

FREEDOM

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TWO-HEADED MONSTER

THE ANNUAL Labour Party circus once more draws to a close with the usual round of "victories" being claimed by either the moderates or the left wing, in their eternal struggle for power within the party.

The scenario for this division was set on the eve of the conference by the appearance of the Social Democratic Alliance, featuring that well-known "extreme moderate" Reginald Prentice. In a document entitled "East Wind over Blackpool" the gist of what these so-called moderates are saying is that a certain section of the party Executive have more in common with the British Communist Party and those who raided Czechoslovakia than with the democratic and anti-communist traditions of either Gaitskell or Bevan. Strong words indeed, but further analysis would prove that not only is this incorrect but irrelevant anyway. Considering the already precarious nature of Mr. Prentice's political future, in forcing H. Wilson to take a stand against these extremists he is showing great naivety, for as one ministerial source stated, "The Alliance document will be highly embarrassing to the Prime Minister in his efforts to rescue Mr. Prentice in his constituency crisis." Also the fact remains that while Wilson has the support of both Jack Jones and Michael Foot he has nothing to fear from and, to the disappointment of Reginald, need not act against the left wing. Wilson's far too shrewd in these matters.



"POOR HAROLD RUINED THE WHOLE BLOODY CONFERENCE BY FORGETTING THE WORDS OF THE RED FLAG."

From this moment on the conference was portrayed as left against centre, culminating in the "holier than thou" set-to of Mikardo and Jones. The fact that they are both supposed to be left-wing makes the whole thing a sick joke. Mikardo was one of the people singled out for his undesirable connections with the Communists. The truth is that Ian Mikardo hates communism, happens to be an unapologetic Zionist and his relationship to the Communist Bloc happens to be one of a profitable nature. He runs an import-export engineering firm. Mr. Jones' cross is even bigger, for when unemployment rises and real wages and living standards fall, he will have to negotiate continued support for the social contract.

Furthermore the fact that Tony Benn emerged from this conference as both a spokesman for party unity and as the strongest critic of government policy, makes one wonder if they actually listen to the speeches they so vigorously applaud. He even managed in his own in-

imitable way to criticize the Prime Minister personally; for while it is his turn to be the guardian of the principles of the left, he also fancies being Number One.

The main point to be gleaned from all this inter-party wrangling, however, is that the real power lies elsewhere. For example, the replacement of Healey with Heffer (yet another left-winger) on the Executive means that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is removed from party policy making yet remains a key government (i.e. Cabinet) policy maker. Real power no longer resides with the party Executive or the party conference (as Wilson pointed out even before the conference had ended; White Papers, not party conferences, commit the government). The real power lies with the bosses of industry (cf. Wilson's 1964-70 diaries) on the one hand and the Trade Unions on the other. The fact that the Unions will accept wage restraints from a Labour government on the one hand, yet fight it tooth and nail from a Tory government on the other, is a shameful indictment.

This Labour conference has shown, and doubtless the Tory one will do the same, that they are merely political show pieces concocted for media and public entertainment -- the real power lies elsewhere. The sooner we realize this and act accordingly, the sooner we will be able to effect real social change.

Francis A. Wright.

OLD BAILEY THEATRE

PERFORMANCE COMMENCES
10.15 EACH DAY

FOR FREE entertainment nothing can rival courtrooms, unless it be markets or auction rooms. Not having been inside a court since the Census was last taken I had forgotten the drama. And not having been in the Old Bailey since the days of frequent Committee of 100 appearances by 'leading' figures, I had never been aware of the security precautions. Selling Peace News and FREEDOM outside I was told to 'move on'. Holding the banners opposite the new building's main entrance, we were ordered away up by the locked public toilets! Out of sight, out of hearing. Then I was carefully frisked for guns/weapons before being allowed up to Court 13 for the fixture between the Crown and The People. (For each time the court usher shouts 'God Save the Queen' the fourteen pacifists and anarchists speak out loud and clear--God Save the People!)

But who are these people? Why are there more of them than sit on the jury? What is their crime? Where are they from?

They are all supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign and there are 14 in the dock because they have been charged with "Conspiracy -- to endeavour to seduce

any member of Her Majesty's forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty -- under section I of the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934." There are 14 because the Establishment wants to crush their campaign (not conspiracy) to tell troops of their rights and possibilities of freedom! They come from Liverpool : Nottingham : Cardiff : Luton : Birmingham : London, some never having met each other before. Since Pat Arrowsmith's case for a similar act of leafletting troops, there are several thousand people involved. Over seven hundred people have signed the complicity statement, WE TOC, which states:

"I support the right of all people to communicate with each other, including the right of civilians to communicate with soldiers, and the right of soldiers to communicate with civilians and obtain information from them and each other.

"I support the right of soldiers to basic terms of employment like any other worker, particularly the right to terminate such employment, and the right to organise among themselves to obtain these rights.

"I oppose the use of conspiracy charges to obtain sentences which would not be possible under the laws alleged to have been broken by the conspiracy.

"I do not know whether the 14 defendants charged under the Incitement to Disaf-

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OLD BAILEY

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fection Act broke the law, but in my opinion the leaflet which they distributed and which I have in my possession is not an incitement to soldiers to disaffect: and even if it is seen that way by the courts, I believe the information it contains should be circulated to soldiers, and I intend to distribute the leaflet."

I hope that readers will feel free to both sign and duplicate this and also send for Defence Campaign leaflets/badge badges/posters for flyposting, and to attend the Old Bailey. The State has moved in on one of its most sensitive areas -- communication with troops. For if the soldiers begin to think, where will it end? But whereas the D.P.P.'s (Director of Public Prosecution) department had thought by holding back the trial for 12 months would see the support for the 14 wither away: it has grown and grown, largely due to a few people's very hard work. But this Old Bailey trial is only one of many 'Conspiracy' charges. For conspiracy is the most beloved of 'blanket' laws.

This is what the NCCL pamphlet* Whose Conspiracy? has to say:

"A conspiracy charge is often much easier for the police to prove because no evidence linking the defendant with the actual commission of the crime is necessary. It is sufficient if his/her lifestyle, his/her habits and associates, and his/her activities before or after the offence warrant an

*50p from NCCL 186 Kings X Rd. WC1

inference that he/she agreed to participate somewhere along the line."

This gives the background to the current craze for such loveable law!

But this is not an isolated political case: there are at present cases pending against:

Andrew Lloyd "in possession of leaflet" up in Preston, Lancashire,
Alix Otten "for attempt to incite incitement" in Manchester,
John Hyatt* and Gwyn Williams charged with aiding and abetting AWOL soldiers,
Bill Hetherington* charged with 'attempting to seduce member of Armed Forces'. ("I have never tried, let alone succeeded, in seducing anyone.").
Four students in Scotland (including the President of the Scottish N. U. S.) for leafletting troops.

All these cases concern the leaflet SOME INFORMATION FOR DISCONTENTED SOLDIERS.

"I plead for peace against war, love in a world of hate, free speech for all; and an end to politically motivated trials in this country."

--Michael Wescott (one of the 14).

"I will have to have a medical report on you, if you're not careful."

-- Judge McKinnon.

And these cases give no indication of the numbers of people who are at this moment involved in the BWNIC activities. Because with every post there come letters asking for leaflets, posters, etcetera.

However each individual that commits him/herself to this campaign strengthens individual rights; and makes it

*members of the 14

more likely that less people will get charged with anything. (However I hope that no one will be put off by the thought of possible police action -- it always exists, and in this sensitive area of individual rights for soldiers is an indication of the State's power.) But it also reveals the weakness since individual soldiers do think about the war in N. Ireland. They do go AWOL

"I'm going to ask the Duke of Edinburgh for his fuckin' helicopter. . .

And don't forget the Queen has periods like everyone else."

--Woman in cafe opposite Old Bailey.

--supposedly 27 each week on average-- and this political campaign could only make the authorities feel something had to be done. Even though it is probable that few if any of these soldiers "took off" as a result of the "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" leaflet. But this could well happen as and when soldiers get the message that they are being used by their Queen for duties no less colonial than before -- except that these military policies are more in the nature of a training ground in "riot control": civilian policing: urban warfare: and generally harassing and intimidating any movement for freedom and civil liberties.

This campaign seems to me to be the most important to arise since the marches and civil disobedience movements of the Committee of 100. It meets the armed forces in a more personal way than before. And it is making individuals within the army aware that they do have rights of conscientious objection and resistance to unjust laws.

Contact: Defend the 14 Campaign,
Box-39, 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1. (tel. 01-337 9794).

Dennis Gould.

CIVIL WAR OF DOGMAS OR REVOLUTION?

What can a Portuguese anarchist just returned from a thirty-days' visit to his native country say about the situation in Portugal?

Very little except that our Portuguese comrades, conscious and organised anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists, are not yet a social and revolutionary force to be reckoned with and that we should not be led into believing, listening to or reading countless and contradictory accounts from foreign eye-witnesses recently returned from political holidays in Portugal, that our Social Revolution is just around the corner in Lisbon or Oporto, regions

PORTUGAL

where a formidable but ideologically confused opposition exists against the social-democratic government of General Azevedo.

One should not forget that Portugal is a country with a large rural population made up of 80% Catholics; 40% illiterate, superstitious and sexually oppressed people, (this sexual chauvinism equally exists among so-called Revolutionary forces of the left), poor and easily manipulated by the Portuguese church and right wing parties in



periods of economic and political crisis.

Only Lisbon and Oporto have to a certain degree a considerable population of industrial and white collar workers and it is in this section of the population that the left wing parties and anarchists have some influence. The temporary presence of these elements in a conscript army is the basis of today's agitation in the barracks of Lisbon and Oporto, which is making it impossible for the government and the moderate generals to implement their reformist socialist policies, which according to the Socialist Party and the Portuguese Popular Democratic Party (PPD) would enable them to cut down unemployment (about one-third of the workforce plus half-a-million refugees from Angola = one million people) and reflate the economy with Western and Eastern aid.

Today's "anarchistic" situation in Portugal is the result of a concerted campaign by the minority forces of the authoritarian left to stop the Socialist sixth government gaining political control of the army, Trade Unions (with the help of Maoists and anarchists who are voting the Communists out), Press, TV, municipalities, etc. . .

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and restore "democratic" law and order in the country. But, whether we like it or not, this seems to be what the vast majority of the population really wants.

But who are these forces of the left which oppose in the army and in the streets the attempts by the Social Democrats to take power in Portugal? They are Trotskyists, Maoists (with the exception of the MRPP), uncontrollable members of the PCP (Communist Party), and probably some autonomous anarchists too. These groups are armed and they control one radio station (Radio Clube Portugues), one daily paper (A Republica), and also some apparently autonomous working class organisations in Lisbon and Oporto that they use in mass demos to give credibility to their claims that the Portuguese workers are in a revolutionary mood. They are united in a so-called Revolutionary Front (FUR) but the cracks are already appearing for this unity was a defensive unity, called for in the middle of last August in a period in which reactionary forces were on the offensive against the PCP and other left-wing groups. The influence that this front has in the barracks is considerable -- SUV (United Soldiers will Win) and they did manage to enlist into their ranks industrial and agricultural workers in Southern Portugal. As often as is necessary these workers are paraded symbolically in helmets and overalls through the streets of Lisbon, chanting prefabricated slogans, to return later in the evenings to their homes and factories and hoping that the leadership will manage to cook a revolution the following week.

But among this political confusion the most significant factor is that these leaders had to adopt and use libertarian slogans in order to catch the eye of an increasingly cynical working class, which is getting more and more disillusioned with political parties and politics and this business of the Socialist Revolution. As the political parties struggle for power the working population is learning fast, disassociating itself in many genuine cases of working class autonomy, from vanguardist concepts of politics, in order to adopt more realistic and potentially revolutionary attitudes which relate to their daily lives at home, in the neighbourhood, in the factories and in the fields. The demystification of Marxist politics is necessary before the authoritarian left or the extreme right plunges Portugal into a reactionary and counter-revolutionary civil war (not to be confused with a social revolution). We are anarchists, are not supporters of social democracies, but we believe that the freedom and the ground gained by the Portuguese workers must be defended and preserved now and not put in jeopardy by a bunch of political cowboys of the left who are already riding on the backs of the Portuguese working class in their attempts to take power from the Social Democrats. I am sorry to appear defeatist and disappoint those who sincerely believe that a Revolution is possibly taking place in Portugal. We need time to organise alongside our Spanish comrades and then together press for a Social Revolution in the Iberian Peninsula.

Claude.

SPEARHEAD

NOT SURPRISINGLY, some of the "populist" leaders of the National Front wish to take advantage of the growing crisis of capitalism in this country. They hope to increase the size and influence of the Front by improving its image. Naturally, people like John Tyndall are something of an embarrassment to them.

They, like many opponents of the NF, consider Tyndall and, to a lesser degree Martin Webster, to still be a Nazi. Rather unconvincingly, Tyndall and Webster shrug such accusations off by claiming that their association with Colin Jordan and the former National Socialist Movement were due to indiscretions of youth. They have changed. But have they?

Tyndall is editor of Spearhead, and Webster is the assistant editor. This writer does not intend to quote from issues of, say, seven, six or even two years ago. Very recent issues will suffice to prove that Tyndall has not really changed - he is just slightly more sophisticated and careful. At times! But, every so often, the mask slips.

Take, for example, the July, 1975 issue of Spearhead. On the back page there is an article entitled "Moneylenders über alles" (note the German phrase), which is an attack on the "moneylenders" who, according to Tyndall, rule Britain today. In this article, unlike in others in the past, the writer does not actually mention the Jews. But at the top of the page there is a cartoon showing Conservative, Liberal and Labour politicians licking the shoes of a top-hatted, whip-in-hand- and moneybag-in-the-other, caricature of a Jew (the nose is curved and large). The cartoon is not, however, an original. The Lib-

CITY'S RUSSIAN GOLD

ACCORDING TO "Gold Coins", a publication from the Swiss Bank Corporation, the Russian government's Treasury gave orders in 1923 (!) in a mixture of Capitalism and Revolutionary dialectics, for an unknown quantity of gold coins to be minted under the name of Chervonetz (specifications: 8.6026 gr. 900/1000 fine, diameter 22½ mm) depicting a Sower, and on the other side of the coin a Hammer and Sickle.

Those who think that they can still profit from the Bolshevik Revolution are advised by the Swiss Bank Corporation to purchase Chervonetzes as an investment, for these coins are changing hands at the trading value of 170 Swiss Francs (approximately £31) each. We can only comment by shouting--LONG LIVE THE PROFITABLE GOLDEN REVOLUTION!

Claude.

eral politician is, in fact, Lloyd George! And the cartoon actually first appeared before the last war in The Fascist, founded in 1928 by a certain Arnold Spencer Leese, who was leader of the Imperial Fascist League -- probably the most fanatical anti-Jewish Fascist organisation ever to exist. Tyndall and Webster, through Leese and his widow, and then the National Socialist Movement, are of course in a direct line of descent from the Imperial Fascist League. In the early sixties, their then publication, The National Socialist, reprinted the cartoon. No doubt, in a year or so, Tyndall will again reprint this revolting cartoon.

But that is not all.

We come even further up to date with the September issue of Spearhead. And again we have to look at the back page. It contains a rather obstruse article entitled "How FBI 'Cointelpro' disrupted Right Wing", and is reprinted from The Thunderbolt, published in Marietta, Georgia, USA. This is not the first time that items have been reprinted from The Thunderbolt in Spearhead. Having read Spearhead for about eight years, this writer would say that Tyndall appears to be rather keen on The Thunderbolt. So, who publishes the paper? And what are its views?

The Thunderbolt is published, presumably owned, by one Edward R. Fields, who is director of the National States Rights Party of America. Indeed, the article in Spearhead mentions "the NSRP", though Tyndall does not explain to Spearhead readers what these initials stand for. Moreover, rather coyly, the article also mentions "the Klan", again without any explanation. So, what is the NSRP? Well, we have already given the game way in the previous sentence! It claims to be America's third largest party. What, in fact, the NSRP is, is the up-dated version of the old Ku Klux Klan, and after that, the White Citizens' Councils. It is anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-Trades Union and unashamedly pro-Nazi, as is The Thunderbolt. It also considers Negroes to be sub-human.

This writer has a copy of The Thunderbolt in front of him as he types this article. A list of some of the publications offered by The Thunderbolt Inc. is worth mentioning: "Lord Haw Haw, story of William Joyce. He broadcasted for the Germans during World War II. Book details many of his warnings to the world of the coming dangers of Communism"; then, of course, there is The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion; the International Jew by Henry Ford, The Jews by Hilaire Belloc and, from the pen of Tyndall's old friend and mentor, The Gentile Folly: The Rothschilds, by Arnold Leese.

No wonder some of the "moderates" and "populists" within the National Front leadership find Tyndall and Webster an embarrassment! After all, they are merely extreme right-wing racists -- not Klan-loving Nazis. With "racial-comrades" like Tyndall, who would want enemies?

P.

VIVA LA MUERTE!

IN CONTRAST with the long trials that are the lot of revolutionaries in this country (e.g. "Angry Brigade", trial, current BWNIC trial) and the other "democracies" (Baader-Meinhof-Esslin-Raspe in W. Germany, Valpreda and Marini in Italy) the procedure in Spain is a very swift one. All political crimes are classified as "military rebellion" in the Spanish juridical code, and the accused are arraigned before military tribunals in what are called "sumarissimo" (very summary) proceedings. The whole process can last less than four or five hours.

It's only after the prosecutor has presented his case (usually based on a police file, which itself is customarily made up of confessions extracted by torture*, and which is nearly always accepted as truth even if it is questioned by the defence) and demanded the appropriate sentences, that the accused are granted a defence lawyer, who is usually a military officer. They are then allowed a few hours to prepare a defence.

This was the case with Juan Paredes Manot, one of the ETA militants executed last week. His alibi was that he was in Perpignan at the time of the raid on the Banco di Santander in which a policeman was killed. The only evidence against him was uncertain and contradictory identification by two employees of the bank, who only came forward a month after the robbery. No evidence (except that of policemen) was brought to identify him as the one who shot the police sergeant.

However, under the new anti-terrorism law of 26 August, the death sentence must be handed out to anyone convicted of the death of a policeman, and so the five ETA and FRAP militants were executed in what was obviously an act of deterrence, rather than one of justice.

The Francoist regime have no scruples about making examples of people. Any notions of "liberalisation" can now be thrown out of the window (they were always only window-dressing in any case). What is more surprising is the reaction on the part of Western governments. There has not been such an amount of official outrage and indignation since the execution of Julian Grimau in 1963, and that was fuelled by the powerful international Communist propaganda-machine. At the time, incidentally, Grimau predicted he would be the last political offender to be executed by Franco. He was wrong. He was quickly followed by the two anarchists, Granados and Delgado, who were set-up for a bombing they did not commit. Their trial and execution took only a few days (possibly because the explosives they did have in their possession were probably intended for the Caudillo himself) and there was no

official protest, because no governments are going to intervene on behalf of anarchists.

Those nauseating rightists who shout "Hypocritical" at our "liberal" governments for protesting about the executions are correct. The defendants in the BWNIC trial face possible life sentences for their "conspiracy" to "attempt" to "seduce" the State's defence forces. There's little to choose between a life inside, in these days when prisons are becoming experiment-centres for the "correction" of "social deviancy", and execution.

Most likely the Pope intervened on behalf of the Basque nationalist guerrillas because they are good Catholics, and the West Europeans have blackballed Franco because of the acute embarrassment he causes them by his constant and indecent exposure of the obscene mechanisms of "State security".

There was little official outrage at the garotting of Puig Antich last year, and we have yet to read reports in the daily press of the almost regular imprisonment of libertarians and anarchists for "illicit association", "illegal propaganda" and "anarchist conspiracy".

All attempts by real opposition groups to organise themselves in Spain are deemed to be acts of "military rebellion", as if the whole country was part of a State army (the logical outcome of fascist corporativism, and also inherent in the appeals to the "Dunkirk spirit", the nostalgia for war-time, and many of the "solutions" to the "unemployment problem" which are a feature of public life in this country today) and the people accused of this "military rebellion" are naturally tried before military courts.



ARTHUR MOYSE

REPRESSION

Recently three libertarians, Ramon Camian Sanchis, Juan Jorge Vinyoles Vidal and Georgina Nicola Milla, have each been sentenced to four years in prison for the offences of "illicit association", etc. and they, together with seven others are awaiting a further trial on charges of having belonged to a "Libertarian Students' Collective" of Catalonia, and to the CNT, for which the prosecution has demanded a total of FIVE HUNDRED years of imprisonment, one of the accused alone faces a sentence of 133 years.

By the time this trial comes to court, the Western governments will have forgotten their "anger" at Franco's actions. A notable absence from the international protest has been the United States, which has just concluded its agreement about military bases with Franco. The breakdown in the supply of reliable authoritarian governments in the Mediterranean area (Portugal, Greece, although Turkey seems to be in favour again) means that Spain is the only military base left to the Americans in the area. Kissinger's strategic plans come before "sentiment" in the American government, and money is thicker than blood to the Western Europeans. They have too much invested in Spanish industry to maintain an economic boycott for very long.

The only hope for a change in Spain is action from the Spanish people themselves and international active solidarity from all those who wish to see a real end to the corporate state-system, however it describes itself, everywhere.

D. L. M.

*For documentary evidence see the "Report of an Amnesty International mission to Spain", available from Amnesty International Publications, 53 Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8SP, for 35p + postage.

SWITZERLAND: FREEDOM of 21/6/75 carried an article referring to the left-wing militant Petra Krause, imprisoned in Zurich on charges of arson, weapon stealing and attacks on the Spanish consulate and ITT. She is also suspected of links with the Baader-Meinhof group and Red Brigades and/or NAPs (Proletarian action nuclei) which have been involved in prison rescue attempts in Italy.

The international left-wing medical aid organization Red Help and the Italian section of the International Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners have now issued separate statements on the hunger strike begun on 17 September by Petra Krause together with other prisoners. Transferred after 40 days from the Cantonal police barracks of Zurich to the town's district prison, Petra now weighs only 35 kilos, has serious eye and leg trouble and is allowed no medical care. She

INTERNATIONAL

has been in solitary confinement for over six months, is allowed only two hours fresh air per week and can see her son (and only her son) for half an hour twice a week in the presence of police officers. Her Italian lawyer, Domenico Contestabile, has been denied access.

Petra Krause has herself issued a statement giving three reasons for her hunger strike. These are (a) to show solidarity with the prisoners condemned to death in Spain (b) to establish a people's commission of enquiry into prison conditions in the cantonal police barracks prison and (c) to abolish solitary confinement, "a real form of torture", in Swiss prisons. Her appeal to all "progressive Swiss women and men" gives a detailed description of the degrading treatment of prisoners shut up in the barracks cells. Not without a certain dry sense of humour, Petra urges Herr Schlepfer, the political police chief in Zurich, and his wife, to spend 10 days in one of the underground cells under the same conditions to which real prisoners are subjected, with the exception that Schlepfer would be allowed to take with him the Argentinian flag "now decorating his desk" and the recent speeches of Lopez Rega and Pinochet. She also urges that if the prisoners can't be found places in "normal" prisons - or if these do not exist - they should be provisionally housed in the big capitalist hotels of Zurich, presently at least half empty. In addition she claims to have proof of the Swiss federal police's complicity with the fascist police of Spain over the arrest of antifascist militants; and mentions the case of Elisabeth von Dyck, handed over without charges to the German police and now held in the same prison as Ralf Stein in Osendorf. . . It was here that a former prisoner almost died after eight months in solitary confinement and was then declared "unfit for detention".

Petra Krause's own state of health, as mentioned, is extremely grave. She has never fully recovered from the Nazi experiments carried out on her as a Jewish baby in Auschwitz (namely to see how much water a baby's stomach can hold) before being shipped off with a number of other babies to Sweden in exchange for a supply of steel, and thence, after the war, to a foundling hospital in Germany. In a desperate appeal for medical attention for his mother, whom he fears will die, her son, Marco Ognissanti, insists she is "not the bloody terrorist she is made out to be" and that the charges against her are false. She is, however, a staunch supporter of militant left-wing groups and a declared libertarian, and has played an active part in defence campaigns for political prisoners in Europe, especially West Germany.

BRITAIN: The Ireland v. Britain torture case will come up for further consideration at the European Commission on Human Rights between September 29 and October 10. Cases of in-depth interrogation and brutal treatment by security forces after arrest are now well-documented. Techniques of torture have included hooding, loud noise and sleep and sensory deprivation with their long-term after-effects of anxiety, hysteria and hypochondria; while "some artificially induced psychoses, for instance those produced by drugs like LSD or mescaline, have in fact proved permanent" (Parker report). There is also growing evidence of an increase in brutal treatment by police in English prisons, where general conditions (for instance, in Wormwood Scrubs) are said to be very bad. In a recent report RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) stated that after West Germany "there are now more people in prison per head of the population [in Britain] than any other country in the Western world" (FREEDOM 16/8/75). Present prison population figures stand at over 40,500 (compared e.g. to 27,551 in France) and the Home Secretary, Jenkins, has himself admitted that they are reaching an "intolerable" level.

Federal Republic of GERMANY: The four defendants at the Baader-Meinhof trial in Stuttgart have now been completely excluded from court proceedings - Andreas Baader indefinitely on account of his insolence. The court adjourned in uproar last week when the decision was announced; Baader called the judge a "complete idiot" and Ulrike Meinhof "an imperialist State pig". In view of the court doctors' alarming announcement that the defendants are too weak to stand more than three hours of proceedings a day and cannot follow them properly, it is good to know that the prisoners are still spirited enough to be able to anger the judges, driving one of them at least to pound his fists on the table in impotent fury. Three years of pre-trial detention and spells of solitary confinement and sense deprivation as well as forced drug-taking have evidently endangered the prisoners' health, though the president of the tribunal, Theodor Prinzing, says it is all their fault for going on hunger strike. If high court action to appeal against the ruling that excludes the defendants from court is not concluded within a month, the whole trial will have to begin again.

POLAND: News has arrived of the re-arrest in Warsaw of Emil Morgiewicz on charges of circulating a memorandum on conditions in Polish prisons and of attempting to start an Amnesty International group in Poland. It is not, however, certain whether he is at present in prison. Emil Morgiewicz was a member of the anti-authoritarian "RUCH" movement (Socialist national liberation movement). Many of the Ruch members, including Morgiewicz, got prison sentences in 1970/71 on charges of stealing (their own word was expropriating) typewriters and dup-

licating machines. They had also plotted to blow up the Lenin Museum in protest against the lavish sums of money spent on the Lenin cult in Poland; their activities found a deep response in the working class - witness the food riots and strikes of December 1970/January 1971 (described in detail by Peter Newell in Anarchy no. 4, 2nd ser.).

On his release Emil Morgiewicz began putting together evidence on prison conditions and large sections of his report were quoted in the London-based Polish paper Dziennik Polski. The report includes a description of the now famous "Tiger cell", a soundproof cage with iron bars allowing prison officers to beat the occupants who are unable to retaliate. According to Morgiewicz prisoners are also beaten with keys and body-searches involve making the prisoners bunny jump naked round the hall. Attempts are made to set prisoners against each other by offering some of them better jobs or parole if they agree to become informers. Coffee and fatless soup provide the staple diet.

FRANCE: Hubbub in French capitalist circles has been caused by the ruling of a young judge, 26-year old Patrice de Charette, who has sent a company director to prison for responsibility in the death of a worker at his factory, a tar plant near Lens.

Patrice de Charette, already known for his sympathy for conscientious objectors, has said that his decision "was designed to stir the public conscience on the problem of the increase of labour accidents, of which the culprits too often go unpunished" (Times, 4/10/75). The more right-wing French papers evidently see the young judge as a kind of modern Saint-Just, "cold as a blade" to use the expression of L'Aurore; while Le Monde notes his "red roll collar and black velvet suit", his "sober and precise speech", his icy imperturbability over the charge of being "political". "I do not find it shocking," said de Charette, "that the subject of class struggle should be mentioned in this affair. I regret that more company directors are not accused and imprisoned after industrial accidents for which they are responsible. Each year there are over a million injuries, many tens of thousands of which are fatal." But the world of management does find it shocking. To quote The Times, "All the big guns of the judicial and industrial establishments are now turned against this maverick of the bench, who dared to challenge existing practices and prejudices and accuse the French justice of having one law for the managers and another for the workers." The Justice Minister, Jean Lecanuet, too, has expressed "surprise" and the white-collar union CGC has demanded the culprit's "immediate liberation".

The victim, Roland Guillaume, was partially handicapped and had been put on a specialized job although not qualified for it. Working conditions were very bad, including security and light-

FREE COMMUNES WITHIN SOCIETY

Dear Freedom,

I worked on one of the live examples quoted in Laurieston's Legal Framework Handbook (see FREEDOM 13 September), and have been equally guilty of producing information to enable cooperatives to operate with in the capitalist system. However I found their effect to be superfluous because all the information produced is firstly, far more use to the capitalists, secondly bound to further inhibit those who follow handbooks, thirdly merely information and as such is the stuff of capitalist thought and organisation, fourthly still more revolutionary mouthing from drop-out professionals who by their inherent lack of useful skills find themselves unable to act. Information is gain -- experience is life. We must find the skills and knowledge in ourselves, do not inform and thereby corrupt. Any commune or cooperative that is 'set up' is *per se* doomed to failure or compromise. Rent? Own? What sort of alternatives are they for an anarchist to consider anyway? Take what you need and no more from those

REPRESSION. . . continued from P. 5

ing.

A booklet has been published on "Arenç, secret prison" by the Collectif d'Information sur le prison d'Arenç. Much of the information was supplied by immigrants, especially Arab workers who have the best inside knowledge of Arenç and have staged an increasingly vigorous campaign to get it closed down. Arenç, in existence since 1964, is noted for the secret kidnapping of immigrant workers who make a nuisance of themselves with the authorities and whom they therefore wish to deport (see also FREEDOM, 24/5/75). It first was publicized when a Moroccan fisherman, Mohamed Chetif, disappeared in April last year after making a complaint to his consulate, and was found by friends at Arenç a week later.

ITALY: A crime museum, brainchild of the fascist judge Rocco, has now been opened, somewhat belatedly, in Rome; tickets 300 lire. Housed in the Vatican's old juvenile prison in via del Gonfalone, the museum has a well-documented collection of torture instruments and is interesting, says a reporter from *L'Espresso*, not least because it has escaped the purposes for which the author of the Italian fascist codes intended it. Items include a papal guillotine, a special shower to drain away blood, a man-shaped iron cage in which deserters were hung from a tower to die from cold and hunger, and the brain of the anarchist Passanante, who made an attempt on Umberto I's life in 1873. There are also plenty of ordinary criminal weapons but, the reporter observes, "There is in fact an enormous disproportion between the means adopted through the ages by the state and those which served the criminal world. . . The most striking exhibits of the crime museum remain the horrible contrivances of State justice."

CONTRIBUTED

LETTERS

who don't need it and have too much. The whole point of anarchism is that compromise doesn't exist, live your politics Alan Albon, don't relieve the liberals' guilt by excusing compromise. Existing frameworks are inherently corrupt, read, P. Laurie. 'Meet your friendly social system'. Internal structures of communes? Why write about them the possibilities are infinite and continually changing anyway the same as people, remember people? Talking about people and having read *Organising Anarchy* (oh by the way *Organising? Anarchy*) will anyone help me build a public bog, materials free from any developers building site, labour paid by us through the social security, no planning permission, no buildings regs, no drainage approval, no building notice, our design and manner of construction.

Bob Moores.

P.S. I fully realise that me sending you this letter is anathema to the point I'm trying to make, but fuck it anyway I've got an ego the same as everyone else.

PPS. If you print this, print it complete.

ANARCHISM and the NATIONAL FRONT

Dear Comrades,

Over 1,000,000 "officially" unemployed in this country. British capitalism is in deep trouble. It is going through one of its inevitable periodic crises. And it is likely to get much worse before it gets "better" - assuming that, in the meantime, the workers do not decide and organise to get rid of it.

But one of the biggest obstacles for the workers is their disunity. They are split and disunited on many issues; one of the most serious in this, and in a number of countries, being that of so-called race. People who are obviously working-class (they own little more than their ability to work for an employer), do not appreciate their class position; nor that of many of their fellow-workers, particularly if such workers are presumed to be "black" or immigrant. At certain times, and in certain places, this suits the employers whose policy is generally that of "divide and rule". And much of the so-called "free" press reflect these views. Of course, governments and many employers do not like their "divide and rule" policies to get out of hand.

Nevertheless, there are groups - potentially dangerous in a crisis situation such as we have at present - whose aim is to split the workers on ethnic and "racial" grounds. They are generally referred to as the "radical right", or the "far right" or just Fascists or Nazis. There are a considerable number of such groups and parties in this country; but the most active, numerous and potentially dangerous is the National Front. The NF is dominated by a shaky coalition of out-and-out Nazis (containing Hitlerite, Röhmite and even Strasserite factions) and so-called right-wing populists. Above all, however, the National Front aims to achieve power, through the ballot box or other means, by splitting the workers largely along racist lines. Its aim is a quasi-corporate form of capitalism --with the "Blacks" and possibly a few others (Jews?) sent "packing".

Their propaganda and activities must be combatted. They are not merely Hitler-worshipping "nuts" to be ignored or laughed at. They may have only about 10,000 members; but, unfortunately, very many workers hold similar ideas on race. It is indeed worth remembering that in 1919 there were seven National Socialists in Germany; in 1920, there were 64; in 1922, there were 3,000; in 1923, there were 7,00; in 1926, there were 17,000; in 1928, there were 60,000, and by 1930, there were 250,000. Two years later, Hitler had over 600,000 Brownshirts. Their numbers increased as the crisis of capitalism in Germany deepened, and as unemployment rose million by million.

We cannot afford to allow a similar situation to occur here. Those "liberals" and so-called anarchists and libertarians who argue that Fascists should be allowed complete freedom are living in a fool's paradise. Just imagine our former comrades in Germany, in Italy or in Spain saying: Let Hitler, Mussolini or Franco be free to say and do what they like! Just imagine what a Makhno, an Ascaso or a Durruti would have said!

It would, of course, be foolish to indulge in the rather childish kind of "Fascist-bashing" that the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group have indulged in. Much of their activities have been welcomed by the NF as is evident from reports in *Spearhead*. All the same, we must mobilise, as the workers did in the past against Mosley, against the Fascists. Workers should demonstrate in their thousands wherever the Front appears. And in immediate and practical terms this means Saturday, October 11, outside old Chelsea Town Hall, Kings Road, Chelsea, where the Front will be holding its Annual General Meeting - mainly to discuss how it can best deploy its forces in splitting "White" workers from "Black" workers.

Workers of all lands - and from all lands - unite!

Fraternally,

P.E.N. (NALGO Action Group and AWA member).

SQUATTERS' SERVICE NEEDS HELP

Dear Comrades,

The job that Advisory Service for Squatters (formerly Family Squatting Advisory Service) performs has been vital to squatters. Now that Shelter has decided to cut off the grant it was giving, A.S.S. finds itself rapidly running out of money, and will be unable to continue after early October unless squatters are prepared to work as volunteers and help provide money to pay phone bills, electricity, postage, etc.

Here is a very brief description of the work of A.S.S.: answering telephone calls from squatters and homeless people. These are referred to A.S.S. by welfare agencies, social workers, probation officers, etc. They are usually put onto a squatting group in their area. There are also letters to answer from homeless people, the giving of legal advice about squatting and the keeping up to date of a list of contacts in London and elsewhere in the country, and dealing with the press (especially when something happens like Cornwall Terrace that excites the interest of the press -- A.S.S. gets a lot of phone calls from journalists, usually answered, explaining that A.S.S. do not represent squatters nor are spokesmen for them, but speak only as A.S.S. workers). A.S.S. also subscribes to a press cutting service, which cuttings have to

be sorted out and some used for the Squatters News Bulletin.

I hope that some FREEDOM readers (squatters, students' groups, individual readers) may be able to help in this desperate situation. If you are able to help with money or time, please get into touch with Advisory Service for Squatters, 2 St. Pauls Road, London, N1 (tel. 359 5185).

Fraternally,
Cliff Harper.

SEMANTICS

Dear Freedom,

In a paper called freedom it is very strange to find articles (13 September) peppered with "should", "shouldn't", "good" and "evil", "right" and "wrong" (see Arthur Moyses to the effect that "Palladio was wrong" and M. J. T. saying that behaviour modification is a force for more "evil" possibilities than "good" ones). Yes, the modifiers, the social controllers, educators etc., have got plans for us, of what society should be like, and how people should behave and how you can make them do it. Good = "desirable" (according to usually very bourgeois standards, norms) behaviour. In using these kinds of value judgements M. J. T. is falling into precisely the same trap. If by good he means what he likes, then why not say so? But it all sounds terribly moral to me and that means having a code that people should adhere to, not counting what they can or can't actually do or desire to -- including yourself. All that does is make us feel guilty when we can't live up to expectations, either Mummy's, god's, Kropotkin's or your "own". It's typical of socialist hack writing -- see Workers' Press, Socialist Worker and especially Red Weekly -- to lay down the law "... socialist should demonstrate... should occupy... should demand" etc. Produce your socialist credentials at the door -- or anarchist ones, it seems. All this makes anarchy an ideology amongst all the other ideologies, a system of ideas and easy answers that can be useful or used against others. I don't want anarchists telling me how to behave, telling me what's right, wrong good or evil, any more than I want it from the pope. So there.

Lancaster. Finbar Dutton

P. S. Maybe the authors could try, as an experiment at least, not telling themselves (or anyone else) what is (objectively) good or bad, or what they should or should not do (as anarchists) or what is right and wrong. Instead try exploring what they like and what they want. To go back to the "Palladio was wrong" thing. We are all taught that, say, concentration camps are "bad" or wrong. But isn't that rather forgetting the social forces and values that threw up such horrors. When certain values prevail, plus certain levels of technology, and certain economic conditions, then concentration camps are part of that reality - you might say they just happen, but not, of course,

in isolation but rather in relation to all the other things that are happening at the time. And I don't like them. They make me sick and scared and angry. Working from these feelings ourselves maybe we can direct our anger tactically and stop them happening again -- create a new society. But to sit back and say it is good or it is bad gives the impression of outside judgement suggesting no involvement or personal responsibility at all. In deeply alienating, hierarchical society like the shitheap we are part of, it is precisely this shattered sense of responsibility that's fucking us all up, amongst other things (things being one of them). Apathy, don't ask me, I only work here.

IN BRIEF

IN A moment of fellow-feeling for the Caudillo, his highness Prince Poniatowski, French Minister of the Interior, has ordered the seizure of 7,000 copies of a book on "The sex life of General Franco" for "abuse of a head of state". Apart from this, of course, there is no other censorship in France.

(Source: Le Brûlot)

THE UNITED States and Spain have reached agreement in principle for a five-year deal for US bases in Spain. Spain will receive military aid for up to £370 million, subject to Congress approval. Henry Kissinger told reporters privately that whatever the US might think about the recent executions in Spain, access to Spanish bases was a priority matter.

LEADING American scientists say in a new report that the effects of a nuclear war will not be as disastrous as has been predicted. They say that the worst damage a series of nuclear explosions would cause would be to the ozone layer and cause blistering of the skin and possible death from lack of protection from ultra-violet rays. Skin cancer cases could rise through nuclear attacks by as much as 30% for forty years plus a 20% increase in genetic damage, decreasing after about four generations. Food supplies (particularly peas and onions) would be affected by the ozone layer depletion. The report says white cows would be particularly affected. Climatic changes would cause a drop in average global temperature in several tenths of a degree Centigrade.

POLICE in Italy have arrested a senior prison warder on Pianosa (near Elbe) on charges of recruiting prostitutes and smuggling them into a prison.

PHILIP Berrigan and sixteen others were arrested at E. Hartford, Conn. for spraying 'death' in red paint on five military jets.

TWO officers of the Neighbourhood Cop Patrol in North Dallas were fired, accused of stealing property from the houses they were paid to protect.

FOUR American-made Starfighters crashed, killing their pilots. Since 1961 228 Italian and German air force Starfighters have crashed. The plane is nick-named "The Widow-maker".

FATHER Eligio, a Franciscan friar, is on the board of Riviera (Milan) football club. Reports the Sunday Times: "His passion for champagne and dancing cheek to cheek with pretty girls has made him famous or notorious...". He justifies his high living by saying, "God is in the sky, on the earth, and in every Jaguar. Driving a fast car is a chance for me to be with God."

THE CHURCH of Scientology (née Dianetics) is still issuing its journal called Freedom to publicise its brand of slavery. Some think we should stop this. How? By getting a legal injunction? By suing? Libel? Plagiarism? Trades Description Act? Should anarchists use the law? It seems wrong.

A SIKH was imprisoned for failing to pay a fine imposed for not wearing a crash helmet. He claims on religious grounds that he cannot remove his turban or, apparently, wear a crash helmet on top of it. It is also claimed that a turban (could they not be made of spun steel?) was adequate protection in case of a crash.

OWING to a number of shootings of innocent bystanders the Paris police have ordered that plain clothes policemen in future must put on fluorescent red arm bands marked 'police' before they open fire on suspects. Or so reports Paul Webster in The Guardian.

PRISONERS in British jails may be allowed to play 'Monopoly', a game based upon high finance dealings -- since it is claimed to be a game of skill not chance. It is not disclosed whether it will be issued to those imprisoned (by chance) for financial frauds.

Sancho Panza.

"MUCH WE HAVE SUFFERED during this long Calvary. We protest today as we protested yesterday. We protest always for our freedom. If I stopped hunger strike the other day, it was because there was no more sign of life in me. Because I protested with my hunger strike yesterday as today I protest for life and not for death."

--Nicola Sacco from the death cell.

*

"The will to live is beginning to assert itself, growing more imperative as the days go by. I wonder that my mind dwells upon suicide more and more rarely. . . Surely, I have no fear of death--when the proper time arrives. But haste would be highly imprudent... Indeed, it is my duty as a revolutionist to seize every opportunity for propaganda...

--Alexander Berkman, in his "Prison Memoirs", dedicated to "all those who in and out of prison fight against their bondage".

PRESS FUND

18 September - 1 October

MANCHESTER: B.P, 90p; LONDON NW3 K.L. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; NEWHAM: G.H. 55p; RENSSELAER, NY: G.T. £ 3.80; LONDON SW1: W.L. £ 25; KAGE, Sweden: L.W. 53p; DUBLIN: R.A.W. 70p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; NEEDHAM, Mass.: Gruppo Libertario £ 23.80; LEICESTER: P.M. £ 1; BRIGHTON: D.F. 85p; LONDON E16: P.W. £ 2; In Bookshop: M.M. 15p; Anon 58p; GRAZ, Austria: G.A. £ 5.70; JARROW: M.B. £ 1.10.

TOTAL: £ 68.56
PREVIOUS ACKNOWLEDGED...: £ 982.02

TOTAL to DATE: £ 1,050.58

CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next Review section is Monday 13 October; News/Features/letters/announcements Monday 20 Oct.

NEXT DESPATCHING date of FREEDOM is Thursday 23 October. Come and help from 2 p.m. onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

MEETINGS

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

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, 2nd door) tube Belsize Park/Chalk Farm. From 7.30 pm discussions, refreshments, etc.

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

OLDHAM. North West Workers' Alliance. A textile union militant will speak. Bath Hotel, Union St., Oldham, Lancs, Thurs. Oct. 16th. For further details of meetings arranged phone (Manchester) 061-339 4303.

CONFERENCE. Amnesty International - Women Against Torture. 8 Nov. 9.30 am-6 pm. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Creche available. Further information tel. 01-954 5011.

MEETING & MARCH. SPAIN. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park-Trafalgar Square. Starting 2.30 pm Saturday 18 October. Committee Against Death Sentences in Spain.

CONFERENCE On Sarvodaya. "A Vision for a Communitarian Society" Dec. 13th. 9.30 am-6 pm Conway Hall. Meetings Friday & Sunday 12 & 15th at Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, Bethnal Green, London E2. Participants Lanzo del Vastro, E. F. Schumacher & c. Tickets £1. Enq. Satish Kumar, Eastbourne House,

SCOTTISH Libertarian Federation Bi-Annual Conference on 25/26 October. Contact Mike Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place, Dundee.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Thursdays 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Avenue NYC (SW Corner 29 St.)

October 23: Shifu and the Beginnings of Chinese Anarchism, Olga Lang

November 13: Anarchism in Contemporary Science Fiction, Irving Levitas

December 11: Anarchy and Authority, Sharon Prestley.

Free admission, coffee, tea, cookies. Libertarian Book Club, GPO 842, New York 10001.

GLASGOW Public Meeting on Housing and Community Action at Partick Burgh Halls 15 Oct. at 7.30 pm, including TOWER HILL RENT STRIKE FILM.

The Glasgow Squatters' Union has been formed to promote solidarity and mutual aid. Contact A. Ross, 17 Bute Gdns, Hillhead.

GROUPS

PROPOSED ANARCHIST FEDERATION & CONFERENCE. Write Corby Anarchists, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

AF Bulletin. News, theoretical arguments, meetings, publications: contact address to arrive by 15 October 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN17 2LL

ABERGAFENNI contact 31 Monmouth Rd. BATH Anarchists & non-violent activists contact BANANA, Students' Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BOLTON. Anyone interested in the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in the Bolton area contact or write SWF 6 Stockley Ave., Hateswood, Bolton.

CAMDEN TOWN - anyone interested in forming Camden A group contact Toff, The Bank, Tolmers Sq. NW1 (Hampstead Rd.)

CORBY anarchist write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN17 2LL. Every Sat. bookstall Corporation Street 1 - 3 p.m. Come and help.

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

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

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

GLASGOW now has a center at 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

HARROW write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, with view to forming organisation.

LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact Pete and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester (tel. 549652).

LEICESTER Anarchist "Libertarian Circle" continues to meet every Thursday at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street.

OXFORD Anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH, Rob Atkinson, 21 Havelock Rd, Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

SWANSEA Group CHANGE OF ADDRESS: 37 Glanmer Rd., Uplands, Swansea.

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

Libertarian POSTAL WORKERS - how can we spread the ideas of anarchism re organization in the Post Office? Contact Dave Morris, 56 Mitford Rd., London N19.

WANTS

GERMAN anarchist, 25 yrs, pen-friends in English (& if poss. occ. exch.visits) wtd. (women or men) in UK, Ireland, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, USA. Interests: Anarchism, syndicalism & esp. Russian nihilism & Tolstoyanism. Write Bernhard Bruggert, Killwitzring 8, D-2 HAMBURG 74.

INVERNESS or near - comrad seeks flat & c. Write Ron, 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

LEICESTER, urgent. Anarchist needed to live in & help run Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St. Rent approx. £ 6 per week.

PORTUGAL. the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5,000 copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets, articles & c to A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2^o-E, LISBOA, Portugal.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL needs financial help. Donations to Ralph DiGia, WRL, 359 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012 USA or (GB) Kees Koop, c/o PPU, 6 Endsleigh St. London WC1 1H ODH. Triennial Report now available £ 1.

PUBLICATIONS

DIRECT ACTION no. 9, paper of the Syndicalist Workers Federation. 5p from c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU

PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE serving sentence for action against vivisection & c at (184051) HMP Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London, W 12 is also at present on trial as one of BWNIC 14. A comrade who wrote to him recently had his letter returned with a note saying he was not allowed letters from new correspondents. Try postcards only.

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

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

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

RALF STEIN, awaiting trial, postcards to him at JVA, 5 KÖLN 30, Rachusstrasse 350 Germany.

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FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

SUPPLEMENT to Vol. 36 nos. 40-41 11 OCTOBER 1975

A PLAN FOR ANARCHIST ORGANISATION by MALATESTA

BY CHANCE (it is common knowledge that the non fascist press in Italy is suppressed) I have come across a French pamphlet entitled "Plateforme d'organisation de l'union générale des anarchistes (Projet)", which, translated means Project for the programme of organisation of the General Union of Anarchists.

This is a project for anarchist organisation, published in November [1926] by a "Group of Russian anarchists abroad" that seems to be directed in particular at our Russian comrades. But it deals with questions that equally concern all anarchists; and besides, it is clear, not least from the language in which it is written, that it seeks to recruit comrades from all countries. In any case it is worth examining, by the Russians as by everyone, whether the proposal put forward is in harmony with anarchist principles and thus, whether putting it into practice would really help the anarchist cause.

** ANARCHISM and ORGANIZATION

THE MOTIVES of the comrades who are proposing this Platform are excellent. They complain, with reason, that the anarchist have not had and do not have an influence on politico-social events in proportion to the theoretical and practical value of their doctrines, let alone their numbers, their courage and their spirit of sacrifice -- and they believe that the main reason for this relative lack of success is due to the absence of a large, serious and effective organisation.

And up to this point, in general, I would agree.

Organisation, which really is no more than the practice of co-operation and solidarity, is a natural and necessary condition of social life: it is an inescapable fact which is bound to concern everyone, whether in human society in general or in any group of people with a common goal to achieve.

Since man has neither the desire nor the ability to live in isolation, since indeed he cannot become a real man and satisfy his material and moral needs without entering into society and co-operation with his fellows, it inevitably happens that those who lack the means or a sufficiently developed awareness to create a free organisation with others who share their interests and feelings, must submit to the organisation of others, generally of a ruling class or group, which aims to exploit to its own advantage the labour of the rest. The age-old oppression of the masses by a small and privileged number has always been the consequence of the inability of the majority of people to agree among themselves and create organisations with other workers for production and enjoyment and, in the event, defence against their exploiters and oppressors.

Anarchism emerged as a remedy for this state of affairs. Its basic principle is free organisation, created and maintained by the free will of its components without any kind of authority, that is without anyone having the right to impose his own will on the others. And it is therefore natural that the anarchists should attempt to apply that same principle on which, in their view, all human society should be founded, to their own private and organisational life.

From certain arguments it might seem there are anarchists opposed to any kind of organisation; but in reality the many, too many discussions that take place among us on the subject, even if obscured by questions of terminology or poisoned by personal differences, are basically concerned with the form and not the principle of organisation. Thus it happens that when those comrades who, to judge from what they say, are the most adamant opponents of organisation, really want to get something done, they organise themselves just like the rest, and often better. The problem, I repeat, is entirely one of method.

That is why I can only be sympathetic towards the initiative taken by these Russian comrades; for I am convinced that a more general, more harmonious, more stable organisation than any so far attempted by anarchists would most certainly be an important factor of strength and success, a powerful vehicle for the diffusion of our ideas, even if it did not succeed in eliminating all the mistakes and weaknesses that are perhaps inevitable in a movement like ours which is so much in advance of its time and which has therefore to struggle against the incomprehension, indifference and often hostility, of the majority.



ERRICO MALATESTA.

WHO'S GOT THE PLATFORM

WE ARE REPRINTING this essay by Malatesta (15 October, 1927: *Le Réveil*, Geneva) in view of the fact that proposals are not only afoot to revive an Anarchist Federation but that several libertarian and anarchist organisations have sprung up -- one in particular based upon the principles expounded in the 'Platform' (obtainable from Freedom Books: *The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists*, A.W.A. (1975) 16pp., 20p).

We reprint the words of Malatesta on this issue not in order to establish a cult-figure or 'star' whose lightest utterances can be taken as gospel* but in order to underline the fact that the problems of anarchist organization recur from time to time; unlike other political groupings it is not necessary for anarchists to search the scriptures for texts fitting to the opportunist situation but were any of the current editors to write on this situation it would inevitably be repetitious of Comrade Malatesta and not necessarily as well expressed as he put it 48 years ago.

It would however be heroic to refrain from adding some additional but not superfluous words to these opinions of Malatesta.

We were amused in John Quail's history of Anarchism in Britain (*FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review* Vol. 36 nos. 27-28) to find that whilst organizations had collapsed in Britain, *Freedom* had apparently done nothing else except survive. Comrade Quail apparently seems to feel that

Continued on Page 10

I THINK it above all urgent and essential that the anarchists reach agreement and organise themselves as much and as best as they can so as to be able to influence the direction the masses take in their struggle for improvements and emancipation.

Today the greatest force for social transformation is the labour movement (trade union movement) and on its direction largely depends the course events will take and the goal to be achieved by the next revolution. Through organisations founded for the defence of their interests, the workers become aware of the oppression they suffer and the antagonism that divides them from their masters, they begin to wish for a better life, they grow accustomed to fighting together and in solidarity, and can obtain those improvements that are compatible with the continuation of a capitalist and state regime. After, when the conflict has gone too far to be resolved, there is either revolution or reaction. The anarchists must be aware of the usefulness and importance of the trade union movement, they must support its development and make of it a means of action, doing all they can to guarantee that, in co-operation with the other existing forces of progress, it will result in a social revolution involving the suppression of a class, total liberty, equality, peace and solidarity between all human beings. But it would be a great and fatal illusion to believe, as many do, that the labour movement of itself can, and must, by its very nature lead to such a revolution. On the contrary, all movements founded on material and short term interests (and a vast labour movement cannot be founded on any others) but lacking energy, drive, the combined efforts of men of ideas, who fight and sacrifice themselves for an ideal future, tend inevitably to adapt to the circumstances; they foster the spirit of conservatism and the fear of change in those who manage to obtain better conditions for themselves, and often end by creating new privileged classes and by supporting and consolidating the system one wishes to demolish.

Hence the urgent need for purely anarchist organisations fighting both from within and from outside the trade unions to achieve a fully anarchist society and to sterilise all the germs of degeneration and reaction.

But it is clear that to attain their ends the anarchist organisations must, in their constitution and operation, be in harmony with the principles of anarchism, that is, they must in no way be polluted by the spirit of authoritarianism; they must be able to reconcile the free action of individuals with the need and the pleasure of co-operation and help to develop the awareness and initiative of their members; they must be a means of education for the environment in which they are operating and a moral and material preparation for the future we desire.

Does the project in question provide an answer to these requisites?

I do not think it does. In my view, instead of creating among anarchists a greater desire for organisation, it seems to have been formulated with the express design of reinforcing the prejudice of those comrades who believe that organisation means submission to leaders and belonging to an authoritarian centralised institution that stifles all free initiative. And in fact, are expressed those very intentions which some, contrary to the evident truth, and despite our protestations, persist in attributing to all anarchists who are described as organisers.

ONE OR SEVERAL ORGANISATIONS ?

Let's see.

First of all it seems to be mistaken -- and in any case impracticable -- to wish to unite all anarchists in a "General Union", i.e. as the Project states, in a single active revolutionary grouping.

We anarchists can say we are all of the same party, if by the word party we mean all those who are on the same side, and that is, who share the same general aspirations and who, in one way or another, fight for the same goal against common enemies. But this does not mean it is possible - or perhaps even desirable - to unite together in one specific association. There are too many differences of environment and conditions of struggle, too many possible means of action which one or the other prefers, too many differences of temperament and personal problems of incompatibility for one General Union, if taken seriously, not to become, instead of a means of co-ordination and synthesis of everyone's contributions, an obstacle to individual activity and perhaps, too, a cause of the bitterest infighting. How, for example, could one organise in the same way and with the same people, an open association for propaganda and agitation among the masses, and a secret society, forced by the political conditions of the country where it is operating, to conceal its intentions, its means and members from the enemy? How could the educationists and the revolutionaries adopt the same tactics, since the former believe that propaganda and example are sufficient for a gradual transformation of individuals, and thus of society, while the latter are convinced that it is necessary to destroy with violence an order which is based on violence and to create, against the violence of the oppressors, the necessary conditions for the free dissemination of propaganda and the practical application of the ideological gains? And how to keep people together who, for reasons of their own, do not like or respect one another and in no way could be equally good and useful anarchist militants?

this survival has no relation to organization itself and has no significance for the anarchist movement. We would suggest that this survival itself is a tribute to voluntary organization and self-imposed discipline and acceptance of responsibility of a high order. Also that the function of any regularly surviving journal to provide a forum, a source of information and inspiration (no matter how controversial) is in itself the finest type of organization possible.

The anarchist by his free and open nature is naturally not able to play at the political games of organizations. Often such libertarian-fringe organizations appeal widely to those with an authoritarian streak - the will to command or the desire to obey - which is not catered for in the looser anarchist associations. Such personalities often fulfil their longings by moving on to other more authoritarily satisfying organizations.

This very structurelessness frees the anarchist from the tactics of infiltration - for there is no structure to take over either by enemies from without or within left-wing movements. The tactics of infiltration by 'splitters' is a futile one given the naturally fissiparous nature of anarchist groupings. Splits in anarchist fraternities are a natural condition - it is one of the reasons why a free society is a necessity; even in the microcosm of an anarchist group there must be a respect for differences. Amazement at the 'infighting' within, say, the content of anarchist newspapers is a naive response of those who have no concept of real freedom but seek such within ossifying forms of organization, some of which are organizations for organization's sake.

J. R.

SELECTIONS FROM 'FREEDOM'

Annual volumes of important and representative articles published in FREEDOM each year from 1951 to the end of 1964. These have proved over the years to be not only a record and survey of events with a historical value, but in many subjects to be still surprisingly topical. Vols. 1 & 2 are out of print. The remainder are :-

- Vol. 3 1953 Colonialism on Trial
- Vol. 4 1954 Living on a Volcano
- Vol. 5 1955 The Immoral Moralists
- Vol. 6 1956 Oil on Troubled Waters
- Vol. 7 1957 Year One--Sputnik Era
- Vol. 8 1958 Socialism in a Wheelchair
- Vol. 9 1959 Print, Press and Public
- Vol. 10 1960 The Tragedy of Africa
- Vol. 11 1961 The People in the Street
- Vol. 12 1962 Pilkington vs. Beeching
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Moreover, the authors of the Project (Plateforme) declare "unacceptable" the idea of creating an organisation that would reunite the representatives of the different currents of anarchism. Such an organisation, they say, "incorporating theoretically and practically heterogeneous elements would be no more than a hotchpotch (assemblage) of individuals who see in different ways all questions concerning the anarchist movement and would inevitably disintegrate as soon as put to the test of real life."

All right. But then, if they recognise the existence of anarchists of other tendencies they must also allow them the right to organise themselves in their turn and to work for anarchy in the way they think best. Or will they claim to expel from anarchism, to excommunicate all those who do not accept their programme? They say they "want to regroup in a single organisation all the healthy elements of the libertarian movement; and naturally they will tend to judge as healthy only those who think like them. But what will they do about the unhealthy elements?"

Certainly there are among anarchists, as in every human community, elements of differing quality; and what is worse, there are those who, in the name of anarchy, circulate ideas that have an extremely dubious affinity with anarchism. But how to avoid this? Anarchic truth cannot and must not become the monopoly of one individual or one committee, nor can it depend on the decisions of real or imaginary majorities. It is necessary only - and this is sufficient - that everyone be allowed the greatest freedom of criticism, and that each person be able to uphold their own ideas and choose their own comrades. In the last analysis time will tell who was right.

ANARCHISM AND COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

LET US therefore abandon the idea of gathering all anarchists together in one organisation and consider the General Union these Russians are proposing to us for what it really is, i.e. the Union of a fraction of anarchists; and let us see if the form of organisation proposed conforms to anarchist principles and methods and whether it could therefore contribute to the triumph of anarchy.

Again it seems to me that it could not.

I do not doubt the sincerity of the anarchist propositions of these Russian comrades: they want to achieve anarchist communism and are searching for the quickest way to do so. But it is not enough to want something: it is also necessary to adopt the right means, just as when one wants to go somewhere it is necessary to take the right road, otherwise one ends up in a quite different place. Thus, far from making it easier to achieve anarchist communism, their organisation, being typically authoritarian, could only distort the spirit of anarchism and lead to consequences quite different from what they intended.

In fact, their General Union would consist of so many one-sided organisations with secretaries that would ideologically direct the political and technical activity; and to co-ordinate the activity of all the member organisations there would be an Executive Committee of the Union, charged with carrying out the decisions taken by the Union and with the "ideological and organisational conduct of the organisations in conformity with the ideology and the general tactical policy of the Union".

Is this anarchic? In my opinion this is a government and a church. It is true there are no police and bayonets just as there are no faithful disciples ready to accept the ideology dictated, but this simply means that their government would be an impotent and impossible government, and that their church would be a nursery of schisms and heresies. The spirit, the tendency remains authoritarian and the educative effect would be always anti-anarchist.

Judge whether this is not true.

"The executive organ of the general libertarian movement - the anarchist Union - introduces into its ranks the principle

of collective responsibility; the whole Union will be responsible for the revolutionary and political activity of every member; and each member will be responsible for the revolutionary and political activity of the Union."

And after this, which is the absolute negation of any individual independence and action, the proponents, remembering they are anarchists, describe themselves as federalists and thunder away against centralisation "the inevitable results of which," they say, "are enslavement and the mechanisation of social life and the life of the organisation".

But if the Union is responsible for what each member does, how can it grant individual members and different groups the freedom to apply the common programme in the way it thinks best? How can one be responsible for an act that one does not have the ability to prevent? Hence the Union, and through it, the Executive Committee, must supervise the activities of the individual members and order them what and what not to do; and since disapproval after the event cannot compensate for responsibility previously accepted, no-one would be able to do anything before obtaining approval and consent of the committee. And then, can an individual accept responsibility for the actions of an organisation before knowing what it is going to do and if he cannot prevent it doing something he is opposed to?

Moreover, the authors of the Plateforme say that it is the "Union" that wills and disposes. But when mention is made of the will of the Union, does this perhaps mean the will of all its members? In that case, for the Union to be able to operate it would be necessary for everyone, always and on every subject, to have the same opinion. Now if it is natural that everyone should be agreed on general and basic principles, as otherwise they could not be united, or remain united, it is inconceivable that all thinking beings could, all the time, be of the same opinion on what should be done in all circumstances and on the choice of people to fill executive posts.

ANARCHISM AND THE MAJORITY PRINCIPLE

In reality - as the text of the Plateforme shows - the will of the Union can only mean the will of the majority, expressed by means of congresses, which nominate and control the Executive Committee and decide on all important questions. Naturally the congresses would be composed of representatives elected by the majorities of the member groups, and these representatives would decide on what to do, again by majority votes. Thus, in the best of hypotheses, the decisions would be taken by the majority of a majority, which could very well, especially when there are more than two diverging opinions, represent no more than a minority.

It should also be noted that, given the conditions in which anarchists live and operate, their congresses are even less properly representative than bourgeois parliaments, and their control over the executive, if this has authoritarian powers, could only with great difficulty be opportune and effective. In practice those who go to anarchist congresses are the ones who are able, those with money and who have not been detained by the police; the ones who only represent themselves or a small number of friends as well as those who are real representatives of the views and desires of a large community. And save for the precautions taken against traitors and spies, in fact because of these same necessary precautions, a serious examination of mandates and their value is impossible.

In any case this is a real majority system, a fully parliamentary one.

It is known that the anarchists do not accept majority government (democracy), just as they do not accept government by a few (aristocracy, oligarchy or class or party dictatorship), nor the government of one (autocracy, monarchy, or personal dictatorship).

The anarchists have made innumerable criticisms of so-called majority government, which moreover, in practice

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always leads to the domination of a small minority.

Is it necessary to do so again for the benefit of our Russian comrades?

Certainly anarchists recognise that in community life it is often essential for the minority to accept the view of the majority. When there is a need or clear usefulness in doing something, and in order to do it everyone's co-operation is necessary, then the few must realise they have to adapt themselves to the desire of the many. And in general, to be able to live peacefully together, and on an equal footing, it is necessary for everyone to be amenable, tolerant and flexible. But this adaptation by one side to the other must be reciprocal and voluntary and stem from an awareness of its necessity and from the readiness of each person, not to paralyse social life through hostility; and it must not be imposed as a principle or statutory norm. And this is an ideal which, perhaps, in the practice of social life will be difficult to attain entirely, but it is certain that in every human grouping, the freer and more spontaneous the agreement between majority and minority, the freer it is from any formulation that does not derive from the nature of things, the closer one is to anarchy.

So, if anarchists deny the right of the majority to govern in human society generally, where the individual is forced to accept certain restrictions, because he cannot isolate himself without renouncing the conditions of human life, and if they want everything to be done through the free agreement of everyone, how on earth could they adopt the idea of majority government in their essentially free and voluntary associations and begin declaring that the decisions of the majority must be accepted, even before they are known?

It is understandable that non-anarchists believe anarchy, that is free organisation without the domination of the majority and vice versa, to be a utopia which is or is not possible in a remote future; but it is inconceivable that those who profess anarchist ideas and would like to achieve anarchy, or at least begin seriously to head in that direction, now rather than tomorrow, repudiate the fundamental principles of anarchism through the very method they propose for assuring its success.

THE BASES OF ANARCHIST ORGANISATION

AN ANARCHIST organisation must be founded, in my opinion, on very different bases from those proposed by the Russian comrades.

Full autonomy, full independence and thus full responsibility of the individual and the group; free agreement between those who think it useful to unite and co-operate to achieve a common goal; moral duty to support the enterprises undertaken and to do nothing that would go against the accepted programme. Upon these bases one then builds the practical framework, adapted to bring real life to the organisation. Hence the groups, the federations of groups, the federations of federations, the meetings, the congresses, the committees charged with liaison, etc. But all this must be done freely so as not to obstruct the thought and initiative of individuals, and only so as to give more weight to enterprises which, if isolated, would be impossible or very ineffective.

In this way the congresses of an anarchist organisation, while suffering as representative bodies from all the imperfections which I have mentioned, are free from any hint of authoritarianism because they do not make laws, they do not impose their own decisions on others. They serve to sustain and increase personal contact between the most active comrades, to assess and stimulate programmatic studies on the ways and means of taking action, to inform on the situation in the different regions and the most urgent action to be taken in each area, to formulate the various opinions currently held by the anarchists and make a kind of statistics of them - their decisions not being obligatory rules, but suggestions, advice, proposals to put to all those involved, and not commitments except for those who accept them. The administrative organs that they nominate - Liaison Commission, etc. - have no executive power, they only take initiatives on behalf of those who desire and approve of these initiatives, and have

no right to impose their views; they can certainly support them and spread them as a group of comrades but cannot present them as the official line of the organisation. They publish the congress resolutions and the views and proposals communicated to them by groups and individuals; and help, for those who want it, to facilitate relations between the groups and co-operation between everyone who is in agreement on various points: each person is free to make direct contact with anyone he wants, or to use other committees nominated by special groups.

In an anarchist organisation the individual members can express any opinion or adopt any tactic which does not contradict the accepted principles and which does not harm the activity of the other people. In each case a given organisation lasts as long as the reasons for union are greater than the reasons for dissent. Otherwise it is dissolved and substituted by other more homogeneous groupings.

Of course the duration, the permanence of an organisation is a condition of success in the long battle we must fight, but also it is natural for any institution to aspire instinctively to an indefinite life. But the duration of a libertarian organisation must be the consequence of the spiritual affinity of its members and of the adaptability of its constitution to the continual changes in circumstances. When it is no longer able to fulfil a useful mission, it is better that it should die.

CONCLUSION

Those Russian comrades will perhaps find organisation as I conceive it and as it is, ineffective.

I understand. These comrades are obsessed by the success the Bolsheviks have had in their own country, and they would like, in the Bolshevik way, to unite the anarchists in a kind of disciplined army which, under the ideological and practical direction of a few leaders, marches compactly to the assault of the present regimes and then, the material victory won, presides over the constitution of the new society. And perhaps it is true that under this system, given that the anarchists accepted it, and the leaders were men of genius, our material efficiency could become great. But with what results? Would it not happen with anarchism as it has happened in Russia with socialism and communism?

These comrades are anxious for success and we are too; but to live and to gain victory there is no need to renounce the very reasons for life and to distort the character of the eventual victory.

(Translated from the Italian by G. F.)

THE CONVICTION, which I share, of those who see the need for a revolution to eliminate the material forces which exist to defend privilege and to prevent every real social progress, has led many of them to believe that the only important thing is the insurrection, and to overlook what has to be done to prevent an insurrection from remaining a sterile act of violence against which an act of reactionary violence would be the eventual reply. For these comrades all practical questions, of organisation, of how to make provisions for the distribution of food, are today idle questions: for them these are matters which will solve themselves, or will be solved by those who come after us. . . Yet the conclusion we come to is: Social reorganisation is something we must all think about right now, and as the old is destroyed we shall have a more human and just society as well as one more receptive to future advances. The alternative is that "the leaders" will think about these problems, and we shall have a new government, which will do exactly as all previous governments have done, in making the people pay for the scant and poor services they render, by taking away their freedom and allowing them to be oppressed by every kind of parasite and exploiter.

I say that in order to abolish the "gendarme" and all the harmful social institutions we must know what to put in their place, not in a more or less distant future but immediately, the very day we start demolishing. One only destroys, effectively and permanently, that which one replaces by something else

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PAUL BROUSSE

The Possibilist Anarchist

THOUGH LARGELY FORGOTTEN today, Paul Brousse was one of the most active and important figures in the international anarchist movement a century ago, playing a major role in the anti-authoritarian wing of the First International and in the French, Spanish, Swiss and German anarchist movements during their formative years. Through his companion, Natalia Landsberg, the daughter of a tsarist police official who herself became an ardent anarchist, he was also in close touch with the Russian anarchist exiles in Switzerland during the 1870s. He spoke at Bakunin's funeral in 1876 and collaborated with Kropotkin in editing the Swiss anarchist journal *L'Avant-Garde* in 1877 and 1878. Along with Kropotkin, moreover, he took part in formulating two of the central anarchist doctrines of the late nineteenth century, communist anarchism and propaganda by the deed.

Brousse is interesting, too, because of the unusual direction which his political development followed. From an uncompromising anarchist militant in his early years, a proponent of insurrectionism and revolt, he evolved towards a moderate form of socialism known as "possibilism" and ended up, after the turn of the century, as president of the Paris Municipal Council and a member of the French parliament. As an apostate from anarchism Brousse incurred the hostility of his libertarian comrades, while as a reformist and former anarchist he was anathema to the Marxists, who also resented the support which he commanded within the Second International, of which he was a founding member.

Given his unique place in both the anarchist and socialist movements, it is surprising that *From Anarchism to Reformism* by David Stafford (published by Weidenfeld & Nicolson in 1971) should be the only full-length biography of Brousse in any language, French not excluded. An able doctoral thesis, it is scholarly, clearly written, and based on extensive research. Stafford has combed the anarchist and socialist press of the 1870s and 1880s and has examined Brousse's papers and correspondence in Amsterdam, Neuchâtel, Montpellier, and Paris, as well as police archives in Switzerland, France, and Belgium. Like most dissertations, however, it is somewhat two-dimensional and narrowly conceived, focusing on partisan conferences and debates to the neglect of the personalities who conducted them (significantly, there is not a single photograph in the book, not even of Brousse himself).

While dealing competently with Brousse's anarchist phase, Stafford is weaker, indeed at times extremely sketchy, on his possibilist aftermath, as though he had run out of inspiration in mid-course. There are shortcomings, moreover, in Stafford's scholarship. He misdates the inauguration of the Paris Commune (March 18, 1871), which was neither dominated by Blanquists and Jacobins nor entirely backward-looking in its political orientation, as he maintains. The names of people and places--Sonvillier and Kishinev, Andrea Costa, Errico Malatesta and Emma Goldman--are misspelled. When mentioning the tsarist chief of police, General Moxentsev (incorrectly spelled by Stafford), he should have told us that it was the young Bakuninist Stepniak who assassinated him. Several titles and dates are wrong in the bibliography, and Stafford quotes sources in the original French rather than translating them into English, a practice which is both pedantic and a hindrance to the reader (these French passages are riddled with errors, as are phrases in Russian and Spanish). For these reasons, Stafford's book must be supplemented by older works by Max Nettlau, Johann Langhard, and James Guillaume, which have recently been reprinted.

Brousse was born to a comfortable, middle-class family at Montpellier, in southern France, on January 23, 1844. His grandfather was a grain merchant and his father a physician who headed the chemistry department in the medical school of Montpellier University. Young Brousse himself enrolled in this school and worked as a hospital intern during a cholera epidemic in 1867, for which he was granted exemption from all university fees. Completing his studies, he began his medical practice and political career at the same time, contributing in 1870 to the radical paper *Les Droits de l'Homme* (The Rights of Man), edited by his future rival, Jules Guesde.

It was the Commune of Paris that made Brousse--like Kropotkin, Malatesta, and many others--an anarchist. A supporter of the communal movement and a member of the Montpellier section of the International Working Men's Association, which was outlawed after the crushing of the Commune, he was arrested in 1872 and condemned to four

months in prison. Escaping to Spain, which was beginning to feel the impact of the communal revolt across the border, he met two other exiles, Charles Alerini and Camille Camet, both devoted Bakuninists who had taken part in the inauguration of revolutionary communes in southern France. In April 1873 the three expatriates founded a French-language section of the International at Barcelona, and Brousse became editor of its journal, *La Solidarité Révolutionnaire* (Revolutionary Solidarity), which was smuggled into France where it helped keep the International alive.

By this time the communal movement had taken root in Spain, and on June 20, 1873, a group of Internationalists, Brousse among them, seized the town hall of Barcelona, determined, as Brousse later told Kropotkin, "to make the Revolution or die". Their attempt, though quickly dispersed, was followed up a month later by a general strike, which collapsed when the government began drafting workers into the army. The failure of the general strike, in which Brousse took an active part, had a profound effect on the young insurrectionist, and throughout the rest of his career he resolutely opposed it as a revolutionary weapon.

Following the removal from power of Pi y Margall in July 1873, a military reaction set in, and Barcelona ceased to be a revolutionary sanctuary. Accordingly, Brousse made his way to Switzerland, together with Alerini, Camet and García Viñas, a leader of the Barcelona section of the International. Brousse's flight marked the beginning of his six-year involvement in the Jura Federation and Anti-Authoritarian International, during which he emerged in the forefront of the European anarchist movement. Brousse was then thirty years old. Of medium height, with penetrating brown eyes, black beard, and flowing black hair, he made a strong impression on all who met him, including Kropotkin, who describes him in his *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* as "a young doctor, full of mental activity, uproarious, sharp, lively, ready to develop any idea with a geometrical logic to its utmost consequences, powerful in his criticisms of the state and state organization; finding enough time to edit two papers, in French and in German, to write scores of voluminous letters, to be the soul of the workmen's evening party; constantly active in organizing men, with the subtle mind of a true 'southerner'."

Settling in Bern, Brousse immediately plunged himself into agitation and propaganda on behalf of the Jura Federation, the nucleus of the international anarchist movement. Among the most able of the French exiles in Switzerland, he was an uncompromising libertarian, opposed to universal suffrage, which he attacked, in the spirit of Proudhon, as "the brutality of mere numbers" and a device of privileged society to keep the workers in subjection. He was equally opposed to any central organization in the International, and it was for his unremitting criticism of Marx and the General Council that he had been ousted from the Montpellier section in September 1872; the same month that Bakunin and Guillaume were expelled from the International at its congress in the Hague.

Soon after his arrival in Bern, Brousse organized a local French-language section of the Jura Federation, creating a stronghold of anarchist influence where none had existed before. At the same time, he sought to win the support of German-speaking workers in Switzerland, and at the 1874 congress of the Jura Federation at La Chaux-de-Fonds it was decided, largely on Brousse's insistence, that a Germany flysheet be printed to supplement the *Bulletin* of the Federation. In January 1895, again largely through Brousse's efforts, a small German study group was formed in Bern, which, in March 1876, organized a public procession to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the Paris Commune. The procession, however, was broken up by a hostile crowd of burghers, enraged like so many bulls by the sight of the red flag, then the anarchist as well as the socialist symbol. On July 15, 1876, began the appearance of *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung* (The Workers' Paper), financially supported by Natalia Landsberg and edited by Brousse with the cooperation of Kropotkin and three capable German exiles, Emil Wemer, Otto Rinke and August Reinsdorf, who were among the principal founders of the German anarchist movement. Brousse and Kropotkin wrote most of the articles in French, which Wemer translated into German. In addition to being distributed in Switzerland, the paper was smuggled across the border and became the main vehicle of anarchist propaganda in Germany until it ceased publication the following year.

Meanwhile, on July 1, 1876, Bakunin had died in Bern. His funeral on July 3 became a political demonstration, with speeches by Brousse, Guillaume, Elisée Reclus, Adhémar Schwitzguébel, and Nicholas Zhukovsky. It was at this point that Brousse began to develop in earnest the theory of propaganda by the deed, which was to play a major role in the anarchist movement until the turn of the century. The term itself is usually attributed to Malatesta, who used it that year in a letter to Carlo Cafiero, but the idea, in incipient form, had already been expressed in Brousse's *Solidarité Révolutionnaire* during the summer of 1873, nurtured by the communalist insurrections in France and Spain. At that time Brousse envisioned the establishment of communes in cities throughout Europe, and the role of the commune as "the vehicle of the Revolution" became central to his theory of anarchism.

Brousse's revolutionary extremism and emphasis on propaganda by the deed won him increasing support and made him a serious challenge to James Guillaume, the unofficial leader of the Jura Federation, with his more moderate proto-syndicalist position. Brousse was essentially a pragmatist, however, and propaganda by the deed did not mean individual assassinations, with which it became synonymous in succeeding decades, but rather local demonstrations, insurrections, and other forms of collective direct action, as exemplified by the Commune of 1871. It was in this sense that the phrase was employed in Brousse's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1876 and 1877, and in this form it was put into practice on March 18, 1877, in a second memorial procession in Bern on behalf of the Paris Commune, in which Kropotkin, Schwitzguébel and George Plekhanov took part, in addition to Brousse himself, who composed a militant song, *The Red Flag*, for the occasion. (Plekhanov, the "father of Russian Marxism", was then a young Bakuninist, and the demonstration at the Kazan Cathedral in St. Petersburg in which he was involved the previous December, may be regarded as an early instance of propaganda by the deed in its original sense.) The Bern demonstration, which was followed by a visit to Bakunin's tomb, was dispersed by the police. A more dramatic example of propaganda by the deed occurred the following month with the Benevento rising in Italy, headed by Malatesta, Cafiero, and Stepaniak, but this too was quickly suppressed.

Apart from propaganda by the deed, Brousse was also one of the first exponents of Anarchist Communism, of which Kropotkin, though not its originator, became the leading theorist. As with propaganda by the deed, the first explicit mention of Anarchist Communism was made in 1876, by François Dumartheray, another prominent French exile in Switzerland, and was elaborated by Brousse in *Die Arbeiter-Zeitung*. It was formulated—again like propaganda by the deed—simultaneously and independently in Italy, and in October 1876 was incorporated into the official programme of the Italian Federation. At the Verviers Congress of the Anti-Authoritarian International both Brousse and Andrea Costa came out strongly in favour of Anarchist Communism, in contrast to the Spanish anarchists, Viñas and Morago, who clung to Bakunin's collectivism, according to which men are rewarded by work rather than need. By that time, however, most Bakuninists outside of Spain were moving from collectivist to communist anarchism, and there is reason to believe that Bakunin himself, who died on the eve of its formulation, would have followed the same path.

By the middle of 1877 Brousse's attention was turning increasingly from Switzerland to France, from the Jura Federation and the international movement to the revival of anarchism in his native country. The Jura

Federation was already in decline, the movement in Bern had collapsed, and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was shut down. That year, with Kropotkin's help, Brousse started the lively journal *L'Avant-Garde*, which was circulated clandestinely in France as well as being distributed legally in Switzerland. In 1879 Brousse in turn assisted Kropotkin in launching *Le Révolté*, one of the most influential anarchist journals of the nineteenth century. In June of that year, however, Brousse was arrested and expelled from Switzerland. He went to Brussels, from which he was expelled after seven weeks, then lived in London for almost a year before returning to France and beginning a new phase of his radical career.

Just as Brousse's anarchism spanned the decade of the 1870s, his possibilism spanned the decade of the 1880s. Re-examining his anarchist beliefs, he abandoned propaganda by the deed and came to accept the usefulness of piecemeal reform, for which he had previously expressed contempt. When he returned to France in 1880, he had even abandoned his hostility to electoral action and no longer insisted on abstention from the vote. He had become, in short, a leading advocate of reformist and municipal socialism. He founded the Possibilist Party, the strongest socialist movement in France during the 1880s, and was instrumental in the formation of the Second International in 1889.

This development, as David Stafford shows, was not as inconsistent as might appear. For Brousse retained many of his earlier presuppositions. His transition from anarchism to possibilism was not a sudden conversion, not a sharp break with the past, but rather a continuation of his communalist programme in a non-revolutionary form. His early faith in local action, in the commune as the embryo of a libertarian society, survived in his new programme of reform at the municipal level, a kind of "socialism in one city" that would eventually encompass the whole land. For the commune as the vehicle of working-class revolution he substituted the commune as the vehicle of working-class reform.

Like Costa and Guesde, like Plekhanov and Axelrod, Brousse shed an early adherence to Bakuninism to become the founder of a socialist political movement. But his transition was different in an important respect: he did not forsake anarchism for Marxism. On the contrary, he remained uncompromising in his anti-centralism, anti-authoritarianism, and anti-Marxism as he had been in his Bakuninist days in the First International; moreover, his aversion to elites of every kind and to abstract theoretical systems was retained as an integral component of his new possibilist creed. Marx was "not infallible", Brousse insisted. "He is not a God." Brousse, retorted Engels, was "the greatest muddle-head I have ever encountered, removing the anarchy from anarchism but retaining all other phrases and especially tactics."

With the founding of the Second International, Brousse was at the peak of his influence. But the following year, 1890, the Possibilist movement split apart when the followers of Jean Allemane, who advocated the general strike and opposed the admission of intellectuals and professionals into the party, broke away. In the remaining two decades of his life, Brousse became increasingly isolated, and his influence in the socialist movement waned. In 1905 he became president of the Paris Municipal Council, and in this capacity was host to Alfonso XIII of Spain, which provoked the renewed enmity of his former anarchist comrades and led Guillaume to sever all relations with him. Afterwards Brousse fell into almost total obscurity. Losing his parliamentary seat in 1910, he was made director of a state mental hospital. He died, a forgotten figure, in 1912.

Paul Avrich.

WHAT WE NEED MOST: TOWARDS AN ANARCHIST GLOBAL NETWORK ... continued from P. 15

- your local situation, e.g. while one might say that an Indian labourer gets so many rupees per year, one should also tell what precisely this can buy. Also be very exact so far as place is concerned. Tell exactly where a place is - is it in that area or this area?? Remember that what is familiar to you may be totally unknown to comrades in other parts of the world.
- 8. When you write do not try to impress. This is one of the greatest faults of the beginner. Set out only with the intention of conveying information as clearly and as simply as possible and explaining it if the story is more than a simple one.
- 9. If you quote somebody, make absolutely certain that you are quoting the

- person's exact words.
- 10. If there is no requirement to keep your sources confidential then say where you got your information from. If it is from a newspaper or magazine which is usually reliable, then name it and say that it is reliable.
- 11. Always date your despatch by writing the date in full, e.g. 12 September 1975.
- 12. Try and describe the event you are reporting in terms of the wider struggle in your community. Relate it if possible to similar events which happened in the near or distant past. Remember that such events, however well known and remembered in your community, may have been long forgotten by outsiders, even if they knew about them at the time.
- 13. Whenever you do write a report

check it over carefully before despatch. 14. Finally, make sure that you address your despatch correctly and clearly allowing no margin for error.

M. J. T.

THE INDEPENDENT Labour Party is no more. It is still the I. L. P. (Independent Labour Publications) but membership is open to Labour Party and Co-operative Party members. The old Socialist Leader is now the Labour Leader "Labour's independent monthly" and contains in its August number a slew of good wishes letters from Labour Party M. P. s.

WHAT WE NEED MOST

--towards An Anarchist Global Information Network.

THE PRIMARY long term aim of anarchists is the building of an anarchist social system on our planet. As anarchist freedom-fighters, we are committed to work for the ending of existing primitive, oppressive and anachronistic ways and beliefs, and to advance the cause of an entirely new social order wherein liberated men and women can find fulfilment and happiness.

For various reasons it is only now - as we approach the twenty-first century - that presently-emerging social conditions make the realization of our anarchist aims possible. But, however ripe social conditions may be for realizing anarchist goals, no significant strategic gains can be made by us without careful and adequate step-by-step preparations.

A vital and indispensable step in the making of such preparations is the creation of an Anarchist Global Information Network. For there is nothing else in the general arena of struggle which is of greater importance. Indeed, if anything, propaganda and agitation are secondary matters in that they are both very much dependent on information and just cannot function without the latter. Because of this it is essential that a clearly-defined Anarchist Global Information Network be established as a basic organ of the world movement. With such a well-developed organ we would have a powerful tool at our disposal. And, furthermore, we could no longer be accused of being a bunch of amateurs relying on partial and even inaccurate data - often obtained haphazardly - for evaluating circumstances of which near-absolute knowledge might be vital for our ends.

Basically, an Anarchist Global Information Network should have several primary objectives:-

- 1) It should facilitate the realization of the main anarchist aims ;
- 2) It should have the capacity to gather all available news and information of relevance to anarchists in every part of the world (this info should include intelligence data about states' means of repression, the disposition and activities of police forces, and the possibilities of states' moves against anarchists).
- 3) It should possess an efficient and economic means for processing, storing and retrieving data ;
- 4) It should be able to make available to the general anarchist movement up-to-date and accurate information in a timely and comprehensive manner.

Needless to say, such an information network should be organized according to time-honoured anarchist principles. For a start, all anarchist groups and individuals everywhere should be regarded as potential participants of equal standing in that they could become the

grassroots sensors for monitoring local events and evaluating conditions in general in their respective localities, while at the same time they could act as local disseminators of information about events and circumstances in other parts of the world. This aspect of the global network's operations would, on its own, have a profound effect in integrating the whole anarchist movement like never before, in stimulating positive and constructive activity on the part of local groups, and in widening the mental horizon of anarchists in general, who would be made to feel that they were sharing personally in the total experience of the overall anarchist global community.

A very necessary part of the network would be regional centres for processing, translating, storing and transmitting data. And a primary aim should be the creation of a large number of such regional centres, dispersed as widely as possible. While between such centres channels of communication should be opened up, embodying a feedback system which would make it impossible for harmful practices to go on without detection. Agreed principles should be clearly formulated together with standards and guidelines for appraising data. This should make it relatively easy for anarchist working in regional data processing centres to evaluate info from the point of view of the anarchist movement as a whole.

In the course of building a global information network we will have to solve many problems relating to organization and functioning in general within a multilingual framework, the development and utilization of rapid, dependable, and efficient ways of gathering, processing and disseminating information, the actual means of communication most productive for our purposes, an efficient feedback system so that those comrades working within the information network would at all times know what data was being used, and, most important of all, on how to function in those areas of the world where repression is greatest. None of these difficulties, however immense, is insoluble. When seen within the broad frame of reference of anarchist experience over the last hundred years it is possible to discern a range of viable solutions to such problems. All that is needed on our part is the will to solve them.

From the point of view of the individual anarchist - particularly those of us active in propaganda work and agitation - the proposed global information network will be an indispensable means for providing us with reliable and up-to-date data for efficient and rational decision-making. News coming from the network would be oriented so that events would be seen not as isolated happenings but as part of a larger on-going process. Hence, a full understanding of events, as seen in the glob-

al frame of anarchist struggles, could be arrived at speedily and efficiently. In this way anarchists all over the world would be enabled to collate their experiences, to make far fewer unnecessary mistakes, and to take more correct and relevant lines of action.

These are just some of the many possibilities open to us if we set about building an Anarchist Global Information Network. It is to be hoped that all earnest anarchists will examine these possibilities. And having examined them that they will become convinced of the absolute need of such an invaluable instrument of struggle working in the service of the anarchist movement as a whole.

Michael Tobin

P.O. Box 10638,
Amsterdam.

NOTE : At the moment there are in existence two small anarchist news service networks seeking to provide info on a world-wide basis. One of these is the WAP Newsletter service of the Woodstock Anarchist Party in California, U.S.A. The other is the I.A.T. (International Archive Team) based in London, England. Of the two the I.A.T. provides the most comprehensive news service and through its Mit-Teilung newsletters has provided some invaluable data in recent months particularly so far as Japan and West Germany are concerned. Sometime during the coming months - providing finance and comrades prepared to do such work are available - it is hoped that a news service centre can be initiated here in Holland. Should anyone (including prisons) wish to become a correspondent please write to me at above address. A test bulletin would be appreciated. Here are a few suggestions on how to write it, in case you are not familiar with this kind of work :-

1. First seek your news about a struggle or other event in your area.
2. Start by telling what has happened or is still happening. Do so in a brief, simple way. Then go on to give the details. And finally give your own impression of the event.
3. Try to use short simple sentences with plenty of paragraphs.
4. Do not digress and keep to the point.
5. Use short familiar words. If you have to use difficult terms please explain them.
6. Always use the full name of an organization, rather than its abbreviation. And make sure that the name of an organization or person is exact, is spelled correctly, and is written clearly, if you are not using a typewriter.
7. When describing something be specific. Try and find out the size of an organization so that you can say it has so many members or branches. Whenever you are in doubt don't guess, say you don't know. Do not depend upon newspapers for your info. Try to find out first hand or at least through those directly involved in the struggle or event you are describing. Also remember to be very exact so far as time and dates are concerned. Above all, never exaggerate. Try and relate your figures to

Continued on Page 14

GETTING THEIR DESERTS

OUR SUCCESSFUL contemporary Socialist Worker joined with us last week (Sept. 27th) in reproducing "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers". We are glad at this display of solidarity but we are not surprised to find that Socialist Worker is "reprinting this leaflet not because we agree with its politics. . . The desertion of a handful of conscientious objectors will not assist the fight for free speech in the armed forces." It may be a superabundance of caution on their part but they subscribe to the theory that it is better for "socialists and radicals in the armed forces should not desert. They should stay where they are and organise."

This theory has a great deal of support in revolutionary circles. One remembers a Trotskyist denouncing soldiers' resistance movements as 'agents of reaction' and advocating that revolutionaries should infiltrate the army in order to receive weapon-training. It has long been hallowed as a theory of 'revolutionary defeatism'. Indeed some groups have advocated desertion from the U. S. Army to the Vietcong or from the British forces to the I. R. A.

For those groups who wish to choose a different leadership and those who wish to seize and exercise the power apparatus as it stands this is a suitable doctrine.

But if one, like the anarchists (whether pacifist or not) wishes to destroy the

State apparatus, of which the Army is the backbone, 'voting with the feet' is the natural response. There are anarchistic responses of 'Schweiking' or sabotaging by elaborate subterfuges and dumb insolence - named after the character in Hasek's novel, but the heartless bureaucracy of the military leaves little scope for individual soldiers' initiatives (see Catch 22).

As for accepting the military set-up in the hope of converting it to revolutionary (or even democratic) purposes is futile. Randolph Bourne, writing of the 1914-18 war, rebuked U. S. intellectuals who had gone into the military with the idea of influencing it -- and the course of the war. He likened them to a boy riding on an elephant who is under the illusion that he is in charge of the elephant. Many an idealist has been crushed by the elephant.

History shows that a war cannot be sustained if the desertion rate is high enough. The Russian revolution and the end of Russia's part in the war were triggered off by mass desertions. The Algerian, Vietnam and Mozambique-Angola wars were ended by a consideration of the rate of desertion.

If the military are considered unreliable enough in sufficient quantity (even volunteer soldiers who may have joined in an excess of youthful zeal) the authorities will seriously reconsider unpopular military campaigns.

Jack Robinson.

ure beyond the bounds of the absolutely permissible.

Despite the vaunted power of the Fourth Estate - the Press - Fleet Street is inhibited too by the prejudices of its advertisers, the whims of its proprietors, and the laws of libel, sedition, blasphemy and whatever seems to be the law on obscenity. They have a talent for self-denying, by observance of Official Secrets Acts, D-Notices, broad hints, and a specially-invented group of prohibitions classified as 'sub judice' (distinguished by a self-inflicted refusal to comment -- directly or indirectly -- on any case pending or being heard in British courts).

Whatever the cause it is a myth that freedom of the press is open to all. In the present financial situation the left-wing press is particularly penalized.

FREEDOM's income and subscription list (additionally penalized by postal increases) is completely inadequate to meet the expense of a weekly paper set up in type and printed on our own presses. Only the efforts of our readers and sellers can ever make this again possible.

Meanwhile freedom languishes.

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FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

IT HAS TRULY been said that 'Freedom of the press belongs only to those who own it'. Last week's example of the refusal of our printer to print the possibly seditious "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" is an example of the sort of thing which happens in an apparently democratic but obviously capitalist and therefore potentially dictatorial society.

One cannot blame a commercial printer for not taking risks with his livelihood and profits; it is improbable that one would share our viewpoints on controversial issues. (At the same time, in the present case, it is improbable that the printer would be involved in any charges -- none has been so far.)

The power of the law is not confined to those it penalizes; it also has the power to terrorise and inhibit those whose views and projects tend to vent-