

FREEDOM

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TWELVE PENCE

SPAIN: 1936-1976

THE CRASH and flash of bombs exploding in government and official union buildings throughout Spain signalled the 40th anniversary of the militarist uprising against the Spanish Republic on July 18th. For us anarchists this date is far more significant as marking the beginning of a social revolution, made for the most part by anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists and sympathisers, which came the closest yet to fulfilling our ideals. In the end, that revolution was crushed by treachery and military might, but anarchists throughout the world have never forgotten, and never will forget that experience.

Today Spain still inherits the defeat of that revolution. True, Franco, the executioner of the revolution and of revolutionaries, is at last dead, and a feeling of change is in the air, but the Spanish state is still based on the repression needed to keep together what is, in effect, a collection of different nations, and a militant working class. That repression consisted of army, civil guard, police and an imposed trade union, used by the bosses to keep wages low and exploitation high.

Today Spain has changed from the Spain of 1936. The proportion of landless peasants has greatly decreased (though it is still significantly higher than in other Western countries) and the number of industrial and service workers has correspondingly increased. The change-over to heavy industrial production was accompanied by a "boom" in the 1960s, the majority of whose profits went, of course, to the industrialists (who get away with the laxest tax system in the capitalist world) leaving the newly industrialised workers with slightly higher wages, badly constructed housing areas, and the highest work-accident rate in the West.

Quite recently, in district no. 9 of Barcelona, yet another fatal car-accident in which a worker was killed by merely stepping out of his house, led to five days of demonstrations, demands for traffic lights (people strung homemade ones across the streets, between houses), all finally suppressed by police charges with batons raised. (In Toledo, pedestrians who do not walk in single file in the city's narrow streets are now liable to a 24p instant fine for "blocking the traffic-flow").

In the middle of June, in a working-class district of Utebo, near Zaragoza, a tanker-lorry carrying propane gas to the Butano S.A. works situated in the town, exploded and destroyed all the works offices. Latest casualty figures show 12 dead, over a hundred seriously injured, many with serious burns. The only reason that many more tankers did not catch fire from this one, was the direction of the wind.

The incident was followed by intensive leafletting by the Spanish communist party, and by the Zaragoza CNT. The CNT's leaflet denounced the explosion as an assassination by the capitalists, who derive great benefits from the introduction of heavy industry but do nothing to ensure safe working conditions. It also denounced the hypocrisy of reports on the incident in the capitalist press, and of the visit of the ministers of Labour and Social Relations; and it demanded that no nuclear power stations be built in the area (this is imminent) and that military and American bases be withdrawn.

The "unacceptable face of capitalism" is far more brutal than the financial wheeling and dealing of "Tiny" Rowland and Angus Ogilvy, paying off their costly houses and flats with Lonrho "expen-

ses". It is the cynical exploitation and destruction of workers' bodies and lives; and Spain is probably its best example in Western Europe.

The new prime minister, Suarez, we are told, is a "progressive" member of Franco's Nationalist Movement, connected with a cabal of technocrats and opusdeistas, presumably dedicated to "modernizing" capitalism in Spain. It

[Cont. on P.2]

THE MURRAYS

THE MURRAYS' Defence Group in London has been busy organising opposition to the hanging sentence for Noel and Marie Murray. So far, two lunch-time pickets have been held outside the Irish Embassy in Grosvenor Place, London and between 20 and 30 people have attended on both occasions.

Two comrades distributing leaflets against the death sentences and flyposting along the Portobello Road, were arrested for obstruction and fined £6 each. The policeman who arrested them is reported to have told them that he will not have anybody giving out anarchist literature on his patch. He also told them they would have remained unmolested if they had been giving out Conservative literature.

In Ireland an Irish Council for Civil Liberties has been formed in the wake of an alarming growth of police powers. Reportedly its first campaign is that of the death sentences imposed on Noel and Marie Murray.

Whilst on the phone to comrades at Rivista Anarchica in Milan we learnt that at that very moment (6 pm 19th July) a demonstration of solidarity with the Murrays organised by the anarchist comrades there was being held.

Anarchist Worker are bringing out a 'special' on the Murrays. Available now. Also stickers available from Centro Iberico, advertising demonstration.

Meanwhile, opposition against the death sentences has to increase if we are to save them from the rope. We strongly urge all comrades to bring pressure to bear on the Irish government in any way possible. The least we can do is turn up at the mass picket outside the Irish Embassy on Saturday, 24th of July.

N. S.

MASS PICKET

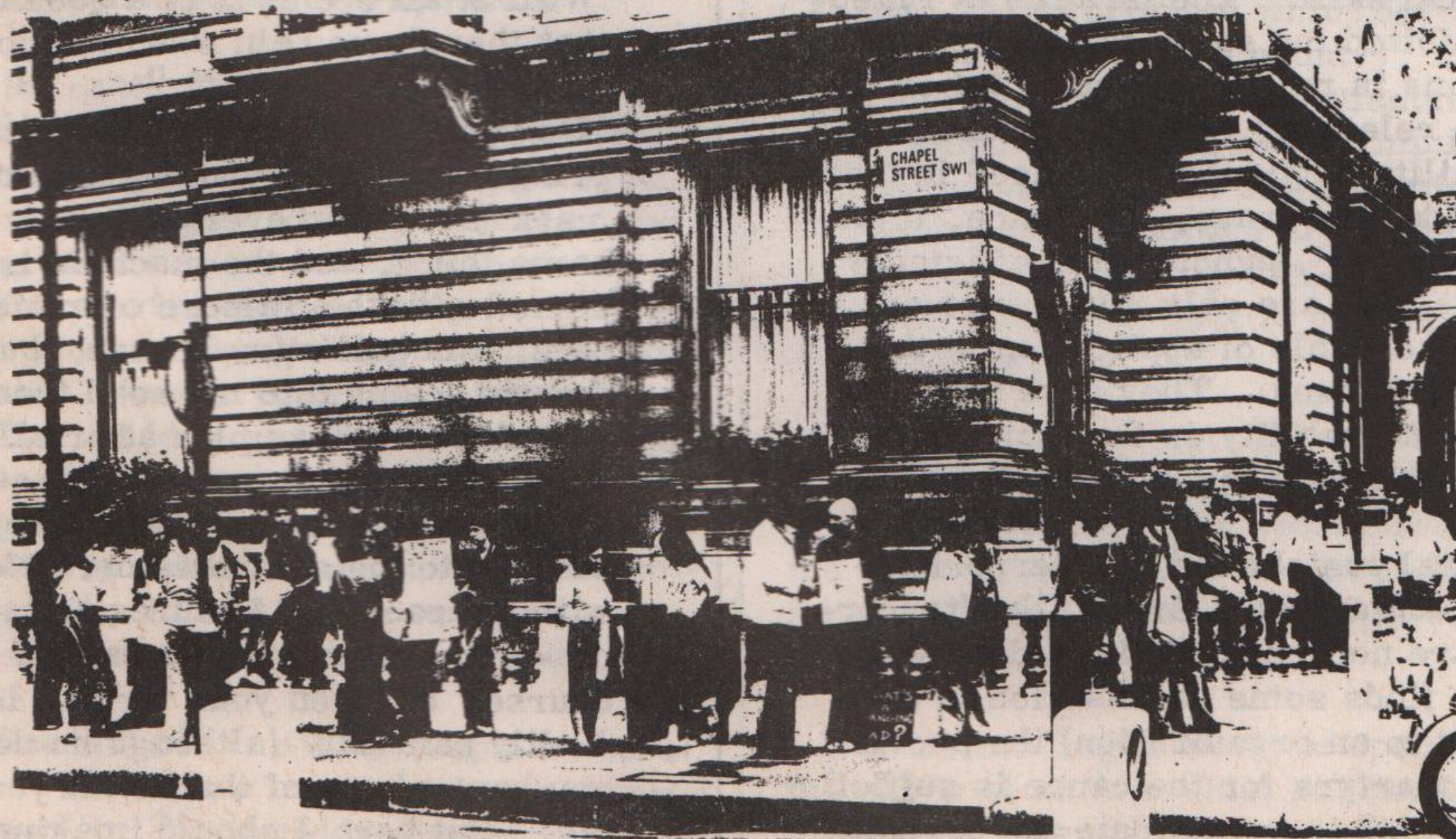
SATURDAY 24 JULY (START 10 a.m.)

Assemble in front of the Irish Embassy 17 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1.

Protest against the death sentences imposed on Marie and Noel Murray by the Special Criminal Court in Dublin after a farcical six-weeks' trial with no jury.

STOP THE HANGINGS

SAVE MARIE & NOEL MURRAY!



AT THE IRISH EMBASSY, MONDAY, 19 JULY, 1976

DEATH FOR DEATH

WHEN ONE considers the killings both by the State and by those who would set up states, they are all animated by the principle generally expressed as 'a life for a life'. This wrongly expressed maxim - it should be 'a death for a death' - has a respectable origin in the Mosaic law, the teachings of the Christian religion, in the Old Testament primarily but given some backing by St. Paul, that founder of Roman Catholic beliefs.

It is no wonder that the devoutly religious Catholics of the IRA and Protestants of the various Ulster varieties carry on their campaigns of mutual extermination backed by the Holy Word in alternative versions. The Israelis, too, harken back to 'an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth'. All devils can quote scripture to their purpose.

Sanctified by the blessing of authority the State has long had its arm of vengeance, the life may be taken (as in states which have capital punishment) or rendered useless, a death in life, by perpetual or extensive imprisonment. The extreme penalty of death is visited upon citizens who rebel against the state; commit treason in war-time; commit economic crimes in 'Socialist' countries; kidnap in democratic countries; kill a policeman in democratic countries; death comes in many forms and for many reasons.

So extensive was the havoc wreaked by the private feud of vengeance that the State arrogated to itself the sole right of life and death and give to its citizens through the church the kindlier teachings of the New Testament, reserving still for itself command over its citizens in time of war to kill those designated - until such time as decreed

SPAIN 1936-1976 [cont. from P. 1]

is said that Suarez has advised Carlos to grant an "amnesty" for political prisoners, but not for those inside for "violent" offences. It might be possible to make an accurate calculus of violence by balancing the number of deaths from industrial injuries, and from traffic accidents in workers' barrios constructed for the industrial army against the number of civil guards killed, in the last ten years. That would tell us that the scope for trade union activity in the field of improvements in both living and working conditions is enormous.

The CNT is already involved in that, and in the struggle for higher wages, but if it is to rebuild its greatness of former years, it must not forget its anarchist basis, which questions the whole mode of capitalist production, as a destructive force. And that it is unlikely to do.

D. L. M.

otherwise - as "the enemy".

States have always been known to reserve the penalty of death for those which each considered the most heinous of crimes; i.e. those which menaced its own existence. Through history, heresy, treason, witchcraft, political deviation (usually presented as 'treason'), desertion in the face of the enemy, piracy, murder, murder of servants of the state (on or off duty), conspiracy to murder or guilt by association with a murderer, adultery, have all been punished with death -- the list is endless and varies with time, place and public mood.

The private emotional need the shocked law-abiding citizen has for his desire for vengeance to be fulfilled plays very little part in this ritualistic sacrifice. Even when, as sometimes happens, relatives of the victim show no ill-will and express forgiveness, the process of the law is inexorable. On the other hand, should, by some technicality (such as age) the law acquit the obviously guilty, there is no satisfaction for the bereaved. There is the case of Craig and Bentley when Bentley, probably innocent although an accomplice, was hanged, since Craig could not be hanged -- as Dickens remarks somewhere through one of his characters, "Better hang wrong fellow than no fellow at all."

The growing vulnerability of a complex centralised technological society to the hi-jacker and the bomber has made states turn to that last desperate refuge of the death penalty in order to eliminate 'terrorism' from their midst. The very vagueness of the term makes legislation difficult and all too often the 'terrorist' of today is the respected elder statesman of tomorrow (e.g. Republic of Ireland, Israel, Algeria). It is only the failed revolutions that are deplored; in the same way that only losers are tried for war crimes.

Success in terrorism has no virtue in itself save appropriateness and technical skill. The Israelis at Entebbe exhibited the same skills as did the Germans in releasing Mussolini or the IRA in releasing various prisoners. The military virtues exercised in these escapades, courage, obedience, loyalty to 'causes', punctuality, efficiency, athleticism, are only minor virtues and are capable of application in the vilest of causes. They have no relation to the validity or truth or virtue of the 'causes' they represent.

Capital punishment for 'terrorism' is self-defeating. Even if the 'terrorists' are not imbued with a death-wish (which finds some satisfaction in belonging to an organization) the provision of martyrs for the cause is sufficient in itself to consolidate the organization and recruit new talent heady for vengeance.

The show-trial is one of the many advantages that the state gets from the public farce that many trials are in essence and duly become. Trial and sentences are only, in the words of Admiral Byng's court-martial, 'to encourage the others'. Angola, like Nuremburg, was only a demonstration of woe to the vanquished. Like Nuremburg, Angola had even to convict some of the comparatively innocent and to create new international laws in order to demonstrate the power of the new State. There even had to be a token American to satisfy Americaphobia.

Even if the accused refuse to cooperate with the court in their own condemning, as the Murrys did, this is no bar to the trial proceeding on its ordained court. All one has is the satisfaction and dignity of not assisting at one's own condemnation.

One cannot feel utter pity for soldiers, whose trade is for death and killing, if they die by the logic by which they live. They at least have their own personal facilities for death and vengeance which they do not hesitate to use, no matter how slight the pretext.

One also feels that police and prison warders have done little to deserve the exclusive privilege (in many countries) that their deaths in line of duty be avenged by the execution of their murderers and accomplices. Murder in the commission of a crime or in the course of escape is usually committed in a panic -- even innocent men have been known to kill from fear of unjustified punishment.

And when it comes to the method of execution one can quibble about the comparative humanitarianism of hanging (the aim is to break the neck); shooting (liable to human error); electrocution (not infallibly instantaneous) or other methods. But in the end a life has been destroyed, as will be the lives of Noel and Marie Murray unless pressure can be brought.

Perhaps the greatest argument against capital punishment was made by Dostoevsky, the Russian novelist (who himself was condemned to death with a mock execution) in his novel, *The Idiot*

"Well at all events it is a good thing that there's no pain when the poor fellow's head flies off."

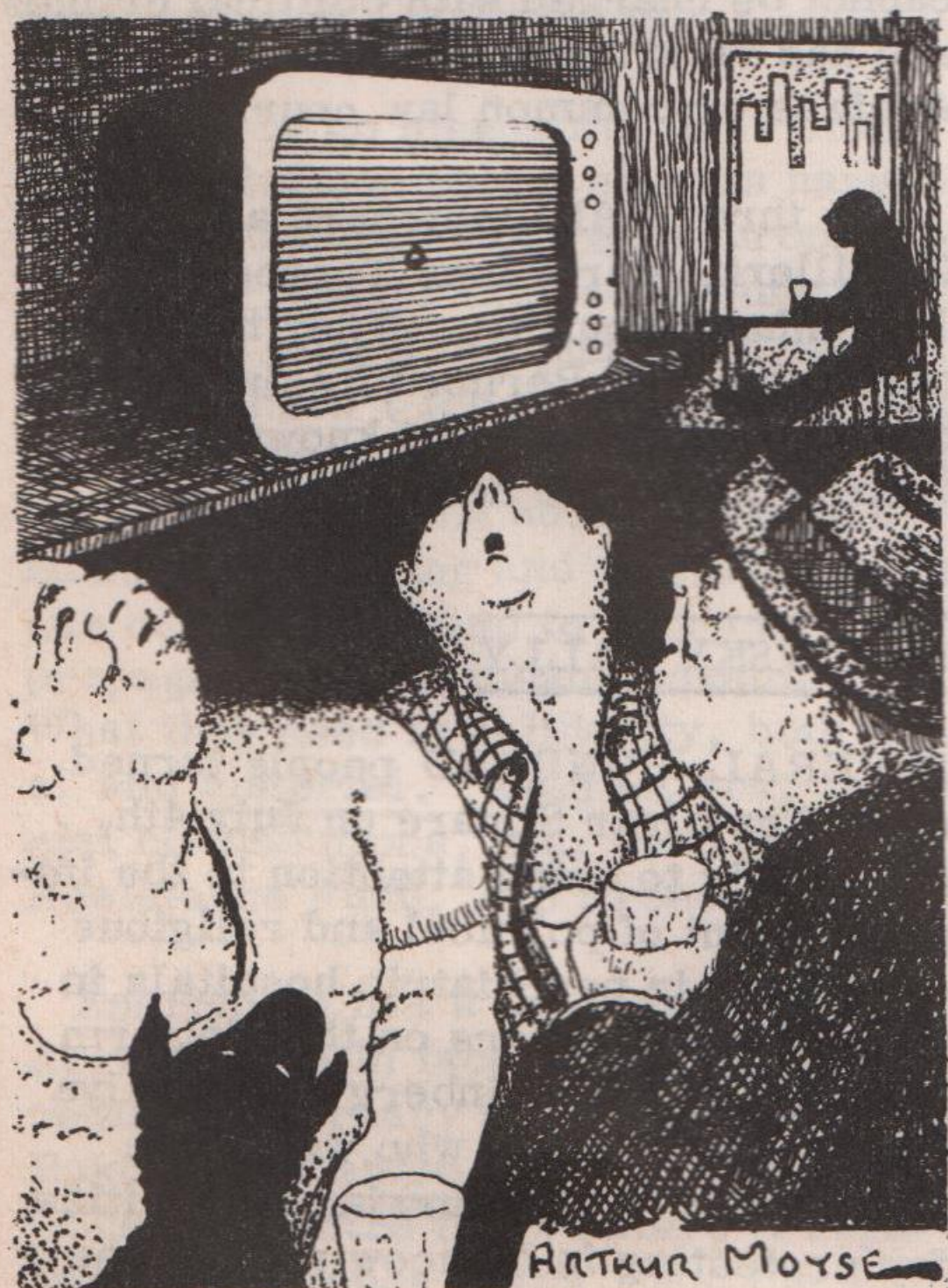
"Do you know, though," cried the prince warmly, "you made that remark now, and everyone says the same thing, and the machine is designed with the purpose of avoiding pain, this guillotine I mean; but a thought came into my head then: what if it be a bad plan after all? You may laugh at my idea, perhaps - but I could not help its occurring to me all the same. Now with the rack and tortures and so on - you suffer terrible pain of course; but then your torture is bodily pain only (although no doubt you have plenty of that) until you die. But here I should imagine the most terrible part of the whole punishment is, not the bodily pain

at all - but the certain knowledge that in an hour - then in ten minutes, then in half-a-minute, then now - this very instant - your soul must quit your body and that you will no longer be a man - and this is certain certain! That's the point - the certainty of it. Just that instant when you place your head on the block and hear the iron grate over your head - then that quarter of a second is the most awful of all.

"This is not my own fantastical opinion - many people have thought the same; but I feel it so deeply that I'll tell you what I think. I believe that to execute a man for murder is to punish him immeasurably more dreadfully than is equivalent to his crime. A murder by sentence is far more dreadful than a murder committed by a criminal. The man who is attacked by robbers at night, in a dark wood, or anywhere, undoubtedly hopes that he may yet escape until the very moment of his death. There are plenty of instances of a man running away, or imploring for mercy - at all events hoping in some degree - even after his throat was cut. But in the case of an execution, that last hope - having which it is so immeasurably less dreadful to die - is taken away from the wretch and certainly substituted in its place. There is his sentence, and with it the terrible certainty that he cannot possibly escape death - which, I consider, must be the most dreadful anguish in the world."

This 'dreadful anguish' has been abandoned but the American Supreme Court in its wisdom has decided that execution is not 'a cruel and unusual punishment' so 600 condemned prisoners now face anew the rope or the chair. When will Holy Ireland drop this barbarous anachronism?

Jack Robinson.



"WHO'S THAT ON THE SCREEN now--FORD, REAGAN or CARTER?"

B.W.N.I.C.

FOR DISCONTENTED
SOLDIERS

SINCE THE acquittal on 14 December last year of 14 BWNIC supporters on charges of (a) conspiracy to disaffect servicemen and (b) possessing seductive literature the campaign for British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland has not figured in the national press, although at the end of the trial the participants announced their intention to intensify the campaign, and to work for the formation of legitimate trade unions within the forces.

Most people may have forgotten the army's presence in the daily serialised horror story from Belfast of killing by civilians of civilians, one day because they are protestant, the next because they are catholic. But BWNIC has come into press and print again - with an 18-page newsletter and a plea to "read some of it!". The minutes of the April general meeting and reports of activities by BWNIC supporters and anti-recruiting groups in diverse parts of Britain show that some action has been going on, as well as a lot of thought and talk showing that BWNIC recognises that British withdrawal does not cure the ills of Northern Ireland ("Withdrawing the troops and ending the Union cannot in themselves constitute a 'solution'. We believe that such actions are only the prerequisite for any peaceful resolution of the conflict..."). Wider and deeper proposals may be expected from the addendum to the Campaign's original (1973) statement which is being prepared. And supporters of and sympathisers with the Campaign's work can join in the discussion and share some of the work (see Meetings notices in Contact Column).

Immediately, an up to date issue of the leaflet giving INFORMATION FOR DISCONTENTED SOLDIERS is available for distribution and reproduction by any groups or individuals who can use it. (This is the new edition of the leaflet which was tried and found not illegal by the Old Bailey jury.) Obtain it from BWNIC c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX.

MC

SOUTH AFRICA

After the slaughter of African students at Soweto the South African government displayed an uncustomary access of reasonableness in announcing that they withdrew the edict that teaching in black schools must be done in Afrikaans as the "second language" to the tribal tongue (instead of English, the current "second language"). Possible danger to the regime resulting from this has been averted by closing black schools.

DURHAM DEMO

On July 10th-11th the Army put on a big display and exhibition at Catterick Camp in North Yorkshire. Three of us went along to provide a counterpresence by giving out leaflets which drew attention to the less savoury aspects of Army life, the hypocrisy of the idea that the Army exists for "our" defence, the purpose of these public shows, and the way they seduce and attract children.

We managed to distribute about 120-150 leaflets in about five or ten minutes before we were picked up. Most of the remaining leaflets were then taken "as evidence." We were told we were infringing a byelaw of Catterick Garrison, and may be charged. The police weren't particularly hostile (civilian police) but the Army MPs were quite nasty. After we had been escorted off the display area and were walking away, a jeep of MPs drew up and one of them shouted at us, "Don't go back on the field!" in what may be described as a threatening manner.

The display itself was horrific. Everywhere there were military vehicles giving rides to kids or with kids swarming over them, and small arms displays manned by soldiers who gave the children brief instructions in aiming and firing. The Royal Army Pay Corps had a shooting gallery with ash-trays as prizes. HQ Squadron, 8th Signal Regiment, was running a Noddy Train. Another attraction was "Grenade throwing - 3 throws for 5p."

Lessons learned: (1) The place was pretty full of civilian police, MPs, and soldiers either in or out of uniform. In other words leaflets were bound to get picked up.

(2) Despite this, we had five or ten minutes of freedom in which each of us got rid of 40-50 leaflets. For an event of this size (80,000 people were expected to attend the display over the weekend) we can't have too many leafletters. What we need is groups of 10 or more, splitting up into 2s and 3s and operating for short periods in different parts of the ground, on a reasonably coordinated basis. That way we would get more leaflets out, and stand more of evading capture (though maybe not much chance).

(3) Future leafletters might look up the byelaws of the place where they're leafletting, just to check. Likely as not, there'll be a byelaw comprehensively preventing leafletting or propagandising, but it's worth knowing the situation before you go in.

Durham Anti-militarists
17 Avenue Street
High Shincliffe
Durham

FRANCE/SPAIN

A Spanish antifascist, Pedro Astudillo, is in prison in the French prison Fresnes, near Paris. His term was to end on January 1st, 1976, but he is still kept in prison. The Spanish government has requested his extradition for having deserted the army in 1949 and for having stolen weapons in 1970, in the very barracks where he had served.

The French government denies him the status of political refugee. Two French courts have granted the extradition, which means for Astudillo certain death under horrible tortures. For the Spanish police and army have old scores to pay off as far as he is concerned.

The only way to save Astudillo from certain death is to have the French government reverse the courts' decision. Astudillo's case must be widely publicised. The extradition of Astudillo the hands of the executioners of the Spanish state must not serve as a test for the good relationship between the French government and the post-Francoist government. Astudillo has said: "They won't have me alive!"

Free Astudillo immediately!

For solidarity and information, write to his counsel: Maître Boutonnet, 16, rue Séguier, 75006 Paris, France.

MEXICO

In Queretaro, a libertarian militant, Salvador Cervantes, has been arrested and tortured by the police before being imprisoned by means of faked confessions. The aim of this detention is to prevent the appearance of the paper he edits, Voz Critica, and to separate him from the workers and peasants with whom he is engaged in fierce struggle against the state.

The Mexican anarchist federation asks libertarian comrades to demand his release by writing to Antonio Calzada, Gobierno del Estado, Queretaro, Mexico.

As we reported several months ago, the country is wracked by police repression of peasants' land seizures, and industrial struggles. Libertarian militants get a double dose, from the government and from the reformists of the Mexican Communist Party.

ITALY... MARINI

On the 17th of July this year Giovanni Marini had served half of his prison sentence for not letting himself be killed by a fascist squad. Under Italian law Marini could now technically be released on parole.

However, his spirited accusations against the atrocities of the Italian penal system will probably be to his disadvantage in obtaining release. Comrades in Italy are planning many demonstrations and other means of showing their support so as to obtain his freedom.

We again urge comrades to write to the representatives of the Italian State in this country and show their disapproval of the prison sentence on Marini and also stating that there can be no reason for keeping Marini imprisoned for any longer.

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...The Price of Abstention

Squads of Communist Party have been attacking anarchist groups in Gragnana because of their successful campaign against voting in the recent elections. Gragnana is a traditionally anarchist town and the PCI section there has shown how although they stand for pluralism in bourgeois democracy and for "freedom" of some sort any deviation from the line laid down by them will be dealt with harshly. The comrades in Gragnana have stated in Umanita Nova that they will not be deterred from carrying on their work.

POLAND

Following the riots reported in last issue of FREEDOM seven workers were put on trial in Warsaw on 16 July charged under articles 127 and 220 of the Polish Penal Code for work stoppages and damage to State property. (Under these articles the maximum sentence is death.) Film shot by police of the derailing of two locomotives by the tractor workers of Ursus was shown in the courtroom. The rioters themselves are reported to have said that their original intention was to block the railway lines with their tractors, but that when the police removed them, they began pulling up the track instead. Many were also angered at the use of the word "hooligan" in the official press.

The trial of workers from factories in Ursus and Radom is the first of its kind to have taken place for several years, and police barred the doors to



REPRESSION

prevent the entry of sympathisers or foreign journalists. The seven Ursus workers were sentenced to terms of between 3 and five years, the highest, 5 year sentence being on a 21 year old man, whose parents had worked at the tractor factory before him.

The trial of six others in Radom (where the Party headquarters was burnt down, and where two strikers had been crushed to death, reportedly by a tractor trailer when attempting to barricade the streets) was also barred to observers. The sentences on these six ranged from four to ten years.

Meanwhile many workers who took part in the riots are reported to have been sacked by the bosses or disciplined by factory tribunals consisting of loyal Party workers. The parents of some of the young workers involved have also been ordered to pay compensation. Several other people put on trial consequent to the food riots are reported to have received "light sentences".

ROMANIA

A new government edict from Bucharest has ordered bureaucrats to answer all correspondence within 40 days of receipt, and urgent correspondence within 20 days of receipt. Penalties will be imposed on officials who don't answer within these time limits or who give "superficial and bureaucratic" replies!

G.A.R.I.

Three members of GARI (Groupes d'Action Revolutionnaire Internationaliste) are still in jail in France after two years of investigation by the Court of State Security. Now this extraordinary court has decided that they cannot be charged with political crimes and has returned their dossiers to the Assizes or common law court.

The three GARI members are Michel Camilleri, Mario Ines Torres and Jean-Marc Rouillon. They have now been joined by Bernard Reglat. After two years it is still not known when their trial will be held.

BUKOVSKY RALLY

SEVERAL HUNDRED people turned up at Trafalgar Square on July 4th, for a rally to bring attention to the imprisonment of political and religious dissidents in psychiatric hospitals in the USSR. Speakers on the platform included Viktor Fainberg and Natalya Gordanayevskaya, who were both imprisoned by the Russian authorities for protesting in Moscow against the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Fainberg served 5 years in a mental hospital and Natalya 2 years in prison.

WORLDWIDE

Their descriptions of conditions inside the various mental hospitals and prisons, i.e., injections with dangerous drugs, beatings, solitary confinement etc., could be attributed to most states throughout the world, so widespread has become the use of mental/physical torture.

Other speakers present included Tom Stoppard, Lord Avebury and David Simpson of Amnesty, who all raised the case of Vladimir Bukovsky, the human rights campaigner jailed for 12 years in 1972 for "Anti Soviet Activities". Bukovsky is now close to death, partly through a hunger strike, and also the lack of proper medical attention. He is held in the notorious Vladimir prison. His mother recently sent a letter to Fainberg, saying her only hope for Vladimir was a protest campaign in the West large enough to embarrass the Soviet regime into releasing him on humanitarian grounds.

When arrested in 1968, Viktor Fainberg asked his interrogators what his 'crime' was. They replied: 'Your disease is dissent'.

One can only stand back and admire the courage and self-sacrifice of people such as Bukovsky and Fainberg, who stand up in the face of astounding odds to speak out against the inhumanity of the state.

ARGENTINA

THE INCREASINGLY repressive situation which has been developing in Argentina over the past several years, graphically illustrated by the recent killing of 17 Montaneros guerrillas in a gun battle with police and the subsequent bombing of police headquarters in Buenos Aires, has also struck our contemporary La Protesta.

This is by no means the first time that Argentinian ruling classes have attempted to impede anarchist propaganda. La Protesta started in June 1897 and since then it has published over 8000 numbers (for many years it was a daily paper), both openly and in clandestinity. Now the authorities have banned its printing and circulation, but our comrades intend to carry on their propaganda by all means possible. What they need is solidarity, both moral and material. Send letters, financial contributions, etc. to Argentina Resistance Fund, c/o Freedom Press.

Anarchism has a long tradition in Argentina -- in fact 1976 is the hundredth anniversary of the founding of a Bakuninist Centro de Propaganda Obrero (Centre for Workers' Propaganda) in Buenos Aires; and the early history of the workers' movement in Argentina is synonymous with the an-

archist movement. It was the anarchists of the FORA (Workers' Federation, Argentina Region) who fought for the 8-hour day, social security, and humane working conditions, against oppression and violent attempts at suppression.

There was a fierce struggle for the allegiance of the workers during the 30's and Peron's first period, between the centralist CGT and the FORA, which the CGT, with governmental backing, won. Even so, the FORA is still the third force in the trade unions after the Peronists and the Socialists.

Today the anarchist movement is small, but active. In addition to La Protesta, a group of young anarchists published Accion Directa until it was recently suppressed, and Editorial Proyeccion published a wide range of anarchist literature. On a recent trip to Argentina, the German anarchist, Horst Stowasser, came across a book about the strikes and struggles of the FORA in Patagonia, for sale on a bookstall in Buenos Aires. The book was La Patagonia Rebelde and its author, Osvaldo Bayer, had to flee Argentina because of threats to him by the semi-official AAA (Argentinian Anti-communist Alliance). What had brought him to their attention was a film made from his book, which played to capacity houses in Argentina before being banned after the military putsch.

Despite all the threats, Bayer has now returned to Argentina to fight for anarchist ideas. We ought to do all we can to help him, and all our other comrades, in what is a dangerous, but by no means hopeless situation.

D.L.M.

(Sources: correspondence, Freie Presse, Befreiung.)

INTERNATIONAL MARCH

Metz to Verdun 4-10 August, 1976

THIS SUMMER, activists and sympathisers will come from all corners of Western Europe (and from abroad) to gather and march together through one of the most militarised regions of Europe. An unusual gathering, this March will be centred on the theme of demilitarisation. It is to pass through Eastern France but is above all an international affair. No one who works actively for peace, or for demilitarisation, should be absent; nor should anyone who just wants a society founded on something else than militarism (and the

ever-quickenning arms race) fail to attend. Each person's presence is valuable! This for many reasons, not to mention the fact that it would be a shame to miss an occasion such as this!

It is important that those working for peace and demilitarisation show their faces apart from the closed atmosphere of conferences-- to go and talk directly with the people and, through the media, publicise as much as possible the constructive peace work, so tirelessly pursued. To come from so many European countries is already to have a symbolic impact. It shows that there is unity of purpose in all the countries, that direct links are being strengthened between the peoples, links that afford greater security than that given by today's terrifying weapons which divide countries and create a spirit of fear and distrust. This march, then, is a popular assemblage of persons determined to reach across national frontiers. It is not an indictment, but an invitation. An invitation to life, to solidarity, and to creativity...

... So there is the task to which we contribute, internationally, in undertaking this march, in opening the discussion to various ideological currents, and to the people we meet along the way of the march... and in spreading word about all this to the press all over the world. That is why, in addition to this work every day, we will have a need to stop in one of the largest international cemeteries in Europe, so as to ensure that in building for the future, we are mindful of history's lessons. We must make it clear that we stop at these graves with all respect for those who courageously gave their lives in battle, thinking that in so doing they would put an end to war and to an unacceptable world order. It is no longer only necessary after wars to take measures designed to prevent the next one.

Some of us will begin the march in the North of Italy, then (after Verdun) continuing on to Sardinia; but EVERYONE should be together between Metz and Verdun from 4 to 10 August. Re-united to march, have dialogue, sing, and to mix with friends of many nationalities, we will not only show publicly a pursuit a determination and a hope, but we'll also build new friendships, see the faces of friends working as we do in other lands, and construct new and enduring solidarity in a week of active, communitarian living and good feelings that will affect our lives long after the march is over. And this is very important for our future work, and even if the march isn't expected to solve all the world's ills, it is nevertheless a first step of great import. It'll be an intense experience. A lot of work. But also joy, shared friendship, learning, new experiences, and better understanding.

For more information, contact:

International March for
Demilitarisation,
35 rue van Elewijck,
B-1050 Bruxelles, Belgium.

A GROUP known as "Fare Fight" has been organising an ingenious campaign to cause London Transport an enormous bureaucratic headache for their imposed increases in fares. The campaign's main weapon is this little slip:

See notes on cover

TO LONDON TRANSPORT EXECUTIVE. Date _____

I have today travelled from _____ to _____

and tendered a ticket for _____ p/ Should you wish

to recover the outstanding sum, my name and address is:

Name _____ Address _____

Signed _____

which they explain: "Deferred payment slips are, in effect, IOUs acknowledging that you owe London Transport some

gers, it means more waiting, more crowding, and more cars blocking the roads, as those who can afford motoring abandoning the tubes and buses." (Fare Fight introductory leaflet.)

The campaign's leaflet to transport workers rightly concludes that if the fares rises and the cuts in services are to be resisted, workers and passengers must recognise their common interests and fight the bureaucracy together.

Detailed advice is also given about what happens when the slips are used:

1. If thousands of people are using them, it'll take London Transport years to sort out all those 'credit accounts' and their fare-collecting system will get entirely bunged up.
2. If they do get around to chasing you, they'll first write saying that you owe them so much. You can

FARE FIGHT

money. They are quite legal. To bust you they have to prove (a) that you got on a train without any ticket, (but it's O.K. to have one for less than your full journey) or (b) that you practised some deception in order to avoid paying the full amount. Neither of these apply if you have bought some ticket and filled in the slip correctly. If your journey involves one or more changes, we recommend you to get a ticket which covers you beyond the last of them. Your position is that you are intending to pay the money, but are merely delaying as a protest against the increases." (Fare Fight leaflet "Hanging it out".)

If enough people use these slips this should cause such an enormous workload that it will ensure not only that the popular protest against the LT Executive increase is felt, but also that the backlog caused may prompt London Transport to forget about following up the information on the slips. In any case any comrades who wish to resist payment would have the benefit of knowing that an increase in the number of County Court summonses would also cause more work for the Executive.

As always in such cases our sympathies lie with the workers -- the underground's ticket collectors and the lowly clerk in the London Transport offices who have to accept and then process the slips. All the time, pressure will be put on them from above to work very hard at doing London Transport's dirty work. The campaign "Fare Fight" is also appealing to the workers of London Transport.

LONDON TRANSPORT TO DISAPPEAR UP ITS OWN ESCALATOR ?

"Cuts in services are more than just a sneaky alternative to more increases, they are an inevitable consequence of increases. Southdown buses, which operate in Sussex, have upped their fares. The twits who 'manage' this outfit reckoned there would be some 'customer resistance' (i.e. many people wouldn't be able to afford the higher fares and would stop travelling). So a 25% increase would yield only a 19% increase in revenue. IN FACT THEY ONLY GOT 13%. They've already applied for another increase, and this time they're asking for carte blanche to fix any figure they like to guess, which they hope will give them a 10% revenue increase. The chances are it'll be another 25%. The dole queue looms for Sussex busmen!

Fare rises are a threat to all transport workers' jobs, and already the rot has started in London. L.T. buses are undermanned by 4,000 (which is the official excuse for poor services), but they're not recruiting any new workers, despite a waiting list of 2,500. Reduced overtime, and then redundancies are the other steps along this road. For passen-

pay up at this stage if you want to, and you will already have caused them a lot of work and expense. Ignore any extras they may try to add for administration or costs -- they can't enforce them.

3. Make sure they're not overcharging you. If you have any doubt about this, write and ask them for a complete statement of all the journeys you're supposed to have made.
4. After this is sorted out, they'll probably send you a County Court summons. There is no need to worry about this. You can pay the money any time before the date set for the matter to come up in court (at least a couple of weeks). They're still being optimistic if they try to add costs.
5. If you still haven't paid when the court deals with it, things could get a bit heavier. If you are thinking of going this far contact us first for advice.
6. It seems that many letters in London simply do not reach the people to whom they are addressed and can never be found. When this happens, public authorities writing to people who owe them money resort to recorded delivery, which means that the recipient must be at home when the postman calls and agree to accept the letter.
7. The annual report of the Mammon-Parasite Bank Ltd. reveals that there has been a 4,037% increase in the number of silly mistakes people make when writing out cheques. If this is being done deliberately as an underhand method of getting another couple of weeks credit, it is to be deplored by all decent citizens."

(from "Hanging it out").

Above all the campaign needs support from people using and working on London Transport's underground system. Comrades are urged to reproduce slips like those reproduced above. (the same wording must be used) or obtain books of slips (1½p per book plus post & packing) from the campaign organisers at the following address:

Fare Fight,
Flat 3,
76 Sidney Street,
London, E.1. (tel. 790-9965)

Donations are welcomed by the organisers who have already incurred great expense with the running of the campaign.

'HARD TIMES'

EDUCATION

IT NOW seems certain that only about 25 per cent of the students just finishing their teachers' training course will find a job for September. That means that 30,000 will be out of work. The blow has come with sickening suddenness.

All the parties concerned - the government, the unions and the local authorities - are to blame. Because, given the existing situation, widespread unemployment in the profession was at some point inevitable. The birth-rate was falling; the Houghton award gave teachers a lot more money; even without the present 'crisis' there was bound to be a limit on local government spending. The simple truth was that, unless the teacher-ratio was drastically reduced, far too many teachers being trained.

The government and the unions both knew this and both, for their own devious reasons, did nothing about it. And they seem bent on making things still worse. The N.U.T. is insisting on 15,000 teacher training places this September, thus ensuring extra unemployment in the future. And the government is busy trying to obfuscate the seriousness of the situation.

For serious it is. The statistics are very very depressing. Only 20 per cent of qualifying students in Wales and London have found jobs, 21 per cent in the North-West and so on. And the statistics only mask the individuals, men and women, who have decided they want to be teachers, who've trained for two or three years and who now see no prospect of finding a job in the foreseeable future. For there seems no chance of the situation improving. Next year will be just as bad, if not worse. It may be years before they land a job. No wonder more than 100 colleges have been occupied.

But that is unlikely to achieve anything. The realities are brutally discouraging. These teachers lucky enough to have a job are staying put, unless they're pregnant or they've reached retiring age. And herein lies the only gain from the situation. Until very recently teachers changed jobs frequently. In many inner-city schools it wasn't unusual for an 80 per cent staff turnover to take place each year. Now, at least, a lot of children will get more stability and therefore security from school.

In the existing economic situation it is impossible to make any other than a pessimistic prognosis. Teacher-child ratios ought to be reduced and nursery education expanded, but where will the money come from for that? Voluntary early retirement is a good idea, as is retraining college leavers to teach shortage subjects. Another suggestion is that 'bad' teachers should be sacked. There are no doubt plenty of 'bad' teachers around, but who is going to define what makes a teacher 'bad'? It is hard to resist the forecast that an identification will, at least in some cases, be made between 'subversive' (i.e. undocile) and 'bad'.

Of course, plenty of other people are out of work. But a 75 per cent rate of unemployment is dreadful. The vested interests of three giant bureaucracies have ensured that the situation is infinitely worse than it could or should

have been. Between them they have a lot of misery to answer for.

D. B.

P.S. As for the Tameside dispute, whatever one's views on comprehensive education, it is ludicrously irresponsible for the Council to try to revert to grammar schools at this late stage. They are playing politics; the children will suffer. --D.B.

LETTER

"FREEDOM" and ISRAEL

Dear Sir,

When Czechoslovakia attempted to give its communism a human face, it was invaded by the Russian army and all human liberties were crushed. Since Russia does not border on the state of Israel it armed the Egyptians, Syrians, Iraqi to wage war on Israel with the intent of crushing the freedom of speech, press and assembly established in that country. The anarchic communes (kwusots) of Israel and rights of the Arabic minority are particularly galling to Moscow with its forced collectives and its denial of national selfdetermination to the Ukrainians, Georgians, Lithuanians and the innumerable other nationalities conquered long ago by the armies of the Tsars.

This is the conflict in the middle east, a conflict between a tiny democratic country and the vast territories dominated variously by Feudal Lords, fascist-communist states, and loosely organised paramilitary gangs of Arabic pogromchiks, heirs to the black hundreds of the Tsars. All financed by Petrodollars extracted by blackmail from the western world.

Russia used to be the granary of the industrial countries of the West. Since Lenin seized power its agriculture has deteriorated to the point where Russia cannot feed its own population, let alone export to the west. Instead it has to buy billions of dollars' worth of grain from the capitalist USA and Canada. A government which devotes all the resources of the country, material and human, to the manufacturing of armaments, leaving a bare minimum for the satisfaction of economic needs, Russia has ample arms to export to the middle east, while it uses the petro dollars it gets to pay the USA for the wheat.

It is the immense propaganda machine of the communist party which invented the term anti-Zionism as a substitute for the obnoxious anti-semitism which it practices.

It is astounding to find you opening the pages of an Anarchist publication to this cheap communist propaganda with your ludicrous hint that perhaps the antizionists might become antistatists

though of course they are not now to be regarded as Anarchists. I cannot believe that the followers of the gentle Peter Kropotkin have become vulgar anti-semites, justifying yourself by attacking Israel because it is not an Anarchist society. Would that Czechoslovakia and the other satellites of Russia enjoyed the freedom the Arabs enjoy in Israel, including the Arabs of the Westbank who only recently voted themselves communist municipalities. Whatever your motives, the resulting distortion of the facts renders your publication unreadable, and I shall certainly not renew my subscription.

Yours truly,
New York. Gabriel Javiskas.

CRIMINAL BOOK

THE CRIMINAL BROTHERHOODS, by David Leon Chandler, Constable, £3.95

THIS BOOK is incredible! Judging by the references quoted, the author does not know any Italian and definitely would be at a complete loss with Sicilian dialects. His attempt to not only link the Italian Republican Mazzini with the origins of the Mafia but also to suggest he was the founding father of that society is nothing more than sheer gullibility on the author's part who believes this story even though it came from a sworn enemy of Mazzini.

He suggests in one reference that he read an English translation of Michele Pantaleone's book *Mafia e Politica* in which the Sicilian-born Pantaleone (a noted authority on the Mafia in Italy) shows how the mafia was started by feudal lords to protect their interests and property through their protection of poor people who stole and killed for a living.

He is also struck with the sort of view of society which suggests that only the arrival on the scene of a certain figure causes people at large to adopt certain modes of behaviour. Hence, he tries to suggest that Sicilians adopted the mafia 'code of honour' which seems to have come from nowhere. You do not, in fact, have to be a mafioso to know that up until very recently the average Sicilian would kill a man for sleeping with his wife regardless of whether he was in the mafia.

The majority of the book is devoted to the goings on in America from the turn of the century onwards. Whilst this section seems well researched, his obvious lack of understanding of the origins and effects of the criminal brotherhoods leads me to believe that this book can only be regarded, at best, as an exciting piece of fiction.

Nino Staffa.

CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 5 August. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Monday 26 July and for inclusion in news section date as Monday 2 August (and receipt by Thursday 29 July is more helpful).

MEETINGS

LONDON 25 July "Anarchist positions on Ireland". Public meeting of the Federation of London Anarchist Groups, at the Roebuck public house, 108 Tottenham Court Road, W.1. starting at 7.30 pm (nearest tubes - Goodge St. and Warren St.)

CAMBRIDGE. There will be an anarchist presence at the Cambridge Folk Festival 29-31 July in Cherry Hinton Hall grounds. Look for the black flag & bookstall

LONDON 21 & 22 August Brit. Withdrawal from N.Ireland Campaign national meeting of supporters at the Pax Christi Centre, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Road, N.W.5. (near Chalk Farm tube station, on bus routes 24 & 45). Starts 2pm Sat. Details from BWNIC (London Group) c/o 5 Caledonian Rd London N.1. (send SAE). Creche, crashpads

ITALY 24-26 September. An international conference of Bakunin studies will take place in Venice. Many scholars have already agreed to participate. All comrades interested in the initiative, and wishing either to send suggestions or financial contributions, or to participate in/be present at the conference, are invited to get in touch with Nico Berti, C.P. 541, 35100 Padua, Italy.

INTERNATIONAL CAMP France. July 15-August 15 at St. Mitre les Remparts (on Highway D50 between Istres and Martigues, 50 km west of Marseilles). Apply to Frances Portillat, 3 square Guy de Maupassant, Groupe Millon, 12110 Port de Bouc, France.

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation, for meetings, activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Road, Burnley, Lancs.

EAST LONDON Libertarian Group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Lathom Road, E.6. Phone Ken 552-3985

SOUTH-EAST London Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina 460-1833

KINGSTON Libertarian Group interested persons contact Pauline, tel. 549 2564

Anarchists/Libertarians Colchester area interested in local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd. Colchester for mtg. details.

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

NEW YORK COMRADE'S DEATH.

We are sorry to have received from our New York comrades the following announcement:

"The Libertarian Book Club sorrowfully mourns the loss of WILLIAM TABACK, devoted Secretary for many years of the Club; anarchist, trade unionist, comrade and friend. William Taback died on Thursday, June 3, 1976 at the age of 72, after a year's illness."

At his funeral on June 4 tributes were paid by Paul Avrich for the Libertarian Book Club; Ahrne Thorne for the Freie Arbeiter Stime, and Dr. Irving Levitas, as friend and member of the Libertarian Book Club. Sarah Taback, his wife and life-long comrade spoke movingly about him at the memorial service.

S. E. PARKER, editor of Minus One, is willing to speak on various aspects of anarchism & individualism to groups in London and the Home Counties. For more information write to him at 186 Gloucester Terrace, London, W.2.

LONDON BWNIC. Tues 3 August London supporters mtg. 7.30 pm at 6 Endsleigh St. WC1.

Monthly mtg. Tues 7 Sept 7.30 above address. Details of both from BWNIC (London group) c/o 5 Caledonian Rd London N1 9DX

GROUPS

ABERDEEN c/o S. Blake, 167 King Street

BATH - during vac. write c/o Freedom.

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group, Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave.

Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

BURNLEY Michael Sweeney, 165 Rosehill Road, Burnley, Lancs BB11 2QX

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephan, Botany School Field Station, 34a Storey's Way, Cambridge (tel. 52896)

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 2LL

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

DUNDEE - term time

DURHAM - term time

EDINBURGH - term time

FIFE - see West Fife

GLASGOW, Jim McFarlane, c/o Charlie Baird, 122 Berneray St., Milton, Glasgow G22 8AY

GLASGOW Libertarian Socialist Group 90 John St. Glasgow C1 or tel Dave 339-4236 for details of weekly meetings.

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 6

LEICESTER, Peter and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street, Leicester, tel. 549652

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street, Oxford

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

ST. ANDREWS - term time

WEST FIFE write John Deming, 164 Apin Crescent, Dunfermline

Proposed Yorkshire Federation - interested individuals or groups please contact Leeds group
OVERSEAS

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Anarchist Group 32/4 Condamine Court, Turner, ACT 2601

Melbourne Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne. New South Wales P. Stones, P.O. Box 25, Warrawong, NSW 2502.

Sydney Fed. of Aust. Anarchists and "Rising Free" monthly, Box 92, Broadway, 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

Write to the movement c/o Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607, Christchurch.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS/PUBLICATIONS

NORTHANTS A. S. Neill Association group now forming. Contact Susan and Terry Phillips 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

ANARCHIST TRANSPORT WORKERS - an attempt to organise. Contact Adam 01-247 4829
SUMMER CAMP. Travelling companion please. Can leave any time. Willing to

go on train but prefer hitch (speak French). Ring Val, 01-348 5394

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front, Box 1976, c/o Rising Free 142 Drummond Street, London NW1
BACK ISSUES of foreign anarchist/syndicalist papers available. Contact Box CA1 Freedom.

PRISONERS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY and **NOEL MURRAY** - watch news pages, but protest letters to the Minister for Justice, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR.

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

PRESS FUND

1st - 14th July

HOVE: H.C. 29p; KENLEY: M.C. 85p;
ABINGDON: P.B. £ 1; WESTCLIFF: R.B. 68p;
DOUGLAS IoM: B.C. 34p; LONDON NW3:
T.Mc £ 1; BRISTOL: E.M. 14p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; SANDVIKEN, Sweden: W.N. 56p; LONDON SE 26: J.B. £ 1.23; PAISLEY: A.S.C. 70p;
SACRAMENTO, Calif: Donation from proceeds from Picnic at Santa Theresa Park: £ 56;
BRISTOL: P.K. 20p; GRAASTEN, Denmark: O.B.L. 50p.

TOTAL: £ 65.69

PREVIOUSLY ACKNOWLEDGED £ 640.67

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 706.36

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1776 & ANARCHISM

ANARCHISM DEVELOPED as a systematic ideology during the revolutionary upheavals in Continental Europe from the 1790s to the 1870s, but it had already appeared in an unsystematic form during earlier revolutionary upheavals in the English-speaking world -- in Britain during the 1640s, and in North America during the 1770s. At a time when we are remembering the 200th anniversary of the foundation of the United States of America, we should also remember the 200th anniversary of a significant episode in the prehistory of the anarchist movement.

The most influential single writing produced by the American rebels before the Declaration of Independence was an anonymous pamphlet which was written at the end of 1775 by an obscure English journalist who had come to America only a year before, and which was published in Philadelphia in January 1776. This was Thomas Paine's Common Sense, which after 200 years is still one of the most significant documents in the history of radical political thought. Paine had already written against the enslavement of negroes and the subjection of women (being one of the first people to do so in America), but without much effect. When he wrote against the system of hereditary monarchy in general and against the British rule over the American colonies in particular, the effect was enormous. Common Sense sold tens of thousands of copies (though Paine made no money out of it at all), and was the chief argument which turned the American rebels from mere resistance to outright independence.

But what is interesting from the anarchist point of view is that Common Sense opened with a remarkable passage making the fundamental distinction between society and the state which is the essential basis of anarchist theory. Paine's argument was not itself anarchist, but it is the beginning of anarchist argument.

On the Origin and Design of Government in General...

Some writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness posit-

ively by uniting our affections, the latter negatively by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society, in every state, is a blessing; but Government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one: for when we suffer or are exposed to the same miseries by a Government, which we might expect in a country without Government, our calamity is heightened by reflecting, that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built upon the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For, were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but, that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which, in every other case, advises him out of two evils to choose the least. Wherefore, security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows that whatever form thereof appears most likely to ensure it to us, with the least expense and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others...

Fifteen years later this argument was absorbed into and expanded in Paine's political masterpiece, Rights of Man, which was written in 1790-92 in reply to Edmund Burke's reactionary attack on the French Revolution, and which remains one of the classics of English political thought. The crucial passages appear in the first chapter of Part Two, published in February 1792.

Of Society and Civilisation

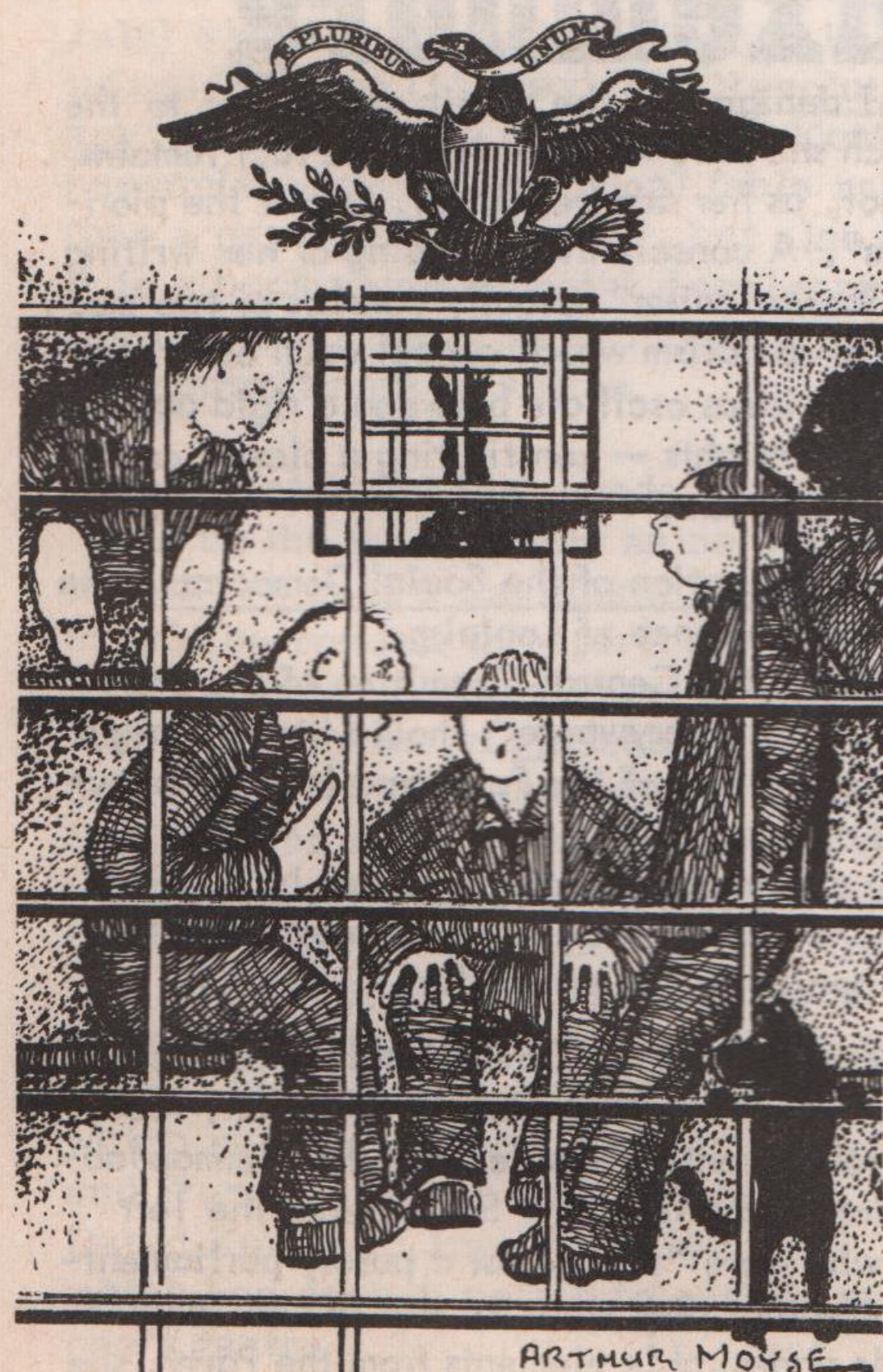
Great part of that order which reigns among mankind is not the effort of government. It has its origin in the principles of society and the natural constitution of man. It existed prior to government, and would exist if the formality of government was abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which man has upon man, and all the parts of civilised community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landholder, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every occupation, prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their law; and the laws which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of government. In fine, society performs for itself almost everything which is ascribed to government....

If we examine with attention into the composition and constitution of man, the diversity of his wants, and the diversity of talents in different men for reciprocally accommodating the wants of each other, his propensity to society, and consequently to preserve the advantages resulting from it, we shall easily discover, that a great part of what is called government is mere imposition.

Government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilisation are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to show, that everything which government can usefully add thereto, has been performed by the common consent of society, without government.

For upwards of two years from the commencement of the American War, and to a longer period in several of the American States, there were no established forms of government. The old governments had been abolished, and the country was too much occupied in defence to employ its attention in establishing new governments; yet during this interval order and harmony were preserved as inviolate as in any country in Europe. There is a natural aptness in man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resources, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal government is abolished, society begins to act; a general association takes place, and common interest produces common security.

So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition



ARTHUR MOYLE

of any formal government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together. All that part of its organisation which it had committed to its government, devolves again upon itself, and acts through its medium. When men, as well from natural instinct as from reciprocal benefits, have habituated themselves to social and civilised life, there is always enough of its principles in practice to carry them through any changes they may find necessary or convenient to make in their government. In short, man is so naturally a creature of society that it is almost impossible to put him out of it.

Formal government makes but a small part of civilised life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilisation -- to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained -- to the unceasing circulation of interest, which, passing through its million channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilised man -- it is to these things, infinitely more than to anything which even the best instituted government can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depends.

The more perfect civilisation is, the less occasion has it for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself; but so contrary is the practice of old governments to the reason of the case, that the expenses of them increase in the proportion they ought to diminish. It is but few general laws that civilised life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of government or not, the effect will be nearly the same. If we consider what the principles are that first condense man into society, and what are the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other.

Man, with respect to all those matters, is more a creature of consistency than he is aware, or than government would wish him to believe. All the great laws of society are laws of nature. Those of trade and commerce, whether with respect to the intercourse of individuals or of nations, are laws of mutual and reciprocal interests. They are followed and obeyed, because it is the interest of the parties so to do, and not on account of any formal laws their government may impose or interpose.

But how often is the natural propensity to society disturbed or destroyed by the operations of government! When the latter, instead of being ingrafted on the principles of the former, assumes to exist for itself, and acts by partialities of favour and oppression, it becomes the cause of the mischiefs it ought to prevent....

Paine went on to explore ways of improving government. His friend William Godwin went in another direction, and in his Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Political Justice (published exactly a year after Part Two of Rights of Man, in February 1793) explored ways of abolishing it. Yet Godwin, who thus began the intellectual systematisation of anarchist ideology, rested his structure on the foundations left by Paine; and Paine had first laid them in Common Sense.

*

Of course the American revolution was in fact political, not social, and did not bring anarchism at all. A permanent democracy soon replaced the temporary anarchy mentioned by Paine -- yet the latter seemed real enough at the time. The influential orator Patrick Henry said in 1775: "Government is dissolved.... We are in a state of nature"; and the influential politician John Adams feared in 1775 that half the American population might not want any government in place of British rule. The statesman Benjamin Franklin, Paine's patron, is reported to have said during the Constitutional Convention in 1787:

Gentlemen, you see that in the anarchy in which we live society manages much as before. Take care, if our disputes last too long, that the people do not come to think that they can very easily do without us!

Even when the new regime was established, the way the old regime had been destroyed was not forgotten. The Declaration of Independence said "that all men are created equal" with "inalienable rights" to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness", and "that whenever any form of government be-

comes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it" -- which is what the American people did. Thomas Jefferson, who drafted the Declaration of Independence and later became President of the United States, maintained his liberalism almost to the point of libertarianism. He coined two immortal mottoes -- "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance" and "That government is best which governs least" -- and remarked in 1797 that "a little rebellion now and then is a good thing".

In 1849 Henry David Thoreau developed Jefferson's line of thought in his essay on Resistance to Civil Government (later known as Civil Disobedience):

I heartily accept the motto -- "That government is best which governs least"; and I should like to see it acted up to more rapidly and systematically. Carried out it finally amounts to this, which also I believe -- "That government is best which governs not at all"; and when men are prepared for it, that will be the kind of government which they will have.

By that time, though, there were real anarchists in America -- "no-government men", Thoreau called them -- and the libertarian tradition of revolutionary America increasingly developed alongside or was absorbed into the anarchist tradition of revolutionary Europe. Benjamin Tucker, who tried to combine the two traditions, said in State Socialism and Anarchism (1886):

Anarchists are simply unterrified Jeffersonian democrats. They believe that "the best government is that which governs least", and that that which governs least is no government at all.

Anarchists who were European immigrants naturally tended to see themselves first as socialists; native Americans frequently tended to see themselves first as populists, and anarchists from Voltairine de Cleyre to Paul Goodman repeatedly acknowledged their debt to the rebels of 1776. There are practical as well as theoretical links -- the popular resistance to British rule from 1765 and the war from 1775, which finally brought independence in 1783, began the habit of disobedience which is still much stronger in the United States than in almost any other stable society. Recent events such as the movement for civil rights and the movement against the Vietnam war show how strong this habit still is after two centuries. There has never been a proper history of American anarchism in all its aspects, but when there is it will have to consider the curious event of 1776, when the formation of a new state was announced in terms which deny the need for any state.

N. W.

The Libertarian Myth of

Rosa Luxemburg

WITHOUT IN THE LEAST denigrating the heroic dedication to the ideals of socialism, for which she paid with her life, the fact remains that Rosa Luxemburg, was not, as her admirers insist, one of the pioneers of "Libertarian Marxism". A conscientious reading of her writing will demonstrate that her "libertarianism" actually consists of two mutually exclusive conceptions of socialism which cancel each other out and cannot be reconciled. Her ideas oscillate between a rigid authoritarianism and some libertarian insights -- constituting a classic example of Marxist thought on this problem.

In her essay, Organizational Question of the Social Democracy, she vividly pinpoints the totalitarian essence of Leninism:

"...Lenin's thesis that the Central Committee of the Party [not only in Russia but everywhere] should have the right to appoint local committees of the Party and impose its own ready-made rules of conduct..."

On the same page she amply demonstrates that she differs NOT IN ESSENCE, BUT ONLY IN DEGREE from Lenin; saying, in effect, "You are doing a good job, don't spoil it by going too far."

Rosa Luxemburg explicitly repudiates the fundamental principles of libertarian socialism -- socialism, federalism, decentralization, local autonomy -- "...it is absolutely essential to safeguard the German labour movement from a lapse into anarchism..." She defends the left wing of the Socialist Party who were "...against a purely parliamentary policy..." from the charge that they were for this reason "anarchizing socialism". To exclude undesirable elements from the Party, she

200 YEARS OF VIOLENCE

WHILST THIS alien terrorism was regarded with awe by those who were 100% Americans, a native American terror called the Ku Klux Klan (said to be the sound of a rifle cocking, or the Greek word for a circle) was blossoming. It was said to be founded by Confederate (Southern) ex-soldiers in 1866 in Pulaski, Tennessee to recapture the comradeship of the war. It 'degenerated into mere terrorism' (Coughlan) and was disbanded in 1869. It combatted carpet-baggers (i.e. Northerners making money out of the South's defeat) and restrained 'uppity' negroes and kept them away from the polls. This was carried out by menacing displays of hooded night riders, tarring and feathering; and lynchings. It will be recalled that the Klan were the heroes of D. W. Griffith's American film epic The Birth of a Nation (1914); he later made Intolerance (1916) in exculpation.

The Klan, according to Siegfried, "is one of those manifestations which rage for a while and then die down and disappear". The Klan stands in the main for white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, "it is a state of mind". The negro has

urged "...greater strictness in the application of centralization and more severe discipline..."

She actually glorified the anti-libertarian character of the German Socialist Party. For Rosa Luxemburg, the Party is the "centre of gravity of the European Labour Movement...the strongest, most model organization of the proletariat...which collected under its banners the most gigantic labour masses..." To support this ridiculous contention she quotes, with unrestrained admiration, her infallible oracle, Frederick Engels: "...the two million voters that the Socialist Party sent to the ballot boxes, and the young girls and women who stand behind them as non-voters...are the most decisive force of the International Socialist Movement..."

In a speech delivered to the founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany, Rosa Luxemburg urged the delegates to adopt the 100 per cent. State Capitalist (or State "Socialist") programme outlined by Marx and his echo, Engels, in the Communist Manifesto calling for "...the nationalization of credit, the means of communication and transport, the ownership of the factories and the instruments of labour...and even the establishment of industrial armies..." insisting that by such measures "...we shall reach socialism..."

Rosa Luxemburg's undeserved reputation as a "libertarian" rests primarily upon her article, The Russian Revolution, in which she severely castigates "...dictatorial tactics...freedom only for the supporters of the government...dictatorship over the factories [by the state]...rule by terror...draconic penalties...repression of the soviets...brutalization of public life...attempted assassinations and shooting of hostages...bureaucracy...Lenin and Trotsky decide everything in favour of dictatorship by a handful of persons...socialism cannot be decreed by proclamation..."

But the glaring contrast between this devastating indictment and her glorification of Lenin, Trotsky, and the role of their Bolshevik Party in the revolution proves conclusively that Rosa Luxemburg is not in any sense of that much abused term, a "libertarian socialist". She extols "...the party of Lenin...the only one in Russia which grasped the true interest of the Revolution in its first period...seizing the leadership..."

In demanding nationalization and suppression of peasant soviets, she insists that only "...nationalization of the large landed estates can serve as the point of departure for the socialist mode of production on the land..." because, for her, "...turning property rights over to the people or over to the [state] socialist government amounts to the same thing..." She even goes so far as to deny "...the rights to self-determination of the peoples means the disintegration of Russia..." She lambasts Lenin because he proclaimed in WORD, but not in DEED the right of various nationalities of the Russian Empire to determine their fate independently, even to the "...point of the right of governmental separation from Russia..."

All the foregoing quotes (and we could easily marshall many more) proves that Rosa Luxemburg was, in fact, an authoritarian statist in the tradition of Marx and Engels, the Socialist Parties, Lenin, and their continuators, the "Marxist Leninists".

(All the above quotes are from the anthology, Rosa Luxemburg Speaks, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1970, pps. 118, 128, 263, 369-375, 376, 378, 379, 389-393).

Sam Dolgoff.

been the principal objective; anti-Catholicism and, of course, anti-Semitism, followed. The Kloran, its ritual handbook, states it aims: "To cultivate and promote a real patriotism towards our civil government; exemplify a practical benevolence; shield the sanctity of home and the chastity of womanhood and, by a practical devotion, conserve and maintain the distinct institutions, rights and privileges, principles, traditions and ideals of pure Americanism."

The Klan ebbs and flows but in its 100% Americanism and in its boy-scout Babbity it appeals to the American's love of secret societies and rituals exemplified in Elks, Shriners, Rotary and other manifestations of the American love of 'belonging'. The Klan, however, is its vilest manifestation.

In 1886 (the year of the founding of the original Freedom) a strike had taken place at the McCormick Reaper works and 'scab' labour was employed. August Spies was addressing a meeting outside the factory gates when the 'scabs' left. A pitched battle ensued, the police were called in and, being pelted with stones, opened fire, killing six and wounding many more of the men, women and children assembled.

Spies hurried back to the office of Arbiter Zeitung and composed a leaflet, later interpreted as 'the revenge circular'. A mass protest meeting was called at the Haymarket and was attended by about 2,000 people. The Mayor was present and reported to the police that "nothing had occurred nor was likely to occur to require interference". Nevertheless after the mayor had gone, the police moved in on the crowd and the officer in charge commanded the meeting to disperse. Fielden (from Lancashire, England) asserted that the meeting was a peaceable one. At that point a dynamite bomb was thrown (by whom was never known) into the midst of the police, killing several and wounding many. Mass arrests followed, and Parsons, (who had been a Confederate soldier), Engel, Spies and Fischer were subsequently executed although "it was never proved that any of them had anything to do with the bomb-throwing or had approved of it; but their admitted revolutionary faith was taken as evidence of their guilt" (G. D. H. Cole). Six years after the trial Governor Altgeld granted the imprisoned remainder an unconditional pardon.

In the late 1880s and 1890s a series of great strikes broke out with the expansion of the robber barons defying the rising workers.

In 1888 at Burlington a strike was fomented and prolonged by private detectives who planned destructive outrages and even committed murder. In 1890 a New York Central Railroad strike employed many armed detectives. There were protests at these private armies but as Jay Gould, one of the railroad robber barons, said, "I can hire one half of the working class to shoot down the other half."

And shoot them down they did. In 1892 Carnegie Steel Works at Homestead (Ohio) three hundred men were hired from Pinterton's agency, armed with Winchester rifles. These men were hired before any labour trouble. The union agreement expired on June 30th 1892 and the company announced a reduction of wages; the agreement to expire in January 1893. The terms were rejected and a lock-out began.

The steel works were fortified by a three-mile fence and the detectives came down the river by boat. The armed pickets prepared themselves; the detectives fired the first shot, mortally wounding a worker. The workers replied with a volley of bullets which drew a fusillade. The struggle lasted an hour. The boat retreated from the river bank, and the detectives to the shelter of the cabins, still under fire. They finally surrendered, were imprisoned for a while by the workers and finally were sent out of town by rail. In all twelve were dead on both sides and over twenty seriously

[Cont. on P. 12]

[Cont. from P. 11]

wounded. It had been planned by the Carnegie Company to make the mercenaries deputy sheriffs. But this 'legalization' of thuggery miscarried. It was established that Pinkertons had planted agents among the workers to report back to the bosses.

Evidence at an enquiry on the incident was given that the detectives were 'the scum of the earth. One is accused of wife-murder, four of burglary, two of wife-beating, one of arson'.

Alexander Berkman, then living in New York, journeys to Pittsburgh. He discovers that in spite of the slaughter and the workers' victory over the Pinkerton men 'the terms for return to work remain the same and non-union labour will be imported with military help if necessary. Workers not accepting the terms will be discharged and evicted from Company houses'.

He forces his way into the Carnegie offices, and from a distance of twenty-five feet shoots at Henry Clay Frick. Bad marksmanship or some vestige of humanitarian compunction make him miss, only wounding Frick. He attempts to fire again but his revolver fails. For this attempt Berkman was sentenced to twenty-two years. During his imprisonment an aid committee actively planned his escape but was unable to carry it out. He served the full sentence.

In the year this retail attentat took place, one hundred and sixty-one lynchings took place in the United States without, in the majority of cases, any prosecution.

In 1894 the usual industrial battle took place at Pullman. A sympathetic strike on the railroads entering Chicago took place from May to July. 14,000 soldiers, deputy marshals, deputy sheriffs and policemen were on duty in Chicago. During the strike twelve persons were shot and fatally wounded. There were riots, rail-cars were burned, and seven hundred persons were arrested for various crimes. An enquiry established that the strikers were detailed by their unions to protect Pullman property. Disorders followed when several thousand 'detectives' were made United States deputy marshals. They were lawbreakers and trouble-makers. Eugene Debs, leader of the strike, asked, "To whose interest was it to have riots and fires, lawlessness and crime? To whose advantage was it to have disreputable 'deputies' do these things? ... The riots and incendiaries turned defeat into victory for the railroads."

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On 15 February, 1898, the battleship "Maine" blew up in Havana harbour. It was there to protect American interests in Cuba, then under the domination of Spain. Spain denied any official knowledge of the cause of the explosion but public agitation in America (worked up by the newspapers) demanded breaking off negotiations with Spain and driving her out of Cuba. Spain promised to restore peace in Cuba (then in revolt against Spain), to establish a parliament and grant some self-government to Cuba. McKinley, then President of the USA, refused to believe these promises. In April 1898 McKinley told Congress he had decided to 'suppress the disorders in the island and protect American lives and property'; at the same time as having no intention of controlling Cuba except to establish peace, freedom and order and then to withdraw. Monson and Comager in their American history put down the creation of this war to popular journalism, growing economic interests in Cuba, and thirdly to the necessity for the US to control the Caribbean.

Pressing their advantage, the Americans won the war in Cuba with the maximum of publicity and a preponderance of heroes such as Teddy Roosevelt. Fired by this, the Americans took over Puerto Rico. John Hay wrote to Teddy Roosevelt, "It has been a splendid little war; begun with the highest motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favour by that fortune which loves the brave." Fortune decreed that America should take over Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Guam.

Jack Robinson

TO BE CONTINUED

VORKUTA

VORKUTA, by Edward Buca. Constable, 352pp., £5.95

EXTREME POSITIONS have always been taken up when discussing the Soviet Union. It is either Heaven or Hell. To some it represents a New Dawn; the 'building of communism'.

Though some "traditional" anarchists supported the Bolsheviks and the Soviet State at first, most libertarians have not fallen for the Bolshevik Myth. The Soviet State was - and still is - a repressive state as bad as, if not worse than, any other state. To us, the co-called USSR represents a totalitarian form of bureaucratic State Capitalism: not socialism or communism. Dubbed by the hacks of the Communist Party as "counter-revolutionaries" and, later, "agents of Hitler", we have exposed the Russian régime for what it is, and was. During the last World War, when Russia was supposed to be "our gallant ally", anarchists, in papers such as War Commentary, publicised the repression, and the existence of forced labour camps in the Soviet Union, while our "Friends of the USSR" ignored them or even denied their existence.

But following the end of the war, and the subsequent emergence of what was called the Cold War, many former "Friends of the USSR" began to discover the existence of Forced Labour and a vast network of "slave camps" spread throughout the breadth and length of that land. Half-senile Mensheviks, living in the safety of the United States, wrote enormous tomes on Forced Labour in the Soviet Union. Millions were, they said, toiling in camps - felling trees, mining coal and precious metals, constructing vast dams and digging thousands of kilometres of canals. And, of course, they were right! The "primitive accumulation of capital", to use Marx's phrase, was indeed a very primitive and cheap "mode of production" in the Workers' Paradise.

Millions suffered and died in terrible privation to make the Soviet Union what it is today: a fairly modern, but not all that efficient, Capitalist State. Under Czar Stalin, Russia was by far the most oppressive, most totalitarian, state known to humanity. Today, there still is repression of minorities; it is still totalitarian, but it is less so. There are still labour camps, with possibly thousands of inmates, but despite the twists and turns, the more that the USSR modernises, and the more that "constant capital" predominates over "variable capital", with its inevitable creation of an "educated" élite, so the Soviet regime ineluctably becomes less overtly oppressive. Nevertheless, it does no harm to remind both others and ourselves of what conditions were really like in Russia's Hell a little over twenty years ago. Edward Buca's Vorkuta is, therefore, a timely reminder.

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Buca was born fifty years ago in Eastern - that is the predominantly Ukrainian - Poland. His father was a railway worker. After the joint Hitler-Stalin invasion of Poland, young Buca joined the underground resistance movement. He was arrested by the Nazis and sent to a concentration camp near Karlsbad. He escaped - twice! He then attempted to assassinate a leading Polish Communist bureaucrat but was arrested by the Soviet NKVD. He was sentenced to death, but had his sentence commuted to twenty years' hard labour in a Labour Camp. He was sent to Vorkuta. (I have dealt with the geography and the climatic conditions of the area in some detail in my article on Vorkuta in Anarchy Magazine No. 11, 1972). This book is his account of his ordeal, and that of many others who were also at Vorkuta between 1941 and 1953, when many of the prisoners rebelled and, following Stalin's death and the rise of Khrushchev, conditions began to improve, and when, a little later still, camps were finally disbanded in the area and elsewhere. Buca's is a highly personal story.

Buca, like all other prisoners before and after him, arrived in Vorkuta by train. "The beams of searchlights sweeping the sky told us that we were approaching the station long before we actually arrived," he notes. Later, he saw many huts, camp watch-towers, administrative buildings, piles of coal and slag and, then, the coal mines. He had arrived in Hell. He describes his reception. Some time later, he and his comrades were marched out to a new mine. There were, at the time, no huts, -- only tents. Later, there were huts. Buca mentions a large slogan above a camp gate: "WELCOME! WE GREET YOU WITH BREAD AND SALT. BY HONEST WORK WE WILL GIVE COAL TO OUR COUNTRY." And they did. Including the thousands who died.

Buca writes of the food shortages and the extra rations, and privileges for those who toiled the hardest.

His account of the female prisoners is quite vivid. Women worked down the mines with the men; and worked as long as twelve hours a day. Buca recounts his first visit to a women's hut. Sexual jokes and quips abounded. Some of the women did not work in the mines. They were the naryadshiki; the "playthings" of the desetniki, the section chiefs and engineers from the mines. Says Buca: "They grabbed the women they wanted and laid them down in the snow, or had them against a pile of logs. The women seemed to be used to it and offered no resistance." According to Buca, rape was common.

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Some time after, Edward Buca was transferred to Cementny Zavod -- a cement works. He describes the conditions in the camp, and "the first revolt".

It began in the Urals, in the Spring of 1947. The revolt was well-organised. A shift in a gravel works surprised and killed their guards. Some of the prisoners armed themselves, and freed other prisoners in three camps. Telephone lines between the camps were cut. Unfortunately, however, there was an emergency line a few kilometres outside one camp. The alarm was raised by a surviving guard. And, later on, the freed rebels ran into NKVD machine-gun fire. Many were killed, others were shot later, and others were sent to punishment blocks. According to Buca, several thousand prisoners were killed in the uprising.

Buca continues his story by explaining how he carefully laid plans for the organisation of a revolt in Vorkuta.

Meanwhile, the authorities continued to put pressure on the inmates to increase -- and yet again, increase -- the production of coal. Every conceivable trick was used.

Buca deliberately had himself transferred to the notorious coal mine number 29, along the River Vorkuta Valley. A whole complex of camps was spread out in a vast panorama. "As far as the eye could see," writes Buca, "and much farther, lay nothing but camps. And connecting this complex with the next was a double railtrack, the only link except by air. The line disappeared into the foothills and the tundra seemed endless, but I knew that beyond it there were forests, and still more camps..."

Buca's aim was the freeing of all the prisoners. He intended to become the leader of a slave revolt. In his own words: "There would be other leaders too, but I must be ready to lead the revolution." Their strength would be in their numbers, where they could easily overcome the camp guards, get control of the railway and make for the forests, where aircraft and tanks would be useless against the guerrilla army of freed slaves. "This was what we dreamed of as we marched along to camp no. 29."

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Buca described the problems involved; the divisions among the prisoners; the deep split between the political prisoners, who were in the majority, and the bytoviki, who had the best jobs. There were, of course, all sorts of little rackets being run by prisoners in special positions.

Then, in March 1953, Joseph Stalin, Marshal of the Soviet Union, died.

Weeks went by, and then, Laventy Beria, the hated boss of the NKVD, was arrested and, later, shot as "an enemy of the people". The prisoners began to hope. Perhaps it would mean an end of Forced Labour in the USSR for good. Nevertheless, Buca and his comrades made preparations for a great strike.

The date had to be brought forward, as they learned that strikes had already broken out elsewhere. News of strikes at different camps in Vorkuta came to them on railways wagons. The strike at camp no. 29 started on July 26, 1953.

General Derevianko, Commandant of Vorkuta, was sent for. Some of the strike "leaders" were arrested. But the strike continued. To some extent it had been organized, but it was also spontaneous. The prisoners raided the guards' food supplies; and organized their own food supplies. The strike was total. Poles united with Ukrainians, and Latvians with Russians. General Derevianko "negotiated" with Buca and other representatives of the prisoners. Buca told the general: "...don't pretend you're losing any sleep over this. I know you're preparing an attack against us, but that doesn't scare me. You can kill me, but the strike will go on, and might turn into something worse." By this time, camp no. 29 as well as most of the other camps and mines at Vorkuta, were surrounded by NKVD troops, armed with tanks and machine-guns. On the fourth day of the strike, Buca and the strike committee sent a statement to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They made ten demands, which included: all prisoners who had served over half of their sentences to be released; all prisoners over 60 to be released; other prisoners to remain in the mines, but camp guards to be abolished, and all bars to be removed from the huts. The demands were signed by Buca.

General Derevianko addressed the strikers again. NKVD troops were drawn up around the camp. It was August 1st. Loudspeakers had been set up. General Derevianko told the prisoners that they must return to work immediately. Also present was General Rudenko, Chief Prosecutor of the Soviet Union. Rudenko raised his pistol...

This was a signal. The troops opened fire on the prisoners with machine-guns. Hundreds lay dead when they had finished firing. The strikers were rounded up, and marched off under guard. The strike was over...

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Buca, along with many other prisoners, was subsequently interrogated. He describes his trial in some detail. He was sentenced to a further ten years' hard labour. He expected -- if he lived! -- to spend the next twenty years of his life in a Labour Camp. Indeed, he was sent to a number of different camps, including the most terrible of them all -- Novaya Zemlya in the Arctic Circle on the Polar Sea. No one had ever returned from there.

But even in the Soviet Union times were beginning to change. Camps began to be demolished; others became "free" settlements, and many prisoners were released. The notorious Taishet complex (where, incidentally, Ukrainian anarchists had raised the black flag during the great strike and rebellion in 1953) was emptied of prisoners altogether. Nevertheless, in 1956, according to Buca, 100,000 Hungarians arrived, following their uprising.

But reforms continued. Buca's additional sentence was reduced from ten years to one year. And in 1957, an agreement was signed between Khrushchev and Gomulka for the repatriation of all Poles from the USSR. Buca was released, and returned to Poland. He had been a slave worker for sixteen years. Early in 1958, he was again "free". He was, however, kept under continual surveillance by the Polish secret police, the UB, for many years. It was not until 1971 that he was able to escape from Poland. He now lives in Canada.

Edward Buca's account is highly dramatised, but it largely tallies with previous accounts; indeed, it is worth reading in conjunction with Joseph Scholmer's account of the same events -- Scholmer was in camp no. 6, but he also describes what he knows of Buca's camp. He, too, was repatriated -- to Germany. He, like Buca, was one of the very few who survived, and managed to return from Hell.

Peter E. Newell.

Poets Political

THE TWO great myths that men chose to believe after the Second World War was that never again would we see a resurgence of fascism and that with Khrushchev's liberal policy Stalin was damned for all times as a homicidal tyrant, a twentieth century Nero without an ear for music. The activities of the National Front once more make violence the political order of the hour and in their marching and their plastic patriotism they have regurgitated for public approval all that was evil in the National Socialist and Fascist policies of the 1920s and the 1930s. They have won the support of a moronic minority of the working class by playing on genuine fears and social injustices and they are repeating the lesson of Goebbels, practised by Mussolini and turned into a succession of pratfall retreats by Britain's comic would-be fuhrer Sir Oswald Mosley. All that the plump Webster is demonstrating as drummer for the fourth/fifth? reich is that should the British rightwing middle class decide to take complete political and economic authority by the use of violence then the muscle-fodder is there to fight for control of the streets, and the marches and the automatic violence that it generates are the National Front's sales pitch for the lunatic money that sees a Red in every till. A rightwing dictatorship can never do anything other than enforce the status quo. and a dictator, rightwing by the nature of the beast, is but the creature of an historical situation. Come death and the bronze coffin, the wreaths, the message from the Heads of Government, the late imperial carrion becomes a thing of political barter in that those who would try to take over the State promise a more humane and liberal regime. Thus it was with the German officer class after Hitler's gutless suicide, thus it was after Mussolini yo-yo'd to a Corporate glory, thus it was for a brief brief period after the death of Stalin. Yet there is this difference between a dictator of the revolutionary Left and the authoritarian Right in that the dictator of the Right almost within days becomes an historical reject, as with Franco, but the dictator of the Left, vilified, exposed and denounced by mouth and typewriter will in a greater or lesser period be rehabilitated, for the Catch 22 is that to continue to attack him is to attack the Revolutionary Program and when a new 'revolutionary' bureaucracy claims to carry on the Revolutionary Program it must not only endorse but honour the actions of the past dictatorship.

Liberty is not a thing natural to communal man for it has to be defended from the attacks of enemies and the encroachments of friends, and after the heady red wine of revolution has been handed round the Old Guard once more move in. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and Khrushchev's liberalised Socialist Russia. In 1946 Andrei Zhdanov, as Stalin's overlord for the arts, used the Central Committee as his front to enchain and dictate the subject and the style of Soviet literature, music, poetry and painting, asking only that the hacks and the academics should portray a "spirit of optimism and faith" -- which in fairness is all that Sam Goldwyn in Hollywood and the British readers of the Daily Mail ask for but with this difference, that Zhdanov as Stalin's cur was in a position to use the Russian police to enforce the "spirit of optimism and faith". One would wish to believe that with Russian poets protesting in the streets and with the work of non conformist painters being granted a minor dispensation to display tragedy might have become comedy, but Pravda and the party's theoretical journal Kommunist have printed happy hosannas commemorating the 80th anniversary of Zhdanov's birth. All the purges Zhdanov triggered off, all the artists officially ostracised, all the people destroyed for refusing to conform are ignored and Zhdanov's policy has now been officially endorsed in the latest volume of the Soviet Encyclopedia wherein Khrushchev's mini liberal policy is ignored and Zhdanov's 1946 hard line is reaffirmed. Though the Russian gutter press, as with all controlled newspapers, have jumped to the crack of the whip an unnamed literary source has opined that the articles in the Soviet Encyclopedia reflects "the inclination of the party today to justify and revive Stalin-Zhdanov values and standards in spite of official declarations that Stalinism is finished for ever". But to believe that Stalinism or fascism is kaput is to believe in fairies for if those in elected or usurped authority decide to use murder, censorship and imprisonment as part of their official policy then they must justify and exonerate their far-runners whose humane and revolutionary policies they claim to be the natural heirs to.

Yet we must never fall into the trap of assuming that those who advocate a revolutionary social program or practise an avant garde art style have any interest in the liberty of the individual or the defence of freedom in relation to others. When men and women squabble for authority, ask authority over who, who will they accept, who will they reject; for too many of today's rebels are simply struggling and sulking for their turn as Thought Police. For every self-destroying Mayakovsky there is a John Braine, for every Tom Paine there is an Amis or an Osborne, for every revolutionary libertarian there is a creature of the Establishment.

At this moment in time the Town and his rhyming frau are sick with excitement as the politicians of the Poetry Society fight with vote and handshake to take over control of the National Poetry Society in the Earls Court Lubianka. At its most simplistic it is a demand by the established conservative avant garde for political and financial control as opposed to those who take their stand on their rhyming dictionaries and as so often is the tragic case, as with the political battles within the Arts Council, the R.A., the I.C.A., CND or Oxfam, it is a battle for carrion for, comrades, if you can only offer your creative art through an official organisation then you cannot complain if you have to eat shit.

Robert Atkinson died at the age of 55 in 1949 and Idle Hours is an anthology of his "working class poetry of Belfast's 1930s". A ship's plater by trade, a victim of mass unemployment, a man who loved the gentle arts he moved in space and time from the small group discussing Rousseau, Voltaire and Tom Paine to the Workers' Education movement at Queen's University to a quartet of flute players to stand before the 'board' at the local Labour Bureau falsely accused, by an informer, of earning money from his poetry. One admires and respects Robert Atkinson but truth demands an honest appraisal of his poetry and it is very minor work that fails to communicate a class and a society that he suffered with. The eunuchs of London's Poetry Society could produce a better line but their cause is worthless. Each class produces its own art and it is fashioned by its physical style of living and just as the mannered permutations of the minuet were never meant for the factory floor so the work songs of the seamen and the American southern negro are first a unifying work chant, then a song and then in the end a poetic addition. The poet, the painter, the writer born of the working class can only produce a middle class culture and to use the working class as its subject matter does not produce a working class art. A Mayakovsky or a Brecht may have loved we the horny-handed but they produced a middle-class art for middle-class audience and in the end when all social content has been drained away by time then the work must stand or fall as good or bad art. Yet for all that Robert Atkinson's poetry is well worth your twenty pence as a valid affirmation of what is good and decent within Belfast's circus of bloody political murders. And for those who would wish to know what Belfast and the people of Belfast are like then buy this book for its 14 illustrations by four artists that do what Lowry never managed to do for the northern working class: transmit the feel of the claustrophobic misery and the hopelessness of the decaying mean little streets in place of Lowry's expensive middle-class comics.

There is always pleasure in opening the 'small' magazine even though too often the contents fail to rise to the feel (so it reads erotic!) but Anarchism Lancastrium is a genuine 8p happy ride to the revolution, the Quo Vadis Tea Room if raining. Witty, satirical, juvenile, brilliant, it could, if the price is right, sell out to become the Private Eye of the irresponsible libertarian Left. With "Always in dreams" we are among the collector's items for these nine poems, each to its own page, are things of visual beauty and the publication, the printing and the production the work of Jeff Cloves. The poems are of the mode gentle and reflective and one cannot advise the poet/artist, only accept, but Jeff Cloves' poem on the death of Kevin Gately as the result of an anti-fascist demonstration takes us back to the political poetry of the 1930s when the time demands an answer. Cloves gives us a poem, poses the question of commitment with the sad knowledge that the long debate is no answer to the evil in the streets. Stereo Headphones is the good solid professional job and with work by Hans Richter and the Themersons, and more, one gets one's 75p worth. There is so little that one can say of it for it could have been published in any week in the last 25 years and would have made interesting but not inspirational reading and as a well produced poetry magazine it will grace with honour many a university library. With Voices one can only repeat what one had written about Robert Atkinson's "working class poetry" in his Idle Hours. Voices, like most working class creative arts appears to me to be appealing for sympathy and understanding when the working class backgrounds of the artists/writers/poets is given undue emphasis. In the introduction B.A. writes "If you think there is room for a committed publication which thinks of writing as a weapon in the hands of the Labour and Socialist and Communist movement help us".

One reads the prose and poetry within Voices with interest but with little pleasure for they are all heart and social conscience and that in the end means preaching to the converted and selling to the faithful. I have but one word of advice and that is to forget the working-class art ploy for it never worked in the 1930s for third rate work is third rate work. Examine Anarchism Lancastrium, the News of the World or the Sunday Times and know that you must first sell your publication because the buyer wants to read it. After that comrade the message. With Andrei Zhdanov being honoured as a warning to the Russian poets/artists to toe the old-time Stalin line, with the political rabble fighting to win control of the London Poetry Society and with the fascists once more marching in circles looking for newsworthy punch ups it is only the uncommitted voice of the individual poet that is heard above the braying.

Arthur Moyse.

LETTERS

Dear comrades,

In his article on "Right-wing anarchism" (FREEDOM Vol. 37 no. 12, 12 June) Jack Robinson denied that any real connection exists between anarchism and "the left". I quote: "It is a mere arbitrariness of seating and accident of history that has (mistakenly, it can be asserted) placed anarchism with the parties and groupings of the left". Similar statements have been made by other writers in FREEDOM (I think Nino Staffa said something along these lines, but I can't find the reference). Anyway, I find myself confused and depressed by these statements and by the attitudes and obsessions which they express.

First of all, to say that anarchism is only arbitrarily associated with the left is historical nonsense. Anarchism grew up as part of the revolutionary socialist movement in Europe; Bakunin was active in the First International; anarchism was closely associated with syndicalism which was the dominant form of working-class organisation in much of the industrialised world; anarchists played a major role in the 1917 revolution in Russia alongside other socialists; etc., etc., fought against Fascism in Spain alongside other socialists; etc., etc. I am sure it is not really necessary to repeat all this, but in view of the "anti-left" material which is appearing, it may be justified. Presumably by calling ourselves anarchists, we are choosing to identify with a certain tradition, a certain collection of ideas and a certain historical movement, and there can be no doubt that the anarchist tradition is linked to the socialist tradition.

But of course, we are not only identi-

The power of THE REVOLUTIONARY

Paul Berman has misunderstood (10 July) what I said (29 May) just as he misunderstood (15 May) The Revolutionary. The point is not only that Koningsberger's novel is a political fable rather than a psychological study, but also that it is a book about a social development towards anarchism rather than a personal commitment to action.

I suggested not that readers should "pick up the novel in the same spirit that they would a manifesto" but that it should be read in the spirit in which it was written. It has a general rather than a particular significance, and I don't know why Berman should suppose that such an interpretation "cannot explain the book's power". The Revolutionary is not the only novel about politics whose power derives precisely from its status as a fable -- Koningsberger belongs to a line of writers which runs from Swift, Voltaire, Godwin, and Stendhal all the way to Traven, David Karp and Joseph Heller, and which has enough power to satisfy anyone's taste.

N. W.

fying with a historical tradition, but also with the existing anarchist movement. Here, I admit, the "anti-left anarchists" may have a point, in that modern British anarchism is not an effective force in mass political/economic movements: these movements have been taken over by forms of socialism with which we have many differences.

We are a minority movement, and we are acutely conscious of being so. But this fact of being a minority seems to lead to a purism and to a continual need to define ourselves against everyone else, as if we are in danger of losing our identity. I think that the "anti-left anarchism" of Jack Robinson and others stems from this sort of ideological identity-crisis, and I regret it because it has to be counter-productive. Anarchists seem to be becoming a small brood of bitter ideologues, carping at everyone else and at ourselves, each insisting that s/he is a real anarchist as opposed to Leninists/liberals/pacifists/individualists etc., etc.

It seems to me that this obsession with defining what anarchists are or are not, is a most unlibertarian way of carrying on. Simply because there are so many different types of anarchist, it is best to see anarchism in broad terms; to see it as the libertarian tendency within socialism seems to me both historically and logically correct. Socialism is a broad body of ideas concerned with human equality and self-determination; there are many tenden-

cies within socialism, some abhorrent and some not so, and for anarchists to reject the whole spectrum of the left is absurd. It is an attempt to impose a childish simple classification of "right" and "wrong" upon the world.

I am interested in extending the areas of free action in social life, and I often find myself working alongside socialists. Anarchism is a minority tendency, but that is no reason to renounce our relationships with other tendencies; in fact precisely because we are a minority movement, we must cultivate constructive, critical contacts with other socialists.

Yours,
Martin Spence.

WEST GERMANY: Wie alles anfangt the book by

Michael "Bommi" Baumann, describing his experiences as one of West Germany's "urban guerillas", which was seized and banned by the German authorities on the 24th November 1975, has been republished by a consortium of leftist publishers, artists and intellectuals, in a gesture of defiance to proposed new political censorship laws in the Federal Republic.

Amongst the sponsors of the republication are Jean Paul Satre, two Italian publishers -- Einaudi and Feltrinelli, the film director Jean-Marie Straub, and writers Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Peter Handke and Peter Weiss. Interestingly, Daniel Cohn-Bendit is now described as a bookseller, and the shop he operates at is the Karl Marx Buchhandlung!

BOOKSHOP NOTES

(All the titles mentioned in this article are available from Freedom Bookshop at the prices - plus postage - mentioned).

Reading, belatedly, through Freedom Press's new book, "Housing: an anarchist approach", by Colin Ward (£ 1.25 + 20p postage), for an assessment of which you could do worse than read Freedom's own review (Freedom 29/5/76 Vol. 37, no. 11), I was struck also by the number of other books and pamphlets that have been published recently around the same topic. That is, in addition to a couple of "old faithfuls", which by now ought to be fairly well known; so I'll begin this "notes" by just giving them a mention:-

Paul and Percival Goodman's "Communitas; Means of livelihood and Ways of life" (£ 1 + 17p postage), first appeared as long ago as 1947, it was a pioneering work then, and quite honestly has never been really advanced upon in its own field. The second is "The Intellectual versus the City", by Morton and Lucia White (£ 0.60 + 17p postage), first published in 1962; it is a history of social and philosophical attitudes to the city as reflected by such as Franklin, Jefferson, Emerson, Melville, Henry James, Theodore Dreiser, George Santayana, Frank Lloyd Wright and many others.

Moving into the area of the more recent: another important contemporary figure who has much of value to say from an anarchist perspective concerning architecture, community plan-

ning and kindred topics is Murray Bookchin especially in his "The Limits of the City" (£ 1.95 + 14p post.) which analyses and criticizes the rural/urban "divide", the rise and decline of the bourgeois city, and the future of community and city planning; also important is Bookchin's "Our Synthetic Environment" (£ 2.50 + 26p post.) which also introduces the closely linked areas of ecology and pollution in all its forms more emphatically into the argument.

Colin Ward has, of course, written a number of other books concerned with housing problems. His "Tenants Take Over" is now out in paperback for the first time (£ 2.75 + 26p post.) and concerns the viability and necessity of "occupier-control". His other well-known book, "Anarchy in Action" (£ 1.75 + 17p post.) also contains important chapters on the anarchist approach to housing, as well as to education, libertarian organization, the concept of family and much else.

Anarchists have played an important part in the squatting movement, not only in its recent important revival, but in the widespread spontaneous squatting movement of the middle and late 1940s following the homelessness and hardship caused by World War 2 bombings.

Two useful titles on this are Ron Bailey's "The Squatters" (£ 0.35 + 14p post.), which concentrates mainly on a narrative and critique of the recent movement, particularly its experiences in Redbridge, Lewisham and Southwark. The second is the National Council of Civil Liberties' "Squatting: trespass and civil liberties" (£ 0.50 + 11p post.), a useful legal guide to what can and can't be done and by whom; it also contains an informative background to the squatting movement covering (briefly) the middle ages on, through the immediately post-

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THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

IBERIA

NINE MONTHS after Franco's death the position of the press and of publishers in Spain remains very paradoxical. Every week magazines and newspapers are fined and/or suspended for offences against Article 2 of the law on publishing and printing, but there is no consistency in the application of this legal sanction, and editors are often mystified as to what in their articles is "criminal".

Anarchist periodicals, of course, are in a different position and are still mostly published clandestinely; but two "anarchizing" magazines have recently had to suspend publication for different reasons. "Sindicalismo", as its title implies, was a syndicalist magazine, but many of its writers were well-known militants in the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement, and it was probably the only openly-published "legal" magazine which opposed the Workers' Commissions from an anarchist viewpoint, and gave ample space to the history, theory and present development of the CNT. Because of the compromises it had to make to remain legal it was heavily criticised by purists in the anarchist camp (particularly for its interviews with Diego Abad de Santillan, who has not made himself popular amongst Spanish anarcho-syndicalists because of the reformist views he expressed in a recent trip to Spain from his exile in Argentina).

The magazine has now suspended publication, but for financial reasons. The number of subscribers and sales that it made were by no means sufficient to pay off a large print run and expensive typography. (In parenthesis, another anarcho-syndicalist paper in the Iberian peninsula, the Portuguese A Batalha, has had to suspend publication temporarily because it has lost its premises.)

The case is quite different with Ajoblanco (which means "white garlic" and is apparently old anarchist slang). It has been suspended for 4 months and fined 250,000 pesetas (approx. £2,000) for some unspecified offence against Article 2. The magazine has produced some 14 numbers since it started in early 1974, and might be described as a "counter-cultural" magazine, with a definite anarchist bent (it is published in Barcelona, after all). Issue no. 10, which concentrated on eroticism and bisexuality, was seized and impounded, and the last (June) issue (so far) opened with a "Manifiesto Ajoblanquista", whose last paragraph contained these words: "But let it be obvious that AJOBLANCO is not kidding: write its name with a capital 'A' and, when you can, put a halo, a circle around it..."

People connected with the magazine ('ajoblanquistas') held a mock political rally in the Ramblas on the 23rd of April and got themselves described as "surrealist subversives", and "cultural terrorists" by the straight press. A description of these events appeared in the June issue, as also did some attacks on Leninism, including an extract from Carlos Semprun Maura's recent book Ni Dios, ni amo, ni C.N.T. on the "rites of the workers' movement".

This book, together with Vernon Richards' Lessons of the Spanish Revolution is criticised in the latest issue of Frente Libertario (July 1976) by Jacinto Borrás for being overcritical of the CNT for its failure to act according to anarchist principles. The defence is another re-interpretation of the history of the CNT to show how it could not have been expected to act in an exemplary manner.

Meanwhile...back in today's Spain, other anarchist publications are managing to appear in clandestine, duplicated form. We have seen copies of Solidaritat (half in Catalan, half in Spanish)

from Barcelona, Accion Libertaria from Zaragoza, and the first issue of the new series of Solidaridad Obrera, the traditional name of the CNT's paper, from Barcelona. This first issue of the latter contains general theory and history of the CNT, reports on strikes, and a review of the Spanish translation of Vernon Richards' Malatesta: his life and ideas.

For, paradoxically again, the freedom to publish books seems greater than that of journalism, though there are still restrictions. The Malatesta book was held up for many months by the censorship, but it has eventually appeared, in the "Acracia" collection (directed by Carlos Semprun Maura) of the Tusquets publishing house. Other recent books in this series include an anthology of articles from the Civil War women's anarchist magazine Mujeres Libres, and translations from French of Simon Leys' book on the Chinese cultural revolution ("President Mao's new clothes"), and of the first volume of the collected writings of Cornelius Castoriadis (better known as Paul Cardan).

In recent months commercial publishers have been cashing in on the interest in all writings about the traditional opponents of Francoism, and writings about and by anarchists have appeared near the top of best-seller lists. Recent additions to publishers' lists have included Ideologia politica del Anarquismo español (1870-1910), a tome of 660 pages by José Alvarez Junco, and Cipriano Mera, un anarquista en la guerra de España, a short biography of 172 pages by Joan Llach.

One can only conclude that the authorities think that relatively expensive books will not reach a mass audience, and therefore present no danger to the regime. They may well be right; one hopes that they are wrong.

D. L. M.

Bookshop notes

[Cont. from P. 15]

war movement to the present.

Lewis Mumford's "The City in History" is an extensive, detailed tome (696 pages) profusely illustrated with photographs; Mumford traces the evolution of the city from the cave dwellers onwards to the present analysing, on the way, not only architectural and town planning aspects, but social aspects, the arts, crafts, religion, pastimes, laws, politics and culture of the big city. (£ 2.25 + 47p post.)

A new title in Calder and Boyars' "Open Forum" series is "Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments" by John Turner (£ 2.25 + 17p post.), with an introduction by Colin Ward. It examines, in turn, control of housing, urban vandalism by those in power, the economics of housing, the possibilities of occupier-participation and control.

Both John Turner and Colin Ward contribute to "People and their Settlements: Aspects of Housing, Transport and Strategic planning in the U.K." (£ 1.00 + 14p post.). This is a series

of ten papers contributed to a conference held in London in January 1976, as a contribution to the Habitat Forum in Vancouver.

"Land for the People", edited by Herbert Girardet (£ 1.20 + 17p post.) is a series of 13 contributions by, among others, Satish Kumar, Robert Waller, Malcolm Caldwell, and Michael Allaby on Food resources, Land as enslaver or liberator, The Diggers, Land reform, Landlord and tenant, and more.

Clem Gorman's "People Together" is a guide to communal living, and goes into not only the communes "tradition" but also into the technicalities and practicalities of both rural and urban communes today. (£ 0.90 + 17p post.)

Hugh Brody's "The People's Land" is a study of Eskimos and Whites in the Eastern Arctic, (£ 0.90 + 17p post.) and is a bitter condemnation of the imperialist role of the Canadian government, which is destroying the lifestyle of the Eskimo and thus destroying an important and critical contribution to civilization - a contribution of which we may be in more urgent need than we care to know.

J.H.

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(Thursdays till 8 pm)
Saturday 10 am-4 pm

To find us:

Aldgate East underground station,
Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and turn
right. Angel Alley next to Wimpy Bar.

We have a stock of publications and books over the wide spectrum of anarchism, including Freedom Press publications, which include

Collectives in the Spanish Revolution
Gaston Leval, Cloth £4 (post 47p)
Paper £2

Lessons of the Spanish Revolution,
V. Richards. Cloth £1.50 (post 39p)
Anarchy, Errico Malatesta 25p (11p)
Anarchism & Anarcho-Syndicalism
Rudolf Rocker 20p (11p)
Bakunin & Nechaev, Paul Avrich 20p (11p)

The State, its historic Role, P.
Kropotkin 20p (11p)