

HERE WE ARE AGAIN!

WITH THE UNERRING precision of an old trouper's custard pie flung in the face at the last possible minute, Harold Wilson has kept us waiting on the edge of our seats for the date of the election. At the time of going to press several top-level uninspired leaks have pointed to October 3rd as the day of the big performance, but no word yet from the ringmaster.

We have already had foretastes of the Big Show, Jeremy Thorpe as the daring young man on the flying hovercraft, Enoch Powell being shot from a cannon in Ulster and hoping to reach Westminster, Mr. Wilson himself on the high wire between capitalism and socialism with Wedgie Benn diving down in flames of nationalization into the tank of reality; Mrs. Margaret Thatcher constructing houses out of thin air; Mr. Michael Foot in a den of toothless trade union lions and Mr. Jenkins the sword-swallower and contortionist.

All this and much more we are

promised (even the charismatic Sid Rawle threatens to stand) for this forthcoming performance, the date of which we are not being told yet for it would spoil things. Luckily the omens are that the election campaign will be short. Politicians know that the circus is losing its charm, the old troupers are not what they were and the peculiar voting pattern of the last election indicated a need for a change of performers, or even, of performance -- so there is every need for caution in putting the show on the road: the audience might walk out.

Gone are the great spectacles, the big parade, the wholesale open bribery by food and drink, the heady contest of the hustings or the American primaries; gone, too, are the healthy slanders and life-giving libels (instead of which we have gentlemanly innuendos); gone are the cathartic scare stories -- where are the Reds of yesteryear, nationalizing women and post office 'ank accounts with the

same ease? -- we have instead five and twenty leaders of revolutionary reaction with one idea among them.

Behind all the flummery and fooling, the make-up and the miming appears the occasional face of reality like a Pagliacci or a young vigorous uncynical clown.

Mr. Michael Foot, the lion-tamer among tame lions, Minister of Labour in this transient government, let the mask slip for a short while on radio (Aug 24) when asked if he felt inhibited in office. The interviewer added "...your chances to say what you think and feel are not so great as they once were. Does that bother you?" Mr. Foot replied:

"It bothers you in the sense that, with some of the matters on which you feel most strongly, the only place you can argue about them is in the cabinet,

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THE CRIME OF BEING YOUNG

THE FOOTBALL season has opened with its usual crop of violence both on the terraces and in the streets surrounding the grounds. However this season saw the death of one fan at Blackpool and has acted as a signal for the outraged indignation of those in authority. In the last few weeks we have heard a number of solutions put forward to end this violence. These include more seating accommodation, separation of supporters, barriers, the banning of known "trouble makers", and identification cards for fans. Everyone is having a field day, including the psychologists and the upholders of "law and order" who are calling for stiffer penalties against the soccer "hooligans".

But all those who offer the solutions have little knowledge of the lives and environment of the young people involved. In many, their support does become

fanatical: the identification with a team is complete. However, football is like that. It is a game of passion and commitment and for many the match is the high spot of an otherwise boring week. If, as most of the young fans do, you work at a dead end job, live on a rotten housing estate, Saturday on the terraces is an escape.

All the publicity has created a situation where they are expected to have a set-to. In fact the battle lines are drawn by the police. If you go to The Spurs at White Hart Lane there are more coppers on horses than there were on the Viet Nam demonstration in Grosvenor Square. The kids waiting to get in are treated like shit, pushed and herded around like cattle. It's small wonder that a fight breaks out, because of the police presence on the terraces and their treatment of the kids.

Like the fights between the Mods and Rockers of the late 'sixties, the 'agro' between the rival fans has been blown up by the press and T.V. Sure, there are fights and some clubs' fans are worse than others, but it is part and parcel of a commitment in the fortunes of their team. When Manchester United lost their place in Division One last season the fans stormed onto the pitch. But they also see managers cynically sell players just to get enough money to improve the grounds. The fans only booed Burnley's manager last week for selling their international captain, Martin Dobson; perhaps they should have gone onto the pitch and shown their resentment.

It is a tragedy that a young fan has lost his life, but no one has suggested the measures they now propose when someone

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WINDSOR FREE FESTIVAL

WINDSOR FREE Festival was first conceived as a protest against the Night Assembly Bill in 1972. The first Festival was attended by approximately a thousand people and went off smoothly -- not a lot of police activity (although they were present to keep an eye on thieves).

The second Festival (last year) was attended by 20,000 people. The large numbers seemed to take the police by surprise, and because of this there were comparatively few of them on duty. About eight people were busted for putting up tents on the first day, but as the crowd grew the police gave up and let the Festival go ahead with a private agreement that if the police did not go on to the site the crowds would not cause any trouble off it. Busts did take place in Windsor town and some people and cars were searched, but there were no busts on site. The Festival ran for a full 9 days without a hitch. Busts in the town totalled approximately 65.

Following the large attendance last year the police decided that 'forewarned is forearmed' and they drafted in extra manpower (uniformed, and drug squad disguised as human beings) to deal with the expected 100,000 pop fans who would be turning up to see the 260 live bands.

Nearby Reading Festival (Aug. 24-25-26) coincided with the first weekend of Windsor Free Festival and kept many of the police busy. However, the remaining police caused what hassles they could: the average pop fans (including us) were hassled from the moment they hit Windsor.

We arrived by train and when we got one foot onto the plat-

form of Windsor station some hippie-police came up to us, identified themselves, and took us into a commandeered waiting room and searched us for drugs and weapons. After which we were released. From there we walked the two miles to the Festival site. Fifty yards short of the site the police had taken over an empty house (squatted it?) and were searching people as they arrived at the site. Body searching, including anal and vaginal searching, continued for the next few days. Most people who arrived at the site thought that this indignity would be the final hassle. We all settled down to a peaceful festival.

The first signs that things were not going well were on Saturday morning, when we noticed that uniformed police were still walking around the site. When the crowds swelled on Saturday the police left the site. Drug squad hippie-police attempted on many occasions to infiltrate the Festival. Many were spotted and escorted (peacefully) from the site.

Reading Festival finished Sunday night and it appears that the extra police were drafted into Windsor. From Monday night (Aug. 26) the police began a new technique of busting people on the edges of the site, usually at night. Where this was noticed in time, busts were prevented.

On Tuesday night a guy in a van parked on the edge of the site was busted. A crowd gathered to prevent the police from taking him from the site, but were too late to prevent his being put into a police van. The police (uniformed), now numbering 500, were escorted from the

site and a few things were thrown at them to emphasise that they were not welcome on the site.

On Wednesday at about midday, following the daily 11 a.m. site meeting, a sit-down protest was held in Windsor main road, beside the site, to protest against the police entry onto the site and the arrest the previous night. This took place whilst we were leaving the site at the end of our stay at the Festival.

M. & D.M.

...FROM the first day the authorities did everything in their power to disrupt and provoke the fans, with as usual the Drug Squad showing no regard for personal liberties. (I was searched twice in an hour, the first time being made to strip to my underpants.)

On the Thursday morning (29 Aug.) over 600 police were drafted in to clear the site, and the people could do nothing else but defend themselves in the face of open aggression. The police defended their action by saying the Windsor Park belongs to the crown estate commissioners, and they had refused permission for the festival to go ahead. (They had even refused to speak to the organisers.) The fans' case is that the park is free common land, and rightly belongs to the people. Undeterred, the Fourth Windsor People's Festival is now being organised.

P. W.

[It is estimated that about 500 people were arrested in the course of the 4½ days which the planned 9-day festival ran.

CAPITALIST ARMY

BECAUSE THE CITY is in the doldrums, and is unable to offer much help to sons of the upper classes looking for a career, the Army's Central London Recruiting Office has had almost double its normal number of inquiries from men in their twenties who want to become officers, and are apparently looking for greater security in their parasitic lives.

It appears, according to the Daily Telegraph of August 15th., that "uncertainty and gloom on the Stock Exchange in Britain's present situation is apparently driving some bright young City men to consider the security of an Army officer's life instead." "The picture", adds the Conservative Daily Telegraph, "was confirmed by the Stock

Exchange".

This dual class interest - City or Army jobs = economic or military repression of the working class - which is one of the privileges offered by the capitalist system to upper class boys, poses agitational and practical problems to all of us on the left who would like to see a total collapse of the Stock Exchange and final redundancy notices being served to the merchants of British capitalism.

If "unemployment" in the upper echelons of City institutions (i.e. Stock Exchange, banking, insurance and investment trusts,

commodity exchanges, etc.) due to capitalist stagnation, means an influx of "bright young City men" into the Officers' quarters of the ever repressive British Army, effectively increasing its efficiency and its capacity to control and administer the civilian aspects of our daily lives during periods of recurrent capitalist crisis, against which sector of capitalist exploitation should we aim our militant blows, the industrial or the military?

How can we effectively struggle to ensure that the City's parasitic life does not improve, without strengthening the Army presence in civilian life? These are strategic questions which we should be discussing in our meetings and in the pages of our publications. It is all very well to talk about smashing the State...but the above evidence prompts us to ask our readers and comrades, how?

AGRO IN AGRICULTURE

THE CONSEQUENCES of the movement from husbandry to finance farming are now becoming apparent in the growing cost and scarcity of food supplies. The temporary glut of some products has not resulted in any great reduction in prices and will in the long run, in the absence of a sensible organisation of agriculture in the interest of its primary purpose of feeding people instead of the production of profits, end in very hard times for all.

The sugar shortage is of course not a serious matter as its over-consumption in Britain and the USA is a hazard to health. What could be more serious is the shortage of milk and milk products, which is a very efficient way of converting our best crop grass into human food.

During the war when the emphasis was upon quantity per acre instead of upon interest on capital, an amazing amount of food was produced. Under the guidance of men like Sir John Boyd Orr people were induced to embrace a more balanced and sensible diet which resulted in a healthier population. It was of course

a great disappointment to Boyd Orr that the Labour Government did not or would not urge a world-wide food and agriculture policy which would have probably at least mitigated the present disorganised state of food supplies. The industrialisation of agriculture produces less per acre -- from shrinking acres being covered with houses, roads and the demand for leisure areas.

As Dr. Schumacher in Small is Beautiful points out, industrial agriculture is completely irrelevant to the problems of world food production. All industrialisation under capitalism is technology with an inhuman face. It consumes real capital in a material sense and also consumes the human psyche. The development of usury has resulted in demands on resources which are becoming increasingly scarce.

The consequences of the imbalance and of a society without real justice are becoming self evident, and it is on this level that those who comprehend this can really have some impact.

Alan Albon

HERE WE ARE / ELECTION / from P.1

and you have to reserve your comments for the cabinet, and you discover that you may be defeated there, whereas previously you were able to give full vent to such feelings. This is inhibiting in certain respects, and I can appreciate better now, having been a minister for a short spell, what must have been some of the pressures which ministers had to endure. If I had been a minister before I wrote my book on Aneurin Bevan, I think I could have written a much better book, because I believe that I would have understood far better what were the anxieties and tensions that he had to endure. For example, I would have understood better how, in a cabinet, in order to get what you are particularly interested in yourself through the cabinet, you want allies to get it through. And, therefore, there is the temptation to be soft, or reticent, in criticising something else that may be proposed by one of your colleagues, particularly when you want that colleague's assistance in getting something through. That's a perfectly reputable process, but it's bound to occur, and occurs more frequently than you might have imagined previously."

This, indeed, is a peep behind the scenes, behind the idealism is the sawdust and tinsel of the clown's arena.

But every circus inveigles into its wasted team of useless talents young enthusiastic

artistes on whom the professionalism and charlatany has not yet descended. Such talents as they have are to be admired and not to be exploited, or wasted unused. The Young Liberals have leapt into the ring with a manifesto. The manifesto challenges "the following assumptions: we need growth; man ought to work; education only happens in schools; ordinary people have neither the ability nor the inclination to run their own affairs; the State has a right to be violent; technical efficiency is more important than human happiness; life is about endless production and acquisition." This libertarian Liberal programme does a double somersault in stating "We do not believe a moderate Government can achieve these aims."

We shall see many more of these acrobatics when the show hits town.

But the clowns are old and unskilled, the routines are hackneyed, the show itself is but a prolonged encore from the last appearance. Nevertheless the pros say "The show must go on." Must it?

Jack Robinson

POULSON SCOOP

When will the Poulson ring-up be over? Latest news - as yet unreported elsewhere - is that three councillors at Chester-le-Street, Co. Durham are due for the chop quite soon because of their acquaintance with a certain over-zealous architect.

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KROPOTKIN

SPEAKS

MOSAIC, BUDDHIST, Christian and Mussulman theologians have had recourse to divine inspiration to distinguish between good and evil. They have seen that man, be he savage or civilised, ignorant or learned, perverse or kindly and honest, always knows if he is acting well or ill, especially always knows if he is acting ill; and as they have found no explanation of this general fact, they have put it down to divine inspiration. Metaphysical philosophers, on their side, have told us of conscience, of a mystic "imperative", and, after all, have changed nothing but the phrases.

But neither have known how to estimate the very simple and very striking fact that animals living in societies are also able to distinguish between good and evil, just as man does. Moreover, their conceptions of good and evil are of the same nature as those of man. Amongst the best developed representatives of each separate class: fish, insects, birds, mammals, they are even identical.

The thinkers of the Eighteenth Century noticed this, but it has been forgotten again, and it is for us now to bring forward the full significance of the fact.

Forel, that inimitable observer of ants, has shown by a mass of observations and facts that, when an ant who has her own crop well filled with honey meets other ants with empty stomachs, the latter immediately ask her for food. And amongst these little insects it is the duty of the satisfied ant to disgorge the honey, that her hungry friends may also be satisfied. Ask the ants, if it would be right to refuse food to other ants of the same ant-hill, when one has had one's share. They will answer, by actions impossible to mistake, that it would be extremely wrong. So selfish an ant would be more harshly treated than enemies of another species. If such a thing happened during a battle between two different species, the ants would stop fighting to fall upon their selfish comrade. This fact has been proved by experiments which exclude all doubt.

ON

THE

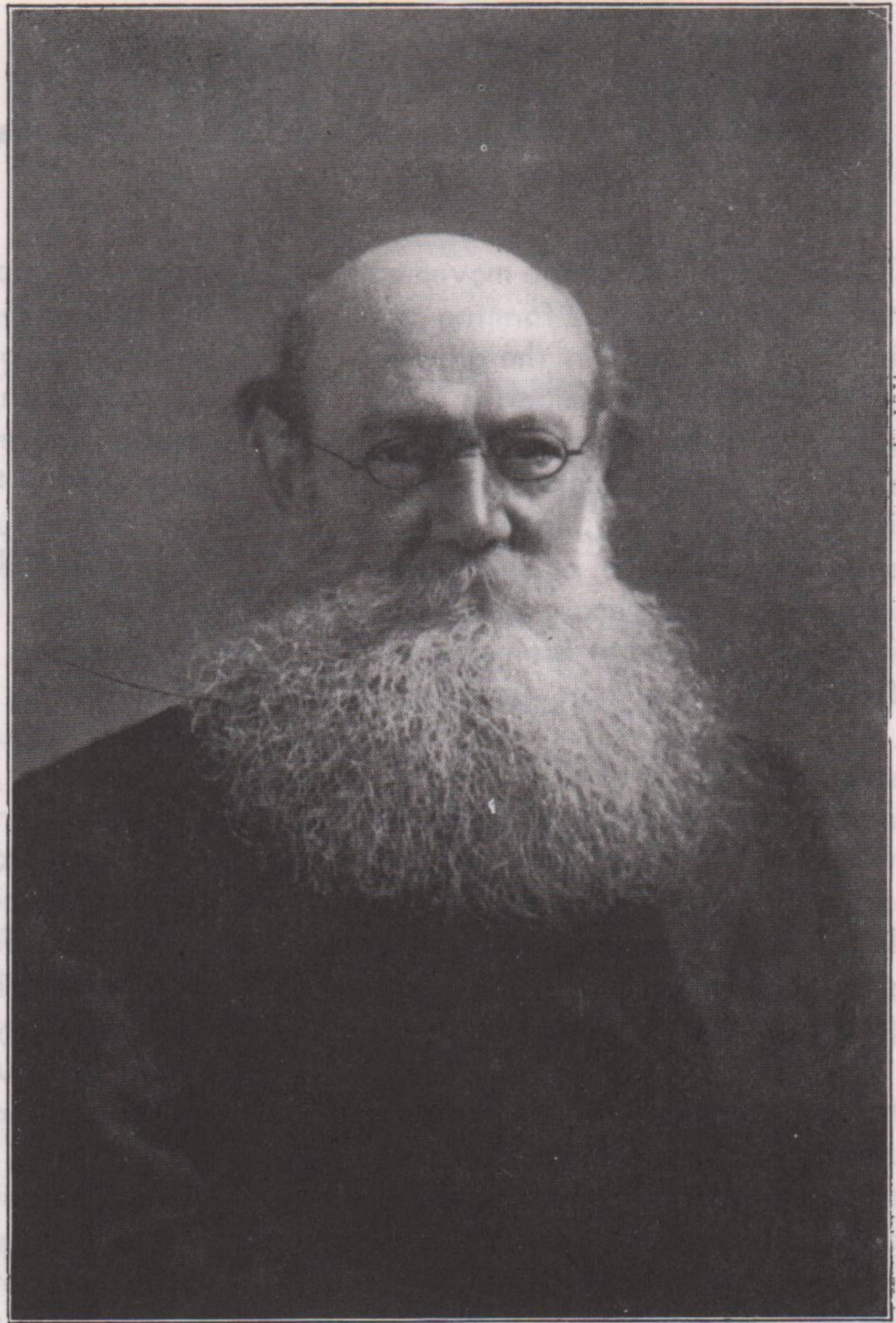
IDEA

OF

GOOD

AND

EVIL.



Or again, ask the sparrows living in your garden, if it is right not to give notice to all the little society, when some crumbs are thrown out, so that all may come and share in the meal. Ask them, if that hedge-sparrow has done right in stealing from his neighbour's nest those straws he had picked up, straws which the thief was too lazy to go and collect for himself. The sparrows will answer that he is very wrong, by flying at the robber and pecking him.

Or ask the marmots, if it is right for one to refuse access to his underground storehouse to other marmots of the same colony. They will answer that it is very wrong, by quarrelling in all sorts of ways with the miser.

Finally, ask primitive man, a Tchoukche for instance, if it is right to take food in the tent of a member of the tribe during his absence. He will answer that, if the man could get his food for himself, it was very wrong. On the other hand, if he was weary or in want, he ought to take food where he finds it; but, in such a case, he will do well to leave his cap or his knife, or even a bit of knotted string, so that the absent hunter may know on his return that a friend has been there, not a robber. Such a precaution

will save him the anxiety caused by the possible presence of a marauder near his tent.

Thousands of similar facts might be quoted; whole books might be written, to show how identical are the conceptions of good and evil amongst men and the other animals.

The ant, the bird, the marmot, the Tchoukche savage have read neither Kant nor the Fathers of the Church nor even Moses. And yet all have the same idea of good and evil. And if you reflect for a moment on what lies at the bottom of this idea, you will see directly that what is considered as good among ants, marmots, and Christian or Atheist moralists is that which is useful for the preservation of the race; and that which is considered evil is that which is hurtful for race preservation. Not for the individual, as Bentham and Mill put it, but fair and good for the whole race.

The idea of good and evil has thus nothing to do with religion or a mystic conscience; it is a natural need of animal races. And when founders of religions, philosophers, and moralists tell us of divine or metaphysical entities, they are only recasting what each ant, each sparrow practises in its little society.

Is this useful to society? Then it is good. Is this hurtful? Then it is bad.

URBAN RENEWAL

"Solidarity" Conference

ON SATURDAY 17th August, Solidarity held an open meeting entitled "Urban Renewal or Urban Devastation". This meeting proved to be very educative and at times entertaining. Above all, it was never lacking in interest.

The proceedings started with a talk by George Williamson (an architect working for a consultancy firm in Leeds) in which he outlined the changes which have taken place in British cities from Victorian times till the present day. It was generally agreed that a certain logic which had spontaneously developed in the layout of the Victorian cities had evolved into a chaotic mess which made everything worse off. This mess came about mostly as the result of "planning". It was further agreed that people are now opting for the old bourgeois order, despite all its injustices, in the absence of choice.

The second part of the meeting was concerned with discussing possible alternative solutions to the problems outlined in the first part.

George Williamson opened by suggesting that libertarian architects could concern themselves with three types of basic buildings:

- (A) Houses to contain a collection of families.
- (B) Houses to contain communes.
- (C) House to contain a District Workers' Council.

There was general agreement over (A) and (B) but some dissension over (C). Not everybody was convinced that it was necessary to have a special building for the District Workers' Council.

The comment was then made that unless libertarians propose a certain scheme of what the libertarian city is like the stage is left to the authoritarian left, by default. This comment sparked off an interesting discussion on libertarianism in general. There was a considerable body of opinion saying that there was no need for a libertarian blueprint. Indeed, why always look to the future? Things are happening now. The Redevelopment Struggle exists now. Hence it is useless to constantly carp on about "After the libertarian revolution, etc..." Thus we must concern ourselves with how to live with the present city and how to change the cities to our liking.

It was also emphasised that the position of authority must be debunked. An architect's or planner's ideas have no greater merit than anybody else's.

At this point the comment was made that we must not be scared to talk of utopias. It was felt that the authoritarian Marxists had done their job very well and thus made "utopia" a dirty word. It was then agreed that day to day activity and utopianism must go together. The Spanish

anarchists, for instance, were continuous revolutionaries who discussed utopia.

Then one comrade pointed out that this theoretical talk was all very well, but how was he to deal with such practical situations as gangs of kids running around and smashing his windows. One suggestion came from a comrade from Manchester who said he had had the same trouble until he got to know the kids. Once they knew him there was no point to smashing his windows.

Another solution suggested was in three parts:

- (A) Kids must have facilities to "screw"
- (B) Kids must have facilities for sporting activities -- youth clubs are useful but only part of the answer.
- (C) Use kids to politicise grievances against District Councils; hittingbricks through council windows is a much more useful way of using aggro.

Most of all, calling them "ratpacks" or "gangs" is probably the biggest problem since it denies individuality to these kids. It was agreed, therefore, that "Socialism is the way we socialise".

One comrade quoted the example of the "Green Ban Movement" in Australia, whereby the building unions "black" work on buildings until they are satisfied that the building is in harmony with the wishes of the local people.

This latter comment led to a fortification of the view that the libertarian society is here and we simply need to act out our lives according to our utopian vision. The ecologists in the meeting were particularly vocal in their support of this notion. However, it was pointed out that certain factors have to be handled and decisions made on them, e.g. sewerage. What action can we take now as regards how we handle sewerage? Despite the ecologists' insistence that they know how since they already practice waste disposal on their communes, it was recognised that on the scale of London, or Peking, the problems would be particularly serious.

Once people started suggesting "we must do A" or "we must do B", some comrades realised the danger. What right have we to decide what shape of city to adopt? By doing this we would be in the same boat as the Leninists and Trotskyists with their ready-made solutions, and ever-ready K.G.B. Our job is to encourage people to make their own decisions. For example, the right of people to decide where to live in Local Authority houses, or going against the Council's imposed door colours.

Man made this society, and so can make another kind of society! However, people must stop saying, "We are powerless".

N. S.

[77] A Detective Sergeant admitted planting a knife on a demonstrator at a Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign demo. in 1969. The defective also admitted two cases of planting drugs. He said he, being merely a temporary detective constable at the time, was trying to improve his promotion prospects. Peter Hain, chairman of the 'Seventy' campaign, said that he believed that in a tour involving 24 matches and demonstrations there were about thirty cases where it was suspected that evidence had been planted.

* Former agents of Portugal's secret political police rebelled in the gaol where they have been imprisoned since the coup on April 25th. They were protesting about the delay in their trial process, many said they 'had not been interrogated yet'. Some said "We would have joined the coup in April but did not have the chance."

The U.S. Supreme Court overturned a Virginia jury's \$165,000 award to three non-union postmen who sued a union newsletter under an 'insulting words' law. The Supreme Court ruled that the expression 'scab' was merely "a lusty and imaginative expression of the contempt felt by union members toward those who refuse to join".

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LETTERS

ANARCHIST ACADEMICS

Dear Comrades,

NON-CENSORSHIP best sums up most of K.P.'s eloquent article "Anarchist Academics" (FREEDOM Aug. 10). But... her strong case for freedom of expression, in print, is weakened, and becomes NONSENSE when she equates N.W.'s articles with pedantry ('showing off one's learning').

Scholarly articles appearing over many years in Anarchy (first series), in FREEDOM, also N.W.'s important Solidarity No. 15 pamphlet The RSG's -- not overlooking innumerable informative letters to editors printed in The Guardian Listener etc., all these fine contributions to Anarchism, the fruits of Nicolas Walter's 15 years reading anarchist literature and discussing anarchist ideas, freely given contributions to other anarchist thinkers, these, when necessary, supplemented by notes, enabling research workers and others interested, to pursue their studies further. Sharing one's knowledge is never pedantry. Blatantly parading one's ignorance is no service to anarchism.

So K.P. actually found 'an idea' in N.W.'s writings! One invariably finds what is being looked for, neither less nor more.

We are in the anarchist movement, not to see through one another, but to see one another through the long hard struggle towards the Sane, Free, and above all Tolerant Society of Anarchism.

Certain FREEDOM readers have derived much benefit from, and realized how brimful of original ideas, constructive thinking, fresh concepts are Nicolas Walter's writings. Example, see Anarchy 100 (original series), twice reprinted, circulated over many parts of the globe, translated into many languages.*

Some FREEDOM readers do appreciate the dedication of the Living who so ably communicate to us the essences contained in the pioneer works of the Departed. Amongst such grateful readers,

Fraternally,
Mark William Kramrisch.

*In print as 'About Anarchism : What Anarchists Believe...' (Freedom Press 15p)

I realise that Kathy Perlo isn't interested in facts, but I think she might offer at least some factual evidence for the assertions in her letter (August 31) that I don't get right, because I don't want to know about, the situation of working-class people; and that working-class people "are treated like shit by people like"

me. If she is prepared to offer any reasonable arguments, I shall be glad to answer them. But if she prefers rhetorical accusations, I would rather not reply in kind.

As it happens, the hundreds of articles I have contributed to Freedom and other libertarian papers have not been merely factual, but have included plenty of ideas -- for those who recognise such things. Let me offer one now which some readers (if not K.P.) may like to consider. When arguments among anarchists are conducted in terms of personal insult and emotional invective, there is no reason why non-anarchists should take us seriously. If we can't get on together, how can we expect to get on at all? What kind of people are we trying to be, and what kind of society are we trying to create?

N. W.

S T I R L I N G and G B '75

Comrades:

S.P. misses the point (FREEDOM 31 Aug.) in his report on Peace News on David Stirling. As both P.N. and Martin Walker pointed out, "Great Britain 75" is not a conventional right wing organization, and precisely because of the differences is far more dangerous.

Organizations like [General] Walker's "Unison", linked as they are with the Monday Club, and -- whether directly or mediately -- Italian and other neofascists, discredit themselves with the political centre and therefore their scope for recruitment is confined to a very small fringe of the ultra right, most of it drawn from upper middle class and elderly blimps with only a sprinkling of working class rascists. People totally incapable of doing the dirty work of the right wing's aims in a show down with the unions.

Unlike these, Stirling has a consistent anti-racist record, the Labour Party used to promote the Capricorn society he founded in Rhodesia, and links with people in the political centre. Note the fact that Thorpe utterly refused to condemn him when interviewed on the radio and changed the subject to an attack on Scanlon. Note that one prominent Liberal Party member -- a journalist -- has had a letter in the Guardian actually supporting Stirling.

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Note that the only attack from a leading Labour Party spokesman has been Mason's which deliberately missed the point, skated over the real issues and demagogically talked of blimpish bull rather than saying what was happening.

(A lot could have been said. When one remembers how quick the authorities are to throw the term conspiracy around when talking of the left, and the lengths the courts will extend the term to when attacking people like Woethersfield and STST; it becomes extremely interesting when by Stirling's own admission--

a) he doesn't know whether his plans are legal or illegal;

b) he consulted senior members of the late Conservative Government about these plans, they too not knowing whether they were legal or not;

-- so that apparently senior Conservative Government Ministers, in conditions of secrecy, discussed with a clandestine organization, and members of the military, plans and preparation for acts that they knew to be doubtfully legal. By any reading of the law that means that people while in Government were engaged in a conspiracy, probably treasonable. Which makes Labour's silence very intriguing; as it would obviously be an ideal vote-getting technique to set up a Judge's Commission to investigate the actions of "ministers of the late Conservative Government" delaying the election until it reported back -- the Tories would not dare force a governmental defeat in the interim, especially if the commission met in public. One can only suppose the secrecy comes because the mud would not only stick to Tory coats!)

The only mistake Peace News makes is in assuming -- because they rightly see that Stirling does not get his support from the traditional right -- that he should not be called a fascist. In fact this is to misunderstand the history of fascism, in all its early manifestations this was a revolt of the centre against the traditional (monarchist and ultra-militarist) right as well as against the left, and this precisely is the element that made it dangerous. They were able to mobilize plebian and indeed proletarian groups against the organized working class, and did not -- as did the traditional right -- have to rely on the established forces of the state bashing the unions, but were prepared to go and do the job themselves.

Fraternally,

Laurens Otter.

THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION

THE UNKNOWN REVOLUTION, 1917-1921, by "Voline", published jointly by 'Black & Red', Detroit, and 'Solidarity', Chicago. 717 pages. (price not fixed; about £ 3)

'BLACK & RED' and 'Solidarity' have, once again, done the English-speaking anarchist and libertarian movement a considerable service. Following their recent publication of Arshinov's History of the Makhnovist Movement in English, they have now published, for the first time, an English translation of Voline's La Revolution Inconnue, originally published in French in 1947 (and republished in 1969), in its entirety. The present volume of 717 pages contains all the material published by Freedom Press in 1954 (Nineteen Seventeen) and in 1955 (The Unknown Revolution), together with Book One, parts 1 and 2, plus a number of other omissions from the original Freedom Press editions.

This first complete English edition is, like the Arshinov book, well-produced for a paperback; it also contains 32 photographs, maps and illustrations, some of which were reproduced in the Arshinov book, in Paul Avrich's The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, Victor Victor Peters' Nestor Makhno and other works, but many others (of Father Gapon and a meeting of the Duma in a Finnish wood) which this reviewer, at least, has never previously seen. They considerably enhance this book.

The first, and previously unpublished part of The Unknown Revolution (Book

One), gives the reader a brief, and to some extent one must admit, superficial, account and summary of Russian society, including accounts and descriptions of the Nihilists, the early Social Democrats and anarchists, together with the struggles of the workers and, later, the peasants during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The personal story of the emergence of the 1905 workers' first Soviet in St. Petersburg, and the background to the Gaponist movement, are of particular interest.

Books Two and Three, dealing mainly with the February Revolution, the Bolshevik coup d'etat, the early repression of the anarchists and social revolutionaries, the crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion and the exploits of the Makhnovists, will of course be familiar to readers of the two previous Freedom Press volumes, not to mention those who have read Arshinov's History of the Makhnovist Movement or Avrich's Kronstadt 1921, though, even in these sections, there are a number of passages included which were omitted from the earlier books. In chapter 1 of Book Three, for example, there are some long extracts from Golos Truda, the official organ of the "Union of Anarchist Propaganda" in Petrograd, lengthy extracts from the Kronstadt Izvestia published during the revolt and an extended list of well-known Makhnovists.

Though Voline has been accused by a British Solidarity writer (Maurice Brinton in The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control)

of making an over-simplified analysis of the fate of the Russian Revolution, this book, despite some of the obvious weaknesses, together with Arshinov's History of the Makhnovist Movement, is still an absolute "must" for anarchists and libertarians (and others*) wishing to understand the Russian Revolution and its outcome. It is, of course, fairly simple for the Maurice Brintons and the Tony Cliffs of this world to be "clever" at this late stage! That such writers as Voline and Arshinov (not to mention Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman) did not fully comprehend the emerging State Capitalist nature of the "Soviet" regime is understandable, though it is true that many "lesser" Russian and Ukrainian anarchists and libertarian communists/socialists (as well as a few Marxists) did as early as 1918.

Nevertheless, Voline, like Arshinov, has provided us with an enormous amount of first-hand information. It is unlikely that anyone else will pack so much into one volume. Unless someone translates Makhno's three volumes into English!

The Unknown Revolution is not priced. I do not know what it will cost in Britain, but whatever it is (within reason, of course), it should be on all readers of this paper's shelves - and many others as well.

*Particularly the silly and ignorant supporters of the late Lev Davidovich Trotsky, butcher of Kronstadt!

Peter E. Newell.

IN BRIEF

Bernard Barker, Eugenio Martinez and Victor Gonzalez, having completed their sentences in connection with the break-in to Democratic Party HQ, have launched on a building project of 600 housing units in Florida which will reap between \$7million and \$9million profit, according to Time magazine. One of the associate builders, John Priestes, has just himself completed a prison term for malfeasance. Mr. Barker, speaking of the building project, said "If this isn't the American way, you tell me what is." The development is to be called 'Watergate Hills'.

Residents of Teignmouth are annoyed at being described as 'lower class' in a book called Returning to the Seaside. The secretary of the local golf club said, "We may not have quite as many generals as Budleigh Salterton but it seems a curious distortion to suggest that Teignmouth should be written off as lower class or working class."

PAT ARROWSMITH ABSENTED HERSELF FROM THE OPEN PRISON AT ASKHAM GRANGE, YORKSHIRE AND IS VARIOUSLY REPORTED TO BE IN ULSTER AND DUBLIN (depending which paper you read). Reasons given for her commendable departure vary also, from a desire for political status to a wish to return to Holloway. The Home Office (who did not report her absence for several days) says that she asked to transfer to an open prison (which for non-reforming types like Pat Arrowsmith are pure hell). Later stories reported to be from Pat Arrowsmith suggest that the transfer to Askham Grange was asked for in order to facilitate escape and to publicize her case as a political prisoner. It is promised that a letter from Pat Arrowsmith will be read at Tuesday night's Conway Hall meeting (after we go to press).

Posters by International Socialists publicizing this Saturday's Hyde Park anti-Fascist demonstration show National Front banners over a brownshirt march, with the captions 'Unite to Drive the N.F. Off the Streets Before they destroy trade unions/ Deport and exterminate all blacks/ Support employers against workers.' A further (unillustrated) poster for Asian workers is also stuck up in the East End.

According to the Sunday Times, Polish army units have been called into Gdansk to cope with a go-slow by Polish dockers. The dispute (industrial action is illegal in Poland) is over a bonus scheme. The use of the army to clear the port is seen by the Sunday Times as an indication that Gierek is handling the dispute 'with care'.

Prisoners in Auckland's top security jail defeated Oxford Union debating team in a debate. The prisoners opposed the motion 'It is not worth the effort'.

Sancho Panza

has got killed in a pub or at a dance hall. For a lot of people the young football fan is a part of the great unwashed. He or she is not a person but a "hooligan", and for many their crime is that they are young.

Hugh McIlvenny of The Observer has said, "It is easy to exaggerate the significance of hooliganism at football matches. Much of it is no more than a kind of physical graffiti, and where it becomes more serious it has explanations that reach far beyond a ball game." When it comes to violence, the football fan has nothing on the State. Nowadays you are searched on entering the ground. You are constantly aware of the police and the way they enforce their authority.

Of course football is a working class sport. Much that is wrong with the game is because of middle class values being imposed on the clubs. The football fan when violent is called a hooligan. Rag week violence is high spirits.

Like the "pop fan" at Windsor Park the life style of the young football fan is not understood. Music and football mean involvement, not being a passive onlooker to a T.V. programme. Windsor Free Festival was beyond the comprehension of the police and besides they were breaking the law, by camping and playing music. In fact they were enjoying themselves. A music festival or the cheering, singing, laughing and fighting which go on on the terraces is an expression of collective enjoyment. To the police the differences in life style and age of the pop and football fans are crimes in themselves.

Thursday's violent intervention by the police only took place when most of the fans had departed. Previously the huge number had deterred such action. Now the numbers left were small enough to disperse with their truncheons. More were arrested on Thursday than throughout the festival.

The State expects and aims at conformity to its own moral code of behaviour. Dope smoking pop fans and fighting on the terraces do not conform with their pattern. Such behaviour will no doubt now be dealt with severely. The State will take its revenge on the young. P.T.

Windsor Eye-Witness...see P.2

A youth worker, member of a London commune, is suing the police for £50 claimed for "a bloody nose, sore teeth and complete loss of faith in the so-called [sic] forces of law and order".

Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 pm at Freedom Press, followed by get together with refreshments.

COMRADE here from Tokyo until December needs accommodation low rent (& job suggestions). Mikio Wakayama, c/o Freedom.

MANCHESTER. One-day Anarcho-Syndicalist conference 28 Sept All sympathisers in the North are invited to write for details to J. Moorhouse, sec.SWF/M/cr. c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Rd. Manchester 13. (tel.061-442-0434)

LONDON. Emotion & understanding in Music; People and Politics; London's Environment; three of the nine subjects of Workers' Education Assn. (Central London) 1974/5 session. Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Rd. N.1. will send all details of classes on request.

"THE POLICE" (?redundant) and "Saxon" (satire on British class system). Two new comedies at UNITY THEATRE, 1 Goldington St. NW1 (tel. 01-387 8647) showing nightly Thurs - Sunday inc. until Sat. Sept. 21. Tickets whole perf. 50p or 35p for one play only. The Police 7.45 pm Saxon 9.45 p.m.

NEW YORK: LIBERTARIAN BOOKCLUB FALL LECTURES. Thurs. evenings 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center 359 8th Ave. (SW corner 29 St) admission free: Oct. 10: Merrill Moss,, Anarchism, Syndicalism & the Counterculture; Oct. 24 Samuel H. Friedman, The Middle East problem - can it be solved?;

Nov. 14: Irving Levitas, Anarchism in New England; Dec. 12: Dan Georgakas and Leonard Rubenstein, Art and Anarchy.

SONGS wanted for anarchist song book. Old/new/your own/serious/comic/sophisticated/naive: all welcome. Send to (K.P.) 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London N.5

CLAUDE wishes it to be known that he is no longer associated in any way with the editorial collective producing FREEDOM.

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

ANARCHIST WOMEN's group meets Mondays. Tel. 01-883 2457

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union, 2 pm at 37 Mayola Road, Clapton, E.5. (tel.01-985-5251) Information on activities elsewhere from same address.

Players for London based Anarchist football team(s) required. Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

BLACKBURN ANARCHIST GROUP established, meetings to be arranged. Keith Sowerby, 150 Shorrocks Lane Blackburn BB25TT (tel. 28380)

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE and CENTRO IBERICO. Sats. & Suns 7.30. Disco &c. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd (2nd door). Tube Chalk Farm or Belsize Park.

Some London Anarchists meet socially at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St. W.1 (Tube: Goodge St) Suns. 7.30. Don't ask at bar

PORTUGUESE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications money & ideological support. Movimiento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2^o-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal.

PACIFISM IN SPAIN. Group organising Centre for Analysis of Conflicts (CAC) to collect and disseminate info. on pacifism, conscientious objection, anti-militarism, all fields of 'counterculture'. Want to exchange bulletins for publications of relative groups.. Contact Aurora Moreno - C.A.C., Santa Rosalia 116-2^o-1^a, BARCELONA 16, Spain.

BIT Information & Help Service mag. BITMUCH 12, 108 pp, 37p inc post or £1 sub 4 issues from BIT 146 Great Western Rd. London W.11 tel. 01-229-8219. "Porno" issue w. petition for jailed importer of film "Deep Throat"; plus all usual information pages.

Prisoners:

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, doing two years. Postcards to Paul Pawlowski, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd. Wandsworth, SW18 3HS.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 years), Des Keane (5 yrs), Columba Longmore (4 yrs) Address for letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire (we have not yet been informed of change of address reported as possible in our last week issue

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY Committee, 54 Harcombe Rd. N.15 Needs donations to supply study books for these long-term prisoners.

11 held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Georges Riviero, Lucio Urtubia Gimenez, Pierre Gilbert and Arnaud Chastel at Prison de Fresnes, 1 av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori, Anne Urtubia, Annie Plazon, Daniele Haas, Jane Helen Weir and Chantel Chastel at Prison de Femmes, Fleury Merogis, 9 av. des Peupliers, 91700 St. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

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