and to have cut the island off from Italy by blockading the port. In the meantime the local carabinieri have decided to restrict his movements still further and so he is kept 'at home' from eight at night until seven in the morning.

GAY NEWS APPEAL

GAY NEWS has lost its appeal against conviction for blasphemous libel. The Appeal Court judgement, which was given a month after the hearing on 17 March, rejected every argument of the lawyers for the editor and publisher that the judge in the trial had misdirected the jury. The Appeal judges didn't discuss the poem or the prosecution or the verdict, but confined themselves to the narrow theoretical issue - whether the previous cases of blasphemy from 1676 to 1922 show that there must be any evidence of an attack on Christianity, an intention to give offence, or a tendency to cause a breach of the peace. They decided that there need not be any such element, so theoretically any material concerning religion which causes enough offence for anyone to start a prosecution for blasphemy is presumably blasphemous!

The only concessions the Appeal judges made was to quash the suspended prison sentence on Denis Lemon and to grant him legal aid if Gay News tries to appeal to the House of Lords. The result is that Gay News faces fines totalling £1500, its legal costs for the trial and the appeal, and Mary Whitehouse's legal costs for the trial; her costs for

the appeal will be paid by public funds (i.e. us). Gay News must now decide whether it is worth appealing to the House of Lords and, if it predictably confirms the Appeal Court, further to the European Court.

None of all this legal asininity has anything to do with the practical issue - whether any blasphemous material can be suppressed by legal action. Apart from an enormous waste of time, energy and money, the main effect of Mary Whitehouse's prosecution of Gay News has been the increased circulation of James Kirkup's poem far beyond its original readership. This point was emphasised by Nicolas Walter when he commented on the case on both radio (The World Tonight, Radio 4, 17 March) and television (Everyman, BBC 1, 19 March), and he added that he would continue to distribute the poem. So, no doubt, will plenty of other people, but Mary Whitehouse actually said after the Appeal judgement that this might be a good thing because it meant that more people will know how dreadful the poem really is!

Meanwhile, in the real struggle of Italy, we have learnt that our comrades Franco

Leggio and Alfredo Bonanno were acquitted of blasphemy at their trial in Catania - also on 17 March. We haven't yet heard the details, but we can't help noticing that Johann Most's strong anti-Christian essay is acceptable in Italy when James Kirkup's weak pro-Christian poem is unacceptable in Britain. Just as Kirkup's poem is being circulated, so should Most's essay, and we hope to publish a revised English translation in the FREEDOM Anarchist Review in the near future.

Many people - whether in favour of religion or opposed to religion or indifferent to religion - have expressed surprise that there should still be arguments about blasphemy in the last quarter of the twentieth century after the alleged birth of the alleged carpenter's son. As Lady Macbeth puts it rather more forcibly, 'Who would have thought the old man to have had so much blood in him?' All we can say is that we didn't choose this battlefield, but that since it has been chosen for us it is where we have to fight. In Britain it has been the gay press, in Italy the anarchist press, which has taken the attack; but no one is safe from attack as long as the attackers think it is worth while. The fundamental rule is that freedom of expression must be made more worthwhile than its suppression, and the only way to ensure this is the use the freedom we have.

M.H.

BETHNAL GREEN HOSPITAL

ON Thursday, 16 March an emergency public meeting was held on the threatened closure of Bethnal Green hospital. It was the second meeting of the campaign and it attracted about 200 people from the local area. The position of the hospital is that it deals with emergencies every day; for example 150 people are on the waiting list just for hip operations, the majority of these being old people who are not able to walk. If the hospital closes they will be in a right state. The London Hospital about a mile away has an enormous waiting list and its casualty department is always full. If Bethnal Green hospital closes the London will just not be able to cope. It is obvious that what is needed is more hospitals, not the closure of existing ones. However, the government health cuts demand that hospitals be closed in an area where hospital admissions are double the national average, where bronchitis is 60 per cent more prevalent than in the rest of the UK and where infant mortality is way above the national average. The area health authority (AHA) want BGH to be turned into a geriatric unit; local people are asking why isn't one built so as to keep the hospital open.

Bethnal Green Hospital has a three-month reprieve; during this term the hospital will be reviewed again. The staff have elected an action committee; they have said that no conversions to a geriatric unit will be allowed to take place; they have obtained support on this point from the trade unions. The running of the

hospital will continue; a speaker from the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital who attended the last meeting wanted to link up the fight and advised the local residents to keep hassling the AHA and to mass picket every meeting they held. He went on to say there must be continual picket lines on the hospital and that the control over the running of the hospital must be in the hands of the staff. (What about the patients?) Bethnal Green hospital would probably have a lot of trouble from the management for example by letting vital machinery run down. But the militancy of the staff and patients at EGA got them what they wanted in the end.

Local people at the meeting called for a rejection of the health acts and more support from other local people to open more hospitals. The biggest problem the hospital has is that it lacks staff and this ends in wards having to close. An appeal has been launched to find trained nurses to do full or part-time work.

This was the second meeting but my first. I found it and the campaign completely manipulated by the Labour party, trade union hacks, councillors, doctors and of course, as stars the 'vote for me' SWP. It was so frustrating to see local people being filled with party political trash. Disappointingly, I do not believe there were any other anarchists around to give an alternative viewpoint or to dissolve the shit being passed around. To quote, for instance, from Councillor Snooks: 'The leaders

of the East End, the Trade Unions, the councillors, the churches have been fighting for better conditions in the East End'; and from a trade union official, 'you must fight through the Trade Union movement.' The absurd statements made me nearly fall off my seat. Everything the people in the East End have gained has been through fighting 25 years against corrupt and moribund Labour party rule.

Trying to close down Bethnal Green Hospital is just one of a hundred things the State does without our consent every day. We must show people that the government with co-operation from Trade Unions allows hospitals, factories, schools to close so as to ensure the smooth running of capitalism. No matter what political shade of government, these people will only protect their own interests. We cannot gain anything through these channels. The local people will have to realise that in the end it is their initiative that will stop the closure of a much needed hospital by occupying the hospital and showing solidarity with the patients and staff. The third meeting is in a month or two and if any local anarchists would like to go we could meet beforehand maybe to organise a leaflet or to speak. Contact me c/o FREEDOM.

Gary H.

(See also Letters)

Police Admit Stammheim MURDERS

Well, not quite so startling, only an insignificant British policeman. Last week (March 21/22/23) saw the trial of the eight comrades arrested on the Black Aid demo on December 10th. (See FREEDOM Vol. 38 No. 25, Dec. 24th 1977). There were various charges of obstruction (of the highway and of the police) and one charge of assaulting the police. The defendants had already appeared in court twice and the case been adjourned.

The progress of the case, despite having all the usual characteristics of magistrates' courts, had several interesting features. It started with a minor victory. Two extra obstruction charges had been brought five minutes before the start. A move that these should be dropped was supported by the magistrate (Eugene McDermott) who got a bit tetchy with the prosecuting counsel. After all, it's possible to do people while still maintaining a semblance of fairness. The charges were accordingly dropped. Throughout the case McDermott showed a willingness to be sharp with anybody who bucked his authority. Apparently he has something of a reputation for this.

The next two days saw the unfolding of the prosecution case, and a sorry tale of contradictions, misrepresentations and downright lies it was. The police witnesses (there were 14 of them) contradicted each other (and themselves) so much that at times I almost believed that they were keeping to the rules and not discussing it between themselves. However, watching them in the dock led to a more obvious conclusion. They're stupid. The basis of their case was that after the petition had been handed in at the West German Embassy most of the marchers dispersed quietly, but one group (estimated variously between 25 and over 100) continued to march, obstructing the pavement in the process. Eventually, when told to disperse by an inspector, one pushed forward, waving a black flag, shouting various inflammatory phrases ("Come on", "Follow me" or whatever, depending which policeman was giving evidence at the time). The patience of the boys in blue finally became strained and he was arrested for obstruction. The arresting officer, one Sgt. Morgans, then held onto this dangerous revolutionary with one hand, clutching the hair of a would-be rescuer with the other, while a number (again various) of others "jumped on his back", (this phrase cropped up regularly). Commendable fortitude, surely. In the ensuing melee the arrests were made and Constable Arnott was kneed in the lower abdomen, groin, testicles or balls.

The facts were that the march had been subjected to constant police provocation. Even before it reached the embassy a cordon had been put across the agreed route without any previous consultation. At the embassy, after a petition had been handed in, and while a meeting was being held, the demonstrators were suddenly split by a police wedge, and one group (about 30) forced along what was in fact the agreed dispersal route. They were walking along here, as individuals or in

groups of 3 or 4 towards Hyde Park Corner tube station with the intention of getting out of the area as soon as possible, when the police blocked the pavement in front of them (this was agreed by some of the police witnesses, although the senior officers flatly denied it). Due to this cordon the various scattered comrades caught up and therefore did in fact (for a few minutes and due to the police themselves) form a compact group and block the pavement. Then the scuffles started. People were arrested, seemingly randomly. However one German comrade had been closely tailed by a policeman all along the road. As soon as the trouble started he was grabbed from behind and then dragged to and into the police bus. During this, while both arms and both legs were being held, he apparently managed to assault Constable Arnott.

The conduct of the case holds valuable lessons. The comrades presented a collective defence, without lawyers, but with "Mackenzie Advisors". This meant that each police witness was cross examined eight times and no less than 14 people were scrutinising his story. This meant that at the end of the prosecution's case it was possible to draw up a document listing the contradictions. These were far too many to list here. Suffice it to say that this document took a whole night to write and over half an hour to read out. One consistent line of questioning by the defence was to find whether the police had any political briefing before the demo. The senior officers denied this, but some of the others let interesting points slip. One apparently was under the impression that it was in support of the "Freedom Fighters Faction". Another stated quite definitely that it was "to protest about the murders in prison of the Baader-Meinhof group". No Doubt he has been subjected to constant propaganda from the press, so we can forgive him his sloppy terminology about the RAF. At the beginning of the third day the above mentioned document was presented, as a submission that there was no case to answer. One comrade, in particular, was there on the unsupported evidence of one sergeant. This officer answered "I don't know" to nearly every question put to him. None of the other police remembered seeing the comrade in question, not even the one he is supposed to have obstructed! In addition to which he had been improperly arrested, not cautioned etc. (all this was freely agreed to by the police). Yet this submission was rejected and the defence had to proceed with their case.

In the end two comrades (including the one above and another where the prosecution case was equally flimsy) were acquitted. Five were fined £ 35 each including costs. This is bad enough. But even more seriously, Gerhard Sollinger, after being closely followed throughout the demo, snatched at the first excuse and physically mistreated, was found guilty of assaulting the police and sentenced to imprisonment. The exact sentence is to

be fixed later. (McDermott said, "You can get legal advice but I don't anticipate changing my mind"). At present Gerhard is in Pentonville Prison waiting for the final decision. He will appear before a judge in chambers this week, (Thurs. 30th.)

Contributions are urgently needed towards the fines. Please send to:-

Black Aid,
c/o Rising Free,
182 Upper Street,
London N.1.

IN BRIEF

It has been discovered that the use of troops during the firemen's strike was contrary to Queen's Regulations. Hurried amendments are under way.

The Iranian Government has faced its first motion of censure in 24 years. The vote of confidence was brought by a local deputy following last month's riot in Tabriz in which several (officially 12) people were killed. Tabriz is in Azerbaijan in the north west of the country and has traditionally been a centre for unrest. A Russian backed Soviet republic was established here just after the First World War and the area has had several insurrections and declarations of local autonomy since then. There is a high proportion of people of Turkish origin in the region, and the dominance of Tehran is resented. Unrest in Iran has been growing over the last year. Student troubles, especially in Tehran, are increasing (See FREEDOM November 26) and a liberal, intellectual reform movement is developing. The riot in Tabriz developed when police forced a confrontation during a demonstration. This was itself to protest against shootings during an earlier demonstration. The deputy who brought the vote of confidence in the Majlis (Parliament) is a member of the Pan-Iranists, a far right nationalist party which has recently re-emerged and gained strength. The Prime Minister didn't bother to turn up to hear the motion and was criticised accordingly. The Interior Minister said that the Government could not afford to gamble with the nation's security and that the motion was based on rumours fuelled by biased foreign media. In instances like this we are glad to associate ourselves with biased foreign media and to see some cracks appear in Iran's shell, even produced by right wing nationalists.

Dictators Dilemma

"We have decisively to prevent the copying of consumption patterns of capitalist societies where the transformation of material goods into status symbols deforms comprehension and leads to deep - on occasion extreme - manifestations of frustration"

GOOD MARXIST JARGON from Edward Gierek, the Polish leader, addressing a recent Party conference in Warsaw. Putting it more bluntly, he means that the Party leadership is unwilling to meet the desire of mere workers for a life as materially comfortable as that of their bosses.

Throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union there is a privileged class. This is the central fact. All talk of "socialism" or a move towards "communism" in that context is an absurd fiction.

This creates the very "transformation of material goods into status symbols" that Giersek is at such pains to denounce. One obvious demonstration of this is the network of special shops which deal only in "hard" Western currency.

In East Germany there are the "Intershops". These started as duty-free shops for foreign tourists - it was seen as an efficient method of attracting more Western currency. In 1974 they were opened to all East Germans who could pay in Western money.

Who has access to this? Apart from a few with prosperous relatives abroad only the privileged caste with easy access to the West or to Western contacts who can help them.

There have been strikes among East German workers centered almost entirely around access to the goods these shops stock, particularly among workers on the link roads to the West. The upkeep of these is financed by the Western powers in hard currency and in January workers demanded a share of this in their pay packets.

NO QUESTIONS ASKED

In Poland there are 427 "Pewex" shops which sell everything but coal and meat for Western currency. A Polish Fiat 125 costs 200,000 zlotys - 50 times the monthly average wage. On top of this there is a long wait before the car is available. But for \$1,300 on the counter the Polish bourgeois can drive away immediately.

Polish citizens are allowed to have hard currency accounts with no questions asked by the State about the sources of the money. Again, those with relatives abroad can have money sent in to them. But only the privileged and those trusted by the Party can have easy access to the real sources of money.

In Czechoslovakia there are "Tuzex" shops offering the same services and in Hungary 86 "Intertourist" shops serve the 10,000 citizens authorised to keep hard currency accounts.

What does all this mean? Simply that scarce goods are allocated - as in the self-confessed capitalist states - to those who can afford them. This leads inevitably to absurd and irrational desires being created as these goods are transformed - in Gierek's words - "into status symbols".

If you have something scarce then obviously, particularly in tightly structured societies like those of the East, you must have reached some higher plateau of social "worth", musn't you?

BUTTONED UP SOCIETY

This kind of situation is seen by Western commentators as a deformed kind of "liberalisation". But, of course, it only intensifies the anger of those - the majority - who do not have access. The Communist hardliners are still aghast: though these same people would not willingly give up their particular privileges. What frightens them is that it signifies a shift of power away from them to more pragmatic, less dogma-bound "managerial" types.

In the Soviet Union - which has been a buttoned up society for 60 years rather than the 30 of most East European countries - there is not the same pressure for Western goods and living standards. But there is a demand for a better supply of food and other essential goods and services. The centralised system cannot cope and the eternal excuses about bad weather, destruction caused by the war, etc. don't hold much water.

So there are pragmatists who want to move into a more market orientated economy. This would shift power to individual managers. In return the Party leaders would feel safer because a contented labour force would feel less inclined to consider sweeping the whole system away and might itself put more heart into its work.

Hungary has taken the largest step towards this kind of economy. Allowed a relatively long leash by the Kremlin since the workers' revolt of 1956, its leaders try to break gradually out of the Stalinist strait-jacket.

In Poland the process has been slower. A recent decree allowed small state-owned shops to be handed over to private managers - with the interesting exception of butchers, jewellers and off-licences.

The State hopes that private managers, their initiative fuelled by the possibility of "making it" as individuals, will be more successful at running and stocking shops than tired bureaucrats. They will be allowed to employ up to three people and be granted tax concessions.

In East Germany - which has the highest living standards in the Communist world anyway - more and more private firms are being set up.

KEEPING A GRIP

To simplify matters grossly, the struggle is between "politicians" and "managers". The wisest of the politicians see that concessions must be made to the material aspirations of the workers if they are to keep their grip.

If power devolving to individual managers is the only way then, with reservations, so be it. The obvious danger is that the workers themselves (to whom, after all, the State is supposed to "belong") may start demanding freedoms of their own.

This is what began to happen in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The Russians were quite right to see the warning signs. Dubcek and his comrades' genuine desire for a softer, more responsive and more efficient regime led inevitably to a realisation among many workers that it might be even better to do away with the whole show.

This is the dilemma the Communist leaders face. No change and the steady collapse into bureaucratic torpor and popular discontent goes on. Reform, and things may get out of hand. It is, not altogether surprisingly, a mirror image of the dilemma faced by Western leaders.

H.H.



"Can I get down for a moment, just to stretch
my legs"
(from ASKATASUNA -Basque anarchist
paper)

LETTERS

'UNTOUCHABLES'

Dear FREEDOM

I have often felt that much is wrong on a practical level with our society's care for its 'untouchables.' This is partly due to the public's ignorance and fear of such unfortunates and to the cynical actions/methods of the politicians who run 'government' and 'social services'. By 'untouchables' I refer to the mentally subnormal/handicapped and our society's habit of incarcerating them in large isolated institutions. I work as a volunteer at such a hospital where I can see the results on patients and staff of the combined effects of lack of finances/staff, public ignorance and political cynicism. At our hospital we have about 1500 patients comprising mentally and mentally/physically abnormal, e.g. spastic, epileptic, etc. To care for all these people on the present system of 24-hour care we need several hundred nursing staff plus domestic staff, all managed by a sizeable administrative block. The hospital is of course well away from any large residential area - 'out of sight, out of mind' - that is how politicians intend to keep the problem; that way public fear and ignorance will remain and the plight of such patients can effectively be ignored with the costs of keeping them alive kept to an absolute minimum.

The only effective way of restoring to the community at large knowledge of and participation in caring for these unfortunate victims is to break up these places and disperse the 'patients' to suitable small homes, one in every street perhaps, where the local community could aid the small number of professional staff now needed in their task of normalising these people's lives. This development could only happen in spite of politicians; it is surely our duty as anarchists to stand up for these people who are largely unable to speak out for themselves. I am quite sure that other branches of the social services suffer in their own areas from their political bosses' one track centralised minds, eager to save money at the expense of people and lives.

Yours sincerely
J.P. Simcork

Chester

MOISEI

Re: "Of the poetry of R.R. one can but say that I read it with pleasure but honesty compels me to find it a minor work. It is said that the poet spends much of his time rewriting revolutionary history from an anarchist('s) point of view and to me that seems a certain way to make enemies among the anarchist movements ..." CAMP PUNK, A. Moisei

If Arthur can misspell my name, I allow myself the privilege of reciprocating. One will be tempted, at this point to say: Rudy is sore because he has not been recognised as a talent.

If this were so, Rudy could sulk for 10 minutes and then forget it. However, a vital point is raised by a reviewer, or is it critic, which cannot pass. Unfortunately, Moyse, like the original mountain-climbing Judge, has not learned that each melody, each flower, each poem is as good or bad as each ear, each nose, each mind perceives it - so the propensity of reviewers to make judgmental, comparative editorialisings is not endemic only to servants of the establishment!

Furthermore: I am astounded at Arthur's ability to judge a manuscript without having read it. I think most of us are able to make enemies among anarchists without advice. I cannot agree with the attitude of so many of our brothers - who should know better - who think themselves to be profound when they greet authors with: Oh no! Not another book on the Russian Revolution-Spain-Kronstadt? Well, I have made a concentrated study of every book and scraps available to me and have found valuable thoughts and/or facts in every one of them. And this on-going search has been pursued for 15 years. Such impatient anarchists see no contradiction in their acceptance of Santayana's (and Andric, Buchan, Colton, Dryden, West, Gibbon, Irving, Lerner, Macaulay) admonition about the lesson of history; with an implied assumption that all the facts, all the truths have long been 'pigeon-holed'. My study has taught me only the distortions, myths and lies have been 'pigeon-holed' and there is a sad-sore need for 'making enemies among the anarchist movements' - to quote a reviewer.

If all this were not so; will some kind English brother explain to me how the history of 1917 can be written with casual references to Winston Churchill, Zigmund Rosenblum, R.H.B. Lockhart and a host of others who were rewarded with knighthoods and baronetcies. Or; educate me as to why the McMahon Agreement became a scrap of paper to be 'rewritten' as a Declaration by that man the Irish called 'Bloody Balfour'. Or; let me know how Jacob Peters could kill three London Bobbies and survive to machinate in Petrograd, Ukraine and New York. I should also be much pleased for a gut-level explanation why England did not yield the Promised Land to the Zionists until the Irgun Zvai Leumi planted a reminder in the King David Hotel.

To be more brief about the Spanish Revolution: how can it be written with casual references to the same Winston Churchill and no reference to the likes of Luis Bolin? The answer is that the last definitive histories have not been written and cannot be, so long as the bogeyman is sought in the Chartist, the Bolshevik or Campesino - without seeking him in Perfidious Albion and here in my Sweet Land of Liberty.

Allow me to correctly spell my name; the one my mother gave me and not the one given to the family when it arrived at Ellis Island.

Hrihori Nestor Rudenko

Illinois



CULTURE

Philip Sansom writes so much good sense that it is worth correcting the small amount of nonsense in his magnificent article on racial fear (18 March).

The origin and nature of our language are different from what he says, and actually more relevant to his theme. The Anglo-Saxon invaders from the fifth to the eighth century replaced the previous inhabitants of what became England, so that the Roman-British language survived only in the highlands of the extreme north-west, west and south-west, and abroad, and it now survives only in Wales and Brittany. Anglo-Saxon or Old English was a West German language with Teutonic grammar and roots, and hardly any Latin or Celtic elements at all. The Scandinavian invaders from the eighth to the eleventh century added many Norse words, also of Teutonic origin and often similar to the Anglo-Saxon words. The Norman invaders from the eleventh to the fourteenth century reintroduced a Latin element, in the form of the many French words absorbed into Middle English - a process which not only increased the vocabulary but confused the spelling and simplified the grammar. The result is that Modern English is possibly the simplest and richest language in the world.

When Philip Sansom says, "There are a few Anglo-Saxon words remaining among the common people", he himself uses a high proportion of Anglo-Saxon words, as in indeed normal in most speech and writing. Modern English is overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon and Norse in its grammar and basic vocabulary. What is significant is that the differences between Teutonic and Latin usage reflect social differences. Among the many synonyms in English, the Anglo-Saxon and Norse alternatives are generally shorter, more concrete and more direct, and the French and Latin ones are generally longer, more abstract and more indirect. And it is still true that the new vocabulary created by the common people (slang) tends to be of Teutonic origin, while new vocabulary created by the intelligentsia (jargon) tends to be of Latin origin. Many nations have interesting linguistic divisions, but we have a particularly interesting one going back to the struggles of immigrants in this country hundreds of years ago.

Incidentally, when Goering heard the word "culture" he reached for a revolver, not a Browning - which was just as well, since a Browning is a large machine-gun. It was not Turner but Whistler who was criticised by Ruskin (a great defender of Turner), saying in 1877 that he "never expected to hear a coxcomb ask 200 guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face". And Roosevelt said that "the only thing we have to fear is fear itself" not at the beginning of the war in 1941 but at the beginning of his first term as President during the depression in 1933.

A.F.

Typist's note: I think there was such a thing as a Browning automatic pistol which Goering could quite comfortably have reached for.

They Asked The Wrong Questions

THE RESULT of the Windscale Enquiry was predictable. As we said in *FREEDOM* (Aug. 6-1977): "Windscale will help to prevent the building of a militant opposition because it is absorbing and exhausting the nuclear protesters in a long court wrangle; it is helping to divide them among themselves and at the same time give the impression that the probable outcome in favour of British Nuclear Fuels and the plutonium society was fairly arrived at and must therefore be abided by."

All the cards were stacked against the protesters. They had no public money; the enquiry was conducted by representatives of the establishment and, most important, **THEY ASKED THE WRONG QUESTIONS**. And that is the story of most enquiries and much research.

The enquiry was extremely narrow and the inspector's qualifications for conducting it even narrower. A part of the judicial establishment on which the power-structured and privileged technical society is based, he would of course be quite unable to ask himself whether it would be better to create a society which did not require such enormous inputs of power. The following statement shows clearly the view of the inspector and the establishment that he represents: "It will involve additional exposure to local inhabitants but the risks appear to be so small that the fact cannot outweigh the advantages."

Here they admit that no plant can be operated without the release of some radioactivity and some experts would say that any emission is dangerous and cumulative. The question: Should oxide fuel from UK reactors be reprocessed in this country at all, assumes that it is desirable to have and develop the nuclear power programme. Therefore the inspector's answer to this question of his was in effect that as we have already taken the path we should extend and develop the programme.

The answer to the question: Should it be at Windscale, followed the same ruptured logic - already there, might as well go on. It would perhaps be more logical to stick it in the urban centres where the demands for power are the largest.

The question: Should the plant be double the size required for UK spent fuel and be used to reprocess foreign fuel was also agreed to on very dubious financial grounds, particularly as the inspector himself says British Nuclear Fuels Limited had produced no detailed financial analysis.

If the financial development of Windscale is to follow that of Concorde then we may now only have a quite mammoth, but an ultimate extinction as well.

In a world that is becoming increasingly violent and unstable the inspector seems to place reliance on governmental measures to safeguard the general population which the history of the last 100 years does not warrant. He ignores the fact that the most potent terrorist organisations are the governments themselves, whose irresponsible attitude to human life has permeated the whole population.

The salient questions that were not put and not answered in this enquiry were:

1. Is it possible for the planet to remain a viable place for human beings with continued economic growth and the vast energy inputs that this demands and which the development of the nuclear programme presupposes?
2. Do people really want the highly centralised state that going nuclear presupposed? The agitation for decentralisation suggests not.
3. Will the development of a nuclear power programme add to the basic fertility of our soil? The evidence is that high energy agriculture does the opposite. So the starving millions may expect little sustenance from the programme except a little (so Mr Justice Parker assures us) radiation.

It is well to repeat the quotation from Albert Camus in our article on "Want, Waste and Radioactivity" (June 11, 1977) as the enquiry with its predictable result was about to begin.

"One must understand what fear means: what it implies and what it rejects. It implies and rejects the same fact: a world where murder is legitimate, and where human life is considered trifling ... All I ask is that, in the midst of a murderous world, we agree to reflect on murder and to make a choice. After that, we can distinguish those who accept the consequences of being murderers themselves or the accomplices

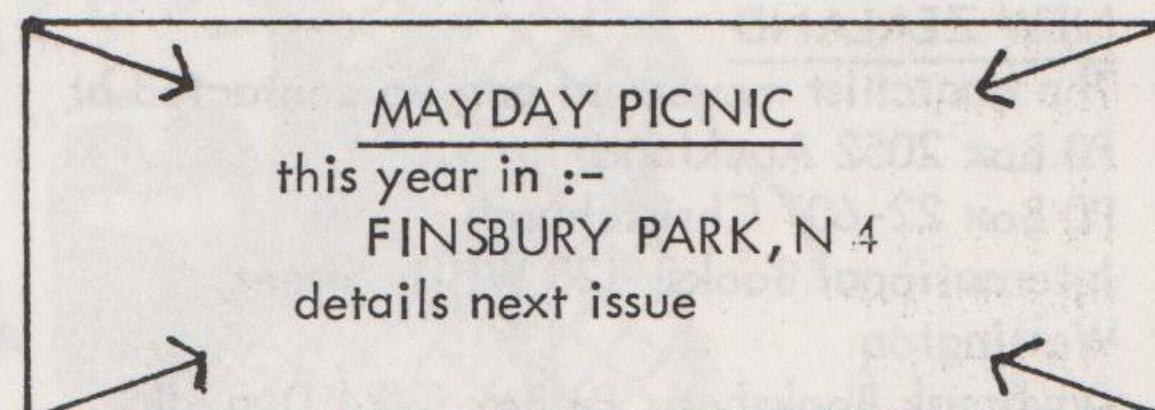
of murderers, and those who do so with all their force and being. Since this terrible dividing line does actually exist it will be a gain if it be clearly marked.

The good judge has indicated on which side of the line he stands, for there is no doubt as with all our industrial dark satanic mills, although you will not see the smoke, the radiation will steal upon some as a thief in the night. And if that technology is not 100 per cent perfect, who knows.

As Pete Seegar wrote, "Where have all the flowers gone?" They are still disappearing, the planet with its vast variation is slowly being sterilised and the nuclear programme will provide the energy to go on doing this.

It is not only the establishment that are hell bent on creating a monolithic world, they have spread their blindness throughout society. The anarchist with a universal compassion must awaken the uneasy giant of humanity from his slumbers.

ALAN ALBON



In Brief

Pierre Trudeau, Canadian Premier, has said that although the KGB is obviously an enemy of his country, the Soviet Government is not.

Yet another survey. A report on physical and mental differences between classes finds that working class children are noticeably less developed by the age of five. In particular, comparing a group of "deprived" children from Deptford, with a group of "ordinary" working class children from Southampton it was found that the former are twice as likely to be boss-eyed and three times as likely to suffer from sores or boils.

PRESS FUND

9 March - 22 March incl.

M.C. £ 1.00; LONDON SW18: A.H. £ 0.50; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1.00; JKW £ 0.10; CHIPPENHAM: R.S. £ 0.50; GLASGOW: J.M.B. £ 0.50; RUSHTON-ON-TRENT: S.M.G.C. £ 3.00; LONDON NW2: D.S. £ 5.00; LONDON S.E.6: B.S. £ 5.00; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1.00; J.K.W. £ 0.10; GLASGOW: W.B. £ 2.39; Mountain View, CALIF: J.B. £ 30.00; Proceeds from Collection at the 'Cena' on March 11, 1978.

	TOTAL	£ 50.15
Previously acknowledged		£ 317.89
	TOTAL TO DATE	£ 368.04

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is Thursday, 30 March. Come and help from 2 pm onwards.

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS, ARTICLES. Latest date for Vol. 39 no. 7 is Monday, 10 April (and if possible Thursday, 6 April).

International

AUSTRALIA

Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Road, Pialligo, ACT 2809
New South Wales: Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books, 417 King Street, Newtown, NSW. (Library, meeting place).
Sydney Libertarians, P.O. Box 54, Darlinghurst, NSW 2-10.
Victoria: La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083.
Libertarian Socialist Federation of Australia c/o 4 Roosevelt St. Reservoir, Vic. 3073.

NEW ZEALAND

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

CANADA

Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C., branching out into activities outside the paper. Write for information.

USA

Missouri: Columbia Anarchist League, PO Box 380, Columbia, MO 65201 (not Box 370).
Texas: Houston S.R.A.F., South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035.
New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York, 10012.
SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St. NYC 10012.
Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn 55407.
San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101.

WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK

Aarhus: 'Regnbuen' Anarkist Bogcafe, Mejlgade 48, 8000 Aarhus.
Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd. Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen.
Christiania: write Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

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

UK GROUPS & FEDERATIONS NEXT ISSUE

COMUNICADO

Anunciamos que ha quedado constituida, en Paris, la COORDINADORA LIBERTARIA LATINO AMERICANA (CLLA):

Faustino LOZA (CLLA). 'Cercle Garcia Lorca', 15 rue Gracieuse, 75005 - Paris, France.

Rogamos a todos los companeros latinoamericanos, exiliados o residentes en sus paises de origen, que nos escriban a esta direccion para darnos sus puntos de vista sobre esta coordinacion y asi poder estudiar conjuntamente la manera mas eficaz de extender y consolidar las relaciones entre grupos e individualidades, en Latino America y en el exilio.

La Comision.

Meetings

NEW YORK. Libertarian Book Club lectures: at Wormmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Avenue, 29th Street, NYC (7.30 pm). Adm. free.

April 13 Dwight Macdonald: Confessions of a Literary Journalist.

May 11 Bayard Rustin, topic to be announced.

LONDON. Friends of the Earth rally in Trafalgar Square, Saturday 29 April. Large anarchist presence essential!

LONDON area. Tuesday, April 4. BWNIC (British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign) supporters' meeting. 6 Endsleigh St, WCI. Discussion for new supporters, 7 pm; 'business' 7.30 pm. Details: BWNIC (London), c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Also:

Thursday, April 13. London Greenpeace Group meeting to plan opposition to the shipment of Australian uranium due in Britain in April. All welcome. 6 Endsleigh St, WCI; 7 pm. Details from same address, or 01-387-5370.

LEICESTER. Friday, 28 April. Anarchist Gay Liberation conference. (Friday 28 to Mon. 1 May). Please contact Box 'G', 74 Highcross Street, Leicester, with suggestions for discussion and to give some idea of how many people are coming.

READING. Saturday, 15 April. Workshop on non-violent techniques for anarchists and libertarians planning to participate in the FOE anti-Windscale demonstration (see above). Further details from Ms Sherek, c/o Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks or phone (0734) 662285 evenings.
Tuesday, 25 April. Lunch time in the SU building. Open discussion on nuclear power question.

MANCHESTER. 'Sixty-eight Club'.

2 April: Film 'Punishment Park'. Admission 35p, non-members 45p.

9 April: Social evening.

16 April: Discussion with members of the Hunt Saboteurs and hopefully the Animal Liberation Front about ideas and tactics. All events begin at 8.30 prompt.

CHRISTIANIA. A travelling information group of Christianites are now ready to hit the road. Between four and six in number they plan to travel round Europe for two months or more, spreading information and inspiration and bringing films, records, books, posters etc. If you would like to meet them when they arrive in London (arrival date scheduled for 8.5.78 - 15.5.78) contact Bill James, North London Plytechnic, Landbrooke House,

61-66 Highbury Grove, London. Phone: (01) 607-2789. Ext: 5025. It is hoped that comrades can arrange meetings with them, and a place to sleep.

REGULAR MEETINGS

London. Anarchist Women's group (North & East) meets fortnightly. New women welcome. Tel: 555 5248 or write 26 Huddleston Road, N.7. Discussion/study/action.

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

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

Love v. Power. Every Sunday, weather permitting, 3-5 pm at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park (Marble Arch).

Anarcho-Utopian Mystics. Every Monday, 7.30 pm in Concourse Area, St. Clements Bldgs. Houghton St, London WC2.

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

'Left Without Marx'. Libertarian theory group making a study of Marx's writings. 7.30 pm at 9 Poland Street (basement), London W.1. Next meeting, Wednesday, 19 April, and thereafter regular discussions third Wed. each mth. For details: contact 15 Matcham Rd, E.11. (tel: 01-555 5248).

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

Literature

BLACKOUT. Cardiff Anarchist Newsletter. Nos 1 & 2 now available, price 5p. Contributions are welcomed and should be sent c/o 108 Salisbury Road, Cathays. Issue no. 1 starts with a discussion on treatment of the National Front in Cardiff (the debate is continued in no. 2). The second issue begins with an article demonstrating how 'Trees are Anarchists.' A lively new paper.

CAMBRIDGE ANARCHIST GROUP newsletter, March 78. Price 5p. Items include article on revolutionary groups in Cambridge and their tactics (the problem of putting theory into practice), 'How to Destroy a Community Without Even Thinking', 'Law and Order', 'Anarchism and the Social Observer.' An excellent 5p's worth.

UMANITA NOVA. The weekly organ of the FAI (Italian Anarchist Federation). Responsibility for editing and management has passed from the Lotta Anarchica group to the Federazione Anarchica Bolognese based in Bologna, as the result of a resolution passed at the last Federation congress to assure the rotation of federative offices. Meanwhile some of the comrades of the old Milan editorial staff are preparing an archive of anarchist and libertarian international publications and ask that publications continue to be sent to: Umanita Nova, Cas. Post. 4255, 20100 Milano.

Published by Freedom Press, London E.1.
Printed by Women in Print, London S.E.17.
and Magic Ink, Margate.

SURREALISM



the Hinge of History

THE RAVEN AND THE WRITING-DESK

'Children of the age, transparency lies underground.'
- Annie Le Brun.

It's not a matter of sullen pride makes us choose a moment like this. To speak, to speak out: the weight of something like arctic salt loosening on the tastebuds, forcing our instinctive refusal into sharp articulation. We have been at the mercy of a decrepit vocabulary, but we know henceforth that it is our own language we are learning to speak. Waving scarves of blue steamers, this is the new voyage, the destination far out. If Rimbaud once faltered, tearing up his ticket with a terrible scowl: 'Let's take up once more the paths of here and now', we must reject the paltry day-return which confirms corroded habits and stake everything on a one-way journey into that 'language accessible, sooner or later, to all the senses.'

Here, a question of intricate sway, as if metaphor or indirection were the price to be paid for the time being. For time is, the time you grasp and receive, outside all calculation, time to be breathing in, time to govern your true dimensions, which all else tends to suppress -- and even the pleasures of travel may dull the edges of insight. You speak in riddles, Dr Faust. But there's a clue, -- the shadow of the raven's shadow as it passes, endlessly stroking the snow, the undisturbed snow. We must go on writing and reading, testing the figures which loom up at dusk, in readiness for the piercing of the veil and the sudden irruption of a naked, literal encounter.

She sways towards me, mortal. The seizure is remote, as in a distant encirclement. Yet it is the colour of mental perfume on the confident air I touch. Rocks seem to shift underfoot. We serve a secret cause. We are alone, for always. Night deepens around our thoughts and limbs, which swim into the abandoned tops of trees. Birds nestle in her armpits, there are shadows spiralling in the foliage of her hair. Silence, tall as a tale whispered down the wind. The earth escapes its ancient groove. We are alone. There is no distance. There is nothing left for us to resist. And we realize through all our faculties that 'temptation alone is divine' (A. Breton).

The point is that nothing is left of whatever antique consent they once dragged out of you. You now know the odds, and can gauge the extent to which an attitude may splinter into false leanings, lingering pins and needles, pricking sincerity. You now know it has to be fluid, this battle against the electroshock of culture, the dark syndrome of follow-my-lead. You know the score they keep, so dip with the tide and kick out when they come, and they do it all the time: in the papers, on the news, in the museums, even in the streets.

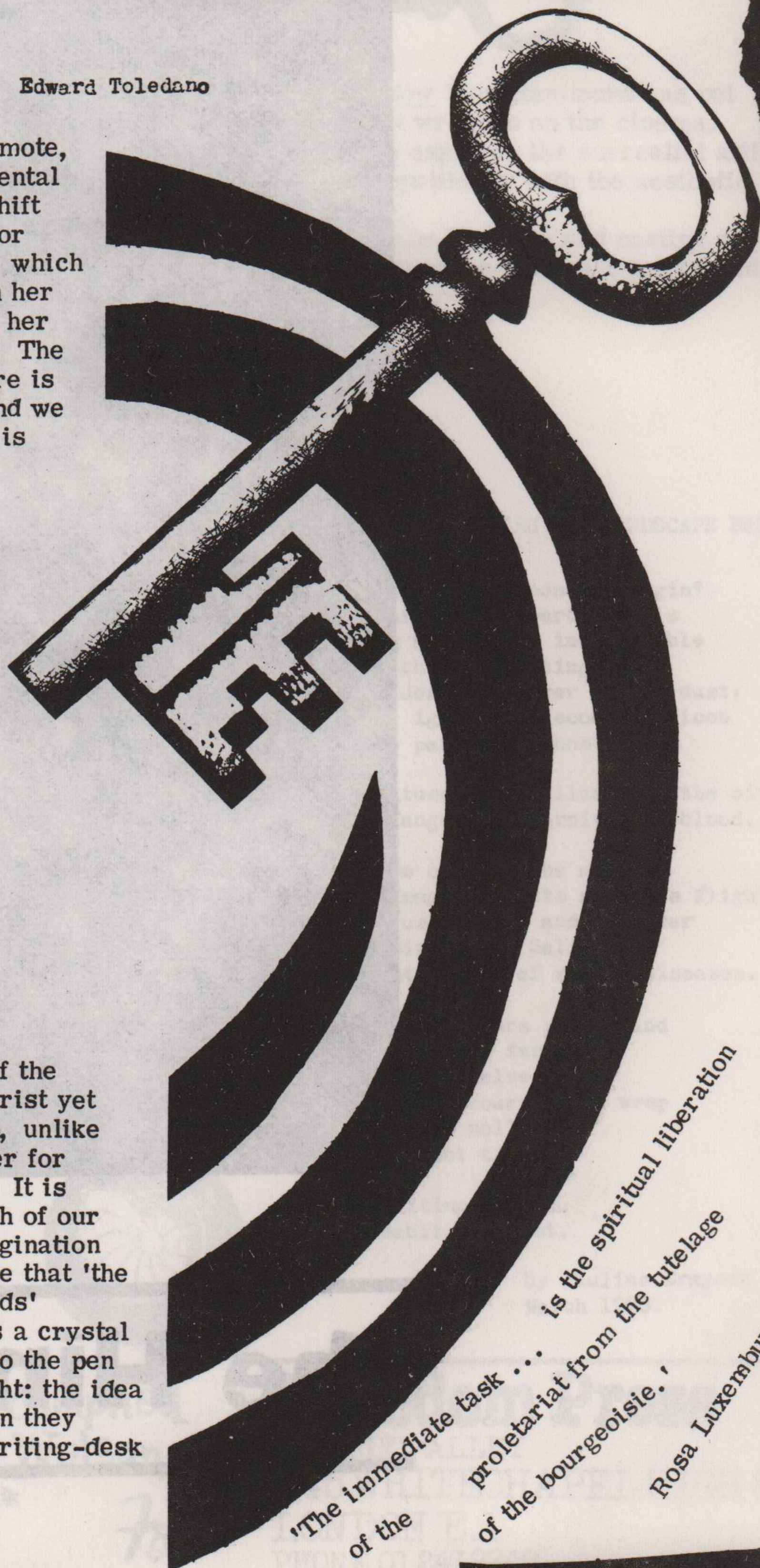
In the streets: now there's a place to be, a place for Being to complete its task, the storming of the palace. At the price of scattering old chestnuts, bend an ear to the pavement and listen in to your heartbeat. There has to be a lending of self to the environment, a reciprocal inscription of Meaning upon the world and our lives. Just hold back one moment: the first salvo is into the sky, in celebration. But the next shot is meant for you, Mr Gessler, and I can assure you it will not miss.

They speak of opposing style and substance, of the lingering gap on the retina that motivates the theorist yet blinds him once he's laid his pen aside. This gap, unlike their fog, is a mere effect of light. It is no matter for contemplation. We are entirely our own master. It is simply the distance we travel in grasping the depth of our intuition, in witnessing the giddy marriage of imagination and perception. See it, then, as a chance to prove that 'the space between things takes on the form of my words' (P. Eluard). A language renewed, we pass across a crystal parapet, to the other side -- of ourselves. And so the pen is also the talon. The idea is also the idea in flight: the idea on the attack. So when they shake their tins, when they shake their heads, tell them loud and clear: the writing-desk is the raven.

Roger Cardinal
27 February 1978



Edward Toledano



'The immediate task ... is the spiritual liberation of the proletariat from the tutelage of the bourgeoisie.'
Rosa Luxemburg

THE SURREALIST PROPOSITION

THE fruition of Surrealist aspirations will lead to the most revolutionary transformation of the world. The Surrealist belief is in the liberation of humanity, and the lucidity of the human condition. Surrealism abhors those facets of society that are intent upon oppression and mystification; for it is only by constant vigilance and a continuous state of intellectual mobility that the emancipation of humanity may occur.

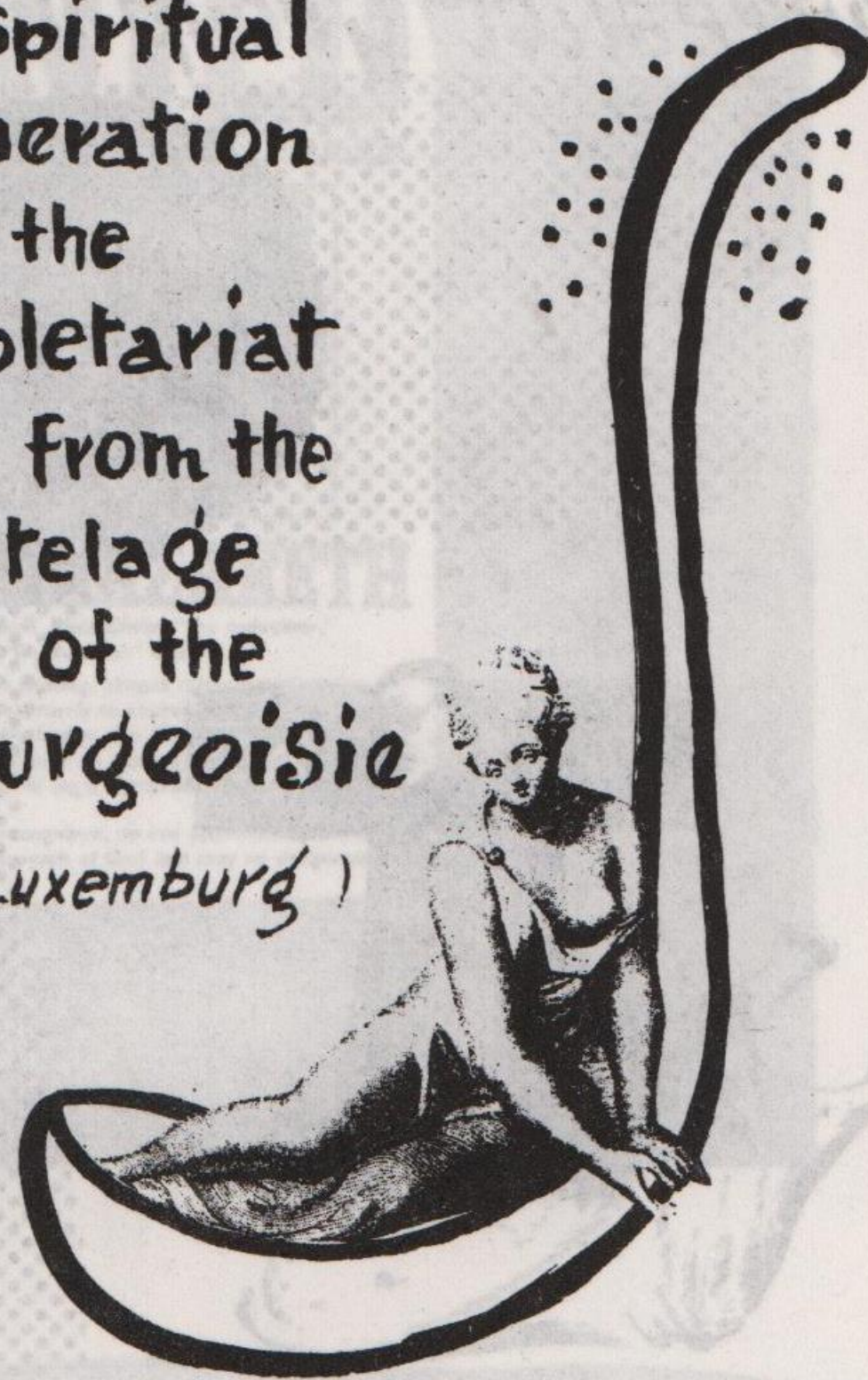
There is a need for the immediate attainment of consciousness on behalf of humanity; its actuality must take place by the crystallisation, in the concrete, of the concept of 'ruthless awareness', whereby André Breton's belief in 'man's social liberation, defossilisation of social behaviour, and a refashioning of human understanding', may take place. These premises are seen by the surrealists as agencies for the complete comprehension of the individual. Thus, the realisation of that which is inherent to the very essence of the individual may come about and also a basis will be constructed whereby a permanent state of lucidity may occur.

The manifestation of the nature of human desire is paramount, and a means of releasing that which is indispensable to the true functioning of the liberated mind is *prima facie*. Total liberty relies upon two premises; firstly, 'social liberation' through which all mechanisms of oppression and exploitation will necessarily be erased in the name of 'freedom.' A freedom whose actuality is crystallised in a 'reevaluation of all values' and a 'reinvention of everyday life.' The reevaluation of the human condition will call into play the most profound scrutiny of repressive societies and so called 'capitalist civilisation.' Realising the need for a life based upon the realisation of desire and the complete awareness of the individual the human force and its generative power must necessarily be orientated towards the comprehension and extension of the vista of daily life, and the world must be transformed into a place, as Franklin Rosemont states, 'of ... festive conditions of freedom, abundance and play. We unhesitatingly insist that the revolution is for pleasure.'



The
immediate
task
is the
spiritual
liberation
of the
proletariat
from the
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of the
bourgeoisie

(Rosa Luxemburg)



Secondly, liberation occurs due to a 'refashioning of human understanding' whereby a unification of the waking and dream states can allow an appreciation of that which is the essence of human desire. The composite forces of the human entity become truly intelligible and totally liberating only when the subjective and objective, the rational and irrational elements of the human makeup are allowed an unrestricted externalisation into our daily lives.

It is the intention of the Surrealist revolution to create, as Franklin Rosemont sees it, 'a liberation beyond all traditionally assigned limits.' In consequence the Surrealist belief is not only in the creation of a single class, a 'true democracy' built, as Lenin put it, 'through the initiative of the masses', but also a single class whose desire is to embrace the 'true functioning of thought', in such a way as to live a life which is emancipatory in nature and action.

Through the belief in the Surrealist revolution the human predicament will not be one of a forced alignment with social oppression and mental isolation, but, rather to the emancipation of the poetic dimension of reality; the latent qualities of materialism. Those forces will come into play which stand to release the identity of humanity and humanity's position to that which it is surrounded by and chooses to surround itself by. The primacy of matter will be commensurate with the basic principle of human liberation.

It is due to the clarity and the lucidity of the Surrealist proposition that the continued task of Surrealism is to be seen in everything that attempts to shine light upon the indisputable right of human liberty.

It is through the undaunted channels of the Surrealist sensibility that uncompromising freedom, a Surrealist freedom, may be accessible to humanity.

John W Welson



LIGHTHOUSE OF THE FUTURE MANIFESTO

of the Surrealist Group in America *



Haifa Zangana



Lee Cottle

THE WORK OF ART
IS A STUFFED
CROCODILE
Jarry



Death to Miserabilism!

Pessimism exists only to be carried as far as it will go.

Whatever else we may be, we are not mourners of false steps along the endless escalators of lost time.

Life is boring, society is boring, art is boring; above all, boredom is boring.

Only by despairing, and then despairing of despair, can mankind begin truly to see and to act consciously in the service of the marvelous. This preliminary violation of the rules prepares the way for an entirely new game, our game, known as subversion, sublime love, the exaltation of freedom.

Notwithstanding the whimpering objections of art critics and museum necrologists, the surrealist game is, in essence, the *crime of the century*. It can be played only by those who know that it can be played only for keeps.

All or nothing is the watchword of this absolutely modern and ever-renewed *crime of crimes* that magnetizes our thoughts and deeds and guides them through the ubiquitous fog of dissimulation like the blackest raven seized from the left eye of the reddest lion.

To those who ask why surrealism has eluded the attention of criminologists we reply: for the same reason that it repels every recuperative effort of every *specialist* — the feverish or clammy grasp of the political dilettante, the art clown, the "psychedelic"/mystical lackwit, all seeking historical justification for their miserable impotence. Like the Great Invisibles surrealism is beyond the reach, beyond even the *scales of reference* of these atomized gnats whose ambition is only to replace the stoolpigeons, "intellectual" or otherwise, who continue to serve the wardens of the universal dungeon of everyday life.

Specialization, to the extent that it fails to exceed a restricted domain, is a kind of soul of the soulless system of human isolation, a form of self-crucifixion on the cross of commodity fetishism. Unalterably disdainful of this contemptible system of mass mutilation, the surrealists demand nothing less than the fullest development of the unfettered imagination, the expansion of the human personality, the triumph of the human spirit.

It is no accident that all the shadow-boxers in the stupefying half-light of competitive ideology, apparently having nothing better to do than to perfect the abject thrusts and parries of vain "intellectual" equivocations, recognize us precisely as their *worst enemies*.

Report to the Council of Salamanders

Five hundred years after the birth of Copernicus there still exist such things as priests, cops, landlords. While the number of kings has diminished, the number of *cash registers* increases beyond belief. These facts alone suffice to make us wonder how it is that so many people manage to refrain from running amok.

From the headlines of the daily papers to the footnotes of academic journals it is rats and more rats who are in charge of "Reality." On this score we have passed beyond the point of argument:

Salvador Allende's "revolution" collapses like a balloon before a putrid alliance of the military and the petty-bourgeoisie.

Zionism colludes with a cencle of Arab politicians with all the usual atrocities and hypocrisies.

The Pope, having unfortunately survived a heroic attempt on his life in 1970, confers with the Dalai Lama.

The suicide rate soars.

The leading bureaucrats of the United Auto Workers in Detroit hire a legion of club-swinging goons to assault union auto workers on a wildcat strike; a high-ranking police official remarks "I'm glad the union is on our side."

The infamous "power blocs" careen over the globe like the immensely bloated creatures in Tex Avery's magisterial 1947 cartoon *King-Size Canary*. The repressive organization of alienation and reification, the regimentation of leisure and confusion, proceeds in all directions with its insidious technical refinements under the various and more or less interchangeable labels of entertainment, literature, tourism, politics, mysticism, pornography, diplomacy, sports, patriotism, law, advertising, speculation, psychology, etc.

In the last seconds of *King-Size Canary* the empty bottle of Jumbo-Gro unmistakably poses the question: where do we go from here?

Revolution x Revolution x Revolution = Revolution³

Nothing could be more obvious: we are not free, you are not free, no one is free.

Almost as obvious, however, is the fact that those who pretend to embody the cause of freedom, the maudlin "left" — and we refer to the entire U.S. Left, with only a handful of individuals and actions excepted — is bogged down in timidity, ashamed of itself, choking on its own collar, stumbling over its broken promises, devoid of all daring, imagination, lucidity and initiative. It has never been more evident than today why Marx said "I am no Marxist." Once the idea of Revolution is reduced to the spectre of a halfheartedly awaited messiah, "theory" inevitably becomes merely the arbitrary preparation of retrospective menus for the unattended banquets of an entirely abstract and illusory future. In their mad dash in search of ways out for themselves (academic sinecures, low-level posts in this or that trade union, a page or two in the *New York Review of Books*, not to mention vague dreams of holding comfortable posts in the bureaucracy of a future "socialist" state) the Left sectarians have irretrievably compromised their revolutionary integrity. Quite simply, they are *not serious*; they are entirely lacking in *umor**; Jacques Vaché has never existed for them. They dither over "theoretical" tremblings hardly capable of cracking an egg-shell, much less the crust of everyday life. Meanwhile, several million workers have come to agree with the surrealists on the fundamental point: the necessity for the abolition of work.

*see "What is Surrealism?" *Selected Writings of André Breton*. Pathfinder Press, 1974 (forthcoming)

But if the Left is largely the captive of a retrograde mythology (*economism* in one form or another) the class struggle assuredly is no myth. In spite of the grotesque confusion of the various "parties," the surrealists are indissolubly united to the *party of the proletariat* in the sense intended by Marx. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that there is no solution to any social problem outside the absolute power of workers' councils. But as surrealists we are concerned above all with problems of the *human condition* which, because they arose before the advent of capitalism, cannot be expected to disappear automatically with its overthrow. If the surrealists have assumed, within the party of the proletariat, the position of *moral lookout*, it is because the surrealist perspective looks beyond the proletarian seizure of power.

For evident historical reasons surrealism here and now assumes, on the organizational level, the form of a militant minority. Between the old poetry (which maintained its position, however uneasily, within the shoddy framework of "Culture") and the generalized poetry, entirely outside the poem, as announced by Lautréamont, current surrealist poetic practice serves as an indispensable revolutionary transition. The poetic conquests of surrealism, no less than its conquests in the plastic arts, are merely the first skirmishes in a protracted war.

It would be absurd to deny that for most of our contemporaries a surrealist poem or painting retains an element of the incomprehensible. But it would be more than absurd, if not merely dishonest, to mistake or misrepresent the character of the obstacle between surrealist works and the majority of society. What prevents most individuals from immediate appreciation of a surrealist poem or painting is not a product of any attempt by the writer or painter to exalt his or her own personality above and beyond all other beings in the name of a supposed "individual liberation." Rather such a barrier, or more precisely such a challenge, is the natural consequence of the authenticity of the surrealist message in a world in which human beings are forced, every day of their lives, to accept and pass on false promises, to call each other and themselves by false names, to admit in their most sincere moments to a terrible deceit. The foundation of all surrealist efforts, whether in poetry, the plastic arts, political action, or scientific research, has always been the destruction of all forms of exploitation by forms of inspiration, asserting the primacy of human motives and needs: love, freedom, the marvelous.

As defined by the title of Lenin's first periodical — *Spark (Iskra)* — the task of the revolutionary communist in capitalist as well as in the monstrously bureaucratized "socialist" countries is to grasp and expand the transitory moments of lucidity that pass back and forth among the workers on the factory floor, in mines, on the decks of ships. The task of the surrealist is no less in the other, ceaselessly alternating spheres of everyday existence — in the hallways of a million apartment buildings, in public parks, above all in the streets: to amplify the occasional gleam between men and women together, between men and women themselves (summarized by the perpetual expectation that at any moment a decisive revelation will emerge from the crowd and be recognized without hesitation) into an illimitable beacon of freedom.

The permanent surrealist revolution is the permanent revolution of everyday life, the permanent festival of men and women celebrating the *becoming of freedom*.

With the realization of poetry and philosophy in the streets, on rooftops, in railroad yards, on the seacoast and everywhere else; with the abolition of the contradictions between dream and action, collective and individual, subjective and objective, city and countryside, etc., surrealism will at last cease to be minority. As poetry advances from the last vestiges of its alienated forms into the living dream of everyday passionate attraction, the surrealist game will be played by all.

Treason Is Sweeter Than Honey

We refuse to content ourselves with being merely the best-hated men and women of our time.

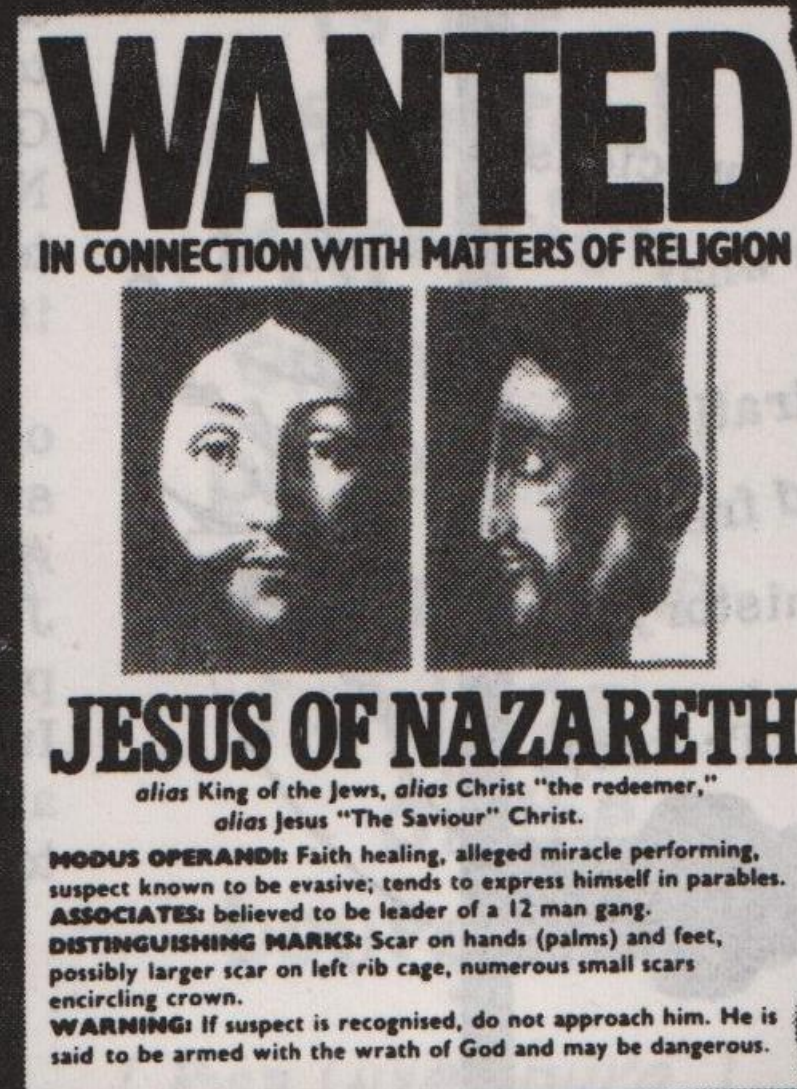
The language of the birds has not been forgotten.

Anyone who accuses us of changing the subject deserves a punch in the nose.

We could say, in the spirit of Pythagoras, that it is never too early to learn to dream the undreamed.

The imagination is revolutionary or it is nothing.

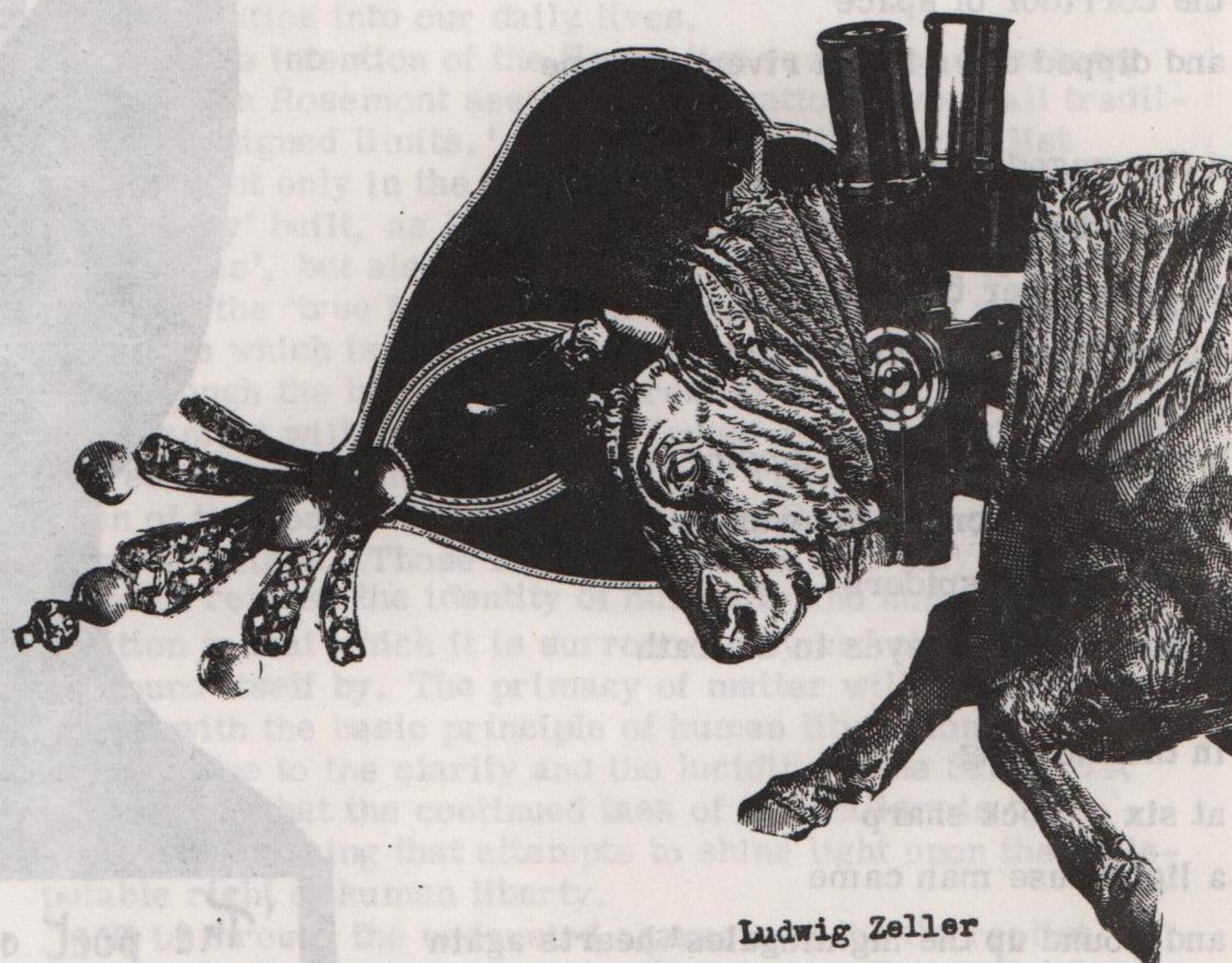
The Revolution will be surrealist or will not be at all.



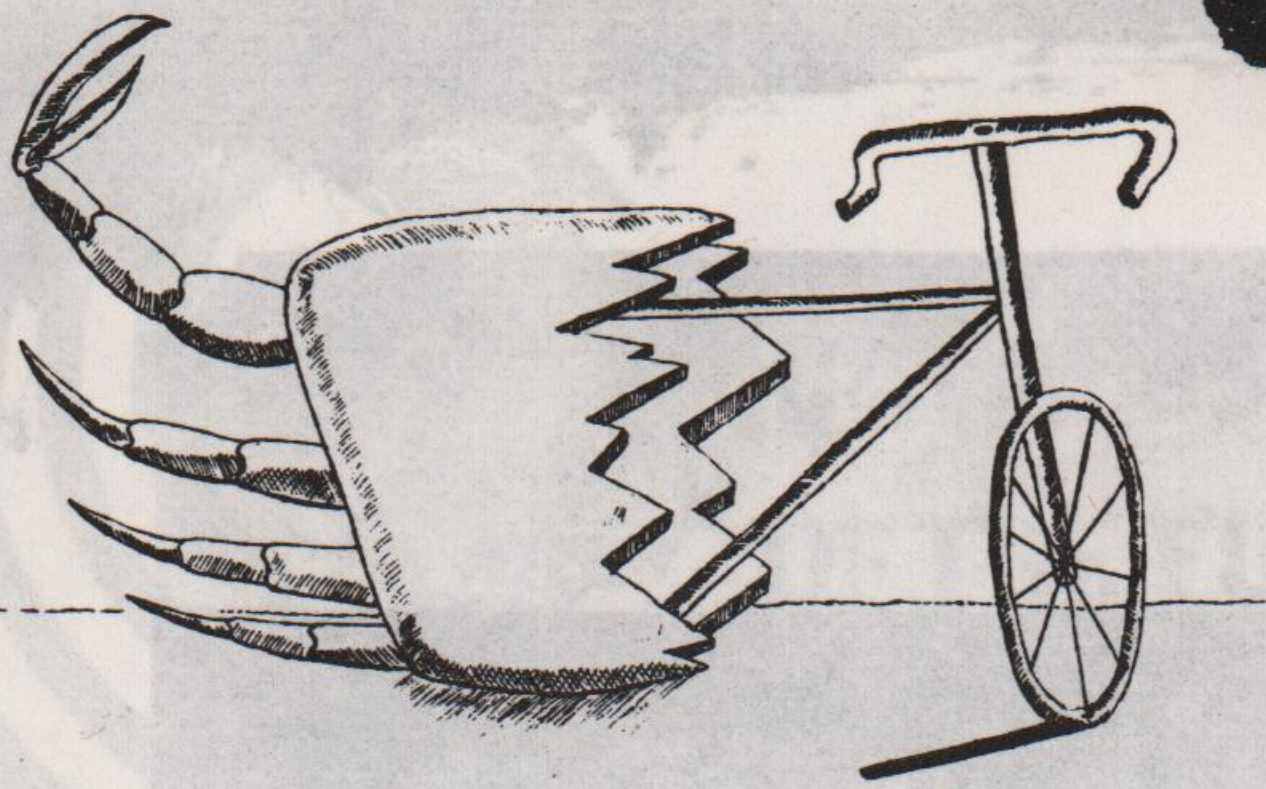
Conroy Maddox

'Everything that is collapsing, shifty, infamous, sullyng and grotesque is summed up for me in this single word: 'god''

(Andre Breton)



Ludwig Zeller



John Welton

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN SURREALIST POETRY
 Edited by Edward B Germain
 Penguin Books £1.75

WHAT Mr Germain had in mind when he put this confection together is not very clear and having thought it up, that he went ahead and wrote it is still more perplexing. The book may have fooled Penguin, but it has about as much to do with surrealist poetry as the winter wash and flaps as dismally.

Judging by the few surrealist poets that he includes he appears to be completely ignorant of any poetic manifestation today. One looks in vain for the works of Aime Cesaire, Gisele Prassinos, Marcel Lecomte, Joyce Mansour, Paul Nougé, Malcolm de Chazal, Vincent Bounoure and Guy Cabanel to list only a few, but one suspects Mr Germain is more interested in fitting surrealism into his own narrow mould.

His introduction to the book is a misch-masch of all the old errors and prejudices. A statement by Carl Jung is supposed to have had an enormous influence on English and American surrealists, although no surrealist had any faith in Jung's 'neurosis for old' theory. Herbert Read, who in 1936, proposed Ben Nicholson as an English contributor to the International Surrealist Exhibition is quoted as an infallible and authoritative source. But why continue, nothing he has to say about surrealism has the slightest significance.

Conroy Maddox

'The Creative union of the conscious
 with the unconscious is what
 one usually calls "inspiration."
 Revolution is the inspired frenzy
 of history.'

Trotsky



LOST KEYS

All the keys are lost
 the nightingales are singing
 in brass voices
 their hearts crumbling in the night

after the raven discovered its legs
 a passing train returned into
 the corridor of space
 and dipped down into a river of flame

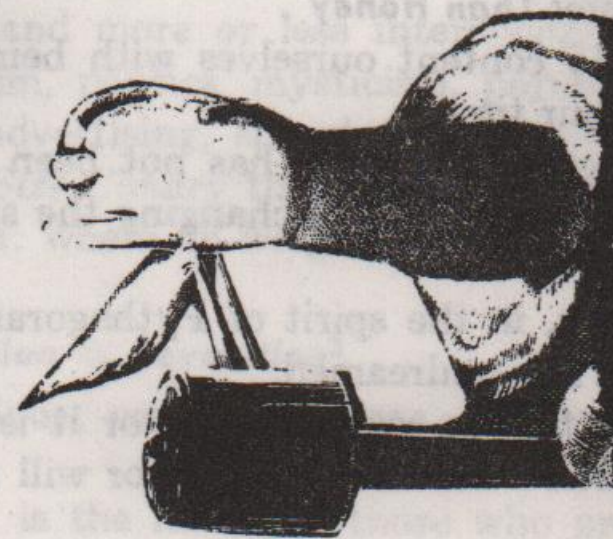
a fire raged between the clouds
 the feathers played into the hands
 of a spy after the monkeys
 washed their cardboard gloves

none could escape the moving mice
 that flicked across the wind
 each day two spiders
 hunted for their eyes in the bath

in the morning
 at six o'clock sharp
 a lighthouse man came
 and wound up the nightingales' hearts again
 against time running late

John Digby

'The Surrealist conception of the world, man and Art has
 not yet been surpassed.'
 Ivan Svitak



'The poet of today has no other choice
 than to be a revolutionist or not
 to be a poet.'
 (Benjamin Peret)

The Revolutionary Dilemma Of SURREalism In Its Time



SURREALISM, wrote André Breton, is neither superior to real life, nor inferior to it, but part of it. This was not only true during the movement's effective lifetime, but as far back into history as human consciousness, and it will remain true as long as the planet, or possibly the universe, sustains human life. Surrealism in the general sense signifies that point at which human desire and material reality are fused rather than separated. It is present at those moments when our dreams and our waking life are indistinguishable, or when we 'recognise' the projection of our inner reality on exterior reality. Naturally some areas are more surrealist than others; making love for example tends to be more 'surrealist' than filling in a VAT form; a Victorian railway station has a more surreal feel, (for me at any rate), than a shopping precinct in a new town, but all of us, whether knowingly or not, have surrealist moments. Equally some of us are more surrealist than others, so are some periods in history, geographical places (Spain is more surrealist than Denmark), cultures, (pre-missionary Oceanic art as opposed to mass-produced artifacts of our time), but disregarding selection, and this tends to be subjective anyway, there is, has been and will be nobody who has failed, at one time or another, to recognise 'the concretion of desire.'

Nevertheless there is a distinct difference between the acknowledgment of the surreal vein in life and the aims of the Surrealist movement between 1924 and, approximately, the death of Breton in 1966.

This difference is that the Surrealists didn't find it sufficient to recognise the surreal. They sought the means to break down those walls which prevent the free play between subconscious and conscious, between dream and reality, between desire and its realisation. They recognised that the State, the Church, the Army, the Police, the family, bourgeois morality, the law, Capitalism itself, were all different aspects of the same enemy; weapons in the hands of those in whose interests humanity must be kept down. They realised that the only way they had a chance to succeed in their aims was through a total revolution. There was no point in chipping away at this or that stone in the walls of our prison. Demolition was the only answer. In one of their manifestos they stated unequivocally: 'Disband the army! Open the prisons!'

They were however unfortunate in their historical options in that the hope appeared to lie in support for the USSR, in the amalgamation of Freud, (geographer of the subconscious) and Marxist-Leninism, (the re-organisation of reality). If this appears in retrospect naïf, it was less simple to recognise it at the time. Here is the landscape in which they found themselves, and the reasons for their dilemma.

Living in the apparently confident and increasingly reactionary west, the very success of the Russian revolution was, in itself, impressive. An apparently monolithic state had been toppled, atheism declared official policy, imperialism proscribed, the bourgeoisie routed, the proletariat declared triumphant. The Surrealists were not alone in believing the

future was emerging.

Nevertheless they were not instantly convinced. While certainly anti-bourgeois and theoretically revolutionary, they found it possible to print Aragon's description of the USSR as 'doddering Moscow' and his sneer at the triumph of Lenin as 'a minor bureaucratic shuffle'. It was only with the threat of fascism at the beginning of the thirties, coupled as it was with a violent swing to the right in Western Europe, that they tried, while never relinquishing their Surrealist position, to offer 'Surrealism at the Service of the Revolution'.

The result was tragic farce. Under Stalin, Russian Communism was beginning to show its true colours. Naturally western intellectuals were useful if they were prepared to toe the line. Aragon and later Eluard were so prepared. To be accepted they had to repudiate Surrealism and repudiate they did. Russian Communism had already dismissed psycho-analysis, had begun to formulate social-realism and to attack any form of modern art as 'bourgeois formalism'. The Surrealist 'offer' was the equivalent of a flea offering to help a bear.

Yet Breton, and those who remained with him, still failed to recognise that it was the practical application of Marxism itself which was irreconcilable with the Surrealist aims. They fell into the 'Stalinist' heresy and hailed Trotsky

as the true heir of Marx. Trotsky in exile was prepared to enlist any support and, undeniably, was an infinitely more attractive human being than his opponent and a genuine intellectual. How he would have behaved if he, rather than Stalin, had succeeded is more questionable; indeed there was already the stigma of his handling of the Kronstadt mutiny, but in preparing to sign a manifesto with Breton and in the application of his formidable charm, he helped prolong the movement's delusion that somehow Marx could be one of the sponsors of Surrealism whereas in fact, in every word he wrote, Trotsky declared himself the antithesis of its hopes.

It was only in effect after the war that Breton, returning to a France whose intellectuals had, almost to a man, moved into a near-Communist position and were united in mocking the Surrealist leader as a frivolous irrelevancy that finally, and with the confusing espousal of a species of hermetic mysticism to blur the issue, Breton advocated the support of some anarchist solution. If only he had done so from the beginning.

For all its failures, occasional pettiness, and the dictatorial tendencies of its founders, what Surrealism advocated and went off in search of was an ideal of central importance to anyone who advocates unequivocal freedom.

There is no way in which Surrealism, as an historical movement, can be or should be resurrected. To wish to do so is nostalgic, on a par with wearing clothes of a past era or driving a vintage car. There's no harm in it, but it's irrelevant. However, the central tenets of Surrealism are invaluable to all who call themselves Anarchists or are drawn towards Anarchism. Disinterested belief in the supremacy of love and freedom can draw both its lessons and its hope from that courageous failure of fifty years ago.

George Melly

Put our
to make the
best
use of it

DANGER

**DO NOT REMOVE
THIS TAG!!**

DATE _____ 197__

Having been found severely injurious to the human spirit,

THIS BUILDING HAS BEEN

CONDEMNED

BY THE SURREALIST MOVEMENT

*The brilliant past has made brilliant promises
to the future: it will keep them.*

—LAUTREAMONT



Paul Hammond

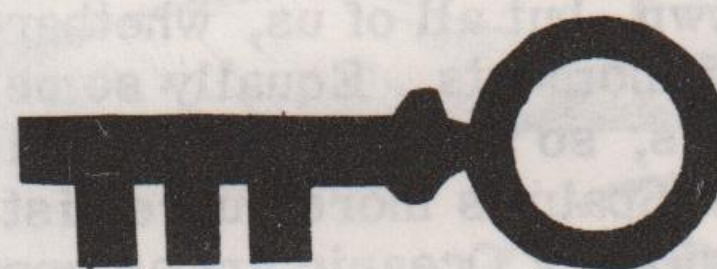
BOOKS ON SURREALISM

TWO books that have recently come out on surrealism make an important contribution to the underlying principles of the movement:

THE IMAGERY OF SURREALISM by J H Matthews, and
THE SHADOW AND ITS SHADOW by Paul Hammond.

Among the many writers on surrealism, J H Matthews occupies a unique position. In his many works on the subject he has brought to the movement both clarity and historical accuracy. It is especially welcome at this moment when so much nonsense has recently been written about the Dada, Surrealism Reviewed Exhibition at the Hayward Gallery by the Establishment critics.

Matthews sets out to analyse the theory of pictorial and literary imagery through the many techniques adopted to negate aesthetic values. Over one hundred illustrations, many for the first time, are set against such key chapters as The Inner Model, Collage, Chance, Object Lessons and Interpretation.



In *The Shadow and Its Shadow* Paul Hammond has put together most of the surrealist writings on the cinema. In a perceptive introduction he explores the surrealist attitude to the cinema: their incompatibility with the aesthetic programme of the avant-garde.

Published by the British Film Institute and costing only £1, it is a book of considerable value to anyone interested in the subject.

Language has been given to
man that he might make
Surrealist use of it

What is true of
objects is true also of their
image.

The Surrealists Never Came ...

NOT QUITE so exquisite these days, the corpse. Too much old wine in new bottles.

Recent attempts to animate a surrealist group here in London have ended in abject failure. Why?

Because hardly any surrealists turned up.

And the debates were antediluvian. Surrealism's all-embracing dialectic was mutilated. There were two opposed camps, the politicians and the aesthetes, the followers of Trotsky versus the followers of Magritte, that's all.

Surrealism doesn't need such fellow-travellers. They're a millstone round its neck.

Whatever else it has or hasn't achieved, the South Bank jamboree forces us to confront history. We can't hide in it any longer! No more Breton said this, Breton said that ...

To develop, surrealism must constantly question itself. From fifty years of activity a new surrealism will emerge dialectically, in negating much of what has gone before.

Only a group of peers, committed to the total programme of surrealism, cognisant of where surrealism is in 1978, where it has been (especially since 1945: ignorance of this period is fearful), will accomplish this.

Paul Hammond



WHERE DOES THE LANDSCAPE BEGIN?

Where does the landscape begin?
There are only deserted walls
Leaning against an inconsolable
Day which lies waiting
Like a desolate lover in the dust;
And the iguanodon becomes an icon
On the parasite's host.

Ignisfatuss - Oh illuminate the city
Whose fangs drip carnivorous blood.

A shadow crosses the moon
Whose image reflects a bird's flight;
So let us explore and discover
The music of the Salicin
Antiseptic cure of myriad diseases.

Evening strollers pry behind
Masks of waxen ferns,
Fanning themselves with
Mysterious odours which weep
Through the hollows
Of ill-spent time.

I am waiting for you
To inhabit the dust.

by Pauline Drayson
March 1978.

This Surrealist Review compiled
by Conroy Maddox * John Wilson
and Pauline Drayson *
For

Freedom Press

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