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COALITION BY THE LEFT?

IN THE LAST days of the election and after the end of the previous election there was much talk of a coalition or a 'government of national unity' (the prestige label on the same medicine). It is possible that one may now go through the same process, indeed we may even get a coalition government.

The anarchist position on all governments applies, perhaps with even more force, to coalition governments, so there is little necessity to go into detail. It has even been accepted in some respectable quarters that a weak, minority government (plus armed forces, law, police and gaols) is more satisfactory in some respects than strong government.

The reason why strong government is admired and desired is because it is thought that by putting together a number of politicians who have no real solution, a solution may emerge and if any opposition to harsh remedies survives, it can be crushed by an appeal to national unity.

It is well-known that wars are generally conducted by coalition governments, national unity being cheap and easily obtainable at such times (war being the health of the state) but it is rarely remembered that we had a National Government to solve a crisis of capitalism.

This was in 1931 when we had 2,750,000 unemployed. That government came to power, not by the ballot box but by the deliberate connivance of Labour leaders who decided off their own bat to form a National Government allied with the Conservatives and some of the Liberals; this coalition with very little change lasted, in effect, till 1939. The National Government came into power by the back door with the excuse of a crisis; will a weak government in 1974 follow the example?

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The Labour Government of Ramsay MacDonald, with Philip Snowden and J. H. Thomas as luminaries, was in office trying to run a capitalist economy with a half-baked Socialist programme. Of course, they ran into trouble and called in the economic experts, who drafted the May report which recommended cuts in social services of £960,000,000, a reduction of 20% in unemployment pay with introduction of a means test. It proposed cuts in the numbers of teachers and police and in public works. There was much argument in the Cabinet about these proposals, MacDonald

'resigned' and formed a National Government, calling in Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain, Samuel Hoare (Conservatives), Viscounts Samuel, Reading and Simon (Liberals).

This new galaxy of talent raised a loan of £50,000,000 from the United States, whose confidence was fortified by the new non-Socialist government, and proceeded to implement some of the ideas of the May Report. MacDonald was a vain, almost senile orator. He reportedly said when he had formed the National Government, "Tomorrow every Duchess in London will be wanting to kiss me."

The history of the National Government was brutal and long. It put through the 'emergency' repressive measures and kept the unemployed on a subsistence level. Families were broken up for the sake of the few extra shillings income from the means test. Strikes were rare, and jobs were rarer. Cuts were made of 10% in unemployment pay, we went off the Gold standard and introduced tariffs. Foreign policy represented by Viscount Simon was abysmal and contributed much to the cataclysm of 1939, but despite all this 'national unity' the key problem of unemployment was only solved by arming for a war -- for which we were told, ultimately, we were unprepared.

The only comfort for anarchists out of this is that even the crisis of 1931 was insufficient to get people to vote. There were one million less votes in 1931 than in the election of 1929.

A coalition is basically more dangerous to its subjects than the most inefficient and weak of governments. The best governments are those which govern least. Therefore the best government is no government.

Jack Robinson.

ABOLISH THE PRISONS

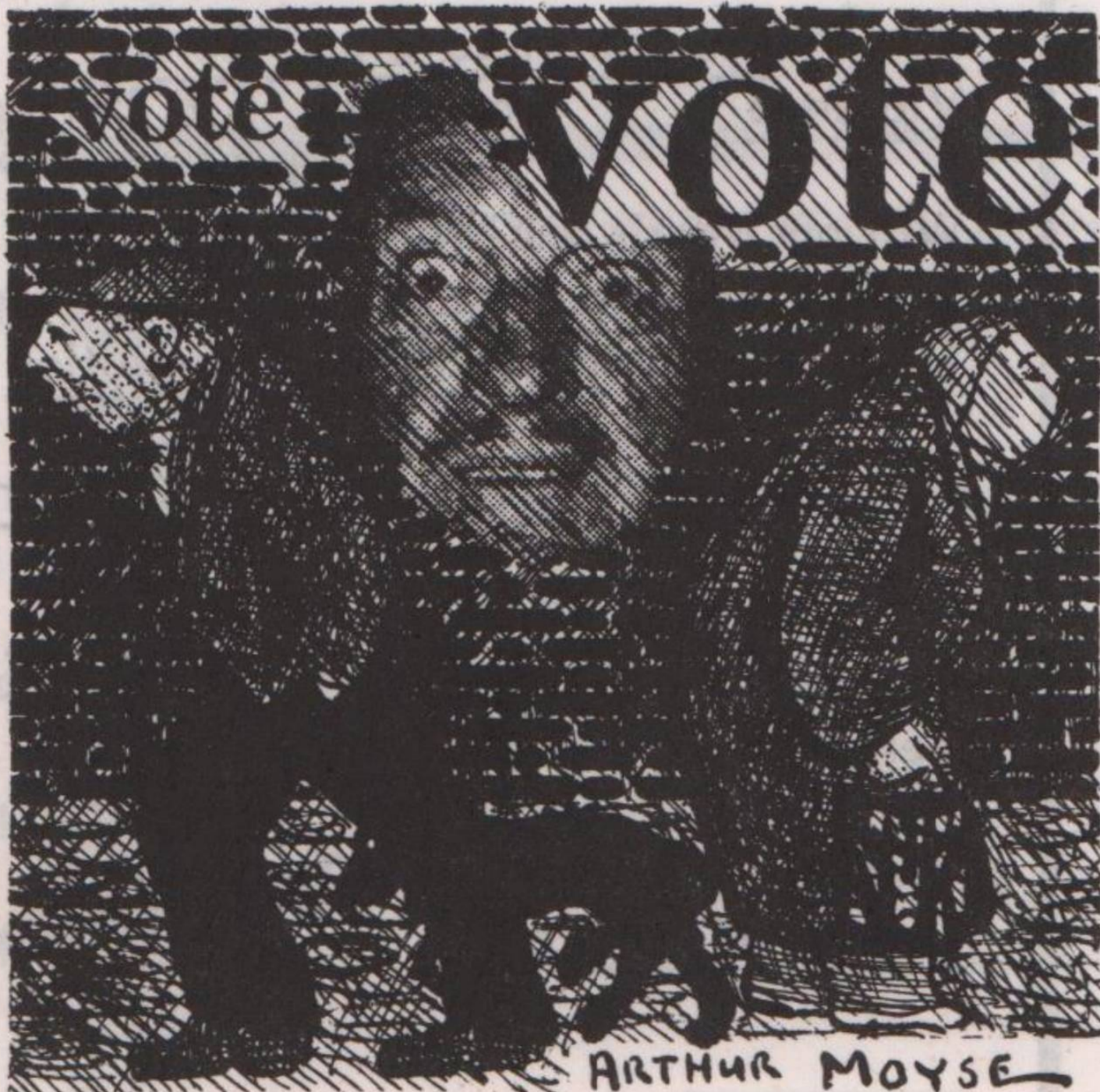
THE REAL punishment of a term in prison is a person's deprivation of individual liberty. That on its own is punishment enough. But this deprivation does not deter; in fact many prisoners return to prison, and usually these second offences are more 'serious' than the first..

Far from prisons being corrective institutions, prisons are what Kropotkin called "universities of crime". Kropotkin also wrote that "the prison kills all the qualities in a man which make him best adapted to community life. It makes him the kind of a person who will inevitably return to prison to end his days in one of those stone tombs over which is engraved -- 'House of Detention

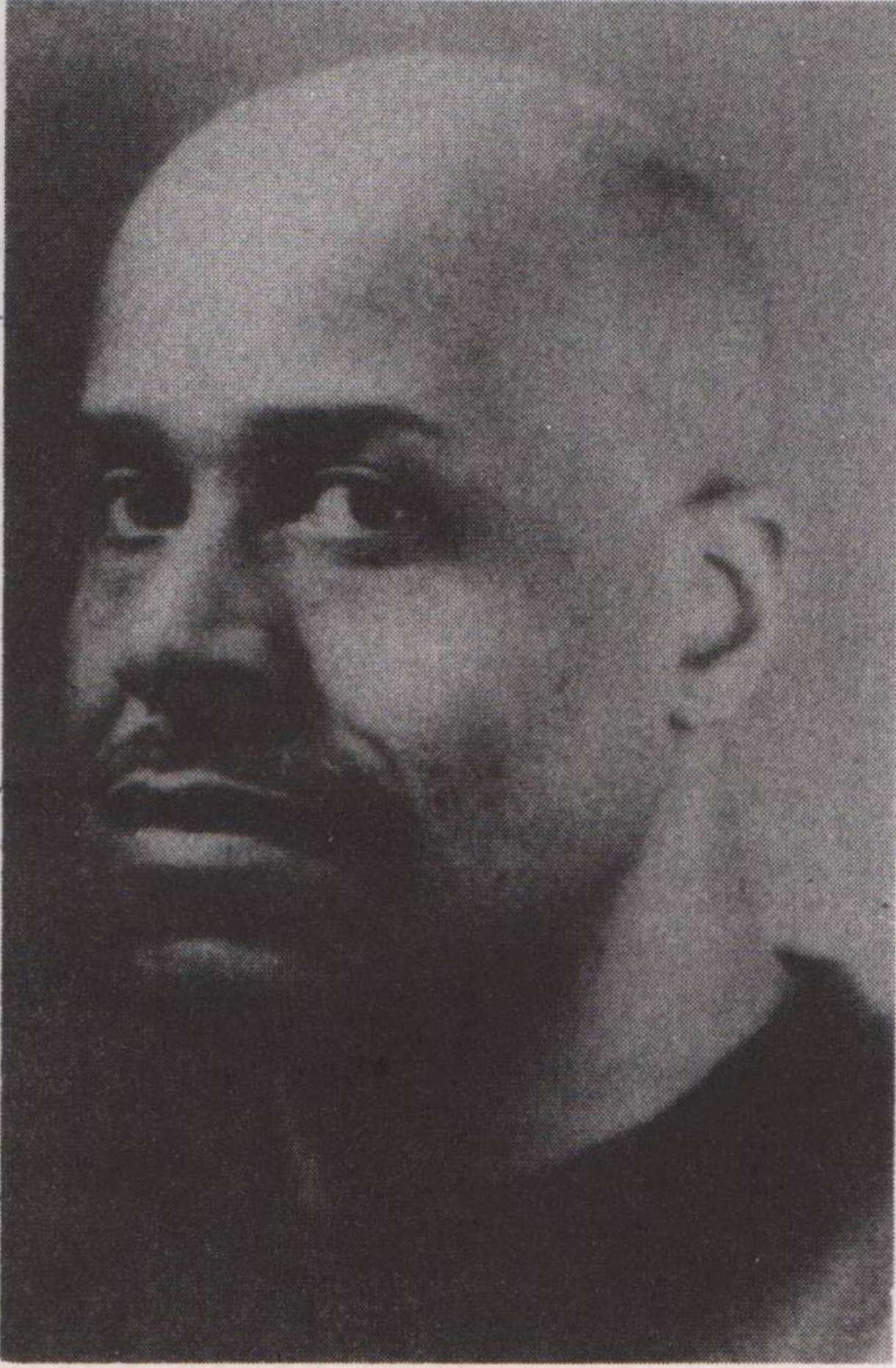
and Correction'. There is only one answer to the question: 'What can be done to better the penal system?' Nothing. A prison cannot be improved. With the exception of a few unimportant little improvements, there is absolutely nothing to do but demolish it."

But the State is not just satisfied with removing a person's liberty. For those whom they call "subverters of prison order" the authorities have devised further inhuman treatment. In the Sunday Times of October 13 the 'Insight' team revealed that a new control unit had been built at Wakefield Prison and another was being built at Wormwood Scrubs. Mr. Robert Carr, the

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LIFE GOES ON.



MARTIN SOSTRE --Now serving a 30 year prison term, he stays in solitary confinement at New York's Clinton State Prison.

What is his crime, and moreover why is he subject to constant beatings, bread and water diets, mail censorship from attorneys, dehumanizing rectal searches, and dangerously long (373 days) stays in the "hole"?

1952: Arrested for heroin, Martin Sostre served the entirety of his six to twelve year sentence. Redirecting his energy to life-promoting work, Martin Sostre educated himself and became a jailhouse lawyer. He experienced four years of solitary confinement, meanwhile learning the art of yoga, and managing to file several lawsuits, among them, Sostre vs. McGinnis, over the freedom to practise religion in prison -- motion denied (1964), and later in 1970 Sostre vs. Otis, concerning his mail censorship -- motion carried. In 1970 he initiated Sostre vs. Rockefeller, due to his punitive segregation of 373 days of solitary confinement -- motion carried, awarding him \$13,020.00 in damages against Greenhaven Prison Warden Harold W. Follette and Corrections Commissioner Paul D. McGinnis. This decision was later overruled by the Circuit Court and Sostre never received any of the funds.

1964: Out of prison, Martin Sostre moved to Buffalo where he secured a job at the Bethlehem Steel Plant in Lackawana. After about two years of saving he was able to realize his dream and open a small Afro-Asian bookstore in the ghetto of Buffalo.

June 1967 Three days of uprisings in the Black Ghetto streets, during which Martin Sostre allowed his store to function as a fallout shelter from police teargas and

bullets.

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June An increased number of police cars patrolled the ghetto area of Buffalo and police were spotted tearing down literature from the Afro-Asian bookstore walls each night after Martin Sostre had left.

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July Known 'junkie' and felon Arto Williams was mysteriously released from jail although he was being held on charges of grand larceny.

10.30 p.m. "two special cars came to a halt in front of the Afro-Asian Bookstore and ten or a dozen uniformed and plain-clothes officers went in." Geraldine Robinson, Sostre's helper, was showing some LP records to several teenage youths. "I had just left the front of the store," Martin Sostre later recalled, "to

MARTIN SOSTRE APPEAL

wash my hands in the back room when (they) came in. When I saw the FBI (man) Jensen hit Geraldine, I rushed to her aid, only to be met by 4 or 5 (more) who beat me with black-jacks." Martin Sostre was handcuffed, thrown to the floor, and according to testimony by one of the youths present, who was never heard by a jury, "a policeman exclaimed, 'Aha, here it is!' And he pulled a little package out of his pocket. 'See what we found, Marty, I he said with a grin. The package was later determined to contain eleven glassine envelopes of heroin." So they were arrested for arson, riot, assault on police officers and possession of Narcotics. Only the last charge survived. "The police were the only witnesses against him in court --except for Arto Williams."

Spring 1971 Arto Williams, now a member of Tuum Est, a nonprofit organization for the rehabilitation of drug addicts, has filed an affidavit with the county of Los Angeles, State of California: 'I make this affidavit in support of a motion for a new trial in the above case.' He states that after being held approximately two weeks (June 1967) at the Erie County Jail for the felonious theft of an air conditioner, he had contacted Sergeant Alvin Gristmacher of the Buffalo Police Narcotics Squad requesting an interview. 'I told him what I had been arrested for. I told him that I was willing to assist him in any way that he saw fit if he was willing to help me with my case.' The affidavit explains how a deal was arranged with Sgt. Gristmacher, Chief Amico

(Buffalo Police Narcotics Squad) and Williams and how he was released on his own recognizance the next day. Driven to within a block of the Afro-Asian Bookstore, Williams was given 15 dollars in apparently marked bills which he asked Martin Sostre to hold for him for safe-keeping. 'I did not ask him for drugs and he did not give or sell me any drugs.'. A police trooper then drove him back to police headquarters where 'the police gave (him) a statement about how (he) was supposed to have made the buy'. Williams states, 'for my part in the trial, I was granted probation'.

30 May 1973 Arto Williams has recanted his testimony through this sworn affidavit before Federal Judge John Curtis testifying to all points of the frame up.

June 1973 Former contact Sgt. Alvin R. Gristmacher has been

discharged from the Buffalo Police Force for the theft of heroin.

Spring 1973 Amnesty International, which has consultative status with the United Nations (ECOSOC), UNESCO and with the Council of Europe, has adopted Martin Sostre as their only American prisoner of conscience. In early 1973, Amnesty International, "became convinced that he had been the victim of an international mis-

22 Aug. 1974 Members of the Ann Arbor Martin Sostre Defence Committee were able to visit him for one hour behind a glass wall over a telephone, at the Federal Detention Headquarters in New York City. He had been brought there to testify at a trial on behalf of a fellow prisoner who had been beaten by prison guards. "During our brief encounter, Martin told us how his lawyers were trying to get him a stay at the Federal Detention Headquarters where he was allowed to make 'phone calls, and write letters to more than a specified few persons. The request explained how at a distance of 400 miles, it would be difficult to communicate at reasonable intervals with lawyers and how he would be put back in punitive segregation -- solitary confinement -- the hole -- upon arrival.

29 Aug. 1974 Martin Sostre has lost his appeal to stay at the Federal Detention Headquarters in New York City and was transferred back to the State Prison in Dannemora, New York (Clinton Prison) today.

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THE LIFE AND DEATH OF MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT, by Claire Tomalin. (Weidenfeld & Nicolson, £ 4.75).

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT is a significant figure in the history of British social and political thought, who was badly treated during her short lifetime and has been badly treated during the two centuries since her death.

Her father came from a conventional English bourgeois family which had made its money out of a weaving business in Spitalfields, in East London; her mother was Irish, and it is tempting to guess that this mixed origin had something to do with her contradictory character. She was born in 1759, and after an unhappy childhood and youth, during which she more or less educated herself, she left home in 1778 to make her own living. As Claire Tomalin points out, there were few ways a woman could support herself respectably in those days, and Wollstonecraft tried most of them -- as a lady's companion, a seamstress, a schoolteacher, a governess -- in the intervals nursing her dying mother and trying to help a sister over a broken marriage.



THE FIRST FEMINIST

When she ran a school in Newington Green, in North-East London, in 1784-85, she made her first contact with radical intellectuals such as Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, but in 1787 she became a member of the radical intelligentsia herself. She was set up as a professional writer by Joseph Johnson, the leading radical publisher in London during the late eighteenth century, and for the rest of her life she was a public figure. During a few years of literary hackwork -- writing books of moral stories and practical instruction for girls, translating foreign books and contributing to periodicals -- she wrote some semi-autobiographical novels, but they weren't very successful. In 1790, however, she became well-known as the author of A Vindication of the Rights of Man, the first reply to Edmund Burke's attack on the French Revolution, and in 1792 she became very well-known as the author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, the first major feminist text in English.

Wollstonecraft always tried hard to be taken seriously as a person rather than as a woman, and she succeeded at least among her wide circle of friends. But she was forced to suffer as a woman. She fell in love with Henry Fuseli, the Swiss writer and painter, but was rejected and ridiculed. In 1792, as the British authorities became increasingly reactionary, she (like many other radical intellectuals) went to France -- just as the Revolution was turning to Terror. She associated mostly with Girondins, who began to be guillotined in 1793; in the same year war began between Britain and France. In Paris she fell in love with Gilbert Imlay, an American adventurer, and (apparently for the first time) her love was returned. They did not marry, but their child Fanny was born in 1794. Soon, however, things went wrong. Imlay went to London without her; she followed in 1795, but was once more rejected and ridiculed. An abandoned woman with an illegitimate child, she lost hope, and twice tried unsuccessfully to kill herself.

But she was tough, and recovered from her despair. In 1796 she became associated with William Godwin, then the famous author of Political Justice and Caleb Williams. They became lovers, and married in 1797 after she became pregnant. In August their child Mary was born; but Wollstonecraft contracted septicaemia and died eleven days later. (The later fates of those involved in this tragic episode were also tragic in various ways. Godwin lived on for forty years, steadily deteriorating as a person and as a writer. Fanny Imlay killed herself in 1816. Mary Godwin eloped with the poet Shelley in 1814, married him after the suicide of his first wife in 1816, had four children of whom three died in infancy, and after he drowned in 1822 lived on for thirty years; she is mainly remembered for the fantastic novels, Frankenstein and The Last Man.)

Mary Wollstonecraft was admired by few and attacked by many during her lifetime, and that pattern has continued to the present day. (For perfect current examples of the pattern, see the best

and worst reviews of this book by Edward Thompson in New Society on September 19 and by Richard Cobb in the Times Literary Supplement on September 6.)

It is easy enough to attack her. She was often silly in her personal behaviour (who isn't?); her private letters were preserved and published after her death, an exposure few could survive. She was often simplistic in her political behaviour (who isn't?); she was one of many fellow-travellers with the French Revolution, along with most of the finest minds of the age, a phenomenon which seems more sinister in the light of the many more fellow-travellers with a later and nastier revolution. She said what she thought, and she wrote in haste, both dangerous tendencies.

But it is much more important to appreciate her, both as a person and as a writer. Tomalin concentrates too much on the former, though Wollstonecraft's personality fills a book easily enough. Tomalin rightly brings out the feminist side of her career, but the result is too feminine in the bad as well as in the good sense. Wollstonecraft fought to be herself, as a woman but even more as a person; what makes her really important, however, is that she fought for all men -- and all women -- to be themselves.

Tomalin wrongly plays down her writing. Her reply to Burke was not as fine as Thomas Paine's (what could be as fine as Rights of Man?), but it was prompt and effective at the time. Her feminist tract is still one of the best, and certainly as good as anything written since. Sheila Rowbotham describes it in Women, Resistance and Revolution as "the important theoretical summation of bourgeois radical feminism still in the phase of moral exhortation"; there is some truth in such a description, but the Vindication is surely more than that. Wollstonecraft did what few people are able to do -- she went as far as she could in the direction she had chosen. The same is true of Godwin, of their daughter Mary, and of Mary's husband Shelley. They make an extraordinary family group!

Little serious work was done on Mary Wollstonecraft's life and writings for a long time. The first really satisfactory study was Ralph Wardle's Mary Wollstonecraft, published in 1951 and available in paperback. But now a book of one kind or another appears nearly every year -- all by women: a bad one by Edna Nixon, good ones by Margaret George and Eleanor Flexner, and a forthcoming one by Emily Sunstein. Claire Tomalin's will probably be more widely read than any of them, because it has been well written and well publicised. It is certainly very interesting, if occasionally rather irritating. But no book on a writer can be a substitute for the writer's own books, and it would be good to have available some of those by Mary Wollstonecraft. It is possible to get hold of various editions of the Vindication of the Rights of Woman, but only with difficulty, and it is almost impossible to find any of her other works. Perhaps the women's liberation movement will be able to bring one of its greatest forerunners back into print.

art reviews

WHEN A GROUP of Russian artists placed their work on public view their open air exhibition was broken up by the political bully boys acting on the indirect orders of the Russian art establishment. The reason for the painterly punch up was the old one of subject matter. The German pre-war government practised the ostracisation of artists and their work, the Royal Academy closed their doors to certain subject matter and the Russian government in its political senility still allows its creatures of the art and literary establishments to form their closed shop, and it is no more than this in the Russian and British case. The ostracised Russian artists were not the hounded geniuses of myth and western romantic legend for their work was a rather dated version of western abstraction and surrealism and of a rather poor quality, but it was their work and they were right to struggle to have it shown outside their own small circles. Their 'crime' was that the Russian art establishments are controlled by those artists of hard won reputations who churn out the solid Victoriana mixed with social realism, the State approves it and the public love it, therefore those who produce this type of highly coloured garbage have an understandable vested interest in protecting their own prosperous clique. In the Russian abstract artists the Russian social realist painters see a genuine threat to their own welfare, for it will only need the public approval of three or four of the government top brass for the public exhibition of abstract painting in government buildings for the rather dingy new wave of Russian painters to move into the art establishments and not only to fill the walls with their own style of paintings but, and this is what the battle on the grass was about, to fill the chairs of the establishment's administrations. It is a political battle for the fruits of office. The same battle, in a lesser key, was fought with the pen and the mouth within the British Royal Academy over the admission of abstract paintings and the Old Guard fought room by room for the privilege of painting every-picture-tells-a-story. But in the end the Bond Street dealers forced the Academy to give way and the enemy without became the ally within, for the Royal Academissions painting their high priced wallpaper are as loyal to the closed shop of the Academy as the old time geriatrics painting the Queen and tea on the college lawn.

The Russian abstract painters have won their first battle and I wish them well, but I do feel that our own political hacks of the State art world should not play the liberal. They demand artistic freedom but only at a safe distance, and our own home-spawned politbureau, who refused to make any worthwhile public protest when the politicians tried to end free and open access to our own State controlled galleries, rose from their padded chairs at a distance of a thousand miles to demand the same freedom for the Russian people that they themselves were too fearful to defend literally on their own doorsteps. I say that the sorry Russian situation is that of a young and exciting new clique, maybe without realising it, struggling for political control of the State art establishments, and one has only to attend the BRITISH PAINTING '74 exhibition at our State gallery, The Hayward, to bear witness to the same situation in reverse.

THE HAYWARD

For here is what is claimed to be British painting of 1974 and what we have is wall after wall

"An Earthly Paradise Calendar" (Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications) 60p + 10p postage
Class War Comix No. 1 New Times 25p + 7p post
Both obtainable from Freedom Bookshop

SWEET...

of pretty, bright and nearly always highly coloured abstract paintings. It is true that there is a small sketch by the 89 year old Duncan Grant and a familiar oil by Hitchens who was born in 1893, but for the rest it is almost all acrylic household paint, the spray gun and a six foot rule for drawing the geometricals of this trivia. One searched for the work of painters such as Bacon, Pasmore, Sutherland or even the goldenboy Hockney but not one of their canvases was on view. Without these men there is no British painting '74 and on press day when I made my enquiries I was told that they had been asked to exhibit but refused. I have visited too many exhibitions over the years to believe that a dealer or an owner of a work by these men could not have lent a painting for an exhibition, but all one had was room after room of work that under another title could have made enjoyable viewing. It is indeed a matter of regret that this pleasant exhibition of lesser artists working in the abstract vein should be so wrongly honoured. For myself I found pleasure in the painting of a woman by Maggi Hambling, some lovely flower pieces by Richard Hamilton, a painting, so very small, of a woman playing a 'cello, and a large hardboard of graffito by Patrick Hughes, the first and only genuine pop artist. As witty as Magritte and as corny as a good and smutty seaside postcard, he endorses the triviality of the exhibition but by his humour saves it from being a sad joke at the expense of all the talented but absent British artists 1974.

AND SOUR

THE TATE

Contemporary Europe

But the Town and his culture loving frau can find the great names of our age on exhibition at the Tate's Picasso to Lichtensein exhibition. It is a worthy exhibition that has been assembled with solid Teutonic workmanship from the back rooms of all the leading art dealers. These 140 major and minor works were the result of the Land and Museum of Nordrhein-Westfalen's desire to get into the art act and they have spent their money well, for on display in London is their magnificent collection of contemporary art. Picasso's "Deux Femmes Nues Assises" of 1920 is there in all its colossal splendour as the highlights pour down the two naked women like water flowing down mountains of sculptured rock, and it shares pride of place with Morandi's beautiful still lifes of small objects appearing to float in a painter's light as the muted colours define the space occupied by the still solids. A marvellous exhibition but it was bought almost as if by catalogue, for given the money this type of collection could have been assembled by any dealer in less than a year. The true collection, Herr Schmalenbach, is that that is built up by buying the work of fledgling artists and only then can you claim to have built up, as opposed to buying, a truly national collection. But it is a worthy exhibition and Dusseldorf is fortunate to house it.

CENTRAL LONDON POLY

Contemporary China

With the Communist Party of Britain beating the drum for 25 years of workers power in China it was fun in hand with the Town's eyes-down frau to the Polytechnic of Central London for an exhibition of Chinese Graphic Art "by courtesy of the People's Republic of China". Collets of Charing Cross Road

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SUPPORT SPANISH RESISTANCE

La Trobe (Melbourne, Australia) university anarchists have circulated an appeal on behalf of Black Cross. We reprint the main part here.

...To understand the present situation and the urgency of helping the prisoners within Spanish prisons it is necessary to look briefly at the reasons why the social situation in Spain today exists.

In 1936 there was a Republican government in Spain, but in its five years of existence it had failed to solve any of the basic problems of the country. The remains of feudalism were still considerable and many of the people were disillusioned with traditional democratic processes. On 11th July, 1936, there was a fascist uprising. The army generals headed by one General Franco, who were stationed in Spanish Morocco, set about capturing Spain.

There was an immediate resistance by the working class followed by a wave of collectivization of land and industry by the Spanish people, the CNT (the National Confederation of Trade Unions), the FAI (the Iberian Anarchist Federation) were very active in this movement, Spanish society underwent rapid social re-organiz-

ation, the majority of the people established militias to defend themselves from the fascists. But, it is important to note that in Spain in 1936 it was not just a civil war but a revolution also. It was not only a fight against fascism but a fight for a society based on equality and co-operation.

Against this background one can judge the implications for the social reorganization of Spanish society. But, due to the actions of various groups only interested in their own power gains and, in some cases, the failure of the autonomous working-class organizations to destroy these reactionary trends, the revolution disintegrated, e.g., the role of the Spanish Communist Party who helped to destroy the Spanish social revolution. The backbone of the Spanish working

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## ANARCHIST FILM ON T.V.

On the B.B.C. 2 programme "Open Door" Sunday, October 27: an anarchist film (made by Terry Phillips) expressing anarchist attitudes to work, education, parliament, political parties, Special Branch, the army, Northern Ireland, and the Pat Arrowsmith case. All in ten minutes! (To be repeated the following Saturday.)

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class lay in their own "militias", these fighting units based on political ideals were attacked and fragmented by the republicans and the communist party. The anti-revolutionary activities of groups like the communists and republicans had a demoralizing effect on the Spanish people, and aided the defeat of the working class.

Until March 1939 the war dragged on as a purely military affair. Franco's eventual victory saw the establishment of a fascist dictatorship.

The Situation Today

In Spain today the situation is much the same as in 1939 though the resistance has been driven underground. Since the death of Carrero Blanco in December last year repression has increased. At this very moment thugs of Franco's state: the police, civil guard and the army continue with their innumerable arrests, tortures and executions of innocent people.

On March 2nd this year a young student, and anarchist, Salvador Puig Antich, was garroted (the garrote is a mediaeval form of strangulation).

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MOYSE

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artist craftsmen need be ashamed of. I have but one fault to find with the work and that is when, in work such as that of Chen I-hain "Sunrise over Huang Shan Mountain", they place their small figures in heavy black outline against the traditional misty backgrounds, for it is a mistake the masters never made. But it is an exhibition of great beauty that finds its key in Liao Yu-kai's lovely "harvest scene" in which a flood tide of yellow corn fills the print and a few simple colours declare an affirmation of life. Hayward Gallery please note.

WALTER CRANE and CLIFF HARPER

But the foot is on the doorstep and with Jim Huggon we have a man in the tradition of great editors in that he seeks out the talents of others and creates a work of art. He has done this many times in the field of small magazines and much of his work is now accepted as contemporary collector's pieces. He has now produced his William Morris & Walter Crane "An Earthly Paradise Calendar" from the poetry and the drawing of these two men, and for those seeking to give a seasonal gift then this is among the necessary gifts for have long conditioned us to Chinese art Christmas-cardwise but these young artists appear to be influenced by the inter-war art of the German wood-blocks with its slashing blacks and ribboned whites wherein the figure and faces were always tormented. In that style they put the message across of the revolutionary struggle and there is the innocence of Russian art in the freedom of the brief honeymoon following the revolution. The catalogue, in what must be a unique venture, says

of the exhibition that "though still imperfect in art standards..." and it is an essay in truth that though rare was not needed, for it is work that no it is a rare opportunity to have the work of three gifted men working in different ways to a common goal.

And for those wishing to hold the work of a truly gifted artist in black and white, then the Class War Comix of Cliff Harper. It is in six parts and begins in post-Revolutionary Britain with 2,000 people living in a commune. There are the human problems of living, but what Cliff Harper has done is to spell out his own manifesto on a way of life and how he believes it could or would be lived. A Commune is a place that within days would send me stir crazy for a failed society, the bright lights, the noise and the full pubs, but Cliff makes his points clearly and logically. Cliff sees the struggle going on as between opposing forces and in the end he writes of the militiamen beginning to desert to the side of the people and bringing their weapons with them, and I would say that with them they bring the problem of the Class War, but examine Cliff Harper's case. The pleasure for me in these Comix is Cliff Harper's magnificent drawings for they are not strip cartoons but magnificently realised drawings of people in personal conflict, and the faces, figures and clothing bespeak an enviable talent and it is yours for the buying.

Mr. Sychev said that the attack on the Russian artists was a mistake, Dusseldorf buys by mail order and the Hayward ran out of names. The liberty of the individual is fragile and must always be defended to defend our own, and Cliff Harper has given us his own magnificent manifesto.

Arthur Moyse.

ART AND COMMUNITY

"...daily life is the measure of everything: of the fulfilment or rather the non-fulfilment of human relationships, of the use we make of our time"

--Guy Debord

To be an art student or an art lecturer today is to be part of a privileged class. Unequal access to tools, materials, know-how, etc. is part and parcel of the present social and political structure. How do we set about dissolving and subverting this particular privileged position and structure?

Obviously each student for social change will tackle the problem in his own way at his own pace in his own time. What I propose to do here is to offer one or two tentative suggestions in this direction. Perhaps I can illustrate my point here with a number of utopian proposals which are not only desirable, but necessary for survival ---

THE REAL (what is)	THE IDEAL (what could be)
Unbalanced community	Balanced community
Mediated democracy	Face-to-face democracy
Inhuman technology	Humanistic technology
Centralized society	Decentralized society

In a balanced community production becomes, as Paul Goodman says, an integral part of life, the workman becomes an artist.

A George Stubbs painting of a cheetah was recently sold for a sum of money sufficient to have ensured the survival of cheetahs as a species.

In a well rounded balanced society work/art cannot be divorced from individual and community activities but must be organically integrated into them.

Aesthetic form in the western world is essentially a 'christian' notion --it requires re-

efined aesthetic activity to remain distinct from worth ethics and it also elevates the artist to a ridiculous and improper position (vis-a-vis the rest of culture), and yet, it can contain powerful subversive qualities.

One of the keys to a balanced society is diversity. Present day society with its obsession for centralization, compulsory education and inhuman technology is eliminating diversity at a rapid rate, thus reducing our chances of survival. In the broadest ecological sense the value of diversity is immeasurable. We must learn to understand, maintain and preserve diversity. Convergence must give way to divergence and the organic integration and relation of work, living and play.

"The feeling of boredom in the new middle-class generation is the hidden, and, as yet, undeveloped expression of a desire for diversity."

Richard Sennett

I would also stress great emphasis on building a community through collective work, sharing knowledge and skills as against individual competition.

SPANISH RESISTANCE...from P. 6

His execution was carried out on the personal orders of Franco because he supposedly shot a policeman (the prosecution failed to mention that Puig had been pistol-whipped in the head four times and was falling to the floor when he fired his pistol; Puig's lawyer pointed out that in such circumstances it would be very difficult to give any credit to the prosecution's accusations that the shooting was a premeditated act). Puig's execution was not the result of the shooting, but because Puig represents the aspirations of a new genera-

"Richness and variety of the physical and social environment constitute crucial aspects of functionalism, whether in the planning of cities, the design of dwellings, or the management of life."

Lewis Mumford

Essential too is the replacing of hierarchical space (institutional space) by liberated space (personified space).

"...we hope for a revolution which will produce politically independent communities whose boundaries and populations will be defined by a new ecological consciousness; communities whose inhabitants will determine for themselves, within the framework of this new consciousness, the nature and level of their technologies, the forms taken by their social structures, world-views, life styles, expressive arts, and all the other aspects of their daily lives."

Ecology Action East

The great task as I see it, is to awaken the sensibilities (social/creative/subversive/sensuous) within ourselves and the wider community -- releasing the potential for responsibility, widening the scope for self-activity (learning-by-doing), breaking down of dependence, in other words, the liberation of everyday life.

Keith Felton

tion.

Recently in Zaragoza, 22 members of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth were arrested on charges of "illegal association". For this they all face sentences of seven years minimum and up to twelve years maximum in prison. These incidents are just some examples of the barbarity and irrationality carried out by the Spanish regime.

THIS IS SIMPLY A PLEA

Prisoners in Spanish jails live under extreme conditions of hardship and repression but their spirit is not dampened. The anarchists, socialists, peking-line communist and ETA prisoners have united in prison communes, sharing food parcels, medical supplies etc. We ask you to support their audacity and initiative in fighting for their freedom. One concrete plan of action in which you can help is to send a money donation via the Anarchist Black Cross in Australia. All of us can provide the sinews of battle to destroy the atrocities of police-state rule in Spain.

We urge you to consider our plea.

--Authorized La Trobe Anarchist on behalf of The Black X

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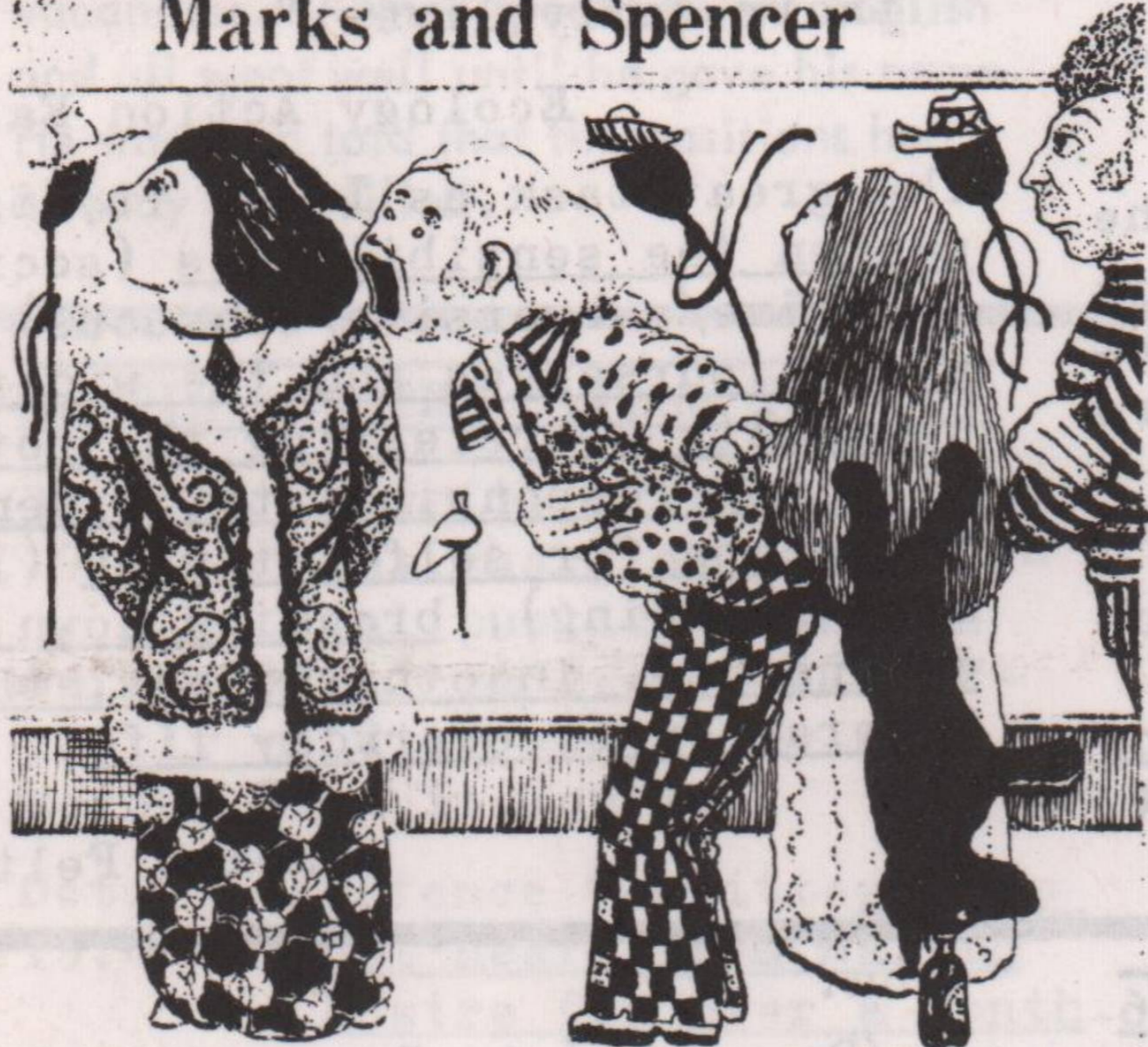
ABOLISH ALL PRISONS...from P.1

Therefore even at periods for slopping out and meal times there will not be the normal contact with prison officers. Books, cards and photos are allowed but if your one pen runs out, that's your lot.

Although prisoners are not forced to work, if they don't then they have no chance of moving on to the second period of ninety days. The second period allows the prisoner to mix with others. If at any time during either period a prisoner commits an "offence", like shouting back at a "screw", then he reverts back to day one of the solitary period.

Already one prisoner who has been in a "control unit" at Wakefield has been found to be "nervous, disoriented and very depressed". Mrs. Newell was told that she could not visit her brother until she heard from the prison.

Marks and Spencer



ARTHUR MOYSE

"WE ALL CONCURRED, BY MUTUAL AGREEMENT? THAT WE WOULD NOT VOTE AND EVERY TIME YOU'RE THE ONE WHO WON'T CONFORM. WHY?!"

NICE ONE CYRIL!

Mr. Cyril Smith, the overweight Liberal surviving M.P. for Rochdale, said before the election on a radio phone-in programme that he would be ready to take 'dictatorial' powers to stop 'industrial anarchy'. "If you still have a situation which is bordering on anarchy, then frankly you are faced with either taking powers which, to put it bluntly, are of a dictatorial character or of allowing anarchy to prevail. I," said Cyril "frankly would not allow anarchy to prevail."

Later, after saying that the Liberals would have settled earlier with the miners, he said, "I believe the workers of this country are not anarchists. I do not believe the workers of this country want to run around in Rolls-Royces and own big houses. What they want is a fair deal." Mr. Smith was re-elected with 5,000 less votes in a 70.3% turn-out.

Home Secretary of the last Tory government, gave the go-ahead for the building of these "control units" following the prison revolts of 1972. These "control units" are built for the leaders of such revolts, for troublemakers, for anyone who does not knuckle down and conform to the prison system. They are "deliberately austere" so as to try and force any "offender" to cooperate and to make prisoners realise that this is the only way to get back to normal prison life (sic).

There is a minimum time of six months a prisoner can spend in a control unit. This time is divided in two. The first ninety days are spent in solitary confinement in a special cell for 23 hours a day, with the other hour for exercise. The only time a prisoner in a "control unit" might make contact with another person is during worship. The "opportunities for confrontation with prison staff are reduced".

These new "control units" have been kept secret. Details have been withheld by the Home Office and criminologists studying long term prisoners. Relations could under these circumstances not know where a man could be if he hasn't a pen, as the Home Office do not inform people when a pri-

soner has been moved to another prison.

"Insight" this week reports that because there are no second-phase prisoners, those finishing their first have no one they can associate with. To get over this, the Home Office are "screening 20 men - all maximum security inmates on remand at Brixton prison - for direct admission to the control units' second phase if they are convicted".

The state is supreme when it comes to the use of violence. Not content with depriving people of their freedom, the state is determined to break any revolt against the prison system. It is out to brutalize and smash any individuals who have the courage not to knuckle down.

While we would support the efforts of reformist organisations in their campaign to stop the "control units" we would also point out that you cannot abolish prisons by reforms. The penal system is an integral part of the state. While the state exists it will always seek revenge of those who break its laws. When we abolish the state our first duty will be to abolish prisons.

P. T.

CONTACT

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m.

New Groups:

CAMBRIDGE. All interested should contact Peter Silcock, 51 City Road.

WARWICK University contact Peter Corne c/o Union of Students, Univ. of Warwick Coventry CV4 7AL

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

CORBY ANARCHIST activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby

Some London anarchists meet socially at the Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone St. London W.1 at 7.30 p.m. Sundays. Tube: Northern Line, Goadge Street.

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

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

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

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures, Thurs. evenings 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (SW corner 29 St.), admission free. Nov. 14: Irving Levitas, Anarchism in New England Dec 12: Don Georgokas and Leonard Rubenstein: Art and Anarchy.

PLAYERS wanted for London based Anarchist Football Team(s). Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

POEMS wanted for 'Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology: anarchistic, pacifist, anti-militarist, anti-racist; also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements. Any Language. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St. London S.E.5.

PORTUGUESE Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications, money & ideological support Movimiento Libertario Portugues, Rua An Angelina Vidal, 17-2º-E, LISBOA I.

Prisoners:

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

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs), Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, County Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committee: 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.15. Needs donations to supply study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO

THREE now still held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av, de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France; and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori & Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 av. des Peupliers, 97100

ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

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