

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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Our Daily Bread

BREAD IS sometimes poetically described as the staff of life, and in literature one is used to reading of people who apparently lived by bread alone. On viewing the serried ranks of wax-wrapped, steam-cooked, bleached and vitamin-fortified sliced bread at the supermarket one is seized with doubt that this is now so, that the staff of life is rubber like in its bending and that bread alone would not sustain life for many days.

Apart from all this, the commodity bread, whether white, brown, sliced, wrapped or stone-ground compost grown by men with beards is an emotive subject. And in the last few weeks emotion has been yeastily rising around the price of bread.

The Min. of Ag. in its wisdom decreed that the controls on bread prices should be relaxed and bread should be enabled to find its own level; however this relaxation of controls meant that bread could be sold by bakeries at a lower price. This unleashing of the market forces was decreed in some inscrutable socialistic way by some decree of the European Economic Community that felt we should not subsidize our citizens' food therefore we should cease to subsidize in reverse as it were.

The result of this blessing of Ceres was that the small shopkeepers (not debarring those over six feet) complained that with the operation of the non-socialist laws of economics (by which they live) the supermarkets would get the best discounts and undercut the small shopkeeper. Thus the reduction in bread prices would bring ruin to the small shopkeeper. Thus the reduction in bread prices would bring ruin to the small shopkeeper.

It is an observable fact that the law of economics is 'to him that hath it shall be given; to him that hath not it shall be taken away even that which he hath'. Wholesale suppliers of commodities from books to watches and, so it seems, bread, give more generous discounts to those buying larger quantities. This is an inevitability of capitalism since the cost-accountancy of a small transaction is as greatly burdened with parasites as the cost-accountancy of a large transaction, only the latter takes place less often.

Regular habitués of supermarkets observe from time to time 'Special Offers' of goods one would not dream of

buying, and apparently no one did, but lurking amid all this junk are 'loss leaders' or what in other commercial circles are called 'sucker-bait'. Bread, it is assumed by the small shopkeeper, would be one of those gifts of the Lorelei to lure the shopper into the whirlpool of conspicuous consumption which is the life-style of the supermarket.

Secondly, one of the other laws of economics which may ultimately operate is that of monopoly; so that (even if the supermarkets do not already own a bakery or two) they will by price cutting establish a monopoly of bread sales, then up go the prices to what is laughingly known as 'normal'. Thus will bread price itself out of the British home.

Now what British knight will rescue the British loaf (and the small-shopkeeper)? Who will fight for the shopkeeper's private-enterprise right to make as much money as possible, to lure in as many customers as possible from those dreadful supermarkets and ultimately, such is the nature of private enterprise and the virtue of the British way of life, open a supermarket himself? None but the wicked socialistic trade unionists—the dread URTU, the United Road Transport Union.

They stepped forward to use the good old British (or rather, Irish) method of the boycott—to refuse to deliver bread to establishments selling at less than 17p. Some hot-headed revolutionaries in the URTU wanted to make it 19p but so far moderation has prevailed. This has been done not only to preserve the way of life of the small shopkeeper but to thus preserve the round of URTU members and make it possible for them to continue working and providing the service (at a cost) of supplying what is now known as 'bread' to the public at an 'economic' price.

We may expect the small shopkeeper to seek to be protected from the operation of those economic laws by which he lives. Whether it is better to prolong his life and restrain the supermarkets from establishing complete monopoly is a moot point. By whom we should be exploited is one of our few choices.

But for the unions to join in this choice of co-exploiters is a growing practice. It is an obvious dilemma to be faced with a complete loss of a way of livelihood but it is surely a contradiction of what the unions were founded

for, to join with the least evil of the exploiters to exploit the consumer? That the reward of such exploitation is the prolongation of the usual employment by a few years more is insufficient.

If the unions were not inherently conservative in their wage-gaining, job-sustaining functions, and accordingly in their outlook, they would see that the function of the unions is complete workers' control of the production and distribution of bread, or of books, or newspapers, or of watches, and that any compromise with small shopkeepers or large employers is no substitute.

And what of the Min of Ag? It is no function of his to facilitate the cheap distribution of food. He, like the existing unions, works within the framework of the capitalist profit-making system. This he can operate in no other way than he does. Should the unions outbid him in profit making?

Jack Robinson.

working like a b—

THE SUBJECT of 'work' possesses an irresistible fascination for pundits, politicians and journalists—they love work, they can write and expound about it for ages. Literature, and even painting are full of noble sentiments about work—for other people of course. 'Go to the ant, thou sluggard'. 'The busy bee'. The animal kingdom is particularly blessed—or cursed—with the habit of work and every now and again we are beseeched to follow their excellent example.

The latest advocate of these animalistic precepts is Mr. Jack Jones—an avid organizer of work for others—who has advocated that this should be the year of the Beaver, no matter what the Chinese have ordained. This anthropomorphism has its pitfalls, particularly for those who have not checked their natural history beforehand.

Despite Comrade Kropotkin's pertinent exposition of the behaviour of animals as an example in mutual aid it is salutary to remember that we have certain advantages over the animals and we are therefore not fore-ordained to slavishly copy the behaviour of animals whether it be in work or warfare.



HOLLEY CANTINE DIES

HOLLEY CANTINE died in a fire at his home in Woodstock, New York on January 2nd.

During the nineteen-forties there were two anarchist journals in the English language published in the United States. One was Why which later became Resistance, published in New York by a group whose survivors today include Audrey Goodfriend, David Kovan and David Wieck. The other was Retort, which was edited, printed and published by Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer from Bearsville, NY. All these people were in those days just names to the Freedom Press group, but years later they became dear friends.

Retort was an excellent magazine. Some of Paul Goodman's wartime essays, reprinted many years later in Drawing the Line, first appeared there, as did Richard Wilbur's marvellous piece on Aristophanic pacifism, which I reproduced twenty years later in Anarchy. Only those who have undertaken the task of hand-setting, making ready, machining and distributing type, know the effort involved, and the continued appearance of Retort was a tribute to the steadfastness of Holley and Dachine and their Gordon upright foot-pedal press.

In 1950 they produced in the same way the book Prison Etiquette: the Convict's Compendium of Useful Information in which they edited and introduced the

testimony of American war-resisters of the Second World War. They printed two thousand copies on half a ton of paper donated by James Laughlin, and the book has since become a kind of underground classic of prison literature, quoted in all the criminological text books and penal bibliographies, even though the editors explained that they published it "neither because we want to reform the prison system, nor merely to honour the valour and integrity of its contributors". They said they wanted to provide a helpful manual for prisoners, but what they produced was really a manual on the ultimate nature of the State. In the 1950s Holley translated the greater part of Volin's 900-page La Revolution Inconnue and his translation was published in two large volumes by Freedom Press (and in the U.S. by the Libertarian Book Club). "So far as I am aware," Holley wrote in his preface, "this is the only book on the Russian Revolution that shows that this revolution was made by the Russian people, without any assistance whatever from political parties or revolutionary groups."

*

Years later still, we actually met Holley Cantine when he visited this country. I am now talking of the late 1960s and early 1970s, by which time he had become a white-bearded sailor-capped figure with a soft voice and a faraway look in his eyes, like one of the

heroes of Conrad's novels. One year he brought with him his flugelhorn and another year his trombone, and on another occasion a tape-recording of the Woodstock Band, which was every bit as bad as he claimed it was. By great good fortune I have a family of musicians, and my characteristic memory of Holley is of him braying away on the trombone and our son on his first battered trumpet playing Down by the Riverside in an ecstasy of inaccurate improvisation.

I would have wished a more tranquil death for a man as peaceable and as vulnerable as Holley Cantine, and I am sure that the sympathy of Freedom Press and its readers goes to all those he loved and especially to his daughter Therese.

C.W.

PORTUGAL

A BATALHA, the only anarcho-syndicalist paper in publication in that country, is back again in circulation, as a monthly. The present address is

A BATALHA

Caixa Postal 5085

LISBOA 5, Portugal.

The money crisis which stopped its publication for about one year is not over yet and our Portuguese comrades are appealing to our international solidarity for funds and written material to ensure the continuance of A Batalha—one of the few Revolutionary publications in Portugal.

BEAVERS

It is usual in language to derogate work as 'fit for horses'; to 'work like a black', 'work like a slave' or 'work like a —', be as 'busy as a bee'. This betrays an inborn supposition that there is something wrong with the regular, joyless, habitual practice of working. Of work for work's sake, or work for some aim cloudily removed from reality, like deflation, the stability of the pound, the gross national production or the fair name of England and the Trade Union movement.

But back to Jack Jones' beaver. The major work of the beaver is the construction of dams for its colont with the purpose of blocking rivers and make a fish catchment area into which the beaver can burrow from the banks and be assured of a fresh supply of fish and a permanent communal home. Having regard to the delicate nature of Anglo-Irish relations we cannot, nor would Jack Jones wish us to, expound on the absence of beavers in Ireland. Sad to say, the beaver is almost extinct in Britain too.

Further more to confuse Mr. Jones' natural history still more confoundedly, if the beaver finds ample food on land it will refrain from felling trees and building dams, in short refrain from working like a beaver.

But the prime flaw in the woodpile to

mix the metaphor beyond unscrambling is that the behaviour of the beaver is thoroughly instinctive, apt to be motiveless and being unreasonable thoroughly unsociable—to man's society that is.

Beavers have been known to build dams where there was no flowing river, and no fish. They have, like the semi-legendary lemmings, kept up a habit when the need and purpose no longer existed. They have created great havoc and flooding all to little purpose.

Some years ago in Iowa the local beavers were just such a nuisance, decimating forests before man could do so and flooding land without even the excuse of a Water Board. The Iowan authorities decided to drop beavers by parachute into mountain territory where they could re-colonize and not interfere with man's own anti-ecological behaviour. The naturalist reported the success of the venture insofar as the mountain hunters had a good haul of beaver pelts.

Basically however the behaviour of the beaver is sound, sociable to its own species (Kropotkin says they "are endowed, as known, with a most sympathetic character, their astounding dams and villages, in which generations live and die without knowing of any enemies but the otter and man, so wonderfully illustrate what mutual aid can achieve for the security of the species, the development of social habits, and the evolution of intelligence, that they are fami-

liar to all interested in animal life. ...with the beavers...we already find the feature which will also be distinctive of human communities—that is, work in common".)

One hesitates to think that Jack Jones was thinking of this passage in Mutual Aid. Where is the beaver mass production? the beaver export drive? As can be seen, the sum total of the beavers' work is the direct provision of food and shelter for the species without the intermediation of money and the wage and profit system.

At the moments we work like b——s in order to get enough together to keep up our physical strength, maintain our families in food and shelter and shore up our morale sufficiently to repeat the operation next Monday morning.

Once the beaver, with help from his community, has built his dam only storms or man will force him to work like a beaver again on that damn dam. For him no conveyor belt of useless, shoddy jerry-built dams which by some trick of salesmanship can be exchanged for money which the beaver can exchange for frozen fish fingers.

Least of all do we find the beaver or any other species of animal going around with a placard demanding 'The Right to Work'.

J. R.

Sentence extended

ONE OF THE prisoners who took part in the riot which shook Hull prison and the Home Office last September was Jake Prescott. He was serving the 10 years (reduced from 15) imposed at the "Angry Brigade" trial in 1971. He was due for release in October this year had he earned the full remission for "good behaviour". But on New Year's Eve he was presented with a 700 days' sentence (of loss of remission) which will keep him in gaol at least until October 1979.

During this imprisonment Jake Prescott has developed into a vigorous campaigner for human rights in prison, organising petitions and making legal representations over ill treatment and the interception of prisoners' letters. With the help of Islington Law Centre he was to have gone to the European Court of Human Rights (Strasbourg) just about the time of the Hull riot.

137 other prisoners were given sentences to serve resulting from the Hull riot and 13 more received "suspended sentences." The Board of Visitors who hear disciplinary actions against prisoners dismissed charges brought against a further 29 Hull prisoners.

One of the men sentenced, Ronald St. Germain, who lost 130 days' remission to include 70 days' loss of privileges and 70 days' solitary, applied to the High Court for leave to appeal against conviction of participation in the riot. This was granted. He claimed he was in his cell at the time, and that at the Board of Visitors hearing he had not had the opportunity to call full evidence to support this, nor to address the Board fully, and that his cross examination had been interrupted.

Jake Prescott also claims he was not allowed to call any of his witnesses at his hearing, and that of his long written defence statement all the Board heard of it was extracts read to them by the prison governor (*Guardian*, 7.1.77).

Islington Law Centre has now brought together a defence committee to raise funds and prepare the strongest legal challenge they can to the star chamber system whereby prisoners are brought before the Board of Visitors and sentenced without the right of legal representation. Their address is: 161 Hornsey Road N.7 (tel: 607 2461).

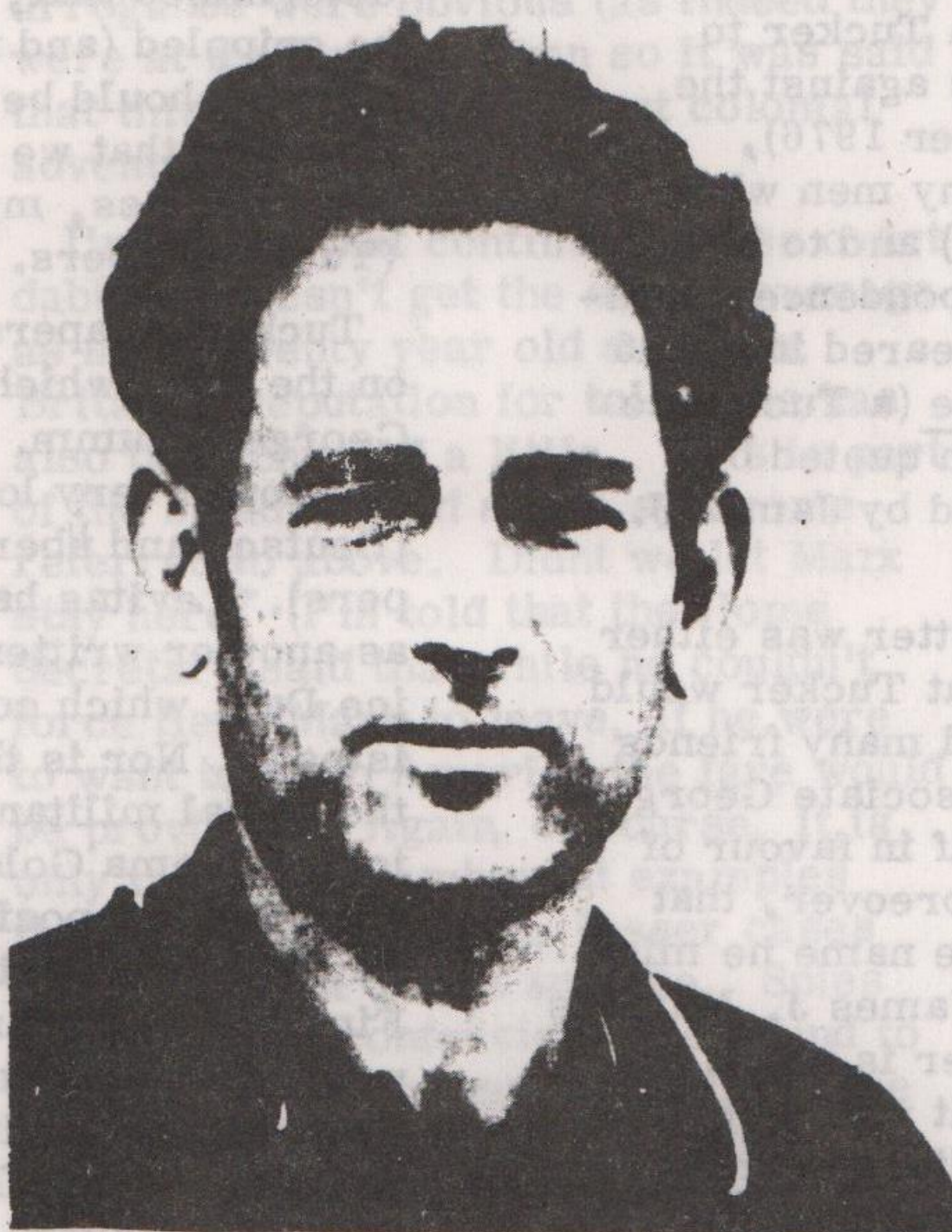
Black Cross

THE ANARCHIST Black Cross are proposing to initiate civil action in the courts to recover money they say has been stolen by the police in Dublin from the home of Noel Murray. The December issue of *Black Flag* quotes from the transcript of the court session of 8 June 1976 when Noel Murray referred to £7000 collected for the Anarchist Black Cross' prisoner relief and said the police were illegally holding the money on the pretext that it had been stolen from the bank.

At a public meeting held on 14 January it was also reported that Noel Murray was now allowed to mix with other prisoners. Marie, however, is still

being kept apart. At the time of writing it is not yet known when her re-trial will begin, but it is known that it will be held before the same three judges. In the meantime the Murray Defence Committee in Dublin is joining with other groups in a major campaign for the abolition of the Special Criminal Court.

CARBALLO FREED



FERNANDO CARBALLO BLANCO was the longest serving political prisoner in Spain. We are happy to report that he was released last week after being in prison since 1964 when he was arrested and tried with Stuart Christie. Carballo was sentenced to 30 years.

GARI

1 January 1977 marked the beginning of the third year of pre-trial detention of three members of the GARI (Groupes d'action révolutionnaires internationalistes). Since March 1976 the accused have been deferred to the Court of Assizes in a move by the authorities to try to depoliticise the case.

Now the investigations are almost completed, but we do not yet know whether the authorities wish to hold a trial (which would not take place for 6 months?) or whether they are awaiting a favourable moment to grant bail.

As for the position of the three prisoners, they feel a little forgotten by the revolutionary movement and by libertarians in particular, and hostages of the "anti-terrorist" policy of the authorities.

Despite that they hope for a real revolutionary solidarity which would above all be an elaboration of the revolutionary critique (theoretical and practical) - radical and general critique of capital and the State in all its forms.

† † † †

For us the juridical aspect is secondary, but we have to face it so as to apply pressure; therefore we ask you to write to the examining magistrate: M. Guy PIA, Juge d'Instruction, Palais de Justice, 75 Paris, demanding their release. Write in "moral" solidarity to: Michel

Camilleri; Mario Ines Torres, Jean-Marc Rouillan, Prison de la Sante, 42 rue de la Sante, 75014 Paris.

- Communiqué from Comité d'Informations sur les Détenus des ex-Gari, Martin BP 4098-31030 Toulouse, France.

† † † †

Deserter Arrested

A FRENCH DESERTER, Alain Bonneaud, has been on hunger strike in the prison of Montauban where he has been held since his arrest in November last year. A deserter since March 1976 Alain may at any time be transferred to Landau in Germany, where he was stationed, and sentenced to 2 years in a military gaol.

In a manuscript written just after his desertion, Alain Bonneaud describes the army as the "trampoline of coercive power" and calls for the formation of revolutionary anarcho-communist communes as a means of creatively destroying the power structure. He rejects the left wing concept of a people's army and criticises the lack of analysis of those within the army such as the supporters of the soldiers' committees "which, like the workerism of the parties who wish to be the vanguard of the workers' movement, condemn neither the army nor work (as such)..." He believes that libertarian structures could exist in a stable and durable way and outside the notion of escape (fuite) that has been the lot of the communitarian movement in France until now. "Whether through the form of a network or a federation, the idea is there to be put into practice, perhaps on a regional basis."

We understand that Alain Bonneaud has said he will continue to refuse food till released from his military obligations. The address of his support committee is: 30 rue Gatien-Arnoult, 31000 Toulouse. He himself can be contacted at the Maison d'arrêt Montauban, Tarn-et-Garonne, France.

Child in the City

"...As well as the motorway is the gypsies. They live next to the motorway on the grassland. And out of this grassy land there are birds - but poisoning themselves to death on the terrible, terrible litter. The birds are eating the worms which have come out of the polluted ground. These birds will die - but that can't be helped. But yes, it can be helped. People can help..."

"...The thing about this place is the air - the air smells of SMUCK - cindered toast. But the birds fly on!"

This extract from the tape-recorded observations of an 11 year old child at the Notting Dale Urban Studies Centre is taken from BEE, the monthly Bulletin of Environmental Education (17 Carlton House Terrace, SW1) which is the organ of the Town and Country Planning Association. Colin Ward, who is well known to FREEDOM readers and is education officer of the TCPA, recently gave a

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TUCKER PAUL AVRICH AND THE WAR

I SHOULD LIKE to set the record straight regarding Benjamin Tucker and the First World War. In the 21 August 1976 issue of FREEDOM, Irving Levitas, author of an unpublished dissertation on Tucker, writes that "Tucker broke with Kropotkin on the issue of World War I, Tucker against the war, Kropotkin for it." Correcting Levitas, N. W. (FREEDOM, 11 September 1976) cites a letter from Tucker to Joseph Labadie strongly supporting the Allies against the Germans. In his reply (FREEDOM 4 December 1976), Levitas, who claims to have interviewed "many men who worked with Tucker" (surely an exaggeration) and to have made a "careful reading" of Tucker's correspondence, questions the authenticity of this letter, which appeared in the 15 September 1915 issue of Instead of a Magazine (a Tuckerite journal edited by Herman Kuehn) and has been quoted by Charles Madison in Critics and Crusaders and by James J. Martin in Men Against the State.

Citing Max Eastman to the effect that the letter was either a "forgery" or a "satire", Levitas insists that Tucker would not have attacked "the Germans" since he had many friends of German origin, including his long-time associate George Schumm, and that he "would not place himself in favour of any group at that time". Levitas tells us, moreover, that when he asked Labadie's son Laurance (whose name he misspells) about the letter Laurance dismissed James J. Martin's book as "unreliable" and "noted that this letter is not in existence: ergo, it could not be verified. That it was 'reprinted in Instead of a Magazine and partially in Madison's Critics and Crusaders, did not impress Labadie (Lawrence [sic], that is) at all."

The fact of the matter is that the letter does exist. The original, in Tucker's clear hand, has been preserved in the Joseph Ishill Collection at Harvard University (a copy is also available in the Labadie Collection in Michigan). Dated London, 23 December 1914, it is perfectly genuine and straightforward, being neither a forgery nor a satire. The version printed in Instead of a Magazine contains only minor errors—for instance, the words "because I love the French people" are not underscored by Tucker, nor does he abbreviate the spelling of "though". The key passage is worth quoting from the original:

"I favour the Allies because I love the French people, because I pity the Belgian people, because I admire the British influences that make for liberty, because I feel some (though, I regret to say, a decreasing) concern for the future of the American people, because I have a considerable sympathy with the people [Tucker's emphasis] of Russia, and because I hate and fear the German people as a nation of domineering brutes bent on turning the whole world into a police-ridden paradise of the Prussian pattern."

Should any doubts still remain as to Tucker's feelings about the war, let me quote from a letter he wrote on 22 August 1922 to the well-known French Individualist, E. Armand:

"In August, 1914, I perceived (without surprise) that the nation in which the cult of State-worship had been carried to the farthest point was descending upon the rest of the world to force that cult upon it. I perceived also that another nation (my own, unhappily), in which this same cult had already attained considerable proportions, and has since been spreading, at a rate so appalling as to endanger the preeminence of the European exemplar, ignorant of its own peril, and misled by a hypocritical arriviste named Woodrow Wilson, was disposed to look on with indifference, 'too proud to fight' (the leader's own words), but not ashamed to profit. I perceive still further that the brunt of this onslaught was destined to be borne by two peoples, the English and the French, the most inclined to frown upon the cult in question, and to rebel against the tyranny of its high priests—the two peoples, therefore, in whose preservation the hopes of the world centres [sic]. Finally, I perceived that, if the onslaught should succeed, liberty would vanish from the earth, whereas, if it were to fail, though half of the liberties already won might disappear in the wreckage, there would still be a chance to rescue

the remaining half, at least for a time. 'To be or not to be,' that was the question for liberty. It was not an enticing alternative, but it was one before which no thoroughly sane lover of liberty could hesitate for a moment. So I determined that, until the great State-worshipper should be crippled (and that will be a long time hence), my feeble efforts should be devoted rather to the preservation of the liberties that we have than to the gaining of new ones. Nevertheless, my old convictions remain unchanged." (Tucker Papers.)

Tucker's papers include further statements of his position on the war, which "the Kaiser has precipitated", he wrote to George Schumm. ". . . The doctrine of the Over-man has developed very logically into the doctrine of the Over-nation (Deutschland über alles!)." (13 September 1914, Tucker Papers). Levitas has apparently overlooked this letter, as well as another written to Schumm on 11 November 1918, Armistice Day, which concludes: "Vive la paix! A bas les pacifistes!" Nor is this all. On 13 May 1917 Tucker commended the social militant Rose Pastor Stokes—who had earlier joined Emma Goldman in drafting an anti-war manifesto—for changing her position and resigning from the Women's Peace Party (Rose Pastor Stokes Papers, Tamiment Library). Finally, on 11 January 1934, five years before his death, he wrote the following to Agnes Inglis, curator of the Labadie Collection: "I admire the conduct of those who went voluntarily to resist the Germans, and I have only pity for the blindness of the average American who has no conception of what would have happened to the entire world had the Germans met no resistance. Not even the advent of Hitler has cured him of his cecity [i.e. blindness]." Labadie Collection).

Tucker's stand on the war, like Kropotkin's provoked much controversy within the anarchist movement, and especially among his Individualist disciples. When Tucker died in 1939, Steven T. Byington, in an obituary in Man! (August 1939), still could not forgive him for taking "the whole-hearted pro-Ally stand of a Frenchman". Henry Cohen, however, thought "that was the best thing he did in all his career. The German menace was not understood in 1918. Had it been, Foch and Pershing would have gone to Berlin and finish the job they desired. . . . There would be no war to fight now if Tucker's advice had been followed." (Cohen to Byington, 5 February and 6 May 1940, Ishill Collections; Cohen manuscript, 1939, Labadie Collection).

Levitas, it might be mentioned, commits additional errors and misstatements. He says, for example, that Tucker went to England in March 1915 and stayed at the home of Henry Bool (misspelled as "Boole" by Levitas) for "the duration of the war". The facts are that Tucker and his family left Nice after the outbreak of the war in August 1914 and stayed with Bool until the spring of 1915, when they recrossed the channel and settled again in Nice (Tucker to Charles Almy, Nice, 15 March 1925, Tucker Papers).

Furthermore, Levitas's assertion that Tucker's attitude towards Kropotkin was "one of intense dislike" is not to be taken seriously. While they disagreed, of course, on the question of property and other matters, Tucker generally treated Kropotkin with respect and, in the earlier years of Liberty, with admiration. Tucker translated several of Kropotkin's essays from Le Révolté for publication in Liberty, including "Order and Anarchy" and "Law and Authority". He also published news of Kropotkin's activities in Europe, including his expulsion from Switzerland in 1881 and his trial in Lyons in 1883 (lamenting "the cruel fate of Kropotkin and his comrades"), and published Sophie Kropotkin's story "The Wife of Number 4,237", based on her own experience with her husband at Clairvaux prison. When Kropotkin came to New York in 1897, moreover, Tucker called on him at the home of the anarchist architect John H. Edelmann, editor of Solidarity.

One final note: Levitas refers to Liberty as "the periodical Tucker had founded and carried single-handed for over forty years". In fact, however, Liberty lasted twenty-seven years, from 1881 until 1908.

LAND OF HOPE AND?

THE TREACHERY of States is well known to anarchists. However many people have a vague respect for the concept of government, no matter how much they may resent details of its application. It is recognised that foreigners often behave badly, but Britain is seen to "retain" standards, decency and a good natured attitude of muddling along, in contrast to the calculating and shiftiness of others. After all, just look at the French, giving in to terrorist pressure at the same time as signing the European anti-terrorist agreement (- the firm stand of Her British Majesty's Government with respect to Leila Khaled was noted by observers). The details of these "retained" standards are glossed over and overall the British Empire is seen to have been a "civilising" influence. The true effects on "natives" stripped of their culture and resources and on the mass of British people who had to do most of the "muddling along", while their masters played diplomatic and political games is not recognised. When we are not treated with the courtesy we think we deserve, but can no longer enforce, it is seen as the ingratitude of children.

This chauvinism will no doubt reach nauseating proportions this year, as large sums are spent for the Queen's Silver Jubilee, while the population at large watches living standards decline. After all, the Queen has done a "magnificent" job although precisely what this is in terms of cost effectiveness remains unclear. She does, it is pointed out, save the taxpayer by spending a good deal of her own money (her own money!!) Foreigners are said to envy us our Royal Family. I suppose that the Windsors are harmless enough, compared with some of the unedifying individuals who enjoy regal status in some parts of the world ... And why have they been reduced to this side-show? Ah, this is the good old British good sense again - the monarchs have steadily given over their powers to Parliament (or the "people" as it is sometimes put), thus avoiding the shocks felt in other countries, where selfish anachronisms clung to their power. This steady transition gives the stability we enjoy today.

Actually all this does reflect a degree of insight, allowing for a few reservations, such as the implied altruism of kings, the neglect of those who fought to reduce royal power, the blind alley it has all led people into (in terms of profound social change) and indeed, as can no longer be ignored, the extent of the stability. Give them bread and circuses, was the cry, and if there is some bother about the bread (those trade unionists again) we have plenty of circuses. Not so many of the old sort, with lions and that, financial pressures are disposing of those. However, we have had Anne's wedding and the trip to America and a reshewing of the coronation. This year is the Jubilee, then there's Charles' wedding, with opportunities for speculation about the partner. He has to have something to do, now his toy boat has been taken away.

However, this smugness about the superiority of British moral tone has now received a few dents. Last Friday Lord Avon, Anthony Eden as was, died. A few months ago we had the twentieth anniversary of Suez, and to their credit, the media produced some halfway honest analysis of the whole sorry affair. The wheeling and dealing, the spite (Eden hated Nasser) and the colonial arrogance were obvious (as indeed they were at the time). Even so it was said that this was Britain's "last colonial adventure."

I'm afraid that continuing, less overt dabbling doesn't get the same coverage as safe, twenty year old subjects. Britain's reputation for tolerance has also been chipped a little. This is part of the steady, good sense syndrome referred to above. Didn't we let Marx stay here? (I'm told that the Home Secretary said that while he couldn't force Herr Marx to leave, if he were to want to go to America the fare would be provided). Again, of course, it is only the more flamboyant examples that are touted around, lesser cases of harassment do not surface. Spies with gripping confessions are bound to draw attention anyway, in addition the eviction of Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball has been particularly clumsy. The whole thing is so blatantly rigged that notice has been taken. (It is a pity that the Murrays do not get the same coverage). A couple of Indian monks are also in an insecure position. Perhaps the most revealing story has been the way the Banaban Islanders have been steadily cheated. The workings of capitalism and its partners, government and law, are there for all to see.

How far do such things go in discrediting governments? They can certainly damage a particular example. But abuses like these crop up continually, and there's always the long runners like Northern Ireland and arms for South Africa. And the administration creeps more and more into daily life. Yet people cannot seem to see that these are all aspects of the same condition. This is where we have failed. Anarchy is seen as purely negative. Meanwhile the distractions continue, the royal show, the parliamentary punch and judy, page 3 of the Sun and the rest of the tinsel. Behind it the process of government goes on.

David Peers

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child in the city

cont.

talk around the theme of environmental education and the city child to a meeting organised by the Schools Without Walls group. This, in its own words, "aims to encourage the move away from school-based learning to a further appreciation and use of the opportunities for education available within the community."

Colin Ward explained the role of the TCPA in urging schools to provide for educating children in understanding and using the urban environment in which at least 80 per cent of children live and 90 per cent go to school. His main aim was to get the children to work out their own attitudes and solutions to the environment. Regarding the question of whether it was worse to grow up in the city now than 50 years ago, he said he felt that was an "imponderable." Despite the fact that most children now live in cities they usually had very little contact with it. Indeed the city had grown increasingly inaccessible to children with the streets dominated by the traffic engineer and less pedestrian space even than before the last war. (Only very recently had pressure for pedestrian precincts begun to bear fruit). One major problem was crossing the class barrier in environmental education. "City awareness" mainly developed in children from middle class homes who, once they had stepped on the "escalator" were carried onto higher levels of perception of their surroundings with relative ease and were better able to deal with them - hence the mainly middle class pressure groups and their comparative success. Children from working class homes on the other hand did not get onto the escalator in the first place and became more and more isolated, fatalistic and unable to

cope with their environment as the years passed. Environmental education was concerned with putting such children on that escalator of awareness.

Colin Ward felt that very few child community projects tackled the problem of giving children self-confidence in dealing with environmental issues, and breaking down the in-built fatalism. Part of the solution in "rearing a generation who are masters of their environment" was the establishment of urban studies centres like Notting Dale where children could live for several days at a time, learning not only how to perceive the environment but to do things for themselves. (He noted that the private schools were generally better than the ILEA subsidised ones in using the urban study centres). The boom in town trails, following on from the rural nature trails, had also been fruitful in getting children out of the classroom. But teachers had to learn to get the kids to organise things for themselves, make their own maps, form their own projects and so on. It was also important that teachers have direct access to the money available so that they and the children - especially the children - should be more independent in running them.

continued on page 5

The Danger of Regurgitated Journalism

Dear Comrades,

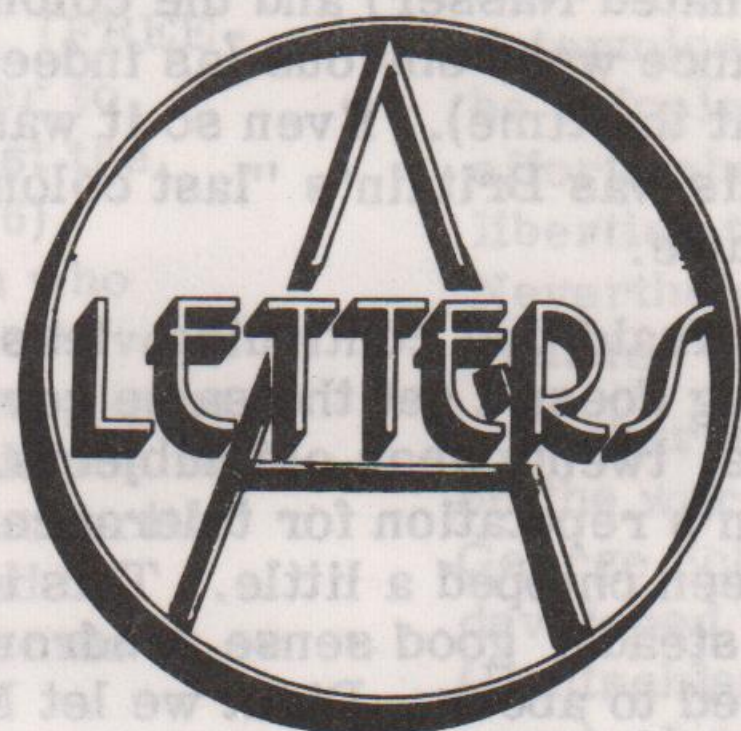
In his frank but constructive criticism of FREEDOM Claude put his finger on what is the fundamental weakness of the paper—its regurgitated journalism. Simply re-writing a report from the bourgeois press and adding an anarchist moral just isn't good enough—which is why I personally have stopped doing it!

David Peers recently wrote in defence of 'regurgitated journalism' (FREEDOM 20.11.76) and justified it on the grounds that bourgeois papers have "expensive research departments", "expertise", etc. which we cannot hope to duplicate. Whilst admitting that a danger exists of unwittingly giving currency to misinformation he seems to dismiss it too easily and quickly. In fact, there is one case which underlines the danger very clearly—FREEDOM's coverage of the William Tyndale case*.

Most readers with an interest in libertarian education will be familiar with the case of the teachers at William Tyndale School in Islington whose attempt to introduce a more libertarian environment at the school led to a barrage of press persecution and disciplinary action from the education authority. The tits-and-bum press did a real gutter job but the "liberal" press was more subtle. The Sunday Times was not prepared to attack radical educational methods openly but hinged its attack on the alleged inexperience and incompetency of the radical teachers and, thus, succeeded in isolating them from people who would have been sympathetic had their case been honestly reported. Unfortunately, FREEDOM gave further currency to this misinformation, presumably through regurgitated journalism. In "School for Scandal" on the front page of FREEDOM (25.10.75) David Barnett regurgitated the Sunday Times hatchet job of 28.9.75 and suggested that in introducing what most of us would consider mild reforms the headmaster, Terry Ellis, had "made haste a little too quickly"—a familiar "liberal" stab in the back!

In the past FREEDOM has had the benefit of activists as regular contributors. What they wrote was a result of the struggle they were actively involved in. They used the paper to explain their activity, to gather support for their struggles and to analyse their successes and failures. It made great, exclusive journalism and made FREEDOM a vital part of an active movement. Critics would say (and I would agree) that the result was dangerously dependent on the political whims and personal idiosyncrasies of these activist-writers whose writing reflected gut emotion rather than the reliable purity of cold academics and dogmatic ideologists. However, I would happily trade FREEDOM's present sterile purity for the sheer bloody vitality of (for instance) John Lawrence's campaigning journalism (even though his Referendum campaign and other

"deviations" made me tear my hair out) Frankly, comrades, FREEDOM of late has been boring and we must thank M. C. for her piece about the Peace People which forced several of us to put pen to paper to explain our disagreement. Perhaps if you get enough 20th century polemic you can get rid of the necrophilia in the Review!



The question which has to be faced is whether the anarchist movement as a whole is now less active than 5 years ago, or whether FREEDOM is simply out of touch with the active movement. Possibly there is truth in both these suggestions in which case it seems to me that efforts to revive the movement and FREEDOM could be inter-related. FREEDOM could again become a vehicle for initiating activity, and activity could add a new dimension to its journalism. Perhaps it's time for FREEDOM's editors, contributors and readers to get together for a bit of mutual criticism and constructive thought?

Fraternally,
Terry Phillips.

*

*I highly recommend William Tyndale: The teachers' Story, by Terry Ellis, etc., published by the Writers & Readers Publishing Co-operative, 14 Talacre Rd. London NW5, price £1.

Comment: There is also a danger in making groundless assumptions and in imputing motives from a dogmatic partisan position. Terry is wrong in attributing David Barnett's assessment of the William Tyndale School situation to his reading of Sunday papers. He is a teacher who has done a hard slog in introducing libertarian methods into work in authoritarian schools of just such tough and deprived children as Wm. Tyndale's. He also knows the Tyndale story intimately. We screwed his arm to get him to comment for us in October 1975, D.B., because of his deep respect for and fraternity with Terry Ellis, and his knowledge of what the latter was trying to accomplish, was reluctant to make criticisms of the mistakes which could only have harmful results for William Tyndale and other ventures in libertarian education. And he does not and did not read the Sunday Times.

editors

Freedom 1

Dear Freedom,

The suggestion by Claude that FREEDOM should develop a more specific ideological line (or tendency) is under-

standable in that it asks for a basis for greater militancy, but in some ways it misunderstands the nature of FREEDOM and its position in the anarchist movement in Britain. Although FREEDOM may not seem to be advocating a particular line when viewed in isolation, in the overall British context it certainly does, as can be seen quite clearly by comparing its style, tone and content with those of Black Flag and Anarchist Worker.

FREEDOM may not advocate a specific 'line' as such, but its overall effect is about the same as if it did, since the contributors to FREEDOM have similar attitudes. I think it is fair to say that this effect makes FREEDOM an ideal point of entry for those moving into anarchism from a liberal or pacifist position. This is not to say that the paper itself is purely liberal or pacifist, rather that in terms of the sources of inspiration of its contributors, it is closer to liberalism than the other major anarchist papers in Britain.

As J.R. (FREEDOM (Vol. 37 No. 26) says, the movement is enriched by a wide variety of publications and ventures. Black Flag represents the internationalist and revolutionary perspective, while Anarchist Worker has a potential in the direction of anarcho-syndicalism. Both these papers not only project their 'line' but act as points of entry into anarchism for those whose previous experience leads them towards anarchism from different directions. Both play an important role, in the way that FREEDOM does from its own perspective and the value of the papers lies in their uniqueness. None could perform one of the others' roles successfully, nor should they want to. We need all of them.

I think it is unfortunate that the anarchist papers rarely mention each other unless it is to criticise. For those coming into contact with an anarchist paper for the first time, it is surely best that it should give them access to as wide a spectrum of anarchist ideas and attitudes as possible. In their recent editorial, the FREEDOM collective maintained that 'we wish FREEDOM to help fulfil the need for a forum for debate and the expression of different views among anarchists'. This is likely to remain a vain hope. It is obvious to readers of the entire anarchist press that those who write for Black Flag and Anarchist Worker do not contribute to FREEDOM and vice-versa. Because of this, FREEDOM cannot be that wide a forum. It needs to recognise this. Because of the fragmented nature of the movement in Britain, the papers are the skeleton which holds it together most of the time and they should therefore aim to give as much information and solidarity as possible, which they cannot do properly when ignoring each others' existence.

Unlike Black Flag and Anarchist Worker with the Anarchist Black Cross and Anarchist Workers' Association, FREEDOM is not the organ of a specific group or organisation and this fact makes it necessarily a more eclectic journal, but no less valuable for that. FREEDOM



freedom

needs a wider circle of contributors, but this is true of all our papers. A further difficulty shared by all is the lack of people willing to sell the papers on the streets. Anarchist ideas can only penetrate if enough people are made aware of them. FREEDOM ought to be more agitational and the responsibility for making it so rests as much with the readership as with the editorial collective.

If there is a limit, imposed by the nature of its contributors and editors, to the extent to which it can become more agitational (as I believe is the case) then that limit has certainly not yet been reached. However, it exists and FREEDOM should recognise this and concentrate on its own strength, which lies in its adherence to a Kropotkin-esque restraint. As agitational papers I believe that Black Flag and Anarchist Worker are far better equipped in terms of the philosophy and temperament of contributors than FREEDOM is or ever can be. FREEDOM performs a different role and, with rare exceptions, performs it well.

Farnborough. Fraternally,
John Saxon.

Freedom 2

Dear Editors,

Your editorial in Vol. 37 No. 25 calls for more reader participation if FREEDOM is to improve. Commencing with that issue I shall do my bit to oblige.

In that number (and a number of others in recent months) there is reference to the Murray case—from a sympathetic angle. I would like to know why. I can understand an article or two concerning the injustice of the original trial and the savagery of capital punishment. But I am baffled by what appears to be support for up-dated versions of Bonnie and Clyde. If State killing is indefensible so also is individual murder, whatever the motive. Unless I am mistaken FREEDOM would not have defended the actions of Ravachol and Emile Henry during the last decade of the nineteenth century, or would it?

Francis A. Wright's "Soccer Violence" makes no positive contribution for a solution of the problem from an anarchist standpoint apart from making time-worn observations about the causes of vandalism. Meanwhile, as people are offended, annoyed or terrorised according to their age and temperament and public (as well as individual) property is wrecked are we to take comfort from the obvious fact that the lads' just frustration and grievances must find expression until some bright new dawn ushers in that long-awaited transformed society?

Or is it that F.A.W. does not consider violence and vandalism to be a social problem, simply a figment in the minds of sociologists and J.P.s? "Soccer" violence has little to do with the game itself though sport, being competitive and therefore divisive, will always engender hostility in some types of people, participant and spectator alike. Violence in a violent society

committed by young or old, black or white has to be dealt with for the common good—even before the root cause is tackled.

I look forward to a discussion of how this could be done—in an hypothetical transitional society, if it is preferable to the purist—in FREEDOM's columns.

Yours faithfully,
B. J. Clifton.

Nosegays

Dear Friends,

I want to renew my subscription for this year, and I want you to send me the papers by airmail in future... I want to thank you for your fine paper, and I must say that I find it very encouraging to see that some people are fighting for anarchism in a way which I find very skilful and therefore also efficient. Best wishes for the new year.

Denmark. Yours,
Ole B. Larsen

Dear Friends,

...Your editorial collective are producing in FREEDOM a paper which gives me a lot of pleasure, as well as the proverbial food for thought. Providing a forum seems much more valuable than promoting a coherent line, and that is just what it does.

The new format from Magic Ink (complete with marginal annotations) is also appreciated, and, if the standard of the latest edition to reach me (Vol. 37 no. 26) is maintained, I shall remain much in your debt as a satisfied reader.

Coventry. Love & Thanks,
Nic

The 'Peace Movement'

Dear All,

Jeff Cloves says he supports the People's Peace movement because he is a pacifist. This seems curious as the pacifist grounds for not so doing seem to me to be even more compelling than the anarchist ones, for radicals in this country.

Every pacifist who has ever canvassed, spoken or otherwise campaigned against militarism has been used to meeting the supporters of militarism saying: "why don't you go and campaign in country X, we'll disarm as soon as they have so done first." The whole message of pacifism has been in contrast to this, is summed up in the term unilateralism, in the insistence that one's own country of dwelling must make the first move.

The "Peace" movement may be saying this in Ireland, both for an Irish Republican in N.I. or for a N.I. Protestant former supporter of the U.D.A. there may well be a pacifist case for turning to the "Peace" movement; but given that the movement is clearly sympathetic to the presence of the British army, given that its leaders come over here saying we should be proud of our army, it would seem totally impossible for a British pacifist to consider supporting it, since so to

do, would be precisely to say that the other fellow should disarm and we should not.

Jeff argues that the rank and file is much better than the leaders. Articles by active pacifists who do support the "Peace Movement"—Bob Overy and Norman Lockhurst—on the spot and know the movement all concede that this is the opposite of the truth. That the leaders may be well meaning liberals, but the majority of rank and file supporters are "Loyalists", not interested in the ostensible aims, but seeing the movement as an useful stick with which to beat the republicans.

Certainly there are parallels with CND and these are very instructive: one of the most interesting points is that among older pacifists those who opposed work within CND in 1958-9 seem to be the most adamant that the "People's Peace" movement is worthy of support; and vice versa.

The division between leadership and rank and file of CND in those early days was primarily one of strategy, method and tactics; with the corollary that the radicals wished to state the context within which unilateralism could only be achieved, to make it explicit that this was an assault on the whole military institution and therefore the whole state and capitalist institution, and to spell out the fact that unilateralism giving up not merely our own bomb but reliance on America's, etc.; there was even a debate as to whether the campaign should be explicitly unilateralist, Collins's founding suggestion was a campaign for unilateralists but not an unilateralist campaign, and Priestley spelt out just how limited this should be.

Despite frequent articles in support of the Peace People, I have yet to see any evidence—unless Jeff really has something to tell us, more than he has actually said—that any significant number of "Peace" movement supporters are interested even in tackling the institutional violence that underlies and pervades the Orange Slave State of N.I.

I have no doubt that numerous "well-wishing" British people whose facts are derived solely from the mass media and therefore think that this is a genuine peace movement and do not know the realities of the N.I. situation were on that march; I would be less surprised—and as an Anglican, less embarrassed—to find masses of praying churchmen on such a march; but—as one of his flock—the presence of Dr. Coggan hardly reassures me. Collins may have been a careerist, but at least he was a leftist careerist, with a consistent history of campaigning for humane causes; the contrast is marked; as to the leftism, but not as to the careerism!

Fraternally,
Laurens Otter

Freedom 3

Dear Freedom,

Following your editorial in the 18 Dec. issue I had another look at Claude's letter of the 6th November. I feel that to a great extent your editorial answers the questions and issues raised by Claude and by the lack of response to



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

Ian the Printer' is tired and exhausted and feels like a drowning man coming up for the 3rd time - and the Xmas season wasn't the cause! It's the usual problem all printers have - slow payers and bursts of no work and then too much work. What I need is more regular jobs like this one - especially as I need to pay the rent. I'll send you the 16 page List of Papers which also includes information on UAPS and Magic Ink Services. And finally, a brief technical note: - The photograph on page 11 was a coloured one which explains why some of the definition is missing. Keep those letters coming in: & additions' already. If you would like to know what happens to the money FREEDOM pays Magic Ink, send a stamped addressed envelope (or an International Reply Paid Coupon) and I'll send you the 16 page List of Papers which also includes information on UAPS and Magic Ink Services. And finally, a brief technical note: - The photograph on page 11 was a coloured one which explains why some of the definition is missing. Keep those letters coming in: