

FREEDOM

SIXTEEN PAGES

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TEN PENCE

POWER OF LIFE & DEATH

WE HAVE SEEN in the past weeks demonstrations of the power of rulers, supposedly unchecked by democratic procedures and virtually immature in their methods of crushing opposition and governing by whims or decrees. Most Western developed countries take pride in being 'not as other countries are' especially when, as in the present instances, the offending countries are ex-colonial territories. This adds a soupçon of pride to the enjoyment of condemnation.

Indira Gandhi of India and Idi Amin of Uganda have by their abhorrent dictatorial assumptions incurred the displeasure of Western democracies (muted slightly in the case of Indira of India by a more sophisticated justification on her part).

As anarchists we cannot share in this colour-matching of paler shades of black. In weeks which have seen revelations of American governmental secret embroilment in assassination (notably in Africa) and the coincidental slaughter of the alleged 'hit-man' in another project, we can only nod. In the weeks which saw a technologically supreme oil-state execute a royal assassin — by public beheading and then drive the remains away in an ambulance we stand appalled. It would be hard to find a state in which human freedom was not invaded, human life was not taken, human dignity was not insulted in the sacred name of the State and, cynically enough, in the alleged cause of freedom, life and dignity.

Mrs. Gandhi (daughter of Pandit Nehru) has given a vivid illustration of political audacity in her clamping down on the opposition. Up to now about 900 people (officially) or 3,500 (unofficially) have been imprisoned. Habeus corpus



and freedom of the press are suspended and demonstrators have been clubbed and arrested. The excuse given for this high-handed totalitarian lapse is that there was a plot against Mrs. Gandhi.

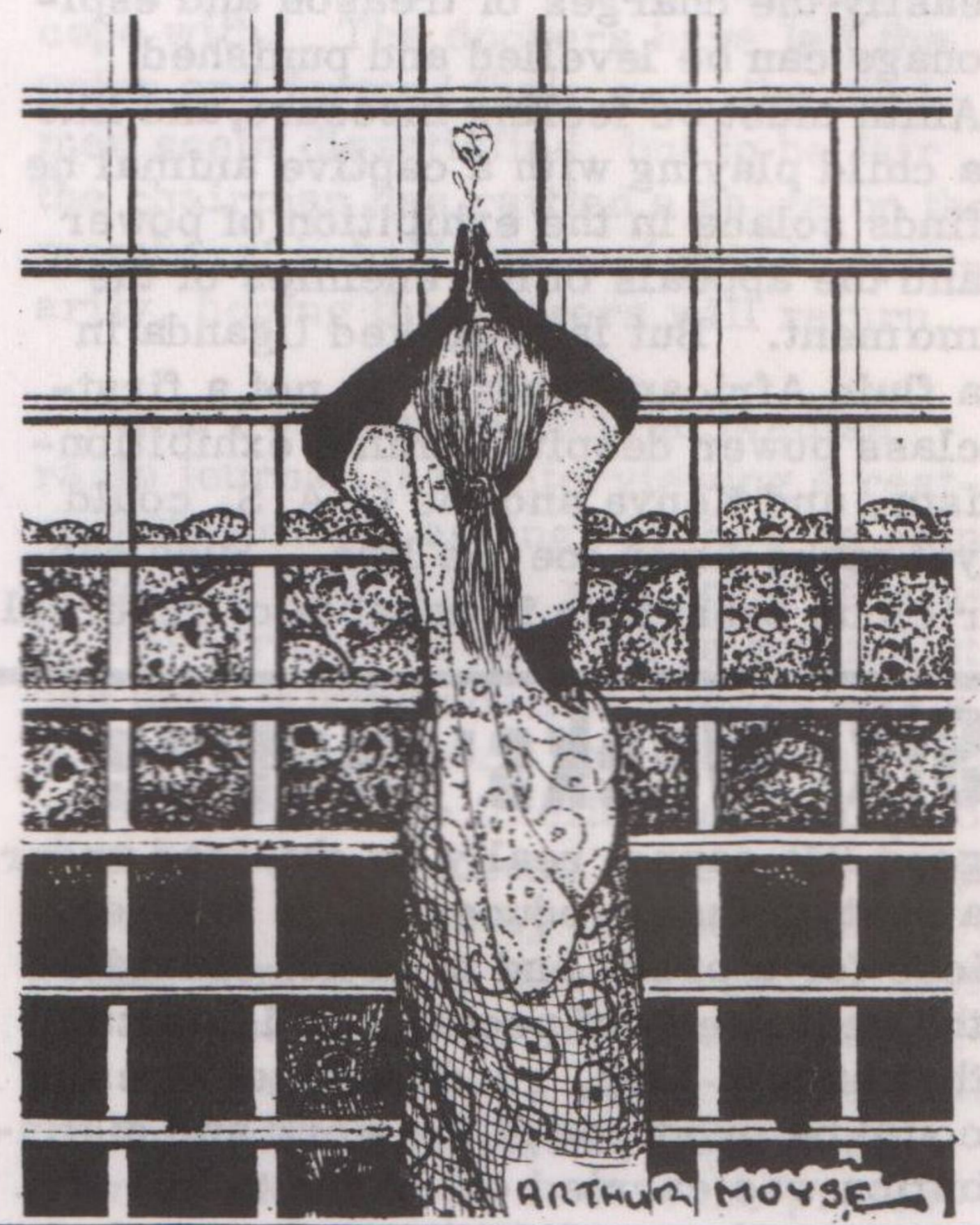
True. She was found guilty of political corruption (it was only a minor charge but when one gets to the position of Mrs. G. corruption gets other names and the purely sordid rupee stuff of minor politicians is not in her class). The conviction carried with it political suspension; so naturally she appealed. Thread of conspiracy number two: Mrs. G.'s Congress party, which could do no wrong, lost a bye-election. Looks like a real plot. Behind the corruption charge, which had been going through the courts for years, was a campaign by Jayaprakash Narayan whose tendency was towards anarchism and a decentralist village-based society. He has now been imprisoned along with some members of Congress Party, army officers and leaders of one of the Indian Communist parties (they are blessed with two). One can bet it's the pro-Moscow C.P. which is supporting Mrs. Gandhi but with the press black-out it is difficult to get even such truth as the press allows. Incidentally, the

press black-out was literal; the coup was heralded by a close-down in the power stations which effectively prevented production of newspapers until such time that they could be served with legal notice of censorship -- which they obeyed.

* * *

Idi Amin of Uganda, one-time British soldier, is a different kettle of fish. He has established his power over his own people with the help of the British, he succeeded Milton Obote in a coup d'etat; another rival in rulership, 'King Freddie' of Buganda died in exile in Wandsworth, London, supposedly a victim of alcoholism but suspected of being a murder victim. Amin's eccentricities and excesses have long been notorious; he expelled the Ugandan Asians to the embarrassment of the British govern-

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Six Weeks' Notice to Quit

NOW THAT the Government has got the political and economic issue of the Common Market out of the way, they are beginning to come to grips with the cold economic facts of the state of British capitalism. We are back, once again, to a Dunkirk situation as far as our economic survival is concerned. As with Dunkirk, a rescue operation has to be mounted and time is fast running out.

In fact, we have, according to Mr. Wilson, the Prime Minister, six weeks to work out an agreement between employers, the trade unions and the government. But as with all such agreements, figures are already being set to be imposed on the people. The Treasury, that permanent non-elected body of officials, has handed down its decisions to the government ministers on what our living standards should be in the coming months and years. Their answer to inflation is a £6 limit on all wage increases, which they say is a 12% increase compared with the present rate of 30%. The City says a £4 limit.

The trade unions for their part have accepted that wage increases have to fall below that of the current rate of

inflation. if unemployment and drastic cuts in social services are to be avoided. The railwaymen's settlement has heralded the end of the voluntary social contract and it is very likely that the government will act without the consent, consensus and persuasion of the trade unions.

With the pound falling against other currencies and share prices dropping the pressures are mounting on the government to introduce a severe package of tax increases and cuts in public expenditure now. There is also the added crisis of how long the Arab oil states will keep their money here if its value is continually falling.

It is not the task of an anarchist journal to offer solutions to the problems which are of the system's own making. From this writer's experience the people of this country have always been told that they must either "tighten their belts", "work harder", "export or die", or that it will be "blood, sweat and tears". The good life has always been in the future, either for our children or our children's children, but never here and now. We in fact believe that the

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Power of Life and Death Continued from P. 1

ment and the malicious joy of native African shopkeepers. Like the Reverend Paisley and with the same hollow ring he protests his loyalty to the British crown and his affection for the Queen.

His odious dictatorship has been mainly ignored except as a source of mockery (Punch for a time ran a parody series on him) and his actions were mainly internal affairs which as every politician knows is every country's own business. Now, in his posturings he is thought to have gone too far, He has condemned to death a British writer * who was imprudent enough to keep with him the manuscript of a book attacking Amin as a 'village tyrant'. This was treason, punishable by death. Obviously the more totalitarian the state, the more easily the charges of treason and espionage can be levelled and punished. Amin must be feeling insecure, and like a child playing with a captive animal he finds solace in the exhibition of power and the appeals of his enemies of the moment. But land-locked Uganda in a fluid African situation is not a first-class power despite Amin's exhibitionism, and Kenya and the O. A. S. could yet make Amin toe the line. Such capricious behaviour is capable of reversal

at any time.

* * *

Historically, India and Uganda are at an earlier stage of development than Britain and the Western powers and hence their political philosophies are nearer those of Hobbes and Machiavelli than those of the older, more complicated states whose covering-up of similar situations is more skilful and sophisticated. The power of life and death over its subjects (and anyone who falls into its power) is a common prerogative of all states. It is only when it is exercised in its naked obscenity that there is universal protest. But murder in moderation - or in war, and lack of freedom for those who abuse it is never criticised by other states.

Whilst the state has the power of life and death over the citizen, it is too rarely emphasised that the citizen has the power of life and death over the state. When will Amin and the world powers recognise this?

Jack Robinson.

*Since pardoned due to pressure from Mobutu of Zaire

Six Weeks' Notice

Continued from P. 1

good life cannot really be obtained under a system that produces goods and services for a profit and does not consider the real needs of people. It is certain that enough food, goods and services could be produced if the work and distribution was carried out in the spirit of co-operation, solidarity and mutual aid. At present, anything is produced so long as it makes a profit, whether it serves a useful purpose or, indeed, as in the case of armaments, one of destruction, or whether it is useless consumer junk. But at the moment the demand for goods has fallen and continuing inflation is pricing British exports out of the market. Such a situation can only mean loss of jobs and rising unemployment. Cuts in public spending will only increase this and higher taxation will mean less money to spend, resulting in further unemployment.

Despite all the promises of the Labour Party we are faced with the hard fact of capitalist economics that goods are made and sold for a profit. The blood, sweat and tears are given every day by those who are exploited in return for wages the value of which is dropping every

YURY ANDROPOV, member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security (tie that!), speaking at a Soviet election meeting where he was a candidate, said, according to Soviet News "Any Soviet citizen whose interests coincide with those of society is well aware of all the broad scope of our democratic freedoms".

week.

But real wealth lies not in money and stocks and shares, but in the ability and skills needed to grow and produce goods from raw materials. It is not the investments and all the financial dealing that plants the seeds or manufactures goods but the application of skills to these essential jobs.

That is why capitalism cannot be reformed by even the well-intentioned social democrats or Tribunate socialists. The whole system of exploitation has to be destroyed and abolished once and for all. While capitalism exists people will never be in control of their own lives and the environment in which they live. Only by the means of a revolution in people's thinking and a desire to change the economic, social and political nature of our society will the exploitation of man by man be ended. This revolution needs to take place now in workers' attitude towards unemployment. Drawing the dole might solve the crisis for the employers, but if an injury to one worker is an injury to all workers then occupation and work sharing should not be demanded but taken. Workers would then be in control of their work places and could start to formulate, in co-operation with the community, decisions on what and how much should be produced. Then we would have the beginnings of a social revolution.

P. T.

[This article was written and set up before the Chancellor's announcement of an intended 10% limit on wage increases "and dividends".]

IN BRIEF

TWO BEAGLES reputedly used by ICI in experiments to discover the effects of smoking were rescue-kidnapped by animal-lovers who thought that exposure of dogs to cancer risks was cruel and superfluous. ICI later claimed that the dogs taken were in fact 'controls', which was later denied by an Animal Rescue Home which temporarily took them in. It was pointed out that even if they were 'controls' they would have been slaughtered on termination of the experiment in order to cross-check effects of smoking. ICI is reportedly trying to discover a harmless tobacco-substitute. A student is on remand charged with stealing the beagles.

DESPITE INJUNCTIONS and contempt-of-court imprisonments for Bill Dwyer and Sid Rawle for publicising a hypothetical Festival, it is assumed as a possibility that a legal feast will take place on the same day and on the other side of the road from Windsor Great Park. Windsor residents have obtained an injunction against the Festival and are publicising it on Radio Luxemburg and Capital Radio by urging people not to go. This is costing £1,500. The Sunday Times says "last year's free festival disintegrated into a pitched battle with the police". 'Disintegrated' is a neat euphemism for a dawn police raid on a hitherto largely peaceful but messy pop festival drawing to its close. Pop fans are dangerous; they defend themselves (in pitched battles?) when attacked.

THE AMERICAN Prohibition Party is putting up a Baptist minister from Maine as a 1976 presidential candidate. Maine Watergate?

A WARRANT has been issued against Maharji Ji, leader of the Divine Light movement for jumping bail in India in a case of defamation brought by a follower of his eldest brother, who claims to be the true spiritual head of the Divine Light movement.

JEREMY SANDFORD, the author, stated that gypsies in Britain were treated as 'non-people'. He said that local authorities were evading the law by providing only 125 gypsy campsites suitable for 1,850 caravans. Since, said Mr. Sandford, "there are more than 20,000 gypsies in Britain, probably more than 4,500 families, this means that no provision has been made for nearly 3,000 gypsy families."

THE B. B. C.'s radio programme The Positive World (Radio 3) has been replaced by "News from European Newspapers".

ALEXANDER EDEN from Wivenhoe, Essex, threw up his job of telex and teleprinter salesman for the GPO and left to live with gypsies in Lincoln. His successor in the job said, "We knew that Alexa was interested in Romany ways and in country matters generally. Although to some extent he was a loner, this does seem out of character."

'Sancho Panza.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS

ON THE EVENING of 16th June the cretinous BBC Radio 4 announced that huge crowds had gathered outside the Communist Party headquarters in Rome to celebrate the unheralded electoral "triumph". The announcer went on to soberly declare that in addition to the usual Communist strongholds of the "Red Belt", the cities of Venice, Turin, Rome and Naples had "fallen" to the Communists. The following day an idiot correspondent of the Economist (an authority on the subject of Italian affairs, no less) was interviewed on Radio 4. He talked of NATO security, Communist subversion in Southern Europe (the soft underbelly of the NATO alliance), and the fact that half the Italian Communists' funds come from the USSR.

About a week after these regional elections, Berlinger (secretary of the PCI) appeared in an article in Time magazine to "explain" the Italian Communists' policies to a hostile American ruling clique.

Since the elections the pressure on Fanfani (secretary of the Christian Democrats) to resign has been mounting. He has been resisting with all his might because he sees himself as the country's guardian against the red bogey.

Two days after the elections a convoy of cars in Naples celebrating the Communist victory in the city was attacked by several MSI (neo-Fascist) thugs, resulting in the death of 20-year old Jolanda Palladino who was burned to death after a molotov cocktail was thrown into the car she was in. For a change, the police caught the culprit.

Why such fury? Why are the NATO brutes worried about "subversion" via the ballot box despite assurances from Berlinguer that his party is loyal to NATO? The answer is that for the first time in 30 years the power of the Americans (the principal perpetrators of the cheapening of life) through Christian Democratic rule is being threatened via the much-vaunted ballot box.

The attempted coup of 1970, the growing tide of fascist violence and the sub-

A TWO-PAGE supplement to L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper, affirms the existence of the devil. It comments that contemporary studies by scholars and theologians casting doubt on the existence of the devil 'could not but trouble people's souls'.
 GERMAIN GREER said in Mexico City that the International Women's Year conference being held was not likely to help repressed women in the world as the delegates were 'representative of governments, not of women'.

sequent reprisals, and the political manoeuvring of the parties leading up to the June 15th elections, are all unmistakably connected. The divorce referendum of May 13th, 1974 showed that political opinion in Italy had shifted towards a more liberal, rose-tinted position. Hence the central issue in the propaganda surrounding the election was that of "public order". The D.C. insisted that the PCI was the party of disorder, the PCI (of course) denied this, and so forth.

This form of politicking has been seen before in more sinister circumstances. An excellent example is carried in the latest issue of Liberation under the title "CIA in Chile - Psychological Warfare". Oh, we can't have another Chile in Italy! Can we?

The May 24th issue of Umanita Nova carried an article under the title "The Italian Army", the coup and NATO". The author of this piece pointed out how easy it has been over the past 5 years to throw the Italian army into confusion, and how NATO activity has been increasing in Southern Europe together with the build-up of American bases in Italy. The author further suggests that the unsuccessful attempted coup in 1970 could have been merely a rehearsal under NATO supervision.

The nature and policies of the parties participating in the electoral spectacle add a tragi-comic touch to the situation. The concern to stop the "Communist bogey" would be understandable if the parties involved were actually revolutionary in nature. The fact is that the PCI is similar in terms of types of policies to the centre of the Labour Party in Britain. So that just as the Labour Party is now "worried" about inflation and considering further attacks on the workers to deal with it, so the PCI was concerned to seem anxious to preserve order. Every time some violent incident occurred involving the Brigade Rosse or the NAP in the run-up to the election, the front page of Unita would be dedicated to denouncing these actions several times on the same page. Further, one party only was emerging as the anti-system party. In Calabria the MSI's propaganda was based on criticism of the ruling D.C.'s and PSI's (Socialist Party) clientelism and corruption. Hence we have all the establishment parties on the one side of the fence and the "revolutionary" MSI on the other side. The MSI paid dearly in terms of votes for taking this position. The desperate urban poor in the South, however, is still supporting the MSI. Plain reactionaries rallied to the aid of the DC hence abandoning the MSI and showing the true nature of the DC party.

Sadly, in Calabria the D.C. and MSI actually slightly improved their position. This is not surprising considering (a) the power of the Church in Cal-

abria and (b) the desperate situation in the cities of the Region. The riots of Reggio only happened in 1970 and too many people can still vividly remember those days.

The June/July issue of Rivista Anarchica made the most relevant comment on the elections. The cover bears a cartoon of a toilet roll with the symbols of the various parties printed on it. Nothing more need be said!

What can we do, comrades? The way the various anarchist groups are shaping we'll spend our time arguing for or against the organisational platform, then when the coup ultimately happens we'll form a "Solidarity Committee with Italian prisoners" and have a peaceful march past the Italian embassy. We're all too fucking cool to do anything to organise a defence and an attack against big power imperialism and infiltration!

Let's hope you all prove me wrong, but no doubt I'll see you all in the march and in the Solidarity Committee.

Here's hoping!
 VIVA L'ANARCHIA
 Francesco.

NEWS BRIEFS FROM SWEDEN

Kenne Fant, director of the Swedish Film Institute, has just made a film called Monismanien State 1995. In many ways it gives a picture of the future after the ideas of George Orwell and Aldous Huxley. The film tells the story of a schoolteacher who is put on trial for teaching his pupils to think as free individuals, thus falling foul of the ideology law. Mr. Fant received so much criticism from the film critics that he says this is the last film he will make. From a social aspect this film is very important and one hopes it will receive international distribution. One also hopes that Mr. Fant will make more films like this in spite of the derogatory attitude of our nationalism. Mr. Fant is to be congratulated on a film which anarchists will enjoy and commend.

THE SECRETARY of the syndicalist newspaper Arbetaren who received a £1000 journalistic prize gave half to Amnesty International and half to the International P.E.N. Club.

ANARCHIST POET Bruno K. Öijer won a £400 scholarship awarded by a big publishing company and gave the money away to the public in underground stations all over the country. He felt the money should be returned to the people, from whom it was taken.

THE LAWYER Klaus Croissant in West Germany accuses the Swedish police of inflicting wounds on the head of Siegfried Hausner (the Baader-Meinhof gang member) which led to his death. Hausner was removed from a Stockholm hospital to a prison hospital in Köln against a Swedish doctor's wishes.

H.

LETTERS

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLES

1

Dear Comrades,

I agree with D. Young that the "review of the anarchist press" printed in FREEDOM a few weeks ago contained an unjustified smear against the Anarchist Workers Association. The suggestion that because some people left group A to join group B therefore group A equals group B is, at best, illogical, and at worst downright malicious. I am in a very good position to recognise this as a smear, since I helped to spread it in the first place. (For instance in a letter to Black Flag a few months ago). Being a logical person I was well aware at the time that I was being unfair. Being also only a moderately malicious person I have since acknowledged the unfairness of it and, indeed, have so altered my attitude towards the AWA that I am now a member of it. I suggest that it is at least possible that the "reviewer"'s motives for attacking the AWA could no more stand up to honest examination (or honest self examination) than mine could. The alternative is that the reviewer is genuinely incapable of recognising illogic, if that is the case then surely the editors of FREEDOM (who I am assuming can recognise something as blatantly illogical when it is pointed out to them) should acknowledge that this "review" was not up to the standard we, their readers, are entitled to expect.

I am not suggesting that ALL criticism of the AWA is either illogical or downright malicious. We in the AWA are quite happy to listen to and where possible act upon constructive criticism. We hope that comrades will take a closer look at the AWA and tell us what alternatives they propose as an effective way of organising towards our common goal of a society without a class system, without government, without police, in which people run their own lives as they desire in co-operation with each other.

Yours fraternally,
Dave Coull.

Dear Comrades,

2

It is true that your correspondent, N. W., has contributed to the correspondence columns of Wildcat. It is a pity, however, that he does not read the paper. My letter (April, 1975 issue) was obviously a waste of time as far as he is concerned. I do not particularly like repeating myself, but will have to.

I pointed out that a political party comprised a group of people who were organised for the conquest of the powers of government and control of the state machine, either by "democratic" or "undemocratic" means; and that the Platform

mists, though they advocated a General Union of Anarchists, formal membership, an executive committee and an all-embracing objective (anarchy and libertarian communism), were opposed to all state authority and the capturing of the state machine and/or its replacement by a supposed Workers' State as a means of emancipation. N. W. has not contradicted my statements - and cannot!

N. W. then repeats his remarks about Arshinov returning to Russia and rejoining the Bolsheviks, and adds that it is a fact that "some veterans of the Makhnovist movement" pointed out that the Organisational Platform "advocated the equivalent of a party organisation for the anarchist movement..."

I have already pointed out that Arshinov only "rejoined" the Bolsheviks in the sense that, after his arrest, he may have been imprisoned with some Old Bolsheviks. And as to the "fact" that some veterans of the Makhnovschina opposed Arshinov, Makhno, Mett and others over the Platform, I can only say that N. W. has been getting his "facts" from different works than I have! My main sources are: Voline, Avrich and Victor Peters. And the only fairly well-known anarchists who spent any time at all with Makhno were Arshinov, Voline and Aaron Baron. Between March 1917 and July 1921, Arshinov appears to have been with Makhno for probably a couple of years, and Voline and Baron, owing to the fact that Voline became ill and both he and Baron were subsequently jailed by the Cheka, spent no more than nine months with the Makhnovschina. And that was all. The anarchist "stars", Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, who in the words of Victor Peters, "set off a bitter campaign against Arshinov", spent most of their time in Russia "living it up" as guests of the Bolshevik government (see Goldman's My Disillusionment in Russia).

As a last shot, N. W. repeats his remarks that former members, including founder-members, of the ORA/AWA, went over to Trotskyism! So what! What has that got to do with the argument? Such "guilt by association", I would have thought, has little in common with rationalism or even "new" humanism. Nick Heath in Wildcat, and Dave Young in FREEDOM, have both pointed out that many supposed anarchists - never associated with the ORA/AWA - have over the last ten years in this country gone over to Leninism. In some countries, such as China, Italy and Spain, some "anarchists" went over to the Fascists. And, of course, over the years, not a few Marxists and Leninists have embraced anarchism.

All of which proves absolutely nothing regarding the correctness or incorrectness of the various arguments in the Organisation Platform, or the validity of the policy of the Anarchist Workers' Association.

At least Tom Star (same issue of FREEDOM), some of whose arguments I agree with and others I do not, argues a case instead of parroting dubious "facts"! The workers are no angels, and no organisation will ever be per-

fect; but, old-fashioned as I may be, I still believe in EDUCATION, ORGANISATION and EMANCIPATION. Do my critics? And did Arshinov's and Makhno's?

Yours fraternally,
Peter E. Newell.

Comrades,

3

AWA's recent apologists in FREE-DOM (and Wildcat) have a pretty slender case. From both practical and theoretical points of view, Peace News and Undercurrents have greater relevance - proven and potential - to an anarchist future, should we reach it, than Libertarian Struggle seems ever likely to have. Certainly so long as it remains semi-literate and based in a weird sort of 'populist eclecticism'.

Truth is that D. L. M. was not caustic enough about that particular issue of Libertarian Struggle. Particularly the self-congratulatory falsifications included in R. M.'s and D. Y.'s "What's happening in the AWA".

If we are to assume that Libertarian Struggle contains written expression of 'viable class war alternatives', then the relation of some examples therein, to anarchism, is tenuous at best: - just how much support should an anarchist paper give to a political programme that demands reformist parliamentary action to institutionalise and entrench further, the position of working women;

what are anarchists doing in supporting every wretched factory struggle that presents itself -- trade and product notwithstanding. Aren't we about abolishing as much of the current social order as possible? It's not our job to bail out crisis-bound, and socially useless/harmful industries. One of these days some blessed anarch will pass round the hat for redundant munitions factory workers and nuclear power engineers -- demanding occupation and workers' control of their silent workplaces.

If the several fistfuls of AWA members left off writing constitutions; eased off on the interminable delegating (surely delegate conferences only become necessary when an organisation is too large to meet in toto -- having proved the organisational point in its early stages); and let AWA live in the mid-1970s, then all the personal animosity might usefully be shed along with most other barriers currently preventing us even thinking about the formation of a relevant 'movement'. And, should we achieve a relevant movement, it will only be when the 'class-war traditionalist' anarchists have stopped sneering at the far more numerous libertarians actually involved with ongoing self-management projects of one kind or another, unaffiliated as so many are. What they also are, of course, is in touch with the actual 'toiling masses' -- a strata of society about which the AWA is much concerned, though hardly representative of.

fraternally,
Peter Cummings.

We hope this correspondence can now close.

EDS.

LETTERS

Abortion

Dear Julia,

Anarchism is about life and life. Anarchism is about present and future: unconscious just fertilised eggs and the already conscious clearly living personality. Stop knocking those of us who are pacifists as well as anarchists - we choose not to kill under any circumstances.

Why as an anarchist, are you so involved with M.P.s and Parliament, etc., etc.? Stop wasting your blood pressure, and Freedom's space, on so much chat about Acts and Reports. They do not concern us.

Will your medical friends perform abortions, on demand? They won't? Because they do not want to, or because they need access to medical facilities? If it is the latter, then admit that abortion is a medical problem, and should take its place among other medical services which our crumbling N.H.S. should provide.

Stop mixing up abortion on demand with women's freedom and enforced motherhood. Start campaigning like the good Parliamentarian you seem to be, for a better all-round Health Service for all sexes on demand, or forget about the legalities and get on and practise anarchic free-choice free medicine.

The individual is not deciding when he gets his varicose veins done, or when the plaster comes off his arm, so why should a female in the present N.H.S. set-up complain when she doesn't get her abortion when she wants it? I'm sorry Julia, we are anarchists first, women second, and we take our turn with the rest if we insist on relying on a STATE health service.

Yours pacifically,

Mary-Rose Bannon.

MERIDEN

Dear Freedom,

The article in your June issue (Vol. 36 nos. 22-23), "Cars heading for a crash" shows an astonishing degree of naivety and arrogance as regards the whole labour movement in this country.

While unions strike for better living standards, they are quite aware of who is "running" the system. While the capitalists could "deliver" it was alright. Today though, workers are faced with mass redundancies and factory closures.

Such was the case at Triumph Meriden when nearly two years ago they took over their factory. The act in itself wasn't enough. Money was needed to get production going again. This took the form of a "loan" from the government. A "gift" you might say, would have been better - but you would have been forgetting the pride of the men who work there. They themselves see no reason why the "state" should "give them" money - it's their factory anyway.

Our organisation recently had a talk from one of the workers at Meriden - convenor Denis Johnson - and he described the situation there.

At present there are about 250 men working there - each man is part of the Cooperative: everyone is on fifty pounds a week. Terms like "shop floor" have been abolished. The factory is run by a policy-making "advisory" board elected by the men, and a group of organisers (the term "management" has also been abolished) responsible for the day to day running of the plant.

Every man has a say in how the factory is run - in fact production is more "efficient" now - without the men having to do more work and without them having to do time-wasting, soul-destroying jobs. They hope to take in more and more workers when there are jobs for them to do.

Of course, they have to rely on world (capitalist) markets - but until the capitalist system itself is defunct there's not much else they can do.

What Meriden does show is the possibility that workers can run their factories by themselves. At the moment they are in a transitional period when they have to employ a few management "brains" from outside at higher rates to help them out...but they are aware of this anomaly and are already training men to take over these jobs; when this occurs everyone will be earning the same rate and...everyone will have an equal share in the wealth of the factory.

Meriden is an important social experiment. The success of its - and other cooperatives' - ventures will show workers the rotten myth that "management" knows best is a con. There is no monopoly of talents and therefore should be no monopoly of power.

The workers' cooperative at Meriden is not an isolated "success-story" - even though the capitalist press will be only too pleased to describe it as such. It is the beginning of increased confidence among workers - confidence they have been robbed of in the capitalist wage market.

Yours in Love and Hope,

R.D. Labour Party Socialist, Coventry.
P.S. Suggest, if you haven't already done so, you go down to Meriden and "see for yourself."
P.P.S. To envisage a world where hundreds of workers' cooperatives compete against each

other is absurd. With a breakdown of the capitalist system and means of production, values will obviously change...to envisage otherwise is to exhibit an appalling lack of faith in human (social) nature...

SELF-SUFFICIENCY ?

Dear Freedom,

I have just read your review on Mellanby's "Can Britain Feed itself". Although any books on the subject are to be welcomed, the impression gained is that this one is slightly sensationalist and the references to "increased yields" and "dark age ecologists" have a familiar nasty ring about them. I would suggest to any readers interested in the subject (shouldn't we all be?) to contact the Soil Association, Walnut Tree Manor, Haughley, Stowmarket, Suffolk, an organisation that has in fact been doing the "independent research into alternative farming techniques" as advocated by A. Albon, for the last thirty years.

Far more information could be got from them than by reading this book and some might get a pleasant surprise about the number of "ecologist cranks" indulging in alternative farming ventures.

Perhaps a review by Freedom on the Soil Association might encourage some more to join in!

Organisally yours,

Farmer Giles

United Street Farmers.

'ANIMAL FARM' IN LISBON?

SINCE JUNE 25th, Mozambique has been an independent country, after centuries of human exploitation and permanent colonial robbery of raw materials. The black slaves as well as the white have been the gold of international political and financial interests, which supported the Portuguese army in killing thousands of Africans throughout 13 years. It was in Africa that a part of the Portuguese army developed its "wish" to liberate the colonies from Portugal and Portugal from fascism. If the former has become a reality (uncertain exception for Angola, the richest colony), the latter is not yet clear - instead of fascism, Stalinism appears on the near horizon. During last year the ruling classes in Portugal have been replaced, one after the other, by another clan of military and their opportunistic political power. The non-political people remain outside governmental events. For 50 years the people were exploited, kept under non-individual decisions and pushed away from control of their interests; for 15 months the people have still been living a long way from what the armed wishes of the army have stated: the economical liberation of the most exploited classes (a good reason for the military and the politicians to get rich). The living conditions of the poor classes are even worse: unemployment and inflation provoked by the increasing hatred and rivalry among opportunist groups, the confusion of those who in fact retain the command of the country without caring about social injustice and unequal distribution of wealth. It was fighting against anarchism that fascists became the masters of the whole population; it is still against anarchism that Stalinists

are fighting for power. Why? Because for the anarchists, ploughing for a capitalist is just the same as ploughing for the State, if the peasants' profits go to the army's guns, to the education of parliamentarians' sons, to the wages of professional politicians, to all who know the interest of the people better than the people themselves.

The army's dreams are never to make peace (still less love). The military's wisdom is never to think as do the civilians who fight for international liberty. The interests of the wearers of uniforms are always contrary to those of the fishermen, peasants, or factory workers. It is less tiring to play at toy soldiers than to use collective tools and change what the labourers produce; it is less dangerous for the *Raison d'Etat* (the eternal excuse for dictatorship) to think instead of the people than to let the people choose by themselves, organised within co-operatives. As the people never know how to think alone, they have to vote for their M.P.s. And so, the master can be replaced, the slaves will still be the same.

The debates for the new Constitution began two weeks ago. The M.P.s have wasted their time chatting about their own "rights, privileges and honours" as M.P.s. One M.P., by mistake, re-read in Parliament his own resignation speech made during the Caetano fascist government in 1973! A Communist M.P. proposed that they carry and use their own defence weapons! And it was through absent-mindedness that another Communist

Continued on Page 6

LAND NOTES

ANARCHY IS and always has been a word very much misused by politicians and the mass media. It is of course an epithet that is applied to existing orders which of course happen within the scope of the established order, or perhaps can be described as the established order. In fact government is everywhere and disorder is everywhere.

When one thinks about it, a state of affairs supported by violence can only be disorderly.

This current disorder is of course nowhere more evident than in that most important sphere, food production and distribution. For all the current talk about the Community Land Bill, this bill will probably only affect land for development; it does not attempt to look at the effects of the private ownership of land on the current world food problem. We have of course had governmental planning since the second world war, and in the context of basic private ownership one would not have thought that most of the development has been very desirable.

As our Spanish comrades said, in a manifesto published in El Productor in 1887 (see Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, reviewed by Colin Ward in this

PORTUGAL. . . continued from P. 5

M.P. defended strongly the same propositions as the fascist and conservative M.P.s did (MDP/CDE-CDS, and PCP-PPD)! It is George Orwell's Animal Farm translated into Parliamentary reality. And the common people, those who, meanwhile, are losing their faith in revolution, in liberty, equality, fraternity during the arduous work on the land, on the sea, and in the mines? For them, Parliament is a place for those who like to bark (without biting).

In Mozambique, Frelimo has already taught a lesson to Portugal on the economical and educational level. Frelimo judged some "traitors", not by military court, but by peasants. Semora Machel said that in Mozambique there will be no goals; that the problem is one of the political recuperation of men, that those who committed war crimes will be recuperated by the education of Mozambique's people; and that there are no administrative measures for prisoners. How long, in Portugal, must the 2,800 prisoners (political police, fascists, bankers and their relatives, Maoists, etc.) wait for trial? The majority of them have collaborated no more than the military during the fascist government.

F. J. M.

issue): "The land must have no master, any more than the air and the light, or the underground riches, or the forests, or all that is not the fruit of men's work."

In a recent article* condemning the squandering of food, water and energy as scandalous, Charchal Sarkar highlights this disorder with the following facts:

- 1) One American baby consumes 50 times more of the world's resources than one Indian baby.
- 2) The wheat needs of the people in Africa's Sahelian region could have been met with a twentieth of the wheat that OECD countries use each year to feed cattle. [In this respect, over £1 million is to be currently spent on persuading us to eat more meat.]
- 3) The entire foreign aid of the USA only just exceeds what is spent on welfare in New York City.

The private ownership of such a basic resource as the land has resulted in perhaps the greatest of the disorders and problems that face man. Collective needs are not being met by private prejudice and private interest. Collective needs must be solved collectively, and anarchism means the ability to distinguish between what is 'ours' and what is 'mine'.

The land is ours - the world population's, that is, and it is necessary to use it in an orderly fashion to supply all our

basic needs. This has to be done, however, on a local basis by the people acquainted with local conditions, and by producing food not as a commodity but as a need.

The privileged may profit in the short term from the consequences of this disorderly consumption of resources, but just as the consequences of nuclear war are universal so are the results of myopic technology. Mere increase in the amount of production by technological means does not solve the complex problem. In fact a recent book, similar to Rachel Carson's Silent Spring, has been published in Japan, where increased agricultural production has been achieved by the use of a record amount of insecticides, fertilisers and antibiotics. In the book, Compound Pollution, the author, Miss Ariyoslii, claims that three quarters of the cattle and pigs slaughtered are sick, usually in the stomach and often with cancer.

Food production needs order and planning, and in a market economy this is not what it gets. Order and planning are the result of a recognition of a community of interests, which in the opinion of this writer is what anarchism is about.

Alan Albon

*in The Observer

AS OTHERS SAY IT

TWO readers (neither of them anarchists as far as we know) of The Observer article 22.6.75 "How Britain could feed itself" followed this in The Observer 29.6.75 with the following suggestions:

(1) ". . . If we seriously desire to be more self-sufficient we cannot view food production as a technical problem - servicing a centralised urban population. Really high food output can be achieved only by more labour-intensive methods, and by putting more people on their own land. One acre of fourteen houses and gardens can produce more vegetable protein than one acre of agribusiness.

What is required is not a Luddite back-to-the-land movement, but a decentralised combination of industry with gardening. Europe's most productive car workers, in Brittany and southern Germany, work part-time in the factory and part-time on their own smallholding. It is possible to have not just more food but a more satisfying life for millions.

Solutions to many inter-linked problems follow. Those of transport, water supply, and waste disposal are exacerbated by centralised cities. Food produced locally can be eaten locally. Waste would not have to be washed copiously away with drinking water, and family sewage could be composted. Houses and greenhouses could be warmed by the waste-heat of small-scale power stations. Needless to say, these changes are not envisaged by Government but are

combated. We only see a process toward fewer active workers carrying more bureaucrats. Increased food production is a social, not merely a technical, problem.

John Sergeant (Ware.)"

(2) "Jeremy Bugler's suggestion last week of ploughing up golf courses for more allotments shows a better grasp of the reality of inflation than any recent political speech. Bristol has 1,880 people waiting for allotments, Greater London is estimated to have 20,000, and very few councils have fewer than 100. Under the many Allotment Acts, if six ratepayers apply for allotments, their council has a statutory duty to provide them for 'all suitable persons'. May we therefore appeal to public-spirited readers to demand allotments, not only for themselves, but for their waiting neighbours?

The Henry Doubleday Research Association will be glad to send their leaflet 'Land for Food' on how to make your council act, their 'Dig for Survival' on basic crop rotations and vegetable-growing and a simple constitution for organic gardening clubs. Please send a stamped addressed envelope.

Lawrence D. Hills,
(Henry Doubleday Res.)
20 Convent Lane,
Bocking, Braintree, Essex"

STRIKE NOTES

THE SILENT MINORITY

THE GREAT industrial strikes are as predestined as the set battle pieces of mighty armies. Forces take their stand, the standards are raised and the camp followers retire to the rear and to the boardrooms and the TUC committee rooms to await the results while the press and the uncommitted militants descend like jackals from the swamplands to feast off the dead. 1920 we lose, 1970 we win and beer and bread continue to rise fermentation- and economicallywise. Yet in these major strikes we the rank and file are no more than private soldiers to be sacrificed to the winning of the battle, and though the cause be just we have little say in the planning and the strategy.

A short walk on a summer day offers three strikes for the examination of the informed and committed observer and one knows that one's heart and sympathy must lie with the small quartet of a picket on the steps of a Brewer Street side street in Soho, for one feels, nay knows, that this is what the working class struggle against the employer is really about.

In Aldwych there is a mass picket of the Ass. of Sci. Tech. and Managerial Staff, and in jeans and neat managerial suits they lean on their Official Dispute banners with an air of cheerfulness in the conviction that they must win. Their management has offered them £4.75, which includes £2.40 threshold already paid, and this amounts to only 22% for the quality boys and only 17% for higher grades and their strike is solid. But as a young, jean clad smiling woman picket said, and one should never quote out of context, "These demonstrators that come along to help us are a bloody pest," so it was on to Wardour Street and the picket of the NUJ chapel outside Marshall Cavendish.

There was not the college air of happy time that one encountered in the Aldwych. The claims of the NUJ are more prosaic and nearer the working class knuckle for they are asking for one 30p luncheon voucher each day as they have no canteen, five weeks holiday over the year and an increase from £60 to £90 for the half-yearly bonus. But the genuine fear that has brought these men and women out onto the stones is the knowledge that the sack is waiting in too many pay envelopes and they are demanding, nay requesting that they shall be consulted before being handed their cards. Here is genuine fear in which job security now comes first and they have a right to expect the support of every and any member of the working class, for now we never know, little comrade, whose job is next for the chop. And sitting on the steps of a small doorway in Soho's Brewer Street is Tim O'Grady and three fellow pickets, for John Calder, later of Better Books

etc., etc. on the 13th of June sacked Tim O'Grady after the union had spent a year of attempting to come to terms with Calder and Boyars.

Tim O'Grady claims that John Calder has always and openly stated that the lowly paid book publishing workers should organise while "Marion Boyars has proclaimed on various occasions her socialism, while behind the scenes has said that she feels under no moral responsibility to pay her employees a living wage," yet Tim O'Grady claims that they have repeatedly refused to meet a union specifically designed to work out their idealist problems, job and moneywise. Tim O'Grady who is the Father of the Chapel now holds that his sacking was victimisation for his union activities. John Calder is a publisher of many avant garde and leftist books and pamphlets and I personally like him as an individual and admire him as a publisher, but in his human relationships he has much to answer for. Shy, self-effacing, and one feels with a built-in persecution complex, he has soured too many lives of too many people who have worked for him in Brewer Street and at Better Books. One stood in the warm sun of Soho among the fruit, the fish and the spaghetti discussing Tim O'Grady's plight with Tim O'Grady while above us Calder & Boyars worked on and one felt that they were completely indifferent to the five of us filling their street step. Yet for John Calder's own reputation he should come to terms with his small work force and stop regarding them as his built-in enemies, and the first step is to descend the steps of Brewer Street and come to a sensible and honourable arrangement with Tim O'Grady the Father of his Chapel.

Lumpenproletarian

SWEDEN: It's the Same ...

LAST DECEMBER I worked for six or seven days as a casual worker in the kitchens of one of Stockholm's 400 year old restaurants popular with tourists. My companions were two young male students and a girl. Everything went very smoothly until I began giving impersonations of the Minister of Justice. I made another parody about a TV programme of some years ago as to what kind of cushion is the most attractive - putting this onto a background of a starving world. I plunged into an argument with the two students as to whether Winston Churchill was a hero and superman. As the eyes and ears of the Restaurant & Hotel employees union were everywhere some of the waiting-staff fumed.

When I went back to the restaurant a month later to collect the rest of my pay I discovered that they had (that is, the employers and the trade union) deducted five pounds from my wages and made me a member of their trade union

without asking my consent.

I decided to rebuke the ghost of trade unionism and visit the RHEU for some explanation. I found that going into their offices was like being an archaeologist, for the man I spoke to reacted exactly like an ancient stone. The only thing that happened was that a whole pile of forms fell off his desk, which he promptly gathered up exclaiming, "We won't do it... we won't do it..." in reply to my request for a refund.

Now, although I accept the trade union as a bargaining power under capitalism, I'm fully aware that this is one of the only ways the TU leadership can justify their existence to their members. I also don't accept their adherence to political party so-called "socialism". Being a member of the Transport workers' union with all its bureaucratic aches and pains is as much as I can cope with. The dockers have left the union and formed their own, the dustmen seem dissatisfied, but to be fair the chairman has rattled a sabre on the members' behalf and resigned temporarily, hoping the dockers will return.

While I am writing this a Swedish radio journalist is interviewing a restaurant worker, asking him how he came to choose such a job, what kind of family background he had. The journalist has been talking down to him the whole time in a derogatory way, knowing that he didn't have the intellectual ability to deal with the questions. However, the interview ended up by the journalist asking him how he liked his job. "And how do you like your job?" the restaurant worker retorted. After this remark the interview was quickly broken off. Its remarks like these that the professional journalists, prostitutes to the system, can't stand.

Stockholm.

H.

THE TASK of anarchists is to work to strengthen the revolutionary conscience of organised workers and to remain in the Unions as anarchists.

It is true that the Unions, for pressing reasons, are often obliged to engage in negotiations and accept compromises. I do not criticise them for that, but it is for this very reason that I have to consider the Unions as essentially reformist.

The Unions perform a function of bringing together the proletarian masses and of eliminating conflicts which could otherwise arise between worker and worker... revolutionaries go beyond this. They struggle for the revolution which will expropriate capital and destroy the State, every State by whatever name it is called. Since economic slavery is the product of political servitude, to eliminate one it is necessary to eliminate the other, even if Marx said otherwise....

Just because I am convinced that the Unions can and must play a most useful, and perhaps necessary, role in the transition from present society to the equalitarian society, I would wish them to be judged at their true worth and by never forgetting that they have a natural tendency to become closed corporations limited to making narrow, sectional demands, or worse still, for their members only...

Errico Malatesta.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 12 - 25 June

WEMBLEY: R.G. £1.60; NEW-BIGGIN: H.D. £1; LONDON N.6: D.B. £1.75; JARROW: M.B. £1.30; SEVENOAKS: B.R. £6; OXFORD: Anon £1; via AUBERRY Calif.: K.K. 85p; CARDIFF: L.E. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10; WHALLEY: P.G. 64p; P.A.G. & S.L.G. £1; PENRITH: J.R.H. £1; SOMERVILLE, Mass.: B.N. £4.75; SHREWSBURY: R.M. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; LONDON N.3: D.M. £6; On demo. 21.6.75: Anon £1.

TOTAL: £30.29
Previously ack'n'd £712.54

TOTAL to DATE: £742.83

Correction of list 29 May - 11 June

Two donations not specified:
Belfast, P.S. £1; Dagenham: M.C. £1. from total of £58.24
Previously acknowledged £654.30

Correct total at 11. June £712.54

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MEETINGS

Sat. 5th July. Benefit 'do' for two Stepney squatters each fined & charged £300 costs for debricking council hse. From 5 p.m. at City of London Poly. Students Union, 102 Whitechapel High St. (nr. Commercial St. Aldgate East tube.) Films, video, music, food, bar. Adm. 60p (½ price for SS claimants.)

Mon. July 7 "Anarchism & Libertarian Marxism", discussion opened by Mike Malet (AWA) & Terry Liddle (Social Revolution). 7.15 pm at People's Aid & Action Centre, 8 Falcon Road, Battersea, S.W.11.

British Withdrawal from N. Ireland BWNIC rejects any military solution in Ireland; calls for an immediate withdrawal of troops and an end to the union; meets at The Bank, Tolmers Square, London NW1, Wed. July 9 at 7.30 p.m.

CAMBRIDGE Folk Festival until 7 July. Comrades invited to join anarchists on the free camp site. Further details fr. P. Silcock, 51 City Rd., Cambridge.

SCOTLAND July 25-Aug 22. "Connections" - live, work, play, learn together, write think, at Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire. SAE for further details.

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, 1pm Speakers Corner. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcome.

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/Int. Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door), tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Fm. From 7.30 p.m., discussion, refreshments.

MANCHESTER. SWF weekly mtgs. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU

FRANCE. International Camp organised by French CNT, near Perpignan. 1 July-30 August, 3F per day per person. All comrades from the IWMA welcome. For details write to CNTF, 9 rue Duchalmeau, 66000 PERPIGNAN. Discussion, events.

CONTACT

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

Single parent + 3 young children involved in alternative education would like to share home - one bedroom (poss. double) & room for another child with others. Share kitch., bath. & living rooms. Enq. S. Durrani, 25 Wiverton Road, SE26.

PRINT - HOW TO DO IT YOURSELF. A copy of this o/p Redesign pamph. wanted to send to Spain. Please send to Editors, Freedom for transmission.

LIBRARY workers contact Martin Everett 11 Gibson Gdns, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW, view to forming network.

POEMS & SONGS wanted from all over world for Abolish War Encycl/Anthol. Anarcho-Pacifist, antimilitarist, antiracial, also COs' tribunal statements. Any lang. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St., London, S.E. 5.

GROUPS

Libertarian Gp. -Abergafenni. Anyone interested contact 31 Monmouth Rd., Abergafenni.

Anarchists in HARROW interested in forming group please write to Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Grds., Rayners Lane, Harrow, HA2 9TB

CORBY anarchist. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

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

DUNDEE. Brian Fleming, c/o Anarchist Society, Students Union, Univ. of Dundee, Dundee, Angus.

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073)

GLASGOW. Gerry Cranwell, 163 Gt. George St. Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Hants.

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch 4 (tel. 496 793).

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No. 4 now out. 8p + post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs, or Freedom Bookshop.

THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. \$3.00 per year from PO Box 3480, Tucson Arizona 85722, or try Freedom Bkshp for specimen 13½p including postage.

UNDERCURRENTS No. 11 now out. Alternative energies, Back-to-the-land, Bee Keeping. 45p (post 8p) from Freedom Bookshop.

PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, HM Prison, Heathfield Rd, London SW18 3HS. Letters, postcards.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High St., London NW1 still needs funds for books.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

Po stcard ready addressed to Marini in prison & with greeting in Italian still available from Freedom Press for 5½p (our postage to you) plus donation for the defence fund.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday 19 July. Come and help from 2pm onwds. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get together & folding session.

PARDON ME EMBROIDERED BRACES

THE ESTABLISHMENT will accept any infraction of the moral or social mores from those whom the world regards as their own people no matter what their positions within that social hierarchy. The bloody and sweaty prize fighter, the nobility with a touch of the homicides, but never Jack the Ripper. And any and every sexual deviation given the literary accolade by Oscar and Algernon, from boys to bondage, but never the Clapham Common flasher. Drink, rape, forgery, a Philby betrayal of country and public school principles, but never the secretary who absconds with the Christmas Club share-out money.

They will take Max Wall to their evening dress fronts, but never Max Miller, the wide boy from the Brighton ghetto, for there is one insurmountable barrier, and that is that the Establishment, social or literary, will never accept the vulgarian.

When Raymond Mortimer of the Times complained that the book under review was the sixth book about Frank Harris, he demanded to know: "why is there still not one about, for example, George Saintsbury, in my view more interesting both as a person and a writer? His histories of English and French literature, of criticism, of prosody remain valuable; but he wrote no pornography. Harris did." I underline Mortimer's answer to his own querulous complaint, for Frank Harris was as vulgar as a fart at a public house wake for one of McAlpine's soldiers.

The oiled hair, the scent, the loud clothes, the loud voice and the overt obsession with other people's money and how to acquire it by blackmail and less honest methods made Harris an embarrassment to the descendants of court ponces and palace-bedded whores, while Times reviewers still make the sign of the inverted cross over their sherry glass before opening Book 6 of the Harris canon, and seek salvation by chanting "Profanum vulgus, profanum vulgus."

Malcolm Muggeridge, of the built-in sneer, arrived somewhere near the truth when he described Harris as an immortal comic, for Falstaff's company and the Eastcheap womb of the Boar's Head tavern must always be preferable to the carved sepulchre of Prince Henry's palace. Yet if Harris were no more than a roguish clown, he would have died and been long forgotten in that godly company. But Harris was an editor of the Evening News and the Fortnightly and the owner and editor of the Saturday Review, and as a writer and as an editor his life became entwined with the creative world of his time. Shallow men, all of small talent, but in that barren landscape they cast long shadows.

It is so easy to sneer at Harris, born in Galloway City a hundred and twenty years ago, and many forgettable men have and will, but what other editors of Evening News's and weekly magazines are worth more than the single official hagiology? Therefore, why is Frank Harris considered a worthy subject for Phillipa Pullar's biography? It is because from the springboard of a small cluttered editorial office he imposed himself personally, for heroic or comic reasons, on the events and men of the hour, and old men and young gossips could not reminisce without naming the impresario of so many Edwardian scandals, so many failed crimes, so many cliff-hanging rescues after the body had dropped.

Harris's writing was third rate, his historical research was stolen from other more worthy men, and his pornography did not have the wit or the good clean filth of Eskimo Nell. And even his attempt to betray his last known address by writing anti-British propaganda for 1914 Americans was an economic disaster, and that single fact saved his reputation.

Harris is usually remembered in relation to Oscar Wilde and he aided and profited from his associations with that talented and hysterical Queen Mother, yet he had political involvements out of key with that sad company. Harris claimed that in 1894 he was sacked from the Fortnightly because of an article by Charles Malato praising the two anarchists Henry and Ravachol, who were guillotined for throwing bombs at the houses of magistrates involved in the sentencing of people arrested in the Paris riots of 1891. Chapman, the Tory publisher of the Fortnightly, felt that to call Henry the sweetest and noblest of men after an anarchist thrown bomb had killed eight people, was not in the best interest of a magazine propagating the old-fashioned solid Conservative ideals, and Harris left under his portable cloud.

What is important about men such as Harris, Wilde, Byron, Malates-

ta, Nechayev, a Drake, a Philby is that they are men divorced from their time, each a prototype that we can place within any situation and, as in chess, feel that we know how they will react if certain moves are made. Harris is the flash and vulgar breathing beery breath into the spluttering embers of dilettante scandals, halting history for a two hour conversation with Trotsky, the failed rogue, the good companion, and if there is a hell, and I have a choice between sharing it with Mortimer, Muggeridge or Frank Harris, then let me play Bardolph to Harris's Falstaff.

GUNNING FOR THE "MAN"

Jeff Nuttall is no vulgarian but the happy extrovert, and a spectator, participant and recorder of the happier lunacies of the 1960s. He is one of those people of whom one can have only pleasant memories, and he has stretched his small talents as a painter and as a poet to their utmost public commitment.

His book, "BombCulture" was among the first and most important of the public records of the Sixties, and Nuttall wrote as one involved in that scene. He produced "My Own Mag", a tatty stencilled sheet that sold for a halfpenny a copy, and is now a collector's item at £ 5 a copy. It is claimed he urinated on a painting within an art gallery as a mark of approval of disapproval. His "thing" at the Tower of London raised screams of protest from parents who believed it was a pantomime and found it a strictly adult eye-brow raising show. He left the underground paper, International Times, on a high moral note and a public washing of linen, and where the scene was was Jeff Nuttall.

I lean on a pub bar in Hampstead and see an announcement that his music group was to play there. I wandered into the Institute of Contemporary Art when the floor was covered with the discarded rubbish of some sad failed exhibition and saw Nuttall, like unto a latter day Augustus John surrounded by slim beautiful women in long soiled skirts, some suckling their children, the whole straight out of a John gypsy painting, and Nuttall stood among them with a trumpet hanging limp in one hand and in that vast and almost empty building he pandered to my low taste by raising the trumpet to his lips and playing "Melancholy Baby", and each sweet and throbbing vulgar chord was a beatitude in that house of the dead.

When Bob Cobbing and I, posing as private detectives, attempted to break down a bookshop door to rescue a Nuttall manuscript, we believed, and I think rightly, that we were making some small and genuine, though physical, contribution to contemporary literature. And I like to believe that one of the seven published works preceding "Snipe's Spinster" exists because of our brute efforts in the cause of art.

There are so many noble and worthy men and women who have been responsible for important changes in their societies, so many great editors whose unremembered photographs hang high and lost on editorial office walls, and yet the history of an age or of a period cannot be written without reference to a Frank Harris, a Jeff Nuttall or an Albert Meltzer. The purist may protest and rightly, but the irritant truth lies lost in all the papers and magazines produced within the last 20 years, and one can state that not one single name can evoke a mental picture of the man or woman. They produced much that was of vital importance during and after the hour, but in themselves they were not newsworthy, and that, comrades, is what "Frank Harris" and Nuttall's "Snipe's Spinster" are about, for without the news there is no news.

The story of Snipe is of a jazz musician and slightly jaded revolutionary set on assassinating the Man. Nuttall writes in the first person and it is accepted that he is Snipe, and he gives us a romantic version of his part in the politics of the protesting sixties. Nuttall's prose is curiously dated now for it is of the manner of William Burroughs' broken disjointed sentences, and it cloaks the carnality, the brutality and the banality of the scene with a false air of mysticism. It is a style of writing that belongs to Charing Cross Road Zen kulture, drugs and flower power, and I think that it is no accident that it is used to excuse or gloss over the Manson slaughter of innocent people, and Nuttall quotes much from Ed Sanders' book on Manson, a book that is quickly

become a cult document for the intellectually sick and the neurotic and the psychopathic.

"MELZER", "NUTL"!

Jeff Nuttall writes of the CND marches as great mystical gatherings, and this is fair if that is how he remembers them, but I think of the hot country lanes and the pubs who refused to sell us beer and the garage owners who locked their lavatories. He writes of MacGregor, "an Anarchist, a real one" who claimed to have been a childhood friend of Stuart Christie and the scene is set in book form and history is being fashioned. Nuttall writes "Ask Jimmy Reid about anarchism" "Ask Stuart Christie about Jimmy Reid" "Or better still ask Stuart Christie about Albert Melzer" "I can tell you what he'd say", and Albert Melzer in the pages of his magazine, Black Flag, organ of the Anarchist Black Cross states: "(I could forgive Nutl much but for the fact that, in a snide and palpably false reference to myself, he mis-spells my name...the libel itself is nothing, as Sarah Bernhardt could have explained to him)."

One of Snipe's claims, which I do not believe, is that he discovered the explosives that were to be used by the "Angry Brigade" but there are no great clues this weekend so we are all old soldiers polishing our memories and our medals, and tell me comrade, were you in Grosvenor Square, etc.? Philippa Pullar's "Frank Harris" is 1875 fashioned in the image of Frank Harris and Jeff Nuttall's "Snipe's Spinster" is 1975 fashioned in the image of Jeff Nuttall. We did much marching and much chanting, we faced the solid lines of police and we ran before their charging horses, we were brave and we were frightened, we defended each other and we denied each other even to the third crowing of the cock. We condemned each other by word and by print because only we were right and the Establishment hated us because we were all and always right, and our only fault was that we were never vulgar.

Arthur Moyse.

"Frank Harris"	by Philippa Pullar	Hamish Hamilton	£ 5.25
"Snipe's Spinster"	by Jeff Nuttall	Calder & Boyars	£ 2.95
"The Family"	by Ed Sanders	Hart-Davis	£ 2.50

LETTERS

CUBA

Dear Freedom,

We are collaborating with Sam Dolgoff in producing and publishing a much-needed history and current analysis of Cuban events from the point of view of the Cuban anarcho-syndicalists.

The book, to be called Revolution and Counter-revolution in Cuba; the Anarchist Perspective, will include a sketch of the Cuban labor movement and especially the anarcho-syndicalists (the most influential tendency) before, during and after 1959; analytic articles, declarations and other documents by Cuban participants, translated by Sam Dolgoff; articles dealing with the present situation in Cuba from the libertarian point of view; a glossary; an index.

We have felt for a long time that such a book should be produced. We wish to break the virtual monopoly of information and analysis held by the authoritarian "socialists" on the left with respect to Cuban affairs, and to demonstrate and document that there has been a living alternative to both capitalist and communist ideology--embodied in the traditions of the libertarian labor movement.

The book is a totally non-commercial, non-profit venture on the part of sincerely concerned rebels. We ourselves are donating the time and energy to make this work a reality, but we have very little cash. All those who would like to assist in this project should write checks to "Robert Barnes--book fund" and address: Charlatan Stew / P. O. Box 781/ Cooper Station / New York City 10003 / USA.

Yours for a New World,

Sylvia Kashdan
Robert Barnes
P. O. Box 781,
Cooper Station,
New York City 10003

FIREWEED

Dear Mr Craig & Mr Gray,

I stand by every word of my review of your worthwhile magazine, FIREWEED, yea even to sincerely wishing it

well.

You now say that, "all we are offering is the work of some working class or socialist photographers and poets and novelists and song-writers," yet your first and final introduction states that "Fireweed is a quarterly magazine of working-class and socialist arts." Not SOME, comrades.

My legitimate objection to the mighty mouse names that you have mentioned in your letter is that they are all the borrowed work of well-established writers and poets. Neruda's poem comes from the volume, PLENOS PODERES, Achachalla's poem from "Canto General" (1950), Brecht's poems from "Svendborger Poems" (1939) and from 1944 work.

And it is a myth to state that it is "hard for art created by or for the underprivileged...to get the currency it deserves." In an entrepreneur society there is always a market for talent, irrespective of the subject matter.

That I favour the "lunatic fringe", "the mystic and the lover" was never a secret as you suggest. The mere fact that you can quote me on it reveals my public guilt, but in the matter of the lunatic fringe, may I quote from Campbell's "The Great Caper", part of Act 2, in your magazine: "Eugene Grimley is afflicted with an obsession to find his perfect woman. The prophet Will, abetted by his side-kick Stu, teaches him that sensible people are up a tree, and follow the signs, lead him to Crumpetstrasse, Tel Aviv. Part of Act 2. Twisting pathway to the Moon-Wolves, whales and the Pimply Flunkey". Worth of the fringe?

On a final and serious note ...how does a magazine given over to some working class and socialist art explain away the publication of three photographs of a small group of male and female alcoholics photographed in the last stages of human degradation and the funny funny captions quote, "I used to be working class meself, but some bugger took the ladder away."

Arthur Moyse.

LENIN ON THE COMMON MARKET

[Socialists] must therefore unequivocally demand that the Social-Democrats of the oppressing countries (of the so-called 'great' nations in particular) should recognize and defend the right of the oppressed nations to self-determination in the political sense of the word, i.e. the right to political separation. A Socialist of a great nation or a nation possessing colonies who does not defend this right is a chauvinist. To defend this right does in no way mean to encourage the formation of small states, but on the contrary it leads to a freer, more fearless and therefore wider and more universal formation of larger gov-

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ernments and unions of governments - a phenomena more advantageous for the masses and more in accord with economic development.

--from The Imperialist War, 1915 - Socialism and War. Originally accredited joint authorship with G. Zinoviev (liquidated 1937).

Our Review of Gaston Leval's COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

THE SPRING OF FREEDOM

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, by Gaston Leval. Translated by Vernon Richards. (Freedom Press. £4.00 cloth, £2.00 paperback).

GASTON LEVAL is a French anarchist who fled to Spain in the first world war to avoid military service, became involved in revolutionary politics, and was a member of the Spanish delegation to the 1921 Congress of the Red International of Trade Unions in Moscow. During the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in the twenties he left for Argentina, returning to Spain after the revolution of 1936. Ultimately he was readmitted to France, and now in his eighties, lives in Paris where he produces a journal called *Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire*. He is thus an archetypal "child of our time" of the first half of this century (there are plenty in the second half too), the political wanderer whose life and lifestyle have been determined by one act which severed his connection with home, family and familiar ways. This is specifically a twentieth century phenomenon, for apart from the Catholic church or the Tsarist regime, few in the past had the manpower to keep a check of and catch up with their dissidents. The personal history of people like Victor Serge or of anarchists like Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman illustrate this enforced vocation of exile.¹

For Leval, the years in Spain provided an opportunity to come to terms with that intangible thing, the Spanish character. It is evident that he learned to admire the dignity and austerity as well as the humanity and the capacity for mutual aid that we associate with the Spaniards, and to take note of the regional variations of these characteristics. It may seem anachronistic to raise these matters, thinking of the Spain of the mid-seventies, but in Leval's assessment of the success of the Spanish collectives of 1936-7 they are important. Similarly in a historically decentralised country like Spain where there has always been tension between autocracy based on Madrid and autonomy based on regional, municipal and communal independence, it is important to take this history into account in discussing the success of collectivisation. Leval had the opportunity in the early years of his exile, to discover the historical validity and the then current viability of these traditions. In his testimony from revolutionary Spain he has consequently had the advantage of a profound appreciation of the traditional modes of thinking of Spanish workers and peasants as well as of the way in which the Spanish revolution was made. It is consequently all the more interesting that he records instances where the very old communal or municipal traditions did not apply but where nevertheless, the collectivisation of the means of livelihood was successfully achieved.

The Spanish social revolution, whose implications have been neglected by the political chroniclers of the left because the drama of the civil war as part of the international power game was for them more important, was obviously the most significant experience of Leval's long life. Veteran readers of this journal will recall his pamphlet *Social Reconstruction in Spain* published by Freedom Press as long ago as 1938. A book-length version of his study of the Spanish collectives appeared in Italian in 1952 (*Ne Franco ne Stalin*), a longer version in French in 1971 (*Espagne Libertaire 1936-1939*), and innumerable snippets of his account have been printed in anarchist journals throughout the world. The present volume is a translation of his French text with a few additional explanatory notes and a very interesting preface and

aspiraciones fundamentales del mundo y por otro los intereses y aspiraciones de los hombres que pertenecen a estos partidos, pero que añaden a la idiosincrasia de los mis-
américa y Sudamérica, especialmente. La crisis ha costado al mundo mucho más que la guerra pasada, desde el punto de vista económico. Ha costa-



GASTON LEVAL delivering a lecture on "Our Programme for Reconstruction" at the Coliseum Cinema, Barcelona, on January 10, 1937, as seen by *Solidaridad Obrera's* cartoonist. In introducing the talk which was reproduced in full, *Solidaridad Obrera* refers to Leval as 'one of the best informed comrades in our movement'.

collection of bibliographical notes by the translator, who must, as the author of *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*, have exercised considerable self-restraint in refraining from adding his comment on some of Leval's views.

WORKER-MANAGED ECONOMY

The book thus presents the distilled essence of its author's experience of the Spanish revolution, recollected in tranquillity and with the advantage of familiarity with the subsequent literature including the voluminous historical material on the period which in the last decade has been published in Spain itself. He is a good witness: he tells us what he learned for himself on the spot, what he was told about at the time, and what he has subsequently gleaned. Consequently apart from its value as firsthand testimony, his book invites our speculation about his interpretation. Why is he so keen on giving us the texts of constitutions, rule books and so on? Why is he so interested in the details of book-keeping and accountancy, and why do the minutiae of organisation interest him so? Is it just because he is an organisation man, or because experience tells him that if you don't get the details right you lay the enterprise wide open to failure? Or simply because he glories in the fact that "simple" peasants and workers can work these things out for themselves and that the management of an efficient and productive enterprise is not a mystery for accountants and lawyers?

Leval is one of those who, like D. A. de Santillan, had attempted to find out long before the revolution, how, in terms of resources and markets and manpower, Spain could become a worker-managed economy. He is interested in the dynamics of production and of the satisfaction of human needs. He knows that on the day after the revolution people need breakfast. Way back in 1931 he had written a book called *Problemas Economicos de la Revolucion Espanola*. Leval wants us to know that in

HACIA UNA NUEVA ECONOMIA SOCIAL

LA FORD MOTOR IBERICA, BAJO EL CONTROL OBRERO

Por CARLOS DE SIRVAL

ordinary producer-consumer terms, the revolution can work, just because it releases untapped or hitherto frustrated sources of human energy and inventiveness. For, in the chaos of war, Communist sabotage and the so-called Fifth Column, many economic resources came out of the period of worker-control in a better state than they were in in 1936. British anarchists used to cite examples of this from the reports to shareholders of foreign-owned enterprises returned to their "rightful" owners by the victorious Fascists. Similarly it is with a certain pride that Leval cites in a footnote to his account of the collective of Miralcampo in central Spain, the information from a book published in Madrid in 1968 (*Historia del Anarco-Sindicalismo Espanol* by Juan Gomez Casas) that when the landowner Count Romanones reclaimed his possessions at the end of the Civil War, he was amazed at the improvements which had been made to the estates by the peasant expropriators: "The peasants completely transformed the whole physiognomy of these regions, they diverted the course of a river in order to irrigate the land, greatly increased the area under cultivation, built farms, a mill, schools, communal refectories, homes for the collectivists and enormously increased production." Elsewhere he has cited the account by Gomez Casas to the effect that "The Count was told that work was performed by the peasants in line with plans drawn up by a member of the CNT Building Workers' Union, Gomez Abril, an excellent organiser chosen by the Regional Peasant Federation. As soon as Abril finished his work he left and the peasants continued to manage the collective. Learning that Gomez Abril was jailed in Guadalajara and that he was in a very precarious situation, the Count succeeded in securing his release from jail and offered to appoint him manager of all his properties. Gomez declined, explaining that a page of history had been written and his work finished."

It is doubtful whether Leval considers his work finished, but he too has produced some essential pages which are one of the indispensable sources for any conclusions about the constructive achievements of the Spanish revolution. His translator has performed a labour of love on these 368 pages of history (which at present publishing costs are certainly a bargain for the purchaser).

In his opening chapter Leval describes the organisational history of Spanish anarchism, its relationship to the federalism of Proudhon's Spanish translator Pi y Margall, and to Bakunin's collectivism, brought to Barcelona, as a well-known anecdote of anarchist history records, by Giuseppe Fanelli. He shows how the demands and programmes of 19th century anarchist manifestos were reflected in 20th century practice, and follows this with an account of anarchist struggles and governmental repression in agrarian Spain.

He follows this with an overview of the geographical background against which the drama of the revolution was played: the particular difficulties and advantages faced by Spanish ag-

riculture: "10% bare rock, 40% really bad land, 40% mediocre land and 10% land which gives us the impression of living in a paradise." He attempts to link the background of physical poverty with the particular psychological characteristics of the Spanish people: "this capital of human dignity which allows them to accept under duress authoritarian interference and to rebel against it when they can: and then also with a sense of solidarity and equality which leaves its mark as much on the morale of the Barcelona worker as on that of the Andalusian peasant. These two factors, social poverty and individual dignity, linked to collective solidarity, predisposed a large section of the population to accept libertarian ideas."

The attempted military coup d'etat in July 1936 was faced by several governments in a single day, each of them ready to come to terms with the fascists. "In fact, there was no official resistance for the government had broken down. Ministers made energetic speeches on the radio, made gestures in a vacuum, ran round in circles for they no longer had any organised forces, or military machinery at their disposal, not even a bureaucratic organisation in working condition... Yes, resistance was in the streets, and for that very reason the government was not in command of it. Political power had been shifted..."

Popular initiative had stepped into the power vacuum to resist the fascists, and since the machinery of the state was no



longer able to enforce the rights of property over land and industry in those parts of Spain where the generals had not seized control, popular initiative took over the means of production.

AGRARIAN SOCIALIZATION

PART TWO of Leval's work describes agrarian socialisation, with a chapter describing the Aragon Federation of Collectives, another on collectives in the Levante, and a further one on collectives in the two Castiles, where of course there were quite different social and political traditions. He then devotes a chapter to the theme of "collectivist book-keeping", describing the different schemes of accountancy and recording which he encountered, and follows this with a discussion of "libertarian democracy", discussing what is nowadays called the decision-making process -- the meetings, assemblies and discussion which of course are in such a system vital, not merely to ascertain people's views, but to ensure that everyone knows what is going on. (The late Richard Crossman called secrecy the real English disease and his executors are finding how right he was, but in a system which depends on popular initiative, the people must be informed.) Finally in this section Leval has a chapter on "The Charters", meaning

(Top) A topical and interesting headline from *Solidaridad Obrera* (Barcelona C. N. T. daily) 22 August, 1936 (bearing in mind that it happened in 1936): "Towards a New Social Economy" "Spanish Ford Motors, Under Worker's Control".

(Upper Right) A railway carriage used as a poster to remind the land workers that "The land is yours: WORK IT".

(Bottom Right) Outdoor meetings organised by the CNT-FAI and attended by 15,000 people were not uncommon. This one in Barcelona is being addressed by Federica Montseny, one of the movement's ablest orators.

(Far Right) The caption to this photo reads "One of the churches in Alcaniz is now the warehouse for the collective's foodstuffs".

the constitutions, rule-books, etc. drawn up by the collectives. He devotes a lot of attention to these, both in this and other chapters, because he believes that "in order to study and know about this phase in human history this has for us the same importance as have the charters of the communes and the town of the Middle Ages". The reference is to one of the great books of Spanish history, Joaquin Costa's El Colectivismo Agrario en Espana, which he remarks "could well have borne Kropotkin's name, and would be a suitable sequel to Mutual Aid". Certainly we can add that Leval's book is a very suitable sequel to Costa's.

*

The third part of the book is about industry and public services. He remarks that he would prefer to use the word "syndicalisations" (a dreadful word to have to use in English) rather than "collectivisations" for the constructive achievements in the towns. His explanation is important:

"As we have demonstrated, collectives and collectivisations included the interdependent whole of the inhabitants of each village, of each commune, or each fragmented collective organised by those who identified themselves with it. In them one did not come across different material standards of life or rewards, no conflicting interests of more or less separate groups. The over-riding law was that of equality and fraternity, in fact and for the benefit of all equally.

"But in what have been called the industrial collectives, especially in the large towns, matters proceeded differently as a consequence of contradictory factors and of opposition created by the co-existence of social currents emanating from different social classes. Too often in Barcelona and Valencia, workers in each undertaking took over the factory, the works, or the workshop, the machines, raw materials, and taking advantage of the continuation of the money system and normal capitalist commercial relations, organised production on their own account, selling for their own benefit the produce of their labour. The decree of October 1936 legalising collectivisations did not allow them to do more, and this distorted everything right from the start."

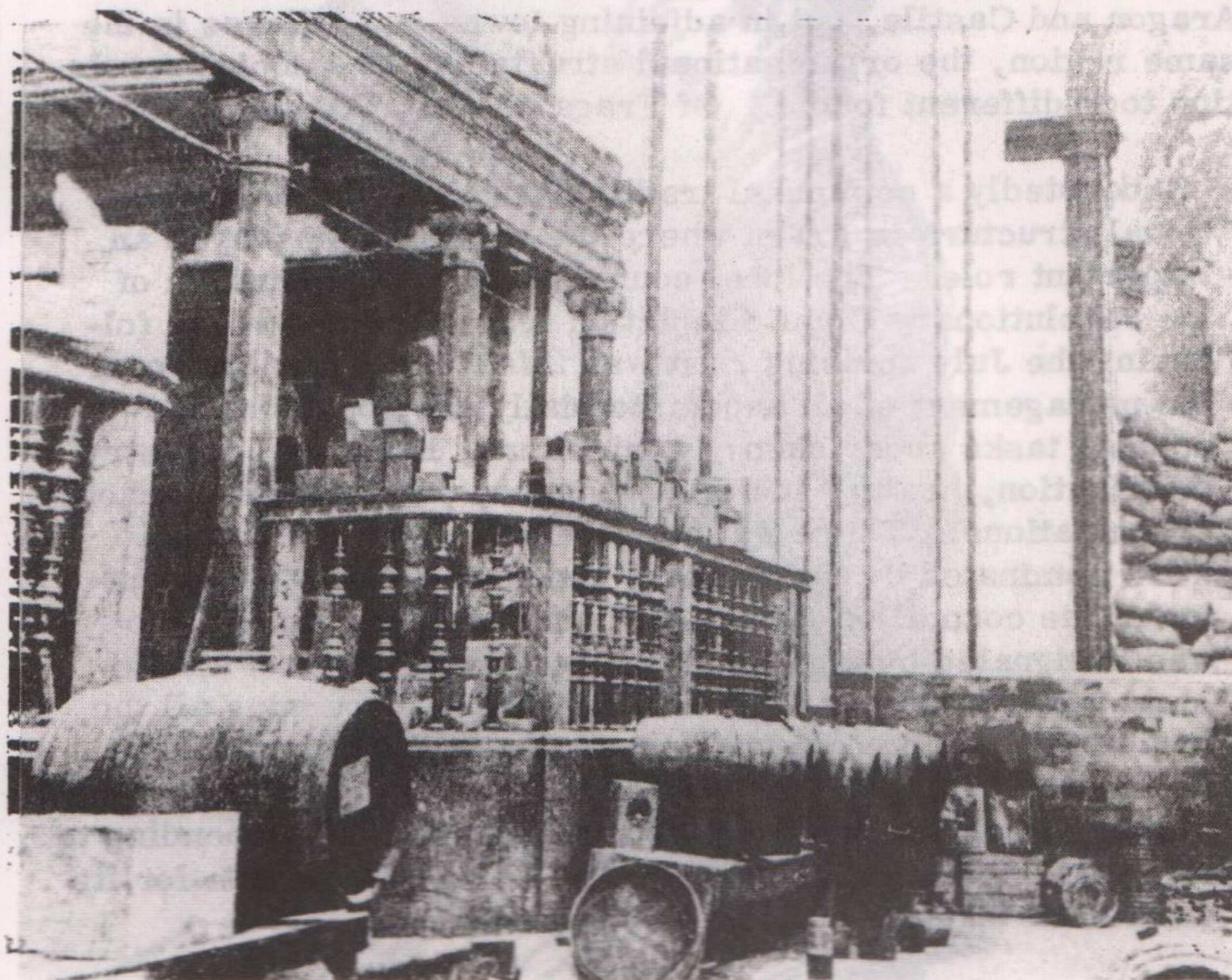
He goes on to say, "There was not, therefore, true socialisation, but a workers' neo-capitalism, a self-management straddling capitalism and socialism, which we maintain would not have occurred had the revolution been able to extend itself fully under the direction of our syndicates." This sound like a description of experiments in worker co-operatives in contemporary Britain - Kirkby, Meriden and so on, but in fact of course the differences are enormous. Here they exist as an effort of the workers to save their jobs in ailing and economically marginal industries. There they embraced huge sections of the economy.

He gives an account of the water, gas, electricity and transportation industries and the socialisation of medicine in Catalonia. Finally he gives us a chapter on town collectivisations and of various isolated achievements which couldn't be gathered together under other headings. They may be isolated achievements but as he points out "if just one of

them had been realised today it would arouse the interest of reformers on an international scale".

It is obvious that for Leval the agrarian collectives represent the supreme achievement of the Spanish revolution, and he describes their organisation in detail.

At the Constitutive Congress of the Aragon Federation of Collectives in February 1937, one of the resolutions adopted sought to protect the right of the smallholder to remain outside the Collective, so long as he retained only that land which he could cultivate by his own efforts; "the employment of workers is absolutely forbidden". This is an important issue in the land reforms adopted by revolutionary regimes - one has only to think of the disasters inflicted on the Russians by Soviet agricultural policy. Leval comments that



Una de las iglesias de Alcañiz es hoy el depósito de viveres de la colectividad

the measure adopted by the Aragon Federation of Collectives is "reminiscent of the procedure suggested by Bakunin regarding the attitude to be adopted by the revolution towards small landowners. One had to avoid a violent expropriation, and the solution of the problem seemed to him to lie in 'the suppression of the right of inheritance'... And in The Conquest of Bread Kropotkin wrote that not only would the revolution not dispossess the small landowners who slaved to cultivate land that had been acquired by such efforts, but would send its young people to help them reap the corn and bring home the harvest... As one will be seeing on many occasions, not only was the right of small landowners respected but in practice conciliatory and even fraternal feelings were shown to them".

This Congress had also to formulate a policy about the relations between the collectives and the municipalities. It goes without saying, Leval remarks, that the Valencia government could not tolerate the existence of an autonomous administration. "Thus it published a first decree according to which municipal councils had to be set up everywhere in accordance with established legal norms. Since the collectives had often replaced the municipalities, or had, as it were, merged with them, these reconstituted organisms encroached on those which the revolution had set up." The tactic adopted by the Congress was a resolution which declared among other things that

"Considering that the municipal councils perform a different role from that of the collectives; That these councils are legally constituted organisms in which all the anti-fascist organisations collaborate and of which the highest representation is the Council of Aragon; That the administrative committees of the collectives exercise a different function from that of the municipal councils; and That the syndicates are called upon to nominate and control the comrades who will represent the CNT in those two kinds of organisms; That there cannot exist any opposition between the management of the collectives and that of the municipal councils; That the one and the other are interdependent with the syndical organisation, so long as the



latter takes part in the constitution of the councils of the collectives, the municipal councils will maintain fraternal relations through the spokesmen of the CNT."

This rather opaque resolution was of course introduced as a defensive measure for the collectives, but it is interesting in terms of anarchist organisational theory. It implies three different local organisations: the collective as the agricultural or industrial unit to which families belong, the municipality or commune as the territorial unit to which they belong, and the syndicate or union to which they belong. It is interesting to compare the resulting networks of interconnection with the theory of local organisation in, say, Yugoslavia or China.

In different places, not only in the differences between Aragon and Castile, but in adjoining towns and villages in the same region, the organisational structure of the social revolution took different forms. Of Fraga he remarks that

"Undoubtedly a communal tradition inspired the organisational structure in Fraga where the municipality played an important role. The local council was the continuation of the revolutionary Comité in action from the first weeks following the July uprising. It was this Comité that took over the management of all aspects of daily life, based on the normal tasks undertaken: agriculture, livestock, industry, distribution, health, social assistance, public works, school organisations. There was one councillor for each. All were nominated by the workers concerned, with the exception of the councillor for provisioning and distribution who was designated by a gathering of representatives of all the local activities, for it involved problems concerning all the inhabitants, both collectivists and non-collectivists without distinction. But whilst being linked to this coordinated whole, each trade had its own organisation, corresponding to its tasks, needs and preferences. Being responsible for its work each trade organised it in its own way..."

Binefar evolved differently. There, he says,

"It is clear that the collective embraces the whole of social life. For its task extends, as we shall soon see, to education, health and all public services. Practically speaking the syndicate plays no role at all. It has prepared the new order, but the latter establishes itself and extends beyond the syndicate. Neither is there a municipal organisation in the traditional sense, even if we go back to the communes of the Middle Ages. The syndicate is inadequate and the municipality has been left behind. The collective is the most typical organ of the Spanish peasant revolution which embraces all aspects of life,"

Discussing the experience of Graus in Aragon, Leval concludes,

"One can say that in general the standard of living rose from 50 to 100 per cent in a few months, that the productive capital increased in an astonishing manner during a war and when a part of the labour force, mainly the youngest and most active, was at the Front. The miracle was made possible not only because the work was carried out with a collective enthusiasm that was praiseworthy, but also thanks to economy in the use of labour and the means of production. One must bear in mind that some 40 per cent of the population had previously been engaged in commerce, and realise that a better distribution of activities made it possible there, as elsewhere, to free a labour force until then virtually parasitic and employ it on work which benefited everybody."

Leval concludes his book with some general reflections, in a section called Parties and Government. A chapter discusses "Political Collaboration", and the collaboration referred to is that of several militants of the CNT and the FAI, first in the Catalan government or Generalitat and subsequently in the central government. He regards this collaboration as having been totally useless and adds that "The only constructive, valid, important achievement during the Civil War was in fact that of the Revolution, on the fringe of power. The industrial collectivisation, the socialisation of agriculture, the syndicalisations of social services, all that, which made it possible to hold out for

nearly three years and without which Franco would have triumphed in a matter of weeks, was the achievement of those who created, organised without concerning themselves with ministers and ministries." An important chapter on the Internal Counter-Revolution describes the systematic sabotage and ultimate destruction of the collectives, not by the Fascists but by the Communist Party, and in his Epilogue Leval attempts some final reflections. A whole book could be written about the first of these, which is about the nature and effectiveness of revolutionary activism and the extent to which it invites the "preventive counter-revolution" of fascism. Next he turns to the many-sidedness of the Spanish Revolution and its "surprisingly diversified federalism".

"In a very short time, in the agrarian regions and especially in Aragon, a new organism appeared: The Collective. Nobody had spoken about it before. The three instruments of social reconstruction foreseen among those libertarians who had expressed themselves on a possible future were firstly the syndicate, then the Co-operative, which did not win many supporters, and finally, on a rather large scale, the commune, or communal organisation. Some foreshadowed - and this writer was among them - that a new and complementary organism could and should appear, especially in the countryside, seeing that the syndicate had not assumed the importance it had in the towns, and the kind of life, of work and production, did not fit into an organic monolithic structure which was contrary to the multifariousness of daily life."

He elaborates on the difference in the characteristics of the collective and those of either the syndicate or the commune, and on two further deep impressions remaining with him from the Spanish experience. One is that of a different concept of liberty. When he travelled around asking questions, people "did not speak of 'liberty' as though they were libertarians, but, and they did so with deep joy, of the results of their work, experiments, and research on which they were engaged, on the increase in production. No, they were no longer thinking of liberty in the way workers in capitalist factories or day workers on the land of the owner-employer think". The other impression was to do with the nature of initiative. "The theoreticians and partisans of the liberal economy affirm that competition stimulates initiative and, consequently, the creative spirit and invention without which it remains dormant. Numerous observations made by the writer in the collectives, factories and socialised workshops permit him to take quite the opposite view."

Leval makes some telling comparisons between the economic effects of the Russian and Spanish revolutions, and then considers the failures of the latter. "It is true," he says, "that no social - nor even political - revolution has ever been prepared beforehand in every detail so far as the positive achievements are concerned and we can in the circumstances feel proud of the bases that were established before 1936. Nevertheless we have the right and even the duty to judge ourselves with severity, and to recognise our weaknesses, our errors or failings. We would have been more successful if our movement had done more towards that economic and technical preparation. That others did much less or nothing at all and still do not in this age when so many intellectuals, lacking intelligence and with utter irresponsibility, publicly lay claim to a revolution about which they haven't the slightest constructive thought, does nothing to help. Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin, the greatest theoreticians of libertarian socialism, always recommended, especially Proudhon and Bakunin, that this preparation of revolutionary construction should be as advanced as possible. This was in violent contrast to the inexplicable Marxist incomprehension, as evidenced not only in the writings of Marx, but also of Kautsky and even Rosa Luxemburg, which always, in the name of so-called 'scientific' socialism, combated all anticipation concerning the post-revolutionary society. One can now see where it has led those countries euphemistically called 'popular democracies'."

His book is full of this kind of provocative challenge to contemporary anarchist thinking, it is rich in detail of the achievements he witnessed, and warm in his affection and respect for the people who accomplished so much in so short a time.

Colin Ward.

You Can't Beat the System....

IN THE TRAVEL section of the New York Times (January 27, 1974) an article by Michael S. Lasky described the trials and tribulations of the hotel owners' industry. The article is entitled "ONE IN THREE is a towel thief, bible pincher, or worse", and is illustrated with an amusing cartoon depicting guests absconding with towels, bedclothes, television sets, mirrors, dishes, and the like. The article says that the hotel owners are reluctant to discuss their countermeasures for protecting their property - such as riveting lamps onto tables, putting chains and alarms on TV sets, and posting hall and corridor patrols.

The greatest losses are caused by ordinary guests (the impulse thieves). For example a first-rate hotel in New York, near Central Park, replaced some 2,100 towels a month, while another hotel a few blocks away replaced 1,800 towels. The family travellers are the biggest problem. The new Lake Buena Vista Hotel near Disneyland in Florida suffers a tremendous loss in towels, bedsheets and bedspreads, pillowcases, and the like. Though exact figures are difficult to obtain, hotels and motels throughout the USA estimate a loss of around 500 million dollars a year.

The "ONE IN THREE" knows that his thefts raise the price of rooms for himself and others, but "We feel that we must take something for ourselves to get our money's worth". These words are repeated again and again. "Down the road we can get the same kind of room for much less. Besides, everybody's doing it." To vent his anger the culprit hits back by stealing.

For all its shortcomings, unlike the munitions industry, the hotel industry does at least perform a useful social function. But more and more people can see with what impunity the industrialist, the politician, the merchant and their ilk can legally get away with things. Lasky quotes Dr. David Greenberg, sociologist, and Dr. Henry Foster, professor of law at New York University, who talk about "victimless crimes". They put these well-heeled hotel guests in the same category as the gangs of youths who prowl the slums in which they live, breaking park benches and other equipment, stealing and tearing books taken from the lending library, and so on.

Some sentimentalists view every act against what they call "the establishment" as revolutionary, a kind of revenge. Lasky relates an incident pertaining to professional burglars, with whom hotel owners also have to contend: "A young man came to the motel and reserved a block of rooms for an alleged wedding party. On the appointed day, he came dressed in a formal suit and conned the clerk into giving him the keys to the rooms, saying he was meeting the guests to take them directly to their rooms. Afterwards he brazenly drove

his car up to the motel, opened the room rooms, and stole 37 colour TV sets. This stunt was repeated again and again within a radius of 50 miles before he was finally caught."

Since ingenuity and daring are admirable human traits, this confuses our sentimentalists still further. The young thief becomes a sort of folk hero. The more sophisticated rationalize that he supplies the black market. The poor man in the streets, if he learns where to go, can now buy a colour TV set which he could never afford otherwise.

We are not trying to belittle the efforts of the social scientists and scholars who try to analyse the evils of our society. But whether they put the emphasis on the individual or on the corporate conglomerates, they seem to attack (with rare exceptions) the symptoms and not the false ethic of our society, which is based on exploitation and profit. Their findings, which they hope will expedite the passage of still more laws to ameliorate the evils, are a kind of hypocritical moralizing, ignoring that a society based on exploitation makes us all (consumers and pro-

ducers) thieves.

For example, the little honest housewife (who unlike the well-heeled guest in Lasky's article brazenly displays her stolen trophies in her sumptuous home), goes to the beautiful department store to buy her towels, sheets and bedspreads with her husband's hard-earned wages. When she gets home she may find a tag on her purchases marked "Made in Taiwan" (or Korea or Hong Kong or other places where the conditions of labour are appalling and the wages very low). Furthermore, these commodities successfully compete with American-made products and undermine jobs and wages for workers here.

One need not travel so far across the oceans, for behind the affluent high-rise buildings, behind the glamorous facades, in almost every city and in the countryside, there are the sweatshops, largely ignored by the business agents and officials of the class-collaborationist business unions that disgrace the labour movement. Only sporadic, half-hearted attempts are made to organize these most exploited workers. The unions, counting in dollars and cents the cost of organizing such workers, conclude that it does not pay to bother with them.

Continued on Page 16

BOOKSHOP NOTES

This fortnight's "notes" is devoted mainly to reprints and reprints from Anarchist and Libertarian Journals available - bound volumes, selections and so on.

Pride of place must go - of course - to the ten bound volumes of the First Series of Anarchy (1961-1970) - all 118 issues bound in full leather, a vast resource for the student and/or activist alike, of that pioneering libertarian magazine. (£ 45.00 for the set inclusive of registered post). Has your library got one?

Also available still are 12 of the 14 volumes in the Selected Articles from Freedom series, published annually between 1951 and 1964; these contain articles, reviews, etc. especially selected for their perennial topicality and relevance, and must now be considered quite a bargain @ £ 0.38 (15 p. post) each in paperback and £ 0.53 (27 p. post) each in hardback; or £ 3.60 the set in paperback, £ 5.50 the set in hardback - post free. Volumes 1 & 3 of this series are out of print in hardback and paperback, and volume 12 is out of print in hardback; hence the slight reductions on the set prices.

Just in is the bound volume of Freethinker for 1974 - in hardback at £ 2.95 (37 p.) - we also have the 1973 volume in stock at the same price and postage.

Tom Mann's Industrial Syndicalist has just been issued complete in a facsimile edition in paperback by Spokesman Books. Tom Mann published 11 issues of this magazine during 1910-11 at one penny each, and they are all contained in this volume together with an introduction by Geoff Brown, for £ 1.75 (17 p. post).

Cienfuegos Press have recently issued An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries from the magazine, MAN, edited by Marcus Graham from 1932-40, containing a wealth of material by E. Armand, Bakunin, Voltairine de Cleyre, Emerson, Faure, Kropot-

kin, Labadie, Malatesta, Proudhon, Pierre Ramus, Tucker and many others. This anthology has been edited by Graham himself and is available in paperback at £ 3.25 (27 p. post).

Next some new books:- Alexander Herzen's memoirs, My Past & Thoughts, edited and abridged by Dwight MacDonald at £ 4.75 (48 p. post) Amnesty International have just published in one volume, Numbers 28-31 of A Chronicle of Current Events, a journal of the Human Rights movement in Soviet Russia, £ 0.95 (13 p.)

Despite Collier-Macmillan's embargo on small bookshops, we have managed to obtain recently some copies of Maximoff's Political Philosophy of Bakunin. £ 2.00 (27 p.) The new issue - number 3 - of Interrogations - the international review of anarchist research is available, including an article by Sam Dolgoff on Labour Bureaucracy and Wildcat Strikes. £ 0.95 (13 p. post).

We have, at last, been able to obtain some of the Times Change Press titles, of especial importance are two titles at present in stock, Murray Bookchin's "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", £ 0.60 (8 p. post) and "Hip Culture: Six essays on its revolutionary potential" including again a contribution from Bookchin. £ 0.60 (8 p. post).

Saving, hopefully, the best till last, we have, of course, Freedom Press's new title, Gaston Leval's Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, translated by Vernon Richards and never before available in English; at the time of writing (18.6.75) we have only the paperback edition in stock from the binders at £ 2.00 (37 p. post), but we expect the hardback edition, £ 4.00 (37 p. post) shortly and it should be available by the time this "notes" appears in print. This is by far the most important study of this very important and often cynically neglected part of twentieth century history to appear to date in my view. Orders - for both editions - please.

J.H.

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THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

THE MOTTO of the American weekly magazine, WIN, is "Peace and freedom thru non-violent action", and this gives a fair indication of its position, viz. anti-militarism, gay and women's liberation, alternative culture and information. While it is not overtly anarchist it is sympathetic to anarchism, as is evidenced by its May 15th issue, which has a picture of Bakunin looking startled on the front cover, an article by Murray Bookchin on the genesis of "propaganda by the deed" (an excerpt from his book on the heroic period of Spanish anarchism, to be published next year), "The IWW rolls on" by Craig Ledford, and a very interesting article by Mildred Loomis on "America's decentralist dean", Ralph Borsodi.

ORGANIC BORSODI

Borsodi was years ahead of his time in rejecting the main line of development of American capitalism, relentless urbanization and mechanization, in favour of "homesteading and decentralisation". He came to these opinions through his life experiences, firstly in advertising, the bad side of which he exposed in his book, "National Advertising vs. Prosperity" and then in putting through a big land deal for his father, which made him doubt the morality of the whole property/rent basis of his society. Like Tolstoy he came under the influence of the ideas of Henry George (but via his friend, Bolton Hall). From then on he experimented with, and wrote about, the possibilities of self-sufficiency in food, homesteading, organic farming, community farming, "economics where people matter", stable currency, and so on. Borsodi is over 90 but still going strong in America. There is no doubt that the many books he has written over the years will be of interest to all proponents of alternative economy in this country.

ANARCHIC MARX?

Borsodi's anarchism (he would probably not recognise it as such) stands at the opposite pole to that of the European tradition, in its pragmatic basis and unconcern for ideology. It in no way could be thought of as arising from a debate between Marxism and Bakuninism. That debate, however, is still a concern of contemporary European anarchists. The recent public-

ation in France of a book by an arch-stalinist comparing the two nineteenth century revolutionaries in a light somewhat unfavourable to Bakunin, aroused furious replies in the French anarchist press, notably in "Le Monde Libertaire" and "Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire". A more detached review of the book by Marianne Enckell appeared in the first number of "Interrogations". One of the more salient features of it was a call for an end to the sterile debate between rigid adherents of Marx and Bakunin, and for a recognition of the useful parts of their respective analyses of nineteenth century society.

This lessening of hostility to Marx (not to Marxism) pops up again in the latest bulletin from CIRA (International Centre for Research into Anarchism, Geneva), in a review by Bruno Bongiovanni of a book by Maximilien Rubel, called "Marx, critique du Marxisme." Rubel is a well known Marx scholar, and this latest book of his contains an article entitled, "Marx, the theoretician of anarchism". His basis for this interpretation of the Big Daddy of all the Leninist parties is the notorious "early writings" of Marx, which were not published until this century, and over which controversy between Marxologists and party ideologues as to how they fit into the canon still rages.

According to Bongiovanni's review, Rubel sees the anarchist dimension of Marx's thought in his early elaboration of the concept of political (not economic) alienation, which demands the immediate destruction of the state, with no transitional period. The problem for the Marxologists and the ideologues is whether to say that there is a continuity between Marx's early writings and those writings of his which were available in the nineteenth century (on the interpretation of which the edifice of "marxism" has been built), or whether there is a radical break between them. There is certainly a case to be made for the idea that "marxism" should be renamed "engelsism", as many of the early "marxists" based their theories on Engels's interpretations of Marx which were heavily biased by his determinist/Darwinian/evolutionary/"progressivist" formulations.

In his review Bongiovanni criticises Rubel for not seeing that the later developments of "marxism" turned it into a "Theory of Capitalist Development" (as Sweezy's 1942 book was called), which could be used as an instrument for the development of productive forces and the increase of the power of the state, which we have seen only too well in the U.S.S.R. The question is whether anarchists can still make use of Marx's early writings as a part of their critique of present-day society, or whether the transformations in social conditions since the 1840s have thrown his concepts out of court.

(For a more jaundiced anarchist view of Marx one could do no better than read Max Nomad's article on "Karl Marx - anti-bourgeois or neo-bourgeois" reprinted in the February and March 1975 issues of the Sydney Libertarians' "Broad-sheet". Nomad argues against Marx from what seems to be a fairly close knowledge of the texts, and is quite a zappy writer.)

This latest CIRA bulletin (no.29) has changed from being a duplicated foolscap affair to photolithoed pamphlet size. It still retains its basic function of listing the latest acquisitions to the CIRA library, but more and more of its space is being devoted to reviews of books of interest to anarchists, and surveys of anarchist publishing all over the world. The problem is that it is in five languages, something of a problem for the non-linguist. Probably this is not a disadvantage in the CIRA bulletin as it is, presumably, aimed at the more scholarly among anarchists, but it is a problem with "Interrogations", and one that the editors themselves recognise in the latest issue: "One of the weaknesses of the review is that it is in four languages, which is another reason why the good texts should be translated without delay and distributed in brochure form, in those areas where anarchist thought comes up against the big propaganda machinery."

This would indeed be useful with the latest issue as it contains two articles of immediate interest, one on the Argentinian guerrillas, which reveals the right-wing, neo-fascist background to the Monteneros, who hit the headlines so dramatically the other week, another one explaining the background to the political scene in Italy, the resurgence of the Communists and the cynical use of the "fascist menace" by all the parties. The first article is in Spanish and the second in Italian. There is another interesting one on Chile, by Santiago Parane, in French, explaining that it was the internal contradictions in the Allende government that brought them down, even if the military coup was prepared with extensive aid from the CIA (the latest, March/April, issue of Liberation, the American libertarian magazine gives a good coverage of the CIA's involvement in Chile), one in Spanish on immigrant workers in Europe, and, at last, an article in English by Sam Dolgoff on American workers' revolt against their bureaucratic unions.

The magazine does at last seem to be following its own editorial line of only publishing articles on contemporary themes, but it is difficult to think of who, in England at least, has the facilities for quick translation and speedy publishing of 30 or 40 page articles. It would be a good thing if the anarchist press produced more contemporary pamphlets rather than reprints of the classics, but how many people are really interested?

THE SYSTEM... cont'd from Page 15

Our little honest housewife, on her way home from the department store with her purchases, steps into the supermarket to buy things for supper for her family. But according to a review by Gerald Gold of a book by William Robbins, The Great American Food Scandal (New York Times, 23rd February, 1974), our honest housewife is entering "a minefield sown with greed, immorality, and illegality... If you have been wondering about basic reasons behind high prices, tasteless tomatoes, chemically loaded foods, then be prepared to be enraged after you read this book...".

But the author of this carefully documented work does not seem to ascribe these atrocities to the profit system. Gold writes that "Gigantism in Mr. Robbins' well documented view lies at the root of many evils that he finds rampant in the food industry... Giant conglomerates that run huge monopolistic parts of the growing industry. Huge processors have brainwashed the Americans into desiring foods that have noth-

ing to do with quality or price... Huge expensive advertising raising the price of food... Government-assisted land-grabbing in the West permitting monopolies of some products..."

Unless some good men and true face up to the fact that our society is destructive and must be changed in the direction of co-operation and respect for life and the resources of the world, this planet may very well spin in space lifeless and desolate sooner than we know. When the scientists realize that there can be no patching up of the system, they will no longer expect the Government to remedy social evils through the enactment of still more laws. Their investigations will then take a new direction. They will discover the voluntary organizations, the revolutionary unions and co-operatives now struggling under great hardship against assaults from within and without by the exploitive institutions destructive of human values. If they cannot do this they are of no real value to the workers.

E. J. D.

D.L.M.