

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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TWELVE PENCE

The Fight To Live p4 · Kropotkin Goldman & Berkman In Russia p9

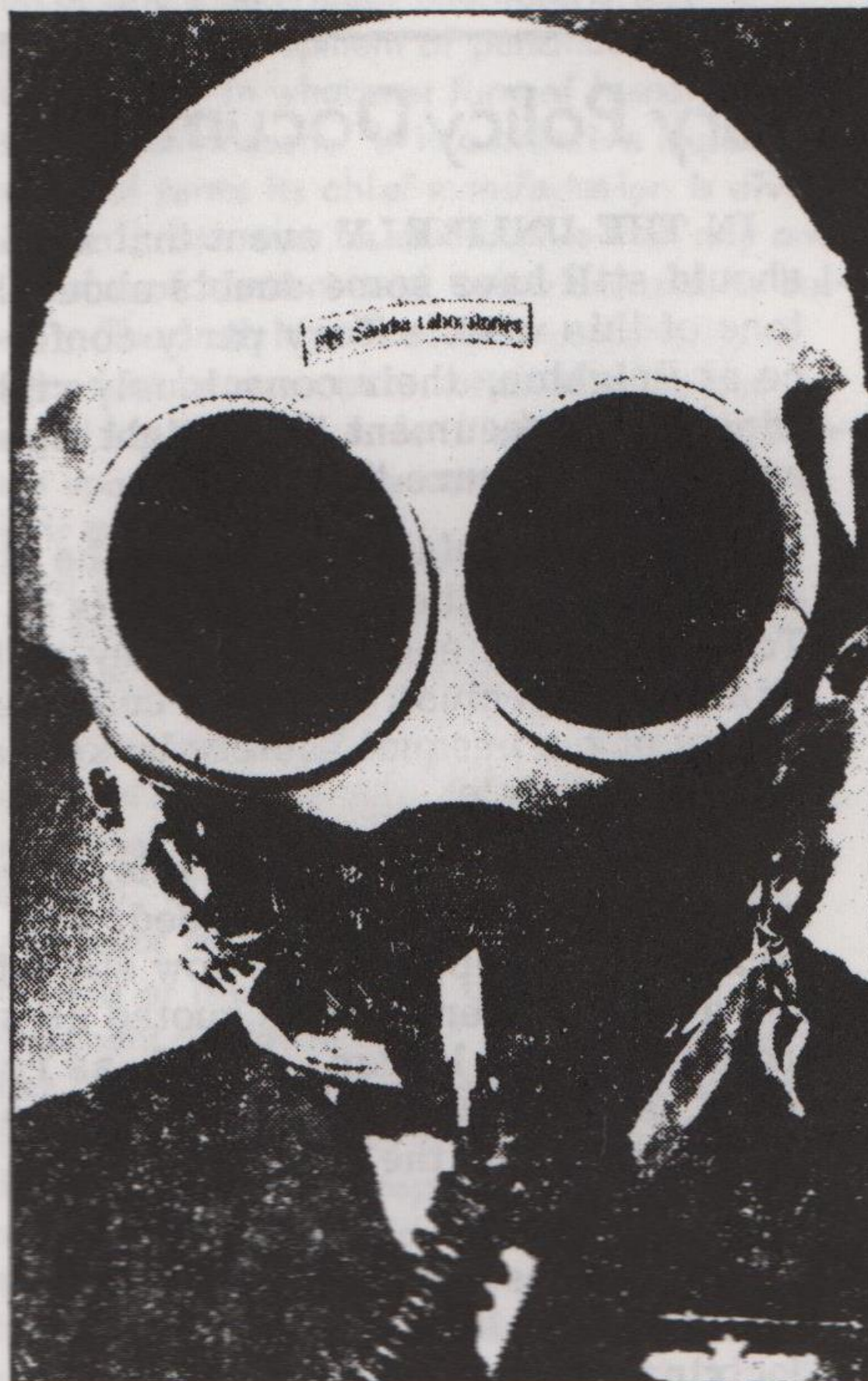
FROM PROTEST TO POWER the labour party conference

THE LABOUR PARTY at its annual conference in Blackpool last week showed once again that it is basically made up of a coalition. The ideas of social and economic justice straddle the political spectrum of the Labour party to such a degree that it is hard to distinguish between some of the "right" Labour MPs and some on the "left" in the Tory party. The Tories have been quick to exploit these differences in the Labour party and, according to the Sunday Times political correspondent the Prime Minister, Mr Callaghan, is seen by them "as a man with a lot of right ideas about the economy, but leader of a party that will not follow him."

However, a lot of the Labour party delegates have the mistaken idea, and the idealism, that they, the Conference, are there to make the decisions which their party as the government will carry out. This as we know, and it's about time Labour party members realised it, is far from the truth. The leadership of the party, as the government, is going to ignore the majority decisions that conflict with what they see as the right course to take in the present economic crisis. They do this even when they are not in power. The classic example of this in the early sixties was when Mr Gaitskell made his "fight, fight and fight again" speech against the conference decision on nuclear disarmament. Of course conference decisions like the one which supports and calls on all local councils to resist and not operate public expenditure cuts, embarrass the party leadership, but it does not mean very much since it is unlikely that there are any councils who will resist in the manner of Clay Cross.

But while delegates were voting on this and that resolution, other people were taking action which had a far more reaching effect than uplifted hands. For even as the Prime Minister was asking delegates for understanding of the government's economic measures, the pound's rate against the dollar fell $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents. This means that once again this country has to borrow from the International Monetary Fund to prop up the pound. Doing this will mean conditions which the international bankers will apply for

continued over page:



NEW FACE OF THE PLUTONIUM AGE.
Protective mask for U. S. Air Force
crews on nuclear operations. Delivery
date 1980.

Nuclear Power And The Environment: REACTORS & REACTION

LAST YEAR attention was drawn to the fact that leukaemia had developed in several workers at Windscale and other plutonium-using plants. The widow of one of these workers, Gladys Troughton, was recently granted an industrial injuries award by a local officer of the Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS). A union convenor at Windscale, Bill Maxwell, called the award "A step in the right direction towards obtaining social justice for radiation workers." Now the relatives of other dead or injured workers, or workers who have been laid off for medical reasons, are claiming compensation, though the outcome is by no means certain.

That there can be a grain of real social justice in getting compensation for one's wife or husband after dying from radiation at work is a little unconvincing; and it is to the credit of the new Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution report that the social and ethical considerations involved in a major fission power programme have been given some - if still inadequate - space. The report has been so careful and so clever in observing "impartiality" that both the anti-nuclear Friends of the Earth and John Hill of the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority (UKAEA) can express

MURRAYS still no news

At the date of going to press no news has reached us of the decision of the authorities whether to accept Noels withdrawal of appeal to the Supreme Court. The decision could come at any time.

The trial of Ronan Stenson, previously too ill to appear in court, was due to begin on October 4. He is being held in an isolation cell.

The London Defence Group are organising a 24 hour picket of the Irish Embassy to take place on October 21, the second International Day of Action called for by the Irish Defence Committee. (See back page for details.)

Many local defence groups are now in existence, including Bolton, Manchester, Glasgow, Coventry and Leicester.

Abroad, solidarity action has taken place in Munich (reported in the Guardian), Paris, Italy and Holland, with future meetings and protests planned for October 21st in many places including Stockholm, Australia and the U.S.

If you wish to make contact, or help in any way, please write to Murray Defence Group, Box 2, Rising Free, 142, Drummond St. N.W.1.

satisfaction at its findings. However, while anxious to show its objectivity towards nuclear power as a source of present and future energy, the commission makes one clear and repeated point:

"Our basic concern is that a major commitment to fission power and the plutonium economy should be postponed as long as possible, in the hope that it might be avoided altogether, by gaining the maximum time for the development of alternative approaches which will not involve its grave implications for mankind."

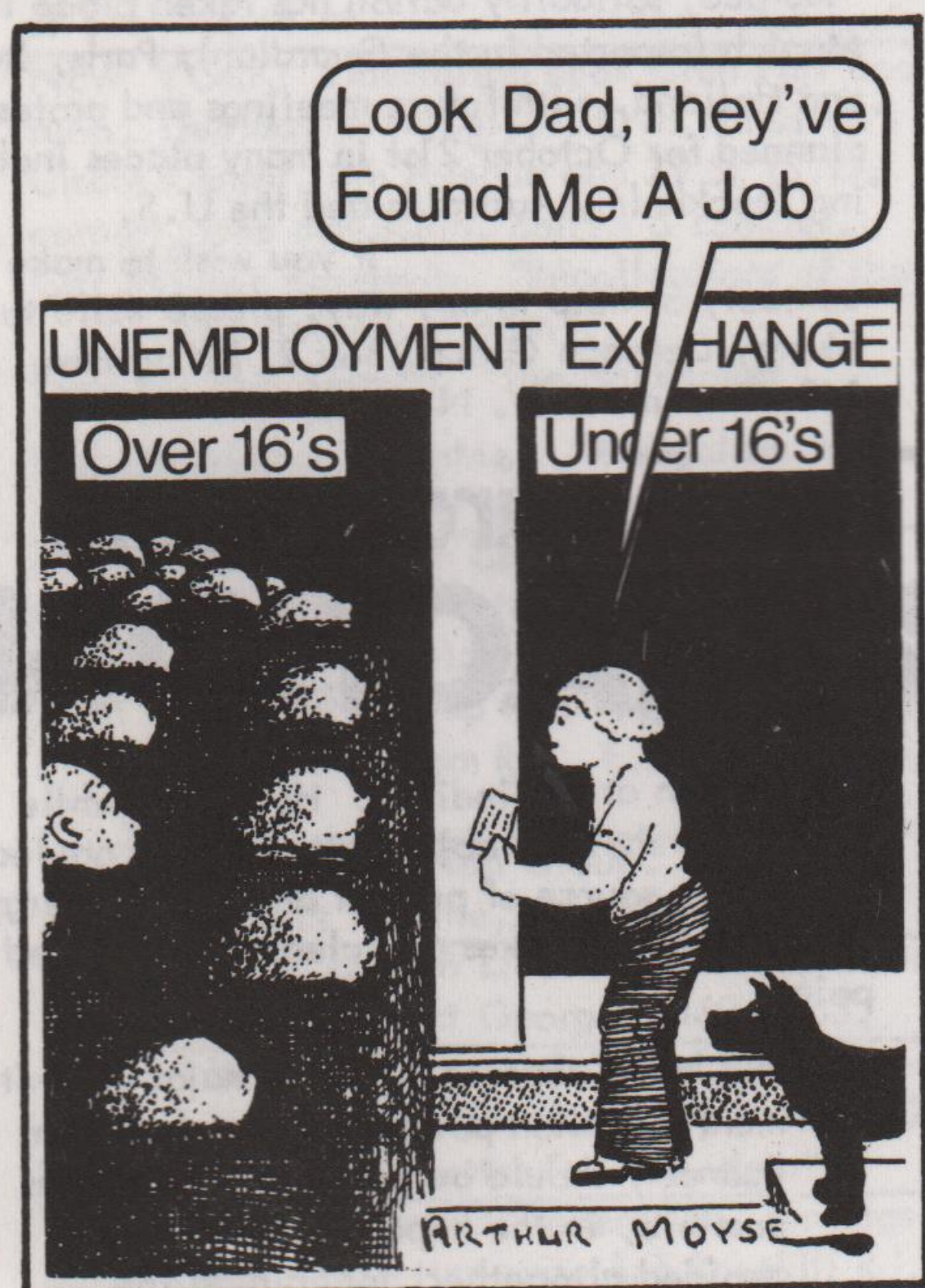
Bland Whitehall

The report is critical of nuclear management on two main counts: lack of research into radioactivity in the atmosphere and on the land, and the irresponsibility of the AEA and British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (BNFL) in failing to search for a means of final disposal of highly active waste ... This in spite of their enthusiasm for a large nuclear programme. Management and government also come in for rebuke in a more general way. "More is needed here than bland, unsubstantiated official assurance that the environmental impact of nuclear power

continued on page 5

such a loan. The delegates' decisions mean nothing. Raising hands at sea-side conference halls does not change the system that daily exploits our lives. It is time wasted when many of those attending could have been working at a grass roots level at their places of work and in their neighbourhoods. Such is the illusion that grips so many well-intentioned people that "socialism" can be won by electing governments and legislating for social and economic justice. Bankers and the multinational corporations are not interested in such matters. They are only concerned with markets for their goods and a return on their money. High unemployment and cuts in social services are just one means of assisting them in this.

But the answers we hear from both the TUC and the Labour party conferences are capitalist answers. Import controls and nationalisation will not solve the basic inequalities and exploitation which are the daily lot of the majority of people. The Labour government, or even its so-called "extreme left wing" section, will not change this basic fact of life. More state control only means a different employer and another form of control. In fact as anarchists we would argue that this form of control will lead to a corporate state, and the present trade union/government social contract alliance reinforces this point of view.



The Labour party, once the "party of protest" is now the party of power, privilege and profit. It will always be content with crumbs from the capitalist cake while people should be asking for the whole of that cake. We should be thinking and discussing what its contents should be and seeking the means to control all aspects of our lives. That control cannot be handed down by governments or political parties. It can only be taken by people at work, on the streets and in their communities. We should realise that we can organise production that will satisfy real needs rather than profits, the IMF and the international bankers. These power groups add nothing to human happiness and well-being. But ordinary people could- P. T.

INTERROGATIONS

international review of anarchist research,
in four languages,
Available from Freedom Bookshop - £1.10.

The Right Approach to Inequality

Tory Policy Document

IN THE UNLIKELY event that anyone should still have some doubts about the tone of this week's Tory party conference at Brighton, their consciously right-wing policy document "The Right Approach" will reassure them!

Dreary and untalented (hence the attempt to exploit the name of Alexis de Toqueville as a substitute for any native glimmer of genius), even the customary eulogy of the unequal society lacks inspiration and style.

"The working classes are idle, deceitful, inferior and bloody-minded. I'm afraid that, deep down, is how she thinks" a plainspoken Tory is quoted as saying of his party leader. But if, as reported, she had no direct hand in "The Right Approach" the message is the same.

From a class party that is only to be expected, and it will worry only the doctrinaire laissez-faire Selsdon group or some of the ambitious and more intelligent young members and supporters of the Tory party - since in any case what the Tories are saying, the Labour party is at present carrying out.

The recipe for Tory rule differs from that of Labour rule uniquely in its willingness to say as well as do nasty things. This willingness stems in turn from a dogmatic hatred of "Socialism" which leads the Tories to propose exactly the opposite of what the other side is proposing (but not doing) and thus blinds them to two realities. One is, of course, that the Labour government is as different from them (and we have said it many times) as the twin creations of Alice through the Looking Glass. The other is that the left-wing Labour dream of a corporate state socialist dictatorship in the name of economic equality, socialist legality, or what you will, is actually furthered by the Tory reaction to Labour conference resolutions and its apparent thirst for battle with the unions, as yet unquenched.

"Since some people have more ability and a greater opportunity to acquire property than others, there are bound to be social and economic inequalities. Conservatives are not egalitarians" says "The Right Approach". This painstaking explanation of the Tory stance (as if there were people who really did live under some mysteriously-induced impression that the right to inequality, exploitation and the accumulation of capital was not the Tory position) also accepts the role of the State as a "trust-

ee of the whole community in any economic system." It is, in other words, a quite unnecessary description of the status quo, lending unmitigated support and encouragement to the government policy of social cuts in housing and food etc., while threatening the unemployed with penalties for laziness, and political dissent with increased spending on the police and so-called "defence." (Appropos is it necessary to recall the extra perks being currently given to the party clientele in local government in the form of higher car allowances, and the backing of British Oxygen's £50 fringe benefits scheme for senior management?)

Anarchists will be unmoved by the Tory proposal to abolish that financial monster the National Enterprise Board, and by their scheme of "employee participation" meaning profit-sharing schemes through tax relief, based on bonuses from company profits, designed to inculcate the capitalist mentality in the British worker. They will be equally unmoved by the promise of less bureaucracy and legislation (for so what if public employees must somehow be shifted into private enterprise, and if even no laws at all are added by the Tories to the weighty statute book?). But the unashamed praise of privilege and necessary hardship for the "less able" and less fortunate, as epitomised in the above quotation, is another matter.

Nevertheless we can't afford to fall into the trap of joining in the injured and angry chorus of left-wing protest at this battering to the Welfare State. The welfare state is, after all, the best thing that happened to any government. On the contrary, it is the role of anarchists to use this crisis to propose the revolutionary alternatives of self-organised welfare, with its twofold aim of protection of the people as a whole from the vagaries of the monetary economy, and destruction (in the most effective way) of the greater part of the State's raison d'être. More spending on the police and army foresees an explosion of direct action in occupation of property - even perhaps social security offices and hospitals where benefits are cut, or services reduced - establishment of prisoners' protection committees within the gaols (now seething, like Albany, with discontent and suppressed violence) "commuter" action on public transport (Fare Fight continued and expanding) and trouble in the schools. Anarchists must be at least as well prepared for all this. Perhaps they will be working within their own groups or federations towards a full programme of alternatives to state welfare and its fools' paradise? Perhaps a two-stage programme of actions and campaigns - depending on the situation in the particular locality, that can be implemented immediately (passenger transport schemes, improvisation of sports and recreation schemes for children, etc) or in the longer term (independently-run neighbourhood clinics, free schools etc) since they would need more time and detailed work and advice to set up on a proper footing? GF

DAGENHAM REMEMBERED

"Few people would accept unskilled or semi-skilled positions in a car factory for sheer job satisfaction. The work is often harder, hotter, noisier and even more tedious than many critics, some of whom might see the car worker as the newest recruit to the idle rich, sometimes appreciate. It is money, not love that brings car workers to Dagenham."

Financial Times, 30.9.76

IN AN ARTICLE by the Labour Staff of the F. T. regarding the "Frustrations behind the Dagenham Riot" it is stated that only a minority of men - probably between 50 and 100 - were actually involved in the wilful damage.

What is extraordinary, in my opinion, about the Dagenham's car workers' riot, is that it happened paradoxically in a period of high unemployment, lowering living standards, social cuts, and economic recession in Britain. Many revolutionaries believe that in such periods of time, dispossessed workers, the vast majority of whom are still psychologically dependant of, and enslaved by, wages and other economic relationships inherent to capitalist societies, tend to cooperate corporatively with the existing system in order to protect their employment and not rock the boat and precipitate the total collapse of the national economy (i.e. the corporative social contract, voluntarily agreed by the TUC, government and bosses).

Indeed, such revolutionaries (mainly libertarian Marxists and anarchists) believe that apparently only in periods of economic expansion, higher living standards, full employment and high wages, freedom of choice in employment, etc .. are workers receptive to revolutionary ideas, and consequently confident enough to try to break the monotony and alienation of capitalist production for profits and experiment in alternative and radical fields of new social and economic relationships (i.e. May 68 in France).

This paradoxical situation of which the events in Dagenham are the latest manifestation must have a scientific explanation. Our International Socialists experts will work this one out as soon as they finish leafletting the gates of the car plant in Dagenham.

Preferring to add to the insight information contained in the *Financial Times* article regarding the alienation and monotony suffered by manual workers at Fords, I can only say that as a former assembler at Dagenham, I endured two years of hell and agony, working day and night shifts alternatively and that this memorable experience almost broke my social relationship with the family, friends and neighbours, transforming my person - a latin type extrovert - into a melancholic and moody nervous wreck, easily irritable, bordering on violence if provoked, to the point that after almost three years of modern slavery, I had to pack it up under doctor's advice, and return with my family to Portugal, my country of origin.

This was in 1967, a bad vintage year for industrial relations in Britain, a year not much different from 1976 in which, as it is stated in the F. T. article, "car company managements are well aware of the frustrations of life for thousands of their employees" but do nothing to remedy the situation other than create the right conditions for riots to flare.

In the aftermath of Dagenham's riot, it appears that Mr Ford II is lucky to learn in distant Detroit USA that HIS plant by the River Thames remains unburned by its fast learning work force.

Claude

...at LUCAS

"The widespread ecological and environmental criticism of the private petrol-driven car as a socially irresponsible form of transport suggests to us that we must explore the feasibility of new kinds of products of a socially useful kind to harness the skills of the existing plant and machinery, and to direct it away from a commodity whose profitability and usefulness is rapidly declining."

These words come not from just another environmentalist but from a policy statement recently issued by the Joint Delegation of Stewards and Staff Representatives at Chrysler. The policy statement shows how the idea of socially useful production of goods is gaining ground among workers, largely as a result of the initiatives taken by the Green Ban movement and the Lucas Aerospace shop stewards.

Despite the (predictable) rejection by Lucas management of the workers' alternative corporate plan based on the right to work on socially useful products, they have no intention of giving up the battle and the "alternatives" are being included by draughtsmen and systems engineers of the Lucas industries (through the TASS section of the AUEW union) as part of the wage-bargaining.

The Lucas workers' ideas have already been spreading in the North East, where they have met with Tyne and Wearside Shop Stewards Liaison Committee. The Committee has in turn been arranging a meeting for November between Lucas workers and stewards from the large turbine and generating equipment manufacturers, C & A Parsons. A mass rally in Burnley in July attracted community groups and trade union officials. It is certain that the growing threat of unemployment in many of the manufacturing industries is now leading workers to adopt alternative production plans rather than resign themselves to facing the dole queues of the SS. C & A Parsons workers are one example of this and another is provided by the workers from Ernest Scragg, the manufacturers of processing machinery for continuous filament synthetic fibre yarns. Closures and unemployment were declared as soon as Scragg had been taken over by the large, rich, diversified group Stone Platt Industries Ltd. A combine committee was then formed by the workers within the four Scragg plants, who are also making overtures to the Stone Platt stewards. They have met with the Lucas workers to discuss alternative manufacturing plans before closure becomes a fait accompli. Among the new products planned are improved health and safety equipment in the textile industry and desalination plants using solar energy, and pumps and valve equipment from Stone Platt.

...at FORDS PROFITS COME FIRST

FORDS have said that the incidents at their Dagenham plant the Tuesday before last were "the worst seen for a couple of decades." The incidents were, according to *The Guardian*, "a six-hour session of burning and vandalism."

For the past five weeks, since the new work schedules for the Mark VI Cortina were started, the night shift workers haven't received a full week's pay. On Tuesday night half of the 2000 workers were sent home because of a dispute involving 12 door setters. The door setters say they have one man less on the night shift to do the same work accepted by the day shift workers.

But Fords had done nothing to settle the dispute. Lay offs have been a regular occurrence. Some workers went home on specially organised transport, others were left high and dry. On the Tuesday about 350 stayed behind and attended a meeting in the works canteen to discuss and decide what to do about the lay offs. For as usual, the dispute had been taken through official negotiating procedures but without results. It was the anger and frustration at the delays that the night shift felt at the failure of Fords to treat their grievances seriously that started the cup throwing at the canteen meeting. Soon a chair went through a window. The gates were locked and the management's canteen was smashed up. Two post office vans were turned over and a fire started. Fire hoses were turned on the police when they arrived to sort things out. The management were greeted with a bombardment of cups, saucers and plates.

What this action achieved was a quickly convened meeting between the union officials and management. But after 36 hours these negotiators were exhausted and so, in the management's words, they wanted "to allow the dust to settle." Sid Harraway, chairman of the Dagenham body plant shop stewards condemned the violence, but believed Fords had "over-reacted" to the dispute by laying off too many men.

But as our ex-Ford worker explains in his article, a car worker's job is a rotten tedious one which people do not for any love of it, but just for the money. Fords wanted their new model out on time in order to keep ahead in the competitive car market race. They, as always, put profit before people.

But Tuesday's night shift shows that workers are not to be pushed around because of production hold-ups. That people are not mere productive units to be put to work or sent home. And it was a reminder to Fords that in the spring of last year a small group of workers barricaded the main entrances to the body plant.

However, last week's 'violence' at Fords is nothing to the destruction of workers who work day in and day out on the production line. No doubt if car workers knew of an alternative means of livelihood they would smash up the production line as well.

P. T.

Inter-City high speed trains

INTER CITY 125 is the changing shape of rail according to the publicity brochure promoting the introduction of the romantically named HST (high speed train) onto the service between Swansea, Bristol and London. Besides higher speed and smoother travelling, the new train offers wall to wall carpeting, automatic sliding doors between coaches and the by now familiar pressure cooker type double glazed windows aided by air conditioning.

The go ahead for the HST comes after the climb down by the ASLE&F in the dispute over the question of manning of these trains. It had been agreed between the drivers' union and the management that there would be two drivers when operating the train over 100 mph but whereas the union wanted two drivers in attendance at all times the management would not agree to employing two drivers on jobs where the train was not to exceed 100 mph, eg, shunting and empty coach work. It also marks a victory for the BRB in their fight to reduce staffing. Originally the HST was built with only one seat in the cab but because of opposition from the ASLE&F, another seat was placed behind it, giving the co-driver an enjoyable view of the driver's neck. But being a multiple unit train means that there are no locomotives to be detached and shunted, doing away with the need for shunters and shed loco staff at the terminal stations. At the moment the line of promotion to the job of train driver (apparently still barred to women because of BR's inability to provide the necessary toilet facilities) is through the job of drivers assistant, (what used to be the fireman). This enables driving skills to be picked up before actually becoming a fully fledged driver. The ASLE&F has therefore allowed the BRB to yet again move towards the position of getting rid of drivers assistants altogether and put the guard in the line of promotion, as on London Transport.

The changing shape of rail is certainly happening. The ultimate in train operation is nearer, one-man operated trains on lines controlled by centralised 'power boxes' which do away with the signal boxes that used to adorn the countryside. Railway users are becoming subjects of the whims of railway civil servants who control trains on gigantic panel train sets. Railway workers' jobs are at risk. Lets make sure efficiency works our way - not Big Brother's. ADAM

TRIALS IN E. EUROPE

WARSAW. Undoubtedly as a result of the many protests and appeals that have been made the Polish high court has cut the sentences of 5-3 years on the seven workers from Ursus (see Freedom of 21.8.76). They should in effect be released, as the sentences were cut to one year, suspended for three years. Another trial of three factory workers at Ursus has been postponed. However, the Radom workers will remain in jail. They got 5-10 year prison sentences, allegedly for previous convictions for assault, and two of them have also been assigned to centres of "social rehabilitation" for undisclosed lengths of time after the completion of

their sentences.

In the meantime a committee of 14 has been set up in Warsaw to campaign against the mass arrests and sackings, and to defend human rights. It includes the writer Jerzy Andrzejewski and the historian Jacek Kuron.

PRAGUE. Following the arrest of members of the Czech rock groups Plastic People of the Universe and DG 307 (reported in Freedom of 11.9.76) sentences have now been passed on four of the defendants. The charges were "rowdism" and causing a public nuisance. Ivan Jirous, artistic director of the Plastic People, and a former art historian, was jailed for 18 months, and Pavel Zajicek, Vratislav Brabenec and Svatopluk Karasek between 1 year and 8 months. The trial was closed to all but some relatives and friends, and took place under heavy police guard.

The FIGHT To LIVE

REPORT of Meeting organised by the Federation of London Anarchist Groups held on Sunday 26 September in "The Roebuck" Tottenham Court Rd. London.

THE FIRST speaker was from the Claimants' Union and he started by explaining that the meeting arose out of a criticism of the "Right to Work" campaign, which does not go far enough. Slump conditions and glutted markets are the problem, not the right to work. He cited Paul Lafarge's book The Right to be Lazy. He said a lot of militants are not interested in 'the right to work' only in jobs which get us back to the Macmillan 'never had it so good' mentality. It is no use getting back to the old merry-go-round of inflation which leaves the workers where they were. The right to work is a demand for the status quo, not a demand to get rid of poverty. The nature of work and employment must be questioned, there is not necessarily anything good about work. However, man needs work to get rid of poverty.

As examples of useless work he cited the designing and building of Concorde and other similar activities that benefit only a few and inconvenience many. The list of useless work is endless - e.g. the armed forces, atomic development, armaments, and people punching tickets. With building workers on the dole and stacks of bricks idle, housing should be a priority. The unsupported mother does not come into the category of useful worker in the accepted sense, yet the bringing up of children is useful and necessary work. Who is it that decides what is useful work and when it should be done -- the employers on the basis of "is it going to make a profit". If work is useful to society at large society should decide. He concluded that we are not concerned with getting control of the state machine, which in spite of universal suffrage is not really democratic, citing Tolstoy that the

suffrage means "people electing their own jailors".

The next speaker, a barrister engaged in the Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law, observed that there was no need to talk about the nature of law in capitalist society to a largely anarchist audience. He said that the proposed law is to combat occupation of factories and housing. Nearly everybody is a squatter in effect, and the trespass law strengthens the already property-based law, and introduces a new offence of being and staying on property. It outlaws any situation where more people are occupying the property than officials. Almost anything can be described as an offensive weapon in these circumstances. Embassies will be included, so protests about the behaviour of foreign governments will be interfered with. Police powers will be increased. The Campaign is holding meetings and getting all interested parties to prevent the proposals becoming law. (CACTL, c/o 6 Bowden St. London, SE11. Tel. 01-289 3877).

There is a Labour party conference resolution against it, in this continued political use of law one has to find out what the Labour government's position will be. It reveals the State's fear of direct action in common interest by a wide variety of groups.

Keith Armstrong, himself disabled, spoke of the problems of the disabled. Disabled claimants are squatters in all spheres of life. The Daily Mirror reported the case of a dog knocking over an invalid carriage and injuring the occupant. A police driver refused to drive one at more than 30 m.p.h.

There was a demonstration by disabled in wheelchairs in Belfast, as one of them had his leg broken when his chair was searched by soldiers. Payment by social security for disability allowance discriminates against women. The whole attitude to disability is discriminatory as when a machine breaks down it is referred to as crippled or disabled. People are people in spite of disabilities. Many places are barred owing to inaccessibility for disabled people. Even the room where this meeting is being held is inaccessible to many disabled.

The next speaker represented the deferred payment campaign on the London Underground. London Transport have raised the fares during the last year by 114 per cent without asking anybody. People are fighting this in the deferred payment campaign and are distributing books and tickets. The campaign was front page news in many papers. London Transport has tended to play the campaign down but it was leaked that 52 slips were handed in at one station and 1000 at Camden Town. There was little harassment. One or two were arrested but released as no charge could be made. There has been some support from staff, and it is estimated that 120,000 slips have been used. The bureaucracy has been clogged as a letter has to be sent out for every slip and one can then hold quite a correspondence. A lot of people plan to force the transport authorities to take them to court.

In order to prejudice the staff against the campaign, a huge form was produced for the ticket collector to fill in, so the campaign workers reprinted it, and users can just hand it in at the barrier.

The transport authorities raise prices, leading to less use of public transport; then services are cut, and this leads to unemployment. Italians have printed season tickets at old prices, and also held campaigns in which transport workers refused to take fares while still running the service. A fare rise was directly caused by a cut in subsidies, and the cost of the crisis was shifted upon the working people. Now there are plans for another Beeching in this country. People must fight back over transport cuts in a self-managed struggle. The aim must be free transport. Milan has it, so has Nottingham. Eastern European countries have a small flat-rate fare.

No public transport system makes a profit, out of offering a public service. Under capitalism there is the enormous cost of bureaucracy and technology involved in money-collecting. All this effort and cost could be redirected into making the services better.

The meeting resulted in some useful discussion, though personally I felt that too many subjects were discussed for one short meeting for there to be any consideration of them in depth. The meeting was very well attended, and one hopes that it will lead to some revival of the anarchist movement in London.

ALAN ALBON

POUND FOOLISHNESS

WE HAVE BEEN here before - the collapse of the pound, the devaluation of sterling, the imminent ruin by loss of the gold standard, the need for a loan and the likely harsh terms of foreign financiers; the need for a letter of Intent to be followed by stringent economies.

We have seen it all before and yet, we survive. The gold standard was abandoned, the pound was allowed to float, living standards were cut but we went on working. The harvests still were reaped, the brains, skill and strength of men and women still enabled society to continue despite the crumbling of cloudy symbols and the decay of all that some economists held dear.

That dismal science - economics - is false even in its pretensions to be a science. In its divinations it has more the appearance of esoteric occultism carried on with cracked and cloudy crystal balls.

In our fumbling attempts to reduce this paper tower of Babel to sense we take refuge in the domestic, the normal and the logical - which, given the supreme illogicality of finance - is irrational. The cosy premise that the chancellor or of the Exchequer is a housewife and Britain must balance her housekeeping is far from reality. Unless one envisages a housewife who lets some of the children sleep in the coalhouse, deprives some of lunches and spends much of her income on explosive locks for the doors

(which will explode and wreck the house) to deter any burglar. If the State were a householder it would have long ago been declared bankrupt or criminal or insane or all three. The concept of finite housekeeping money and finite expenses is unknown to the State which lives in a paper palace of its own making.

* * * * *

These crises of the financial system are money crises when the faith in the ramshackle structure of dealing in unreal wealth wavers for a while - but the show must go on. Of eight financial crises (from 1947 to 1965) all of them were largely caused by speculations. A speculator is one who buys something he doesn't want with money he hasn't got to sell to somebody who doesn't want it yet. Sometimes he doesn't pay for it until it gets cheaper than it was offered - by then he has sold it at the price it was offered. Hence the paper tower of Babel.

With the prevailing nostalgia for the thirties, Lefties horrify each other of nights by recounting the way that the Labour government of 1931 sold out and became a coalition in order to conform with the international bankers' terms to save the gold standard. They chill each others' blood with the details of the cuts and the Means Test. All this is true and it indicates a need for caution in accepting loans.

What is not too often emphasised is that the Labour government of those years set up an enquiry (the May Committee) to advise on necessary cuts - which the National Government later accepted. Also, that although maintenance of the Gold Standard was an item in the National (coalition government's election programme, it was abandoned in mid-election and no disaster ensued - in fact, the devaluation of the pound was beneficial for the export trade. Finally, it was only the mutiny of the sailors on the *Invergordon* against pay cuts which restrained the National Government from further unnecessary but middle-class morale-boosting cuts in public spending.

JACK ROBINSON

POLICE COMPUTER

A NEW COMPUTER UNIT operated jointly by the Metropolitan Police and the Home Office has been established in Corby.

It occupies the top floor of a new block in Queen's Square overlooking the main shopping area. Anyone passing by sees an innocuous looking sign announcing "HO and MP ADP Unit". However, a security man is at hand to inform anyone who approaches the access staircase that the "Commissioner requests" that they should submit to a search.

It seems likely that this is one of several Security computers being established outside London. Have you got Big Brother on your doorstep?

T. P.

The above item serves as a reminder that the British authorities are going ahead with a Police National Computer at a time when the FBI appears to be re-considering the idea, or at least some aspects of it.

The US Attorney General has apparently refused to authorise the implementation of a new communications system involving the "decentralisation" of files (simple arrest records as well as court depositions) to the states. A computerised message switching system would have maintained central control, and give the FBI and those to whom it gave authorisation, automatic access to computerised records in any state.

The reasons put forward by the Attorney General for refusing to give the go-ahead were that Congress would first have to discuss questions such as individual privacy, "due process of law", etc.

On the establishment of the criminal tracking system in 1970, it has been possible for the police to obtain any criminal record and sell it to private detectives, department stores, insurance firms, banks and so on. To date \$79 millions of federal funds have been poured into the police computer systems.



management to personnel, the second this man jumps punch his clock card OUT and notify the wage office

REACTORS & REACTION Continued

has been fully taken into account", says the report. And "there is a need for freedom and originality of thought, and for independence from institutional pressures and from the need to justify existing arrangements and policies."

The RCEP also points to the difficulties even its own prestigious self had in getting independent expert advice "since the acknowledged experts are often themselves involved in the related developments," and it quoted the observation of the 1976 working party of the Council for Science and Society ("Superstar Technologies") which had stressed the need for a most searching examination of the implications of major technological developments in light of the fact that these were often embarked on before any commitment to them had been made.

The nuclear power industry is a classic case of this and of the way it has been thrust upon the people without the granting of any facilities, even, for their obtaining proper information. This is all the more stunning when one

continued over page:

thinks of the arrogance with which the "experts" accuse their lay critics of ignorance and emotionalism.

Yet the need felt by the public was evident from the late fifties on when the CND became the world's largest popular peace movement in modern times. Then, of course, the great pre-occupation was the military use of nuclear power but some at least were also doubtful about the "peaceful" applications and their fears have been only too justified. The present industry developed directly from the military programme, leaving the population no chance to have a say in the matter, despite the enormous implications that the commission underlines and the significance of the popular involvement in CND. Launched commercially in 1971 with a mighty boost of public funds, BNFL set out on a big expansion programme, with the highly profitable aim of making Britain the world's "nuclear dustbin." As well as Windscale, BNFL was given the former nuclear weapons plants of Calder Hill, Chapelcross, Capenhurst and Springfields. It pursues its nuclear safety investigations in almost total secrecy. No relevant data are open to public inspection. The continued contempt for public opinion is reflected in the fact that although the report has stressed the importance of "wide public understanding" and debate, Walter Marshall, chief scientist at the Department of Energy, has said - only a week after the report's publication - that the fast breeder reactor must proceed as soon as possible. Competitive status and export orders were involved, more important, of course, than public understanding. Another good illustration of such contempt is the argument now being used against the RCEP's recommendations to the effect that "even if we wholly fail to solve the problem of waste disposal ... we shall not impose much further burden on our descendants by continuing with nuclear power for the rest of this century", owing to the millions of cubic feet of plutonium already lying around!*

Nuclear Priesthood Vs. Liberty

A major illustration of the incompatibility of a plutonium economy with any form of free society, involving thorough public debate, is that of the threat to civil liberties. This aspect of the report got a fair amount of publicity. Secret surveillance techniques do, and will, include use of informers and spies, wire-tapping, checking of bank accounts and opening of mail. General search warrants, at present still illegal, would be more and more frequently used; there would be restrictions on the right of movement and assembly, and suspension of habeas corpus in certain crisis situations (all such provisions already existing under the 1920 Emergency Powers Act). In the plutonium economy, says the report, "We regard such measures as highly likely, and indeed inevitable." It continues:

"What is most to be feared is an insidious growth in surveillance in response to a growing threat as the amount of plutonium in existence, increases; and the possibility that a single serious accident in the future might bring a realisation of the need to increase security measures and surveillance to a degree that would be regarded as wholly unacceptable, but which could not be avoided because of the extent of our dependence on plutonium for energy supplies."

* David Leslie, prof. of nuclear engineering

What has received less attention than the general ("unacceptable" and "unavoidable") increase in Big Brother methods, is the more specific effect on radiation workers, as well as on all radical or revolutionary groups regarded automatically as the potential plutonium blackmailers. Workers are already screened before employment and, according to RCEP, will probably become subject to "unusual surveillance in the course of their employment." Those who make "unsuitable contacts" will get added attention and as nuclear power plants increase and multiply - well, one can imagine! For those of us prepared to fight for self-management of our neighbourhoods and work places the challenge of a plutonium economy will be great indeed.

Some Alternatives

There are, of course, plenty of dangerous industries other than that of nuclear power (as we have been made acutely aware only recently), but the commission feels that the problems associated with disposal of plutonium are unique. The report virtually excludes the military aspects of nuclear power, although clearly worried about them, and feels the genetic dangers to be minimal - well, that is their view - but remains preoccupied about the accumulation over the years of an extraordinarily poisonous substance which remains active for thousands of years. The report mentioned the discharge of low-level waste from Windscale into the Irish Sea and the concentrations of the waste picked up in the edible seaweed, porphyra, used to make laverbread, or the radioactivity found in some salmon fishermen of the Ravenglass estuary, but showed inordinate optimism not only in its belief that the "waste is quite secure at present" or that it presents "no significant problems" at the moment, but in its recommendation that responsibility for waste management strategy be confided to the secretary of state for the Environment (!). At the same time, however, the RCEP advocates that serious attention be given to research into alternative energy sources, including (in the nuclear field) thermonuclear fusion, and (in the non-nuclear), solar and wave energy, methane gas, district piping of hot water, etc. Some of these have their own environmental problems, but little or none of the waste disposal, civil liberty or military threats involved in plutonium production.

It is easy for the "experts" to say there is no hope of adequately developing alternative energy resources in the near future, but the disproportion in allocation of public funds to fission power and its alternatives is remarkable. At present wave-power gets a mere £ 500,000 per year, and other alternatives like solar energy could increase this to £ 750,000 - while "peacetime" fission power gets £ 80 million per year!

Solar energy is now one of the interests of the Lucas Aerospace shopstewards, who will hopefully add their voices to those urging a more rational distribution of funds for research work. Perhaps they will also be able to convince the unions that a (capital intensive) nuclear industry massively consumes the resources that could otherwise go to other and more labour-intensive projects. As yet, the unions seem unable - or else strangely unwilling - to see things like this. Surely, there's something obscene about the unions supporting fission power - and indeed, the fast breeder reactor - while (like the Transport and General Workers Union) acting on behalf of radiation workers or their relatives claiming compensation for death or injury ...

FBG

LETTERS

individualism:

Dear comrades

Syd Parker is right of course, his brand of individualism has nothing to do with the capitalism of Keith Joseph. Nevertheless, if we are to propagate our ideas (presumably why Syd is writing in *Freedom*) we cannot ignore the meaning and association that words have for the people we are talking to. And for Alan Albon, as for millions of others, the term "individualism" is associated with a certain kind of ruthless capitalism.

I once suggested, as a substitute, the word "personalism" which I had heard used by Ivan Illich, but Syd objected on grounds which I now forget. Perhaps I could make another suggestion. Why not "egoism"? After all, it is certainly consistent with the work of Max Stirner and my dictionary defines it as a "theory that treats self interest as the foundation of morality", which is not a bad paraphrase.

I wouldn't mind calling myself an egoist.

Yours,
Geoffrey Barfoot

Somerset

Dear Editors

Neither S.E. Parker nor (I fear) A.A. has got it right. A.A.'s concept of the earth as a single biological organism, if linked with any form of idealism or moralism, will lead to totalitarian tyranny. But S.E. Parker's concept of himself as an entirely separate entity is obviously false, since human beings are biologically dependent on the earth and on one another.

The right thing, I would suggest, is to see that we are biologically interdependent but not to have an ideal of world unity. Then there will be no tyranny - no government or public opinion enforcing unity as an ideal - but human beings will see the biological facts and therefore cooperate. Result: unity without authority - the only real unity.

People always object that human nature is egocentric, so that without some ideal of unity there would be chaos. But, on the contrary, it is the idealists - Christians, communists, nationalists or whatever - who divide the world and create chaos. And if only the idealists who talk about the egocentricity of human nature could see that their own idealism is egocentric, i.e. utterly hypocritical, then the whole problem, which is idealism, would be solved!

That is the point Max Stirner tried to make, only nobody seems to have understood him. He agreed that human nature is in a sense egoistic, but pointed out that most people, at present, are unconscious of their egoism: they are idealists, who fail to see that they have merely identified themselves with an ideal in an effort to achieve psychological security. Stirner taught: Be conscious of your egoism, without trying to change it, and then this egoism will change, radically. Conscious egoism is as different from unconscious egoism as chalk from cheese.

The unconscious egoist, bent on psychological security, is always chasing some ideal, some image of what he feels he ought to be (saint, millionaire, good citizen or whatever). But the conscious egoist sees the futility of that, and this insight, paradoxically, gives him complete psychological security! Therefore his whole action is different. He is no longer gre-

edy, for example, since he sees that greed is just another form of chasing an ideal: "Only when I'm rich shall I live the ideal life."

Thus the conscious egoist, though still an egoist in the sense that he only does what he wants to do, is not an egoist in any bad sense. On the contrary, since it is only unconscious egoism that blocks love, the conscious egoist loves the whole world - not out of idealism, but because, being psychologically free, world he really loves. And given love, world unity is compatible with a complete absence of authority.

Yours sincerely,
Francis Ellingham

Bristol

Dear Editors

Although I don't label myself anarchist (or anything else) I do enjoy reading black and white matter, which stimulates my grey matter. That includes Freedom.

S.E. Parker does seem to favour a type of right-wing anarchism. Instead of a capitalist regime, however, he prefers a cowboy-type individualism."

He also seems to have successfully (?) isolated himself from the "biological entity that we call the earth" (A.A.) But in denying a relationship with the world, he is no better off than a crying child, who is afraid of the dark.

Is S.E. Parker, as he claims, a separate biological entity, or is he merely a figment of his own imagination?

Best Wishes
Bert Gedin.

Birmingham

Dear Each

I think somebody should try to clear up the confusion caused by AA in his critique of KJ (Keith Joseph) in which the concept of INDIVIDUALISM was sorely misused in order to score points for AA's rather laboured case for equality.

In his article "Egocentric Sapiens" AA goes to great pains in quoting KJ. He follows these quotes with a monotonously synonymous selection of comments, hence KJ's first quote was "meaningless", the second "nonsense", the third a "dangerous illusion" and the fourth "obviously false" - need I go on? In view of AA's commentary one wonders why he bothered regurgitating all this rubbish in the first place.

Allright, to be fair, AA's article was a critique, not a treatise, but this method of scoring points against an opponent is full of pitfalls, and I think KJ would be delighted to know that AA fell straight into the biggest one. That is to say, AA blundered into a critique not only of inequality, but rolled up into the same bundle of garbage three more highly distinguishable concepts, namely individualism, capitalism/socialism and egocentricity. Far be it from me to try to deal with all these concepts at once, for the sake of clarity I prefer to deal with one at a time; and what I'm concerned with here is AA's blatant distortion of the term Individualism.

AA condemns (his version of) individualism for no better reason than the fact that KJ approves of it. But I would like to point out that AA seems to share KJ's opinion on one very fundamental issue: namely the MEANING of individualism. To both it has a purely materialistic value: neither seem to conceive of a meaning of individualism apart from money - although this particular five-letter word is never mentioned. To KJ individualism is bound up with the incentive to accumulate; for

AA it is a synonym for "egocentric capitalism", i.e. a craving for more and more material goods.

I protest about these purely materialistic definitions of a concept which has much more profound and complex connotations and which - I contend - is and always will be a basic tenet of anarchism. Here I depart from my critique of AA and offer a full, i.e. un distorted definition.

Individualism means the development of distinctive traits within the individual. It means self-knowledge, self-criticism and free expression of one's individual characteristics. It means the development of personality in its fullest sense in whatever form of human activity one has chosen. It is a creative experiment. In social terms its chief manifestation is diversity: so it can also be destructive - of any and all rules of conventional behaviour and/or beliefs. The individual accepts no authority or precedent because as a matter of principle EACH has to discover for him/herself the premises upon which he/she acts, and the result of their actions and beliefs. If this sounds very much like pushing one's finger in the fire to find out if it burns, then Hallelujah! and amen, that's exactly what it does mean.

Individualism strives for "a harmony of thought and action" - this, I quote with gratitude from Giovanni Tropani (his article in the same issue, p. 13). He goes on, "The will of the individual makes the anarchist and only with the will of the individual can the anarchist movement be developed." Giovanni laments that "today there are no longer anarchists of the temper of Hem Day" - and I would add, little wonder, with people like AA going around condemning individualism as "egocentricity". How can one achieve a harmony of thought and action if one has no clearly defined ideas as to one's aims and beliefs? I would be the first to agree that it's difficult enough to define one's ideas and "stick labels" on them - but surely we should TRY? I have tried here to define Individualism simply for the sake of clarity and (yes) criticism.

In order to clarify other concepts and ideas it would help if people like AA would not befuddle basic issues by grafting wild definitions on such common terms as "wealth" - just as an example. To quote AA, wealth = life, soil, fossil fuels and tools. Oh, spare us these meanderings, AA - we all know what wealth means, it means "capital accumulation" - can't we accept that as a starting point and then move on from there? And may I push you to a further concession and ask you to agree (for a start) that Individualism in the full sense of the term outlined above, IS AT THE ROOT OF anarchism?

In reclaiming Individualism for anarchist thought and action, we can see clearly how people like KJ attempt to subvert it (and exploit people's attachment to it): but this is all the more reason why we need to continually clarify our ideas and "make" OUR definitions stick against THEIR limited and distorted view of important human concepts.

Lancs. Marisha J Wood

Dear Editors,

I would be the last to dispose of Sid Parker's individualism, but I recognise that my individualism and his are, partly, a product of the collective. Essentially, my argument is that the interests of the individual and collective are one.

Nearly all human activities require a process of learning, which requires the acceptance of some sort of authority.

Perhaps there should be a redefining of this sort of authority which is freely accepted and freely dispensed with when one implants one's individuality on what one learns. I am at one with Sid in objecting to authority that is related to power and coercion.

I would say that the biological entity that Sid finds so mystical is giving evidence that it is an important aspect of man's environment and its understanding is essential to man's collective and individual freedom.

Alan Albon.

trotsky:

Dear comrades

In his article "Who Cares Who Killed Trotsky?" Jack Robinson repeats the old chestnut that Trotsky warned the Kronstadt sailors that: "I will shoot you like partridges."

It is true that Voline says that he said it; but, in fact, he was wrong. Trotsky was as much the butcher of Kronstadt as was Zinoviev, but it was Zinoviev, through his Defence Committee, who made the statement in a leaflet dropped over Kronstadt by a Bolshevik aeroplane.

We libertarians have enough against Trotsky without repeating untruths!

Actually, for the record, I very much care, and am interested in, who killed Trotsky, because in many cases the same GPU agents were responsible for the murder of not only Trotsky and other Bolshevik Oppositionists, but many libertarians as well, including Camillo Berneri and almost certainly Carlo Tresa.

The Workers' Revolutionary Party may well be starting a recruiting drive - but they are also unearthing some new information as well as publishing old material that recent generations - of libertarians as well as Trotskyists - are unaware of. And that is always useful.

Yours Fraternally,
Peter E Newell.

putsch:

Dear Editors

I wonder sometimes whether Freedom has suffered a putsch by a gang of rather dim sixth-formers: it occurred a few months back while reading with amazement Nicholas Walter's puerile correspondence with the police (amazement that he should have publicised it as some kind of victory), but even more with your last edition.

The police were entirely responsible for the Notting Hill riot, says Claude, introducing his politicism for the ESN and concludes that it is obvious that the cops have set their minds against working people having fun. (All those hard-working pickpockets, I take it). Can one react to that with anything but a horse laugh?

N.S.'s attempt at an analysis of the punch-up was marginally less laughable, but no more enlightening. Blaming the cops for an authoritarian society is like blaming capital punishment on the hangman or blaming sewermen because they stink of shit: it gets you a cheap round of applause, but in cowardly fashion, avoids the main issue.

And what of Arthur Moysé's bottle of piss on Red Square? Well, just read Solzhenitsyn's Gulag Archipelago and appreciate the enormity of the Soviet regime and the courage of those who did something significant against it and decide for yourselves whether the word "pathetic" even comes close to describing Arthur Moysé's action.

Yours, L R.

CONTACT

220 CAMDEN HIGH ST—evictions have not yet taken place. The bailiff is a Mr. Harris, an ex-hangman!

ANARCHIVE NEEDS: Freedom No.38/1971; Anarchy (Ser.1) 4,6,7,21,23,60,70,83,90, 95-99. Buy or swap. Beni, P.O.B. 609, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, U.S.A.

ARGENTINA: A group of young libertarian comrades wish to exchange correspondence about the political reality of their country and ours. They're also into rock music and publish an underground magazine. All letters can be passed on, in the strictest confidence, via Freedom

COMMUNE. Space in libertarian, anti-militarist communal household for four people — adults and children — preference for people with 'direction'. Karla, 22 Royal Road, Ramsgate, Kent.

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

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front Box 1976 c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St., London NW1.

Anarchist TRANSPORT WORKERS, an attempt to organise. Contact Adam 01-247 4829

meetings

BWNIC Study Group mtgs. at 3.30 pm at 9 Monmouth House, West Hill Road, S.W.18. Starting October 23 and then every fortnight.

BWNIC Meetings are held on the first Tuesday of each month at

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures, Thursday evenings, 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center, 8th Avenue and 29 St (S.W. corner), free admission, coffee & cookies.

Oct 14: Abe Bluestein, "Recollections of the Spanish Revolution";

Nov 11: Paul Berman, "The Haymarket Martyrs";

Dec. 9: Murray Kempton, "Radicalism as a career".

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch). Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 p.m.

Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Latham Rd., E.6. Phone Ken, 552 3985.

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

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

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

NORTH WEST Anarchist Federation, for mtgs., activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Rd., Burnley, Lancs.

groups

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

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel.387516)

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.

DURHAM Martin Spence, 11 Front Street, Sherburn Village, Durham

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, contact Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden,

FIFE - see West Fife.

HARROW c/o 10 Kenton Avenue, Harrow (Chris or Nick H.)

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

LEICESTER, Peter and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Road, Leicester (tel. 549652)

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St., Oxford.

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

THAMES VALLEY Anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Coxgreen Road, Maidenhead, SL6 3EE (tel.0628 29741).

WEST FIFE write John Deming, 164 Agin Crescent, Dunfermline.

Proposed Yorkshire Federation - interested individuals or groups contact Leeds group.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen: Blake c/o A.P.P., 167 King Street

DUNDEE: Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl. (tel.422063)

Edinburgh: B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1532)

Fife: "Haggis", c/o Students Union, University of St. Andrews

Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St. Milton, Glasgow G22 (336 7895)

Stirling: Jackson, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

CONFERENCE: 4th Scottish Liberation Federation Conference early November. Details from Aberdeen group.

prisoners

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

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

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

publications

ANARCHISM LANCASTRIUM No. 9 now out. 8p + 7p post. Supplies are limited.

THE WALL (an anarchist analysis of the Berlin Wall) still available. For 35p you can buy a historic trip into East German oppression.

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(Please add postage as indicated)

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*Franz Oppenheimer: The State £2.50 (20p)

*Joel Spring: A Primer of Libertarian Education. £2.50 (20p)

William J. Fishman: East End Jewish Radicals. 1875-1914 £3.95 (47p)

Minus 8: Libertarian Journal from Hong Kong (English Language) £0.30 (7p)

Albert Meltzer(ed.): The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement; The First of May group £1.35 (14p)

William Godwin: Enquiry Concerning Political Justice (abridged and edited by K. Codell Carter) £2.50 (47p)

*Max Stirner: The Ego and his Own £2.45 (47p)

*William Weber Johnson: Heroic Mexico: The Narrative history of a Twentieth Century Revolution £2.50 (47p)

Peter Newell(ed.): A Last Resort. Corporal punishment in schools £0.60 (14p)

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George Woodcock on Kropotkin Goldman and Berkman IN RUSSIA Anarchists Who Returned

WITH THE NOTABLE exceptions of Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the Russian anarchists between 1917 and 1921 fell into increasingly distinct groups, and endured the fates consequent on their varying attitudes and modes of action.

First, there were those, generally known as the "Sovietsky" anarchists, who decided that the October revolution was a genuine one and that they must accept the period of Leninist dictatorship - even the horrors of the Cheka terror - in the hope that in this way they might be able to change the direction of the Revolution in a libertarian direction.

The most dramatic example of the "Sovietsky" was perhaps Bill Shatov, an anarchist who had lived many years in the United States, where he was an IWW organizer and one of the leading figures in the anarchist-oriented Union of Russian Workers. Shatov returned to Russia in 1917, in time to take part in the preparations for the October Revolution, in which many anarchists, along with the Left Social Revolutionaries led by Maria Spiridonova, collaborated with the Bolsheviks. Shatov was in fact one of the four anarchist members of the Military-Revolutionary Committee which directed the revolution, and he continued his support of Lenin even after the Left Social Revolutionaries had severed their allegiance with the Bolsheviks over what they regarded as the betrayal of the Russian people in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers. In 1919 Shatov served as a Red Army officer in the defence of Petrograd, and later occupied a ministerial position organizing transport in Siberia (then the Far Eastern Republic). On one occasion Shatov admitted to Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman that "the Communist state in action is exactly what we anarchists have always claimed it would be - a centralized power still more strengthened by the dangers of the Revolution," but he believed the future was still "glorious", and he argued that: "We anarchists should remain true to our ideals, but we should not criticize at this time. We must work and help to build." (Emma Goldman: *Living my Life*).

The attitude exemplified by Shatov and others like him was similar to that of the Spanish anarchist leaders who in 1936 entered the Republican government because they believed this would protect the future of the revolution in Spain. And, like the Spaniards, the "Sovietsky" anarchists were to be disillusioned, some soon, like Alexander Shapiro who left Russia before the end of 1921, and others much later, after years of humiliating acquiescence, when in 1929 Stalin ordered the arrest of even the "Sovietsky" anarchists in a prelude to the great purges of the Old Bolsheviks during the 1930s.

It is hard to tell what proportion of the 10,000 anarchist activists in revolutionary Russia (the figure of 10,000 is Paul Avrich's estimate in *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, 1973) may have collaborated in the same way as Bill Shatov, since few of the "Sovietskys" were elevated into prominent positions and most merged into the grey and mediocre mass of Soviet bureaucratic conformity. But it is likely that at least half of the activists were involved in growing opposition to the Bolshevik regime, as anarchist-communists,

anarcho-syndicalists or members of the quite numerous groups of individualist anarchists, not counting many times their number of intermittently active sympathizers, and also not counting the thousands of peasants who followed Nestor Makhno in the Ukraine and formed the Insurrectionary Army which he led against both the Red Army and the various White expeditionary forces in southern Russia.

With few exceptions, the anarchists who opposed the regime with any degree of activity, and even many who were not active, were killed or imprisoned in the persecutions which began as early as the first Cheka raids on anarchist centres in April 1918 and which reached their peak in late 1920 and 1921, after the destruction of the Nabat Federation in Kharkov - most powerful of all the anarchist organizations - on the 26th November, 1920, the day the Red Army launched its final and ultimately destructive campaign against the Makhnovist forces in rural Ukraine. Only a tiny minority of the anarchists in opposition to the regime escaped into western Europe. In the long run the fate of the "Sovietsky" anarchists was not much different from that of the oppositionists but the latter at least escaped the humiliation of having willingly served a regime even more distant from anarchist social ideals than the Tsarist regime which had preceded it.

Kropotkin, Goldman and Berkman did not, except in very peripheral ways, collaborate with any regime in revolutionary Russia, and yet they escaped anything more than minor persecution. They were certainly in part protected, as were other independent and critical figures within Russia like the old Narodnik Vera Figner, by their international reputations, in the same way as Tolstoy had been protected under the Tsars and Solzhenitsyn was to be in our own generation. But they were also shielded by the fact that none of them became part of the actual anarchist movement in Russia in the sense of joining a group of militants or becoming involved in disseminating anti-Bolshevik propaganda. Above all, they were careful - unlike the poet Volin who suffered imprisonment and risked death for his enterprise - not to establish any direct link with Makhno, the one anarchist leader whom the Bolsheviks regarded as a powerful threat to the stability of their dictatorial regime.

In each case the links might have been established, for Makhno was willing. When Goldman and Berkman were travelling in the Ukraine they were approached by Makhno's wife, Galline, with an invitation from her husband to submit to a faked kidnapping so that they could visit Gulyai Polye and the Insurrectionary Army without being openly compromised, but they decided not to accept. Kropotkin was visited in Moscow by Makhno himself, who arrived in the spring of 1918, before the creation of the Insurrectionary Army. He asked the advice of "our dear starik" on whether he should initiate guerilla activities in the Ukraine, but Kropotkin refused to commit himself on an answer, remarking that it was a matter of great risk on which only a personal decision was possible. It seems that Kropotkin did not take to Makhno, and certainly he never spoke with approval in later years of the guerilla leader's activities, though the news of the Insurrectionary Army's

continued over page:

victorious progresses must have reached him even in rural Dmitrov, to which he retreated the day after Makhno's visit.

Yet, though Kropotkin and the two celebrated anarchists from the United States neither collaborated directly with the Bolshevik government nor became involved in organized opposition to it, they were by no means detached from the situation. At the same time they preserved a degree of physical and mental freedom which makes all the more striking the criticisms they felt themselves obliged to make even though none of them wished to be identified with the enemies of the Revolution itself, which they supported in so far as it had been a spontaneous rising of the Russian people, but which they believed had been aborted by the Marxist authoritarians. If what they wrote during or relating to the period between 1917 and 1921 is perhaps no more important intrinsically than the inevitably partisan accounts of more active anarchists, like Volin, Peter Arshinov and G. P. Maximov, it has a special value because it expresses the viewpoint of people who had no deep personal grievances and who in fact came very reluctantly - this was especially so in the case of Berkman and Goldman - to the conclusion that the revolution had been betrayed irrevocably.

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When Peter and Sophie Kropotkin arrived at the Finland Station in June 1917, the bands played the "Marseillaise" and the men of the Semenovskii Guard were lined up in honour of the great anarchist. Alexander Kerensky was there, as head of the Provisional Government, and so were sixty thousand other people, including representatives of socialist parties and popular organizations, as well as old friends from the Russia Kropotkin had left more than forty years before. But there were very few anarchists, for three years earlier Kropotkin had violated libertarian tradition by supporting one of the sides in the Great War, and ever since 1914 he had lived in the shadow of his pro-Allied stance. A few famous anarchists like Jean Grave and Christian Cornelissen and James Guillaume had supported Kropotkin, but the greater part of the international anarchist movement had followed the lead of Errico Malatesta in denouncing this departure from customary anarchist neutrality in the conflicts between governments; Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman had both signed the manifesto denouncing Peter Kropotkin, and so had Alexander Shapiro, representing Russian anarchists both in exile and at home.

Less than four years later, when Kropotkin took his departure from Russia by the route of death, his farewell was even more impressive than his welcome, and significantly different, for while he had been received with honour by the ruling power of mid-1917, he was seen on his way in 1921 by those who protested against the tyranny which revolutionary Russia had become since October 1917. At his funeral on the 13th February the great majority of the hundred thousand men and women and children who formed a five-mile-long procession out of Moscow to the Novo-Devichi cemetery were people who had come to take part in the last great demonstration against the Bolshevik power. The chorus of the Moscow Opera marched among them chanting the requiem "Eternal Memory", the Tolstoyan band played Chopin's Funeral March, and among the moving forests of black flags, paraded for the last time through the streets of Moscow, were banners bearing in flaming letters such messages as "Where there is authority there is no freedom", and "Anarchists demand liberation from the prison of socialism". At the graveside Emma Goldman was among those who spoke in honour of Kropotkin, and so were the prisoners released for one day only from the cellars of the Cheka, notable among them the fearless Aaron Baron. "Emaciated, bearded, wearing gold spectacles," as Victor Serge remembered him, "he stood erect and cried out in defiant protest against the new despotism, against the butchers at work in the dungeons, against the dishonour that had been brought upon socialism, against the violence by which the government was trampling the revolution under foot."

It was the last flare of defiance that flickered and died out almost immediately, for the anarchist organisations in Russia were already broken up, most of the militants were in prison or in hiding, Makhno and a few followers were fighting a last guerilla campaign that would peter out before 1921 came to an end, and barely a month after Kropotkin's burial the only remaining opposition movement of any significance, that of the libertarian sailors of Kronstadt, would be crushed out with the full power of the Soviet state. Those who marched

through the bitter February streets behind Kropotkin's coffin were using the occasion less to express their grief over the loss of a devoted leader than to declare their dissent, and it would be carrying assumptions too far to suggest that there had been any deep reconciliation between Kropotkin and the mass of Russian anarchists.

Nevertheless, circumstances had in fact brought Kropotkin steadily closer to the anarchist opposition during the last years of his life and especially from 1918 onwards. There is no doubt that, in his English isolation (for he spent the early years of the Great War in retirement in Brighton and detached even from the English anarchists, most of whom repudiated his pro-war stand), Kropotkin had entirely miscalculated the mood in Russia after February 1917. When - following his arrival - he devoted himself to public exhortations to the Russian people to continue and even step up the war effort, so that Prussian militarism might once and for all be destroyed, he was followed by only a tiny middle-class minority of the anarchists, led by Dr. Alexander Atabekian, with whom he had associated twenty years before in a short-lived Geneva publishing venture, "The Anarchist Library". Not only most of the anarchists, but the more radical Social Revolutionaries - heirs of the Narodniks and much influenced theoretically by Bakunin and by Kropotkin's early writings - turned away from him, and he found himself politically isolated, since he maintained his anarchist consistency in at least one major direction by refusing Kerensky's repeated urgings to join the Provisional Government.

At the same time, events were bringing to the surface issues on which Kropotkin had argued with almost prophetic cogency a decade before, during the 1905 Revolution and shortly afterwards. At that time a series of informal meetings was held by expatriate anarchists in London and Paris to discuss the lessons to be drawn from the experiences of that pioneer insurrection, and the results were published in a pamphlet called *The Russian Revolution and Anarchism*, in which Kropotkin argued strongly for the land being taken over by the peasants themselves and the factories by the workers, organized in free unions and without governmental supervision. Such, indeed, became the great slogans of 1917, first initiated by the anarchists, but adroitly adopted by Lenin and used, through the Bolshevik domination of the workers' and soldiers' soviets, to consolidate the hold of the Communist state over the Russian economy. Kropotkin had anticipated such a possibility as early as the autumn of 1905 when, discussing the workers' and peasants' councils which first appeared during that year, he remarked: "One may enter the Soviets, but certainly only as far as the Soviets are organs of struggle against the bourgeoisie and the State, and not organs of authority." He added: "I, however, would personally prefer to remain among the working masses."

Now one can only speculate on whether the course of events might have been changed if Kropotkin had not discredited himself with his pro-war propaganda and his advocacy in August, 1917 of the interim establishment of a republic on the lines of the United States. What might have happened if, speaking with the authority of consistently-maintained anti-militarist beliefs, he had been able to dissuade the anarchists and the Left Social Revolutionaries from giving their crucial support to the Bolsheviks during the October Revolution? In fact, such was his isolation that one can find little about his activities for at least two months before and after October 1917, though it is certain that he deplored from the beginning the triumph of the Bolsheviks and failed to understand that the October Revolution was also the expression of real popular forces which the Bolsheviks had been adroit enough to harness but which, with proper vision among the anarchists, might have been diverted in another direction.

But Kropotkin was not merely, in 1917, discredited; he was old and sick, and his retreat to Dmitrov, forty miles out of Moscow, in June 1918, was more than an attempt to find a convenient refuge from the problems of life in cities where apartments were constantly being requisitioned. It was also a retreat from a situation which Kropotkin knew he would not be able to influence decisively in the short lease of life that remained to him.

At the time of the October coup, Kropotkin is said to have remarked to Atabekian, "This buries the Revolution." It

was a remark in which grief and resignation were combined, but, knowing Kropotkin's essentially optimistic temperament, one cannot interpret it as a pessimistic statement, and Kropotkin's acts during his last years were not those of a man who had totally lost hope. It is true that he no longer attempted to work through the anarchist movement, largely, no doubt, because he had no desire to intrude himself upon groups who had so clearly rejected his urgings in connection with the war. But he did not remain entirely isolated, for until mid-1918 the anarchist publishing house *Golos Truda* was publishing his books and his early pamphlets, while activists like Volin, Maximov and Shapiro, as well as some of the younger anarchists in Moscow, came to see him in Dmitrov, though their visits became less frequent after the autumn of 1918, when the activists began to drift to Kharkov, where the Nabat Federation still operated in comparative freedom, and even further south to Makhno's headquarters at Gulyai Polye.

In Moscow, before he left for Dmitrov, Kropotkin had been involved in an organization called the Federalist League; it was not exclusively anarchist, and it consisted mainly of scholars - professional and amateur - who were anxious to establish on a more or less scientific basis the arguments against centralization, particularly in a country as large, populous and culturally varied as Russia. Kropotkin gave at least one lecture under the auspices of the Federalist League, and he was appointed editor-in-chief of a series of four volumes of essays on the various aspects of federalism. But the venture came to nothing, for in the spring of 1918 the Bolsheviks decided to suppress the League, while in other directions Kropotkin's voice was being silenced by the lack of opportunities to publish whatever he might choose to write. In May, 1918, he complained that it was six months since he had written for any newspaper, and from this time to the end of his life nothing from his pen appeared in print in his own country.

Kropotkin, who had always been an acute observer of the libertarian elements already existing in an unfree world, now turned his attention to his own locality. He rejected the overtures of the Dmitrov Soviet, because it was Bolshevik-dominated, and established connections with the local Co-operative Union, because it seemed to him the nearest thing in late-1918 Russia to a freely organized mutual aid institution. He visited the co-operative, encouraged its members to practice handcrafts, helped in organizing a museum, lectured, and finally, on 14th November 1920, wrote the co-operators a letter in which he showed how their work helped in the process of transition from the private ownership of the means of production to a decentralized and voluntary communism. He skirted near to danger when he remarked that the Russian government had turned to centralized state communism and made use of the co-operatives to that end, which was alien to their true function. But, as the Tsarist government had done with Tolstoy, the Bolsheviks did not attack Kropotkin directly. Instead, within a week of receiving his letter, the leaders of the co-operative were arrested, and another channel of influence was cut off.

There remained two directions of protest. First there was the essentially illusory one, which even anarchists are prone to in moments of desperation, of believing that in men who exercise total power the heart of a human being still beats, and if one can only touch that heart miracles may happen. Proudhon had, for a short time, that illusion about Napoleon III, and Bakunin about Muraviev-Amurski, Governor-General of Siberia. Kropotkin appears to have had it about Lenin, and Lenin to have encouraged it. Twice, and possibly three times, Kropotkin travelled from Dmitrov to meet Lenin in the Kremlin, and he wrote at least two letters to the Bolshevik leader which did not in any perceptible way deflect the course of Communist actions, but which did vouch for Kropotkin's personal fearlessness and integrity, and emphasize beliefs so essential and so self-evident that one might reasonably call them anarchist truths. The first letter, typical of Kropotkin's urgent sense of the rights of the humblest individual - concerns the misfortunes of a few postal workers in Dmitrov, doomed to semi-starvation because they are paid in worthless currency. Kropotkin puts the case concretely, evoking the image of ill-nourished people "scurrying from office to office to secure permission to buy a cheap kerosene lamp", and then moves on to a telling conclusion:

One thing is certain. Even if a party dictatorship were the proper means to strike a blow at the capitalist system (which I strongly doubt), it is positively harmful for the building of a new socialist system. What is needed is local construction by local forces. Yet this is absent. It exists nowhere. Instead, wherever one turns there are people who have never known anything of real life committing the most flagrant errors, errors paid for in thousands of lives and in the devastation of whole regions.

Lenin did not answer, nor did he answer Kropotkin's more celebrated letter of the 21st December 1920, written barely six weeks before his death, and protesting at the taking of hostages, a letter that defines a whole area of revolutionary morality and condemns in anticipation the Nechaevist pseudo-revolutionaries of the late twentieth century who imagine that by the most inhuman form of blackmail one can achieve a moral society or that by depriving others of liberty one can paradoxically ensure one's own.

The kind of protest exemplified in Kropotkin's letters to Lenin proclaims a moral stance that relates closely to the other line of his activity during his final years - the attempt to complete, under extraordinarily difficult circumstances, without adequate research materials or secretarial help, the book which he hoped would complete his life's work. *Ethics* was never in fact completed, and only the first half appeared, edited by Nicholas Lebedev; the notes for the second volume were never used, though Kropotkin hoped that some successor would utilize them to round out what he regarded as his major work. *Ethics* had not in fact been conceived in Russia. Part of it was based on articles, "The Ethical Need of the Present Day" and "Morality in Nature", which appeared in the English magazine, *Nineteenth Century* in 1904-5, and Kropotkin saw it as the completion of the task he undertook when he wrote *Mutual Aid*; justice in human society, he felt, was something more than the mutual aid of animal societies, and even beyond it a factor of self-abnegation was needed to complete a non-religious ethical system.

Yet, though *Ethics* was not originally conceived in the kind of situation that faced Kropotkin in Dmitrov between 1918 and 1920, there seems little doubt that working on the book acquired a special significance in the circumstances that faced him then, and that this affected his vision. There is no space to discuss the book at any length, but it is appropriate to remark how - in that time of darkness and apparent hopelessness - *Ethics* seems a book filled with light.

Kropotkin is declaring his faith in human reason; he is exorcizing the horrors he hears of by arguing, in spite of them and of all the other terrible periods of human history, that there is that in man and in human society which will enable him to emerge from his troubles and conquer them for ever. To the modern reader, *Ethics* may seem to echo too insistently the nineteenth century faith in progress and perfectibility, yet if its tone strikes us as excessively complacent, let us remember the circumstances in spite of which its confidence was sustained.

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Kropotkin in his last years of life was almost literally a voice crying in the wilderness. His only statement to reach the outside world while he still lived was the "Message to the Workers of the West", entrusted in 1920 to the British Labour representative, Margaret Bondfield, and duly published in the foreign press. It talked freely about the difficulties in Russia, but pleaded for people outside not to interfere, since that would merely seem to justify the dictators. It was left for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to complete Kropotkin's task, and to tell the world, from the anarchist viewpoint and largely on the basis of events after Kropotkin's death, how the revolution had been betrayed.

Unlike Kropotkin, neither Goldman nor Berkman went willingly to Russia. They welcomed the Revolution, but both believed that their own political roles lay in the United States, and only their deportation in 1919 as undesirable radicals brought them to Russian soil. Unlike Kropotkin's, their welcome was perfunctory, for it was more than two years after the February revolution that they appeared, and their departure in 1921 was equally uncelebrated, since they went as disillusioned malcontents.

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Inside The Cultural Revolution



INSIDE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION
by Jack Chen, Sheldon Press, '76. £7.

Review by Wong Yuen.

The Chinese Cultural Revolution which started in 1966 has become a highly important historical event. For the revolutionaries in China the Cultural Revolution was a lesson which enabled them to understand the Maoist regime better, whilst for the Maoists it provided an opportunity for a factual criticism of the Chinese Communist Party (of course, their conclusions are limited by their doctrinaire views); and the Maoists are now attempting to re-interpret what actually happened in order to cover up the actual events and so give a false picture to revolutionary groups and parties abroad.

The book by Jack Chen, *Inside the Cultural Revolution*, is typical of the type of re-interpretation mentioned. In going through its 450 pages it can be seen that the author has attempted to paint a picture of a Chinese population which is highly timid and disposed to willingly liquidate anyone whom Mao either did not like or considered to be a danger as soon as the great Master Mao gave the order. The book completely fails to mention either the popular movements against the bureaucracy or the massacres of revolutionaries carried out by the Maoists in the period 1968 - 69. Naturally, the book gives a lot of information about Maoist bureaucrats and Maoist terms are present in great abundance. However, the name of Sheng - Wu - Lien and the Shanghai People's Commune do not receive a mention.

文化

Why did Mao need the Cultural Revolution in 1966? Jack Chen claims that it was because Chairman Mao had discovered the presence of "capitalist roaders" and "revisionists" inside the Party. Whilst this is partly true, Mao had also found that he had suffered a considerable loss of power and that his position was thus endangered, which forced him to utilise the movement in order to turn the situation to his advantage. This explains why Mao used the youth in China. The young in China were Mao's only dependable resource since they were the only section of society to have undergone Mao Tse Tung's educational process for a long enough period. Jack Chen claimed, however, that the mass of young people was mobilised because Mao wanted the people to participate in the struggle.

An ex-red guard was quoted recently as saying: "Mao, as much as the other bureaucrats, does not ignore the discontent boiling up among the working masses against the Party bureaucrats who form a privileged class... They don't hesitate, in the best Stalinist tradition, of starting campaigns one after the other, with the aim of supplying 'scapegoats'

and 'sacrificial victims' to appease the anger of the masses." (from *Libertarian Struggle* - February 1976, *China - Bureaucracy Rules*). From the early days of the Anti - Right Movement to the present Criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius Movement, that is exactly what has happened.

大

It is interesting to look at what K'ang Sheng, Minister of Public Security, had to say about Sheng - Wu - Lien and the Shanghai People's Commune mentioned above. "They describe the State and the Party led by Chairman Mao as a privileged class similar to Khrushchev's party... They say that the great cultural revolution has just begun. That the great cultural revolution in the past was merely reformism." (20th. Jan 1968) It is clear, therefore, that they are the first to take a step towards breaking down the myth of Mao Tse Tung and to fight for the real revolution.

Sheng - Wu - Lien is a people's organisation in Hunan Province and its full name is Hunan Provincial Proletarian Revolutionary Great Alliance Committee. Their activities have included the publishing of wall posters and leaflets criticising the bureaucrats, such as Chou - en - Lai, and have called for direct action in establishing real people's communes.

革命

The Shanghai People's Commune was established during January 1967 (the period of the so-called January Storm). They sought to practise self-management but were later smashed by the bureaucracy. This was followed by the formation of Sheng - Wu - Lien.

While the people want a real revolution the bureaucrats have tried to stop them achieving this by all means at their disposal. The sentence and 'disappearance' of Yang Hsi-Kuang, who drafted the Manifesto of Sheng - Wu - Lien, and the killing of thousands of young rebels are the bloody facts of the reactionary Maoist bureaucracy.

The revolution will continue, and the bureaucrats will not be able to stop it. The Tien An Men incident and the appearance of the wall poster "Concerning Socialist Democracy & the Legal System", are the signs! And mister Jack Chen, you may be able to fool some one outside China, but you can never fool the people inside China!

MISTAKEN IDENTITY by Peter Hain.

Quadrant, 90p. Review by Jack Robinson.

WHEN PETER HAIN was charged with the Putney bank snatch a cynical friend said he would have thought more highly of Peter Hain if he had done such a snatch at a bank (Barclays) notorious for its South African connections. The Young Liberals were prominent in a campaign against this bank some

years ago and it does not take much imagination to find sub-conscious (or conscious) motives for wishing to connect the notorious Peter Hain with the snatch.

The inherently reformist stance of the Young Liberals assumes that there is nothing wrong with the law and police and punishment that a good parliamentary commission or at most a radical Liberal government cannot put right.

One feels that an ounce of the experience of law in action is worth a pound of liberal (with or without capital 'L') theory. In the sense that it couldn't happen to a better man the police certainly picked the wrong man when it arrested Peter Hain on the slimmest of evidence and a granule of identification for snatching £490 from Barclays Bank, Putney. In the same way Det. Sergeant Challoner made an error of judgement in framing Donald Room on the Queen Frederika demonstration.

But if it had not been Peter Hain? Undoubtedly not so much fuss would have been made and an innocent man would have been sent to gaol - as Peter Hain points out - as so many innocent men have been gaoled before on mistaken evidence of identity. The release of George Davis is entirely due to a persistent campaign of publicity for his case and the Hain case was the last straw which gave the authorities the excuse to release Davis without seeming to take notice of the "law-less" campaign.

Hain refers to one Royal Commission on the subject already (1904) which found that "Evidence as to identity based upon personal impression is, unless supported by other facts, an unsafe basis for the verdict of a jury." Given the "personal impression" of identification the police have since then (as always) relied on other "facts" suitably biased or distorted to produce a conviction. Usually, the basis of cases is a good healthy prejudice against the accused. This then is the theory upon which all prosecution facts are based. In the case of Adolf Beck (1904) from whose case stemmed the Royal Commission, he was Jewish (Hain refers to studies showing that people are unable to identify members of other races - "All Chinamen look alike"); Beck was uncircumcized whereas the man on whose previous record Beck was convicted was circumcized.

Of course the main police prejudice is previous convictions, this is certainly a factor kept from judge and jury but it helps the police to prepare a case and ride roughshod over other facts proving innocence of this particular offence. As for Hain, there must have existed a prejudice because of his agitational record and associations. His book *Radical Regeneration* appeared on September 25th and Peter Hain had received much publicity and was well known by sight even in Putney, and Barclays bank staff's cashier was Lucy Haines and an official Timothy Hayne; surely this unfortunate coincidence must have been remarked upon in the bank before the robbery.

Although it is easy to say "we anarchists know it all and could have told you so" it is useful to have Peter Hain's book with its insights and its gathering together of specialist knowledge on this one subject of the identity parade and identification as a means of conviction.

There is this: "You get an awful lot of waiting done in police stations. Waiting is part of the procedure, whether you are a suspect, an inquirer, a relative, a solicitor or a witness. They keep you waiting, partly because they are busy, but mainly, I suspect, because they want to show you who is in control. You are on their patch and you can bloody well wait."

Peter Hain gives details of an American psychological test where policemen observing a short film detected in the actions of a man vis-a-vis a baby, a criminal intent which was entirely lacking in the original film.

Finally Hain usefully gives hints on what to do "If it Happens to You" (chap. 16). Hain's case has already made some changes in the law but as long as men sit in judgement over others men will suffer.

FRANCO AT THE FRONT - February 1937



THE STORY OF THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES

Reviewed by H.B.

IN DECEMBER 1936 A GROUP OF IRISH republican volunteers, recruited by the CPI and led by IRA officer Frank Ryan, left for Spain to fight for the republican cause. Unfortunately this pamphlet tells us very little about them, not even their numerical strength, and nine of its forty printed pages are devoted to a tirade against the Provisionals. Of the remaining thirty one pages the content provides very brief descriptions of the battles at Jarama, Brunete, Aragon, Belchite, Teruel, and Ebro, in all of which the Irish volunteers played an insignificant part. The total number killed was 33; 8 from Belfast and the remainder from Eire and other parts of the globe. This figure represents slightly more than half the number of Irish claimed killed by the CPI (63) in their outline history but the difference can probably be accounted for by assuming that the CPI has claimed all who might be remotely connected with Ireland, even through ancestral connection.

The Irish arrived in Madrigueras (p16) for a fortnights training with the British battalion but many of them (p20) later transferred to the (American) Abraham Lincoln battalion. This is mentioned in the pamphlet but the reason for the transfer is not given. According to Jason Gurney in his book *Crusade in Spain*, most of the Irish platoon were not from Ireland at all but when a feud developed between them and a platoon in a neighbouring billet, the neighbouring platoon when on police detail, arrested practically the whole of the Irish detachment, and as a consequence the Irish mutinied and threatened to make all manners of revelations to the British press unless they were transferred. It might have been better all round if the Irish had made their revelations as the Lincolns later threatened to walk out of the trenches because of interference from the political commissar. On many occasions units of the brigades were exhorted by these political commissars to attack under adverse conditions and against superior odds; it made good propaganda for the communists. As ex-communist Bob Darke (*The Communist Technique in Britain*, Penguin 1952) commented, "The party didn't mind them dying in Spain. Some communists had to go there and get shot, and it was best that they should be expendable ones."

The leader of the Irish contingent, Frank Ryan, was captured by the fascists but it is difficult to accept the assertion made in this pamphlet that he was held prisoner solely because of his rank as the fascist planned to exchange him for one of their officers. The leader of the British machine-gun company, Harry Fry, was captured with Ryan but was later released whereas Ryan was transferred to Germany when the world war broke out. The Nazis later attempted to land him in Ireland by submarine together with Sean Russell, IRA chief of staff, who had visited Germany to obtain support for the IRA bombing campaign in Britain. Russell died during the submarine voyage and Ryan was returned to Germany where he died in 1944.

If this pamphlet is intended as a tribute to those Irish who died for the republican cause in Spain then perhaps their memory would have been served better if it had told the truth about events in Spain.

"The Story of the Irish Volunteers who served with the International Brigades 1936 - 8." Published by the Belfast Executive of Republican Clubs, 40 Cyprus Street, Belfast 12. (30p.)

Government Housing Strategy: LESS HELP-LESS PARTICIPATION

THE HOUSING ACT 1974 PROVIDED A MAJOR CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT HOUSING POLICY. The emphasis in the post-war era was on the demolition of old areas and rebuilding. The results, some good and some bad (mostly bad unfortunately) are there for all to see. The 1969 Housing Act provided the legislation for a "new" approach. The wise men who rule over us at last realised that old houses can actually be renovated and the surrounding streets made to look nicer rather than knock everything down and then suffer the consequences of trying to rehouse all these people in new houses with which it is impossible to rehouse at the same densities.

The Housing Act 1969 and its 'General Improvement Areas' had good and bad effects. In small industrial towns (mostly in the North) composed mainly of working-class owner occupiers the legislation provided money to help these people put in a bath and an inside toilet. Further, it helped them to get rid of dampness, straighten crooked walls, etc..... In the streets, very reminiscent until then of their 'dark satanic mills' days, house fronts were made clean, streets were paved properly, areas were closed off for children's play space, cars were discouraged from using them as thoroughfares and trees and shrubs were planted. In big cities like London the houses were improved, the tenants evicted, and the houses sold to rich middle class owner-occupiers at extortionate prices. Government in this case was subsidising the rich to improve houses with money they either didn't need or sniffed at. If your improvement costs come to £10,000+ a measly £1,500 is not much good to a person who can afford the £10,000+ in the first place. For many working class people in the cities the 'general improvement areas' meant eviction.

The tragedy was that these 'general improvement areas' were declared in areas where the housing stock was of a good solid standard. Hence, working class people were pushed from the solid housing (albeit without amenities) into crumbling shoddy property in an ever-decreasing market whilst the middle classes (a bit bored with their semis by now) moved in.

The "trendies" (i.e. planners and housing officers who spend their lives speaking at special conferences on the housing crisis - all expenses paid - and say the exact opposite of what they mean as long as they are following the fashionable viewpoint) went to their conferences, gave their speeches and tut-tutted about "gentrification" (trendy jargon which means working class homelessness caused by middle class property speculation). "We must in future avoid another 'gentrification situation'" they told each other. "Sovereignty over decisions must lie with the inhabitants" they also said (which meant that the 'trendies' will decide what's right and then people will be coned into collaborating).

The 1974 Act provided two new concepts in area renewal - the 'Housing Action Area' and the 'Priority Neighbourhood'. The 'General Improvement Areas' were assigned to dealing with specifically environmental problems in solidly built housing where no 'social stress' exists whilst the 'Housing Action Areas' were assigned to deal with bad housing in a poor state of repair, lacking and sharing amenities, and with a high proportion of people likely to be displaced through renewal - that is tenants in privately owned homes. To deal with these areas wider powers were given to local authorities to compulsorily acquire properties where landlords could not or would not carry out the necessary improvements and repairs, more money was made available for improvements, and tenants were protected by the 'notification procedure' (i.e. the landlord cannot sell the house and/or evict the tenant without informing the local authority who can either veto the sale or decide to rehouse the tenant).

The 'priority neighbourhood' is a means of keeping control over an area, either before the local authority is capable of putting in the resources in terms of staff, for instance, for a 'housing action area', or it can be used as a means of protecting areas around either a 'housing action area' or a 'general improvement area' from deterioration as a result of their proximity to these two potentially helpful but also socially dangerous administrative measures.

Several criticisms can be made of this type of policy. Colin Ward in his book, *Housing: an anarchist approach* (Freedom Press £1.25) sums up the first of these criticisms:

"Throughout history every city has had its 'zone of transition' as the geographers call it, which needless to say, is our area of acute housing stress. Is it our ambition to turn every zone of transition into a Housing Action Area? If it is, are we ready to accept the fact that in improving it will be creating homelessness? Unless, that is, we accompany our

improvements with a radical redistribution of wealth, which I don't see on the agenda today."

The second criticism can be summed up in four words. "Less Help - Less Participation". The 1974 Act came just at the beginning of the campaign still being waged by the lunatic fringe of the private enterprise lobby against public spending. We know the story very well by now - in our economic crisis (whose crisis?) the only solution is to cut public expenditure - which says that when a crisis is imminent the answer is to make the situation even more critical. The 'housing action area' concept has the "advantage" of cutting down on the amount of public expenditure on housing whilst, at the same time, giving the appearance that more activity is taking place.

The Housing Action Areas are presented in Government circulars 13/75 and 14/75 as an alternative to the old, erroneous concept of rebuilding. Housing Action Areas involve a minimal amount of capital cost and are also very difficult to declare for two reasons. Firstly, the Department of the Environment has to be satisfied that the declaration is an appropriate one and that the local authority in question is capable of implementing it effectively. If the Department is not satisfied it has the power to veto the declaration. They are becoming noted by local authorities for the obvious manner in which the least relevant of points is a handy excuse for delays in making decisions and for encouraging the council to cut down on their intended programme. Secondly, the fact that there is minimal capital cost involvement together with the delays in making decisions about the programme, the councils' relevant committees are often reluctant to allocate staff to the projects with the result that the Department of the Environment then questions the ability of the local authority to effectively implement a Housing Action Area.

"Less participation" comes from the recommendation, from Whitehall again, that owing to the speculation in property which can take place prior to declaration, which can cause homelessness through the eviction of tenants, the areas must be chosen and declared in secrecy. This suits the local authorities who only want to involve the public when the declaration is a 'fait accompli' and also suits the local builders and big landlords who hear all about it in their local masonic lodges where they meet the chairman of the housing committee, the leader of the council and other trustworthy notables.

"Less help" comes about through the limiting of the Housing Action Area to areas of 200 to 300 properties. So, not only are the Housing Action Areas difficult to declare but can only affect 200 to 300 houses at a time. Think of the size of some of London's problem areas, for instance, and you can see what a ludicrously small contribution the Act is.

A third criticism of the Act is that the 'weapons' it provides are irrelevant to many of the problems in our big cities, and especially London. It shows, if nothing else, the futility of a central government structure which attempts to handle particular problems with local manifestations of different types by the same blanket piece of legislation applied nationally. Area Improvement Note 10 is another 'work of genius' which has emanated from Whitehall. This Note gives guidance on the symptoms to look for in the declaration of Housing Action Areas, Priority Neighbourhoods and General Improvement Areas. What it describes, socially and physically is the type of bad housing area found somewhere like Newcastle upon Tyne. The presence of such areas in London is very limited. Areas such as Shepherd's Bush or Notting Hill (both in London) do fit into the requirements of the Note but they do so in a very one-sided manner (i.e. only the social stress symptoms are present as outlined in the Note whilst the physical conditions are still bad but incapable of being improved upon without causing further social stress.). Without a redistribution of income intervention in such areas will cause homelessness. There are areas in London, however, which lack amenities but are not 'transitional zones' which do not fit the Note's requirements (because the local residents lack use of any baths at all, for instance, the note somehow considers this to be much better than families, or households, sharing baths) but might possibly benefit from the limited help given by the legislation in helping to provide baths and so on whilst not endangering the roof over their heads (some areas of Fulham can be seen to fit this description).

Finally, the legislation is meant to give properties in Housing Action Areas or General Improvement Areas a maximum life of 30 years. What happens after 30 years? This legislation is being applied throughout the country and very little rebuilding is going on. Ah well! Anarchists have always said that Government is bad for your health but it makes us angry

PAUL AVRICH:

British Anarchists In America

Part One

to keep saying "We told you so" when people lack decent roofs over their heads. Housing Action Areas, furthermore, whilst giving protection of tenure during the legislative life of the Housing Action Area, only last for five years. Who protects the tenants then?

The message must somehow be got through to people that if they want decent homes to live in the last thing to do is expect government to provide it. Decent homes for all can only be provided in a society not restricted by the lunacies of government and in which an exploitative capitalist system does not exist to hamper the provision of housing for the people by the people. Faith in government is utopian!

Nino Staffa

The Anarchists Who Returned.

Not without difficulty, Goldman and Berkman made their way to Latvia and thence to Sweden in December 1921, to live out the wandering exile of the stateless. In their books, in Emma's *My Disillusionment with Russia* (1925), they wrote the first full-scale exposures from a left-wing viewpoint of the Bolshevik dictatorship. Had Kropotkin been younger, and had he lived to witness the Kronstadt incident, to hear of the killings in the Cheka cellars, and to escape, he would without doubt have written with as much agony and anger, to describe the dark side of that revolutionary moon whose brightness had once filled his mind.

Knowing little of what had really happened since October 1917, they were at first full of enthusiasm for the Revolution and of willingness to work for its future. They were inclined in the early days to accept the assurances of the Bolsheviks and the "Sovietsky" anarchists, and to discount the stories of repression told them by the anarchist opposition. They wanted to be active in the reconstruction of Russia, if only they need not occupy privileged official posts, but in the end all they could find was employment on a museum gathering documents in rural Russia on the period of the Revolution and the Civil War.

Scanty as the assignment seemed, it gave them a unique opportunity to travel across Russia and see for themselves how the people really lived. At the same time, in Moscow and Petrograd, they were in close touch with the anarchists and other dissidents, some of them already in hiding, and thus they acquired a much more complete knowledge than Kropotkin in Dmitrov of the terror that was being established by the Cheka to eliminate all opposition. Gradually their position became untenable. They could not keep silent, but the only way they could transmit their knowledge abroad was through western correspondents working for capitalist papers which in those days occasionally distorted news without scruple to suit their policies.

In the final months of 1921 they decided to leave. Kropotkin's death, with the struggle to obtain release of the anarchist prisoners to attend his funeral, had emphasized the Cheka's duplicity. The bloody suppression of the Kronstadt sailors' revolt a month later, in March 1921, was a time of agony, with its revelation of the cold inhumanity of Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders. There followed the final and complete suppression of the anarchist groups, the hunting down of Makhno's followers in the Ukraine, and then, in September 1921, the brutal execution in the Cheka cellars of the libertarian poet, Lev Chorny, and of Fanya Baron, who had worked years before with Emma in New York. This was the final blow which made it obvious that there was no promise in any foreseeable future of Russia becoming a country where freedom might grow again. The only thing left was for them to tell the world the truth about the betrayal of the revolution.

THAT FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS and visitors played a major role in the emergence of American anarchism is a well-known fact. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, European-born artisans and peasants—Germans and Czechs, Italians and Spaniards, Russians and Jews—constituted the mass base of the movement, while its intellectual leadership included well-known speakers and writers from diverse countries who came as permanent settlers or on extended lecture tours.

Among the Russians, for example, Bakunin spent nearly two months in the United States (mostly in New York and Boston) after his flight from Siberia in 1861. Stepniak came to lecture in 1891, Kropotkin in 1897 and 1901, Chaikovsky to join a utopian community and again to raise funds for the Russian revolutionary movement. The flood of Russian immigrants before and during the First World War included Voline and Yarchuk, Aaron and Fanny Baron, Boris Yelensky and Bill Shatoff, not to mention Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who had arrived in the 1880's. After the Bolshevik consolidation of power came such figures as Gregory Maximoff, Abba Gordin, and Mark Mratchny, who recently died in New York, the last of the Russian anarchists with an international reputation. (Maximoff died in Chicago in 1950 and Alexander Shapiro in New York in 1946, a refugee from Hitler's invasion of France.)

The names of émigrés from other countries are hardly less familiar. From Germany came Johann Most and Rudolf Rocker, Ott Rinke and Josef Peukert, Robert Reitzel and Max Baginski, to say nothing of the Haymarket martyrs, Louis Lingg, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer. From Italy came Luigi Galleani and Errico Malatesta, Pietro Gori and Francesco Saverio Merlino, Carlo Tresca and Armando Borghi, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti. From France came Déjacque and Bellegarrigue, Elisée and Elie Reclus, Clément Duval and Jules Scarcieriaux. From Japan came Denjiro Kotoku, from India Har Dayal and M. P. T. Acharya, from Austria Rudolf Grossmann ("Pierre Ramus"), from Spain Pedro Esteve, from Mexico Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, from Rumania Joseph Ishill and Marcus Graham.

What then of Great Britain? The numbers here too are impressive. They included revolutionaries and pacifists, communists and syndicalists, individualists and mutualists, and some who moved from one school to another. But as their names are not so well known, little has been said of them as a group. Unlike the other immigrants, moreover, they faced no language barrier and, mingling with native American anarchists, were less conspicuous as a national category. It is only when we begin to enumerate them that their importance becomes apparent. Among the Chicago anarchists of the 1880's we find not only Samuel Fielden, formerly a Methodist preacher in Lancashire, but also William Holmes, secretary of the "American" Group, whose companion Lizzie M. Holmes was assistant editor of *The Alarm* under Albert Parsons. In addition, General Matthew M. Trumbull, who defended the Haymarket anarchists in two widely distributed pamphlets, had been a Chartist before emigrating to America.

More than a few of the British expatriates had served their radical apprenticeship in William Morris's Socialist League. For example, Thomas H. Bell of Los Angeles had been a member of the Edinburgh branch, while William Bailie, a Belfast-born associate of Benjamin Tucker and the biographer of Josiah Warren, had been active in the Manchester branch, arranging lectures by Morris and Kropotkin and other celebrated speakers. The German anarchist Max Metzkwow, who had figured in the Homestead strike of 1892, had been a member of the London branch; and William Holmes contributed a "Chicago Letter" to the League's weekly organ, *The Commonweal*. During the early 1890's, moreover, John C. Kenworthy (afterward a prominent English Tolstoyan) started a Socialist League in New York with his compatriot W. C. Owen and with the American architect John H. Edelmann, editor of *Solidarity*, with whom Kropotkin stayed during his 1897 visit. After Edelmann's premature death in 1900, his companion, Rachelle Krumont, went to England to live in the Whiteway Colony where she raised their two children.

British-born anarchists were conspicuous among the contributors to Tucker's *Liberty*. Apart from William Bailie, there were James L. Walker, the foremost Stirnerite in the United States (born in Manchester in 1845); Henry Bool, the Ithaca, New York, furniture dealer who helped finance Tucker's publishing ventures; the feminist poets Miriam Daniell and Helena Born, who had been militant socialists in Bristol; the poet William A. Whittick; William Hanson, a Yorkshire-born watchmaker in Philadelphia; Alfred B. Westrup, a leading monetary reformer; and Archibald H. Simpson, a member of Tucker's circle in Boston. (Simpson, Westrup, and Bool, and also William C. Owen, eventually returned to England where they spent their declining years.)

Britons were equally numerous amongst the social revolutionaries who followed Most, Bakunin, and Kropotkin. Suffice it to mention the Yorkshire shoemaker George Brown, a comrade of Voltairine de Cleyre's in Philadelphia; William MacQueen, an agitator in the Paterson strike of 1902, who had published *The Free Commune* in Manchester and Leeds at the end of the 1890's; the Dublin-born physician John Creaghe, who worked with W.C. Owen in the Flores Magón movement in California; and C.W. Mowbray, whose career will be traced in the second instalment of this essay.

Though they settled mostly in the northeastern states, British-born anarchists were scattered across the country, living in Los Angeles and Chicago as well as in New York, Philadelphia and Boston. They came from Ulster and Wales, Scotland and Yorkshire, Liverpool and London, to say nothing of the continental exiles (Russians, Jews, Germans, Italians, Spaniards) for whom Britain was a way-station to America. In addition to Dr. Creaghe, moreover, there were scores of Irishmen among them, such as Con Lynch and T. P. Quinn, Dr. Gertrude B. Kelly and her brother John F. Kelly (who broke with Tucker's *Liberty* and wrote for *The Alarm*), Eugene O'Neill's friend Terry Carlin, the militant socialist Patrick Quinlan, and the militant syndicalists Jay Fox, William Z. Foster (the future Communist leader) and Joe O'Carroll, not to mention David Sullivan of the New York Ferrer Center, who proved to be a double agent.

During the twentieth century a number of Britons took part in the Ferrer schools and colonies at Stelton, New Jersey, and Lake Mohegan, New York: Jim and Nellie Dick, Fred Dunn (editor of *The Voice of Labour* in London during the First World War), Harry Clements (whose companion, Sonia, was the daughter of John and Rachel Edelmán), William Stevens, Watkin Bannister, and William Bridge (grandfather of Joan Baez, whose mother and aunt attended the Stelton Modern School). It might be noted in passing that Harry Kelly, a founder of both

the Stelton and Mohegan colonies had a Cornish father (not Irish, as his name might suggest) and that Leonard Abbott, another key figure in the Modern School movement, though of American parentage, was born and raised in England (he attended the Uppingham school) and nourished himself on Kropotkin, William Morris, and Edward Carpenter.

Some additional names may be mentioned to round out the picture. Charlotte Wilson, a founder of *FREEDOM* in 1886, spent her last years in the United States but remained aloof from the movement. John Turner of the Freedom Group made two extended lecture tours of the States in 1896 and 1903/4, when he became the first person to be deported under the anti-anarchist law enacted after the assassination of McKinley. The father of C. L. James, a prolific anarchist writer in Wisconsin, was the well-known English novelist and historian G. P. R. James. A. C. Cuddon, Josiah Warren's earliest British disciple, visited the Modern Times Colony on Long Island in 1858 (whose members included the British-born Positivist Henry Edger). To these must be added Lizzie Turner Bell and Jessie Bell Westwater (wife and sister of Tom Bell), Alfred Kinghorn-Jones of San Francisco and C. B. Cooper of Los Angeles, Archie Turner and Thomas Wright of the Road to Freedom Group, and E. F. Mylius, deported from Britain on the eve of the First World War, who edited *The Social War* with Hippolyte Havel.

Before the turn of the century, passage to America was cheap and restrictions minimal, so that more than a few British anarchists were able to visit the States for brief periods, among them Sam Mainwaring, Tom Cantwell, and Alfred Marsh, in addition to those already mentioned. Travel across the ocean was of course a two-way affair, and many American anarchists journeyed to Britain during this period. Lucy Parsons went in 1888, Emma Goldman in 1895 and 1899, Harry Kelly in 1895 and 1898 (working in the Freedom Office until 1904), Lillian Harman in 1898 (to assume the presidency of the Legitimation League), and Benjamin Tucker in 1889 when he visited William Morris at Hammersmith, dining with Belfort Bax, George Bernard Shaw, May Morris, and her husband H. H. Sparling, secretary of the Socialist League. The result was an interchange of personalities and a cross-fertilization of ideas that gave the anarchist movement a transatlantic dimension.

In the second part of this essay I shall describe the career of one of the anarchist visitors from England, C.W. Mowbray. If the opportunity permits, I hope to follow this with further articles on Tom Bell, W.C. Owen, William MacQueen, and John Creaghe. Meanwhile, information from readers familiar with these figures will be greatly appreciated. Paul Avrich.

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