

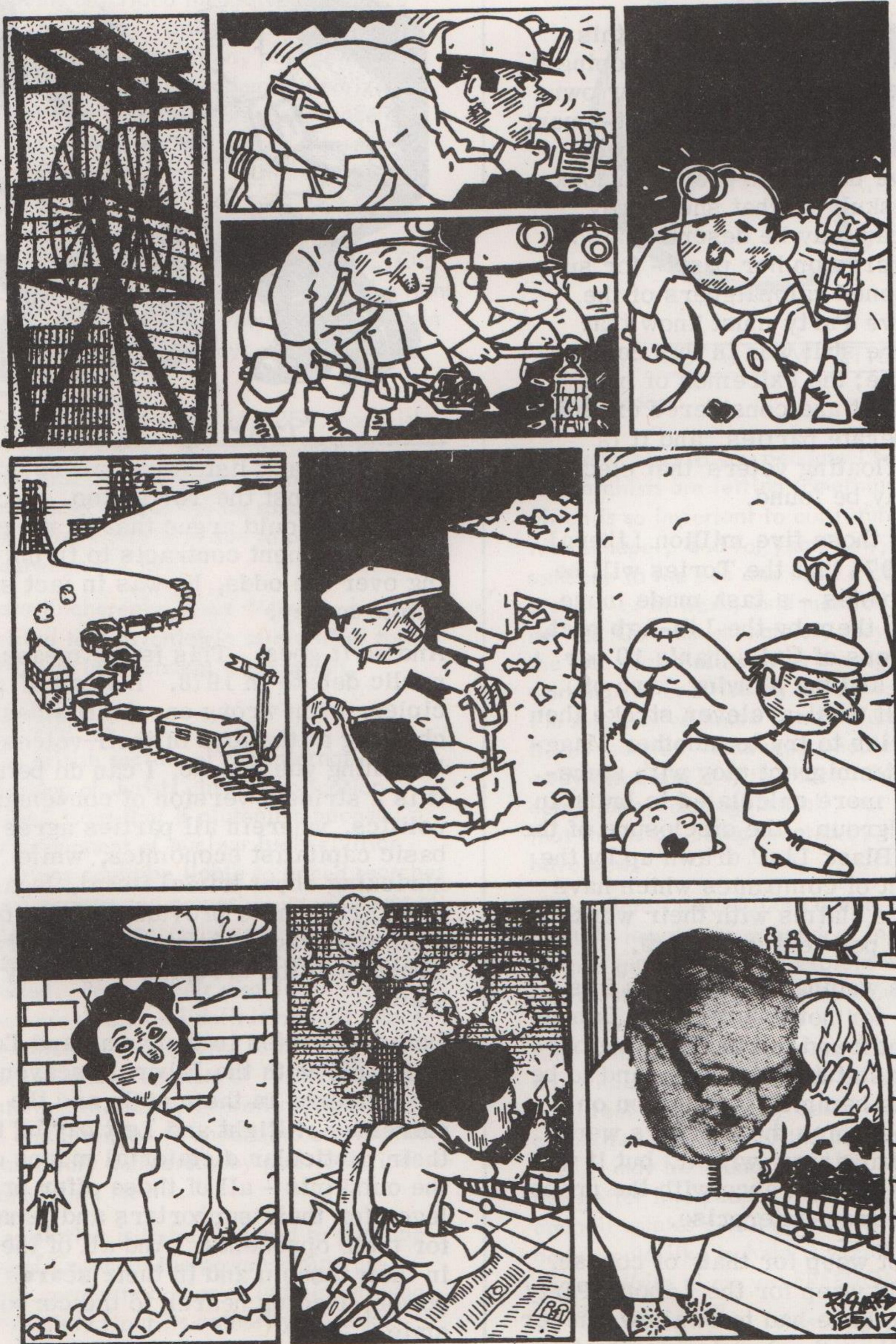
# FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

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## TWO DOWN, TWO TO GO



WITH THE National Union of Mineworkers leaders' acceptance of the 10 per cent pay guideline and the defeat last month of the firemen, the Government is apparently home and dry as far as the 1977-78 phase of its wages policy is concerned.

Arthur Scargill, the left inclined president of the Yorkshire NUM, complained it was a "sell-out". But miners are no fools. April, when any new agreement would take effect, would be no time to begin a battle which depended for effectiveness on making Britain shiver.

They sensed earlier that their union bosses had no real stomach to lead a fight for a 90 per cent claim, one which the media could easily write off as "greedy". They took their chances, after some to-ing and fro-ing, with pit-by-pit productivity deals which promised between £6 and £39 a week extra - luck, more than anything, deciding exactly how much. The 10 per cent is in addition.

The miners were central. With the firemen this made two down, two to go. Only the electrical power workers and the oil tanker drivers remain with the strength - which always comes from the decisive nature of the job - to make positive threats to Government authority. The collapse of the miners must lead to a weakening of nerve.

The tanker drivers are hemmed into a tight corner. They have already banned overtime and, at a stroke, cut their own earnings by up to 30 per cent. How much longer they can accept this remains to be seen. Not for long probably. They must either strike, go all the way, or come to some reasonable facesaving terms.

Dare they strike? The chances of success if they do are remote. The Government can easily call in troops

(cont p9)

# BLACK ON BLACK

IT WAS a black week for British democracy. Without wishing to be fair to the Tories we must admit that most of the Shadow Cabinet were publicly astonished at Margaret Thatcher's sudden outburst on immigration during a TV interview, whatever they thought in private. And who is to know, without bugging their most private places, just what front-line politicians really think about anything?

It would be delicate and ungallant and most definitely male chauvinist to say that Maggie was caught with her pants down during an unscripted interview. So we won't say it; we'll just say that for once her own thoughts came through, instead of the carefully rehearsed tranquilisers that make up her usual policy statements - delivered with a fire, sense of timing and shaft of wit that make Clement Freud's dog-food commercials sound like Groucho Marx.

But still... who knows? Perhaps there was more calculated use of Clement Freud's distinguished ancestor Sigmund in Maggie's use of emotive words like 'fear'... of being 'swamped'... by people with different 'cultures'... Perhaps she really knew what she was doing and her apparently unrehearsed indiscretions were simply a result of her taking advantage of a situation she had been waiting for a long time - the chance to play her hunch that there's a lot of traditional Tories going to vote National Front if the party born to rule doesn't say the things they want said.

For the Chinese it may be that 1978 is the Year of the Horse. For the British electorate it will be something slightly less - like the Year of the Donkey, the Year of the Ass, or even the Camel - the horse designed by a committee. Or will it be the year of that more shameful animal - the Year of the Scapegoat?

The cheapest and easiest of all political con-tricks is to play the scapegoat game. You risk losing the votes only of a small and insignificant minority by blaming them for the failures of the majority itself - thus purging the majority of its own sense of failure at the same time as diverting attention from the real problems.

The scapegoat game has this double-take, too, in that it has to pretend that the small and insignificant minority is bigger than it really is. More powerful, more insidious in its pervasive influence on the sound, strong, true and rocklike traditions of this great and powerful country of ours.

The British character has had so much 'to offer the world', said Maggie, 'in democracy, in law...' We skip over the interesting point that she should have selected 'law' as one of the great British contributions to civilisation, only to ask how it is that this patriotic lady can have so little confidence in the

British way of life that a million and a half immigrants - from previously British colonies, the majority of them professing something like Church of England Christianity - can strike terror into an indigenous population of over 50 million.

While a similar figure of one and a half million unemployed - British workers deprived of their birthright to work for a boss - is sanguinely accepted as something we shall have to live with for the rest of the century!

Of course Mrs. Thatcher is scratching around to find a stick to beat the Labour Party with. The other big bogey man of the bourgeoisie - the trade union blackmailer - has been successfully rounded up by Big Jim Callaghan and his posse of faithful deputies from the TUC. So there is definitely no mileage for Maggie in union-bashing now, since nobody could pretend for one moment that the Tories could have got the unions to settle for less than 10 per cent.

So, looking over her shoulder, this nauseous madam saw the NF groping at the most revolting fringes of her own party and thought it smart to out-smart them. While it may well have been that we have thus been granted a look inside her skull at what she really thinks, it can only be described as a failure of nerve on her part - for surely the seasoned campaigners of the Conservative Party must know that elections are still won in this country by the centre; the extremes of both Right and Left are considered expendable by the moderate parties, and it is among the floating voters that election-winners may be found.

It is among those five million Liberal voters of 1974 that the Tories will be fishing for votes - a task made more difficult for them by the Lib-Lab pact, by the success of Callaghan's 10 per cent policy and the slowing down of inflation. It was a clever stroke then for the Tories to try to smother Maggie's crude immigrant ploy with something much more calculated to bring in the middle group - the disclosure of the so-called 'Black List' drawn up by the Government of companies which have settled wage claims with their workers over the 10 per cent guide line.

For Tories wooing the Liberals this was a gift, for not only was the Labour Government found out to be acting outside of any statutory powers, and to be wielding the hammer of sanction on small firms which the bog boys were publicly getting away with it, but it was unthinkable interference with the proper business of free-enterprise.

We need not weep for that, of course, but we could weep for the Labour Party faithful who have had to swallow ten per cent as well as the dawning realisation that 'their' Government had no intention

of tackling unemployment - and compounds the sickness by penalising employers who are willing to pay more by refusing to renew government contracts and withholding development grants - thus creating more unemployment!

By shining the spotlight on Labour's black list rather than Maggie's anti-black floundering, then, your actual moderate Tories sought to take the sting out of a situation which was rapidly turning sour, for when facts and figures on immigration began to emerge it was shown quite clearly that Labour had done more to restrict immigration than the Tories had! Figures were dropping and Maggie had boomed - all for the sake of a few thousand fascist votes.

## SALE

Tory Party



"MUMMY"

Even the black list 'scandal' could be turned against the Tories too, since Callaghan could argue that by not giving government contracts to firms paying over the odds, he was in fact saving public money!

And so it goes. This is the measure of public debate in 1978. Instead of principles, even wrong ones, all sides are chanting at the tops of their voices 'Anything you can do, I can do better!' It is a strident version of consensus politics, wherein all parties agree on basic capitalist economics, while shrieking about trivial fiscal, legal or moral reform to provide distractions from the gradual infringement of real liberty and the creeping control by the state.

Both the Tories in their way and Labour in theirs, with the Liberals scavenging for influence in the middle and the extremes of Right and Left baying for their particular dictatorial moons on the outskirts - all of these offer privileges for their supporters and penalties for their opponents. And all of them, in their fashion and in their search for power, lead us nearer to the corporate state.

PHILIP SANSOM.

# SUPPORT CHRISTIANA!

WHAT does Christiania stand for?

For more than six years about 700 people have been developing the free town of Christiania, a self-administering community in Copenhagen, Denmark. Christiania is situated east of the town centre on an old military fortification built at the end of the seventeenth century. The ramparts never served their purpose since the enemy came from another direction. From the middle of the nineteenth century the fortification was used as a military camp and munitions factory. Although Christiania is less than a mile from the centre of Copenhagen the place is of great scenic beauty. It had never been open to the public until the start of the free town.

About 1970 the army left these 220,000 sqm of land uninhabited. A few watchmen guarded the fence. Later that year a number of people decided to force an entrance into the territory. They removed part of the fence and began exploring the area. Here they found the playgrounds, summerhouses and parks they had been longing for in their slums.

A month later an 'underground' paper spread the rumour of new land and encouraged people to settle in the liberated area. By the end of 1971 a couple of hundred people from various backgrounds had responded to the appeal. Some were squatters, some homeless; others came because the area seemed to offer opportunities they did not have in their previous environment.

Most of the buildings were laboratories, magazines and factories. All were in good shape except for broken windows and dismantled fittings.

The southern part was the first to be inhabited. But step by step the settlement pushed north and across the moat to Dyssen. A free town called Christiania was proclaimed.

As the Danish government had no plans ready for the future use of the land it agreed to a provisional settlement. This was formalised into a written agreement in 1973. Christiania was labelled 'a social experiment'; the dwellers were to pay 50 kroner per month each for the supply of electricity and water and were allowed to stay pending the result of a planning competition on the future use of the area. The Danish government expected this to take three years. After that 'the area was supposed to be sold by the Ministry of Defence to the town of Copenhagen for the implementation of the plans.' The municipal authorities, however, were eager to start building and did not at all like the character of Christiania. The succeeding Danish government did not feel responsible for the written agreement. Together these attitudes resulted in an attack against Christiania's existence. The authorities stopped keeping their part of the agreement. The planning competition was never arranged and negotiations were broken off, and the Ministry of Defence decided to demolish half of the occupied houses in Christiania without warning in 1974. This aggression, however, was stopped by a wave of public protest. Thousands of Copenhageners came to Christiania's barricade festival. The Support Christiania Committee came into existence.



In its struggle for survival Christiania has been forced to fight on several fronts at the same time - political negotiations, lawsuits, campaigns. Attempts to get support from the Danish public have so far been successful. Nevertheless, the Danish parliament stated in April 1975 and again in early 1976 that Christiania must be evacuated by 1st April 1976. On that day 30,000 people turned up, joining Christiania's non-violent Rainbow Army in a huge demonstration through Copenhagen, and they formed a hand-in-hand chain around the free town of Christiania in a mass symbolic gesture. By bringing the Ministry of Defence to court Christiania succeeded in delaying the evacuation till after a court decision. 'The issue at stake is whether an evacuation on 1st April 1976 would be a breach of the agreement between the Danish state and Christiania.'

In February 1977 the high court for East Denmark pronounced judgement against Christiania. The court, however, also expressed the following acknowledgement of Christiania's value. 'Christiania has developed convivial patterns under which even persons with social, mental and physical handicaps have been able to thrive and developed in a positive direction ... From a societal point of view it might seem questionable to abolish Christiania, the consequence being that the area thereafter would be left unused for some time.' This high court decision was referred to the supreme court and a delay until December 1977 was obtained.

But Christiania is a hot iron in Danish politics. And a hot iron that cannot be crushed by the machinery of law alone. Little by little Christiania has become an integral part of Danish society and it has turned into a focal point for the problems and hopes of a society in transition. The various sudden threats from the establishment have mainly been averted by non-violent mobilisation and cultural counter-offensives. This has created a strong identity and a deep feeling of solidarity and mutual understanding among the Christianites and between them and their supporters outside.

Christiania has no appointed leaders, but a decentralised structure by which the community is divided into eleven or so districts. Each of these settles all local problems and conflicts. Problems affecting the whole of Christiania go to an open meeting of the whole community. Despite a threatening situation life in Christiania continues more or less unaffected for the time being. Many workshops existing there produce, as usual, their products for the community. Christiania's children's house, music rooms, cinema, theatres, bookshops, flea market are as lively as ever.

The population just now is about 1000. Some Christianites live in nuclear families, others in communes, and some all by themselves. There is much activity. Recently undertaken major construction works and renovations have resulted in an open air amphitheatre, a concert room, an opera house and a couple of new windmills.

## FRESTONIAN REPORTER

According to latest reports proceedings against Christiania have resulted in an at least temporary reprieve. But recent visitors from Christiania to Frestonia in Freston Road have expressed their need for help and solidarity. The first thing to be done outside Denmark is to spread information about Christiania. If you have any suggestions and ideas on how to save the free town of Christiania from eventual destruction, please contact:

Support Christiania Committee  
Stot Christiania  
Dronningensgade 14  
DK - 1420 Copenhagen, Denmark.

In the meantime:

## London Readers note

SUPPORT CHRISTIANA

DISCO

In the Bar at North London Poly,  
Holloway Road, N.5. 8pm Admission 30p

FRIDAY  
17 FEB.

## LAND NOTES

## THAT GREEN £

HOW MANY anarchists, let alone the politically indifferent readers of the 'quality press', are conscious of the fact that many more printed columns are devoted to the art of preparing food dishes or of consuming choice wines than to the problems facing those who actually produce the raw materials for such gastronomic orgies? This is not altogether surprising since only 3% of the working population in this country is engaged in food production (apart from food processing) and represents a mere 1% of the food consuming community. So, food is a burning issue for Press and Public only when food prices rise, which generally also means that there is a shortage, real or artificial; or when food is used as a party political issue as was the case recently over the devaluation of the so-called "Green Pound".

Since it is clear that most people (and especially the pig and beef farmers, who go on repeating parrot-fashion their demand for "devaluation" only because they have been assured by the N.F.U. gurus that it will mean more money in their pockets), don't understand what it's all about, and the media have done very little to enlighten them, a few words about the green pound is surely called for in FREEDOM.

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The Common Market (E.E.C.) is or at least aims to be a giant industrial cartel with a captive market of some 250 million consumers. To this end so far as food is concerned it imposes tariffs on cheap imports from outside the Market to bring their prices up to E.E.C. prices (exception is made for some Third World countries producing tropical fruits and other produce which doesn't, anyway, compete with E.E.C. production), and food imports from a few non-E.E.C. Mediterranean countries are allowed in with reduced tariffs or even free of taxes. Any exports of food are subsidised if E.E.C. prices are higher than world prices but when they are below, they are taxed to bring them up to world prices. The reason behind these subsidies and tariffs is to encourage exports when there are surpluses but discourage them when there are not.

The internal mechanism of the Common Market is in fact similar in theory. In practice because of the existence of "Green" and "floating" currencies neither of which has a bearing on the other, there is chaos especially in this country because it happens to be both the largest importer of food and the one in which the devaluation of its currency in relation to those of the other members (excluding Italy) has been most marked.

For the same nationalistic reasons that this phoney Common Europe could not

agree on a common language (by which I mean one of the four main languages of the Community) neither could it choose one of the existing currencies as its standard. So it had to invent a kind of monetary Esperanto and the new currency to which the nine national currencies are related is the "Unit of Account" (U.A.). Thus, at the beginning of 1973, the green £ was valued at 2.2 Units of Account and this corresponds to its market value vis-à-vis the other E.E.C. currencies and to the U.S\$. The floating (as distinct from government devaluation or revaluation) of a national currency means that the relative value of a currency is determined by demand and supply, by the buyers and sellers in the money markets just as the price of pigs, corn or cattle in the open market fluctuates according to supply and demand. . . and the market speculators, the latter being conveniently overlooked by those who defend the market economy as a guarantee of the fact that a small shortfall in supply can produce exaggeratedly high prices just as small surpluses can depress them dramatically.

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The Brussels bureaucrats' job is to make Rules which ensure "fair competition" as they understand it, between producers in the member States. For them the floating or devaluation of currencies, which all member States engage in when it suits their political/financial policies, creates situations of "unfair competition" between producers. For instance, since the £ was floated the gap between it and the green £ (which has been devalued no less than five times since 1971 without all the press/political publicity that surrounded the most recent devaluation) had reached a maximum of 40% (but with the 'improvement' of the market £ plus the recent devaluation of the green £ the gap is now about 20%). On the "free" market it would have meant that the continent would be flooded with the "cheap" produce from British farmers but by the same token continental farmers would be unable to compete in



Scene in south-west Lancashire this winter; loading trailer with winter white cabbage for cattle feed at £ 7 a ton (less than  $\frac{1}{2}$ p a lb) because market prices are depressed due to overproduction by greedy farmers who in view of last winter's shortage all sought to jump onto the bandwagon. The trouble for them is that they are neither cooperative amongst themselves—they are always hoping to bugger their neighbour—nor do they understand the fundamental rule of capitalism—in spite of being staunch defenders of the production-for-profit philosophy—that you make sure you produce less than the market demands.

[photo courtesy of The Grower]

British markets. Since whatever our farmers may say about their utter dedication to feeding the nation the facts are that like all other paragons of private enterprise they are above all concerned with selling to the highest bidder, and buying in the cheapest market. So but for the intervention of the Brussels bureaucrats and their green currencies our patriotic farmers would have exported most of our meat, just as they have been doing with our best breeding calves, in spite of the currency regulators. A concrete example may help to enlighten the layman in this financial jungle. When, for instance, a Danish bacon cooperative now sends supplies to Britain it starts by charging its price in Danish currency and this is firstly converted into Danish U.A.s, then into U.K. ditto and finally into U.K. market currency. The difference between these last two U.K. currencies represents the subsidy or M.C.A. (Monetary Compensatory Amount) paid to the Danish exporter out of Community funds. Before the recent  $7\frac{1}{2}\%$  green £ devaluation, the MCA on Danish bacon coming to this country was £145 a tonne. Most ignorant British farmers and some Ministers like Mr Hattersley look upon these MCAs as subsidies for the "inefficient continental farmers". They are all silent however when MCAs are paid by French buyers on the large tonnage of sheep meat that is so profit-

ably exported from this country to France, and which, incidentally, is instrumental in keeping lamb prices on the English markets at their present high level. All these subsidies have nothing to do with efficiency or inefficiency of farmers in Denmark or France but a lot to do with the money markets and the "profit-taking" speculators who manipulate them.

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#### OUR PATRIOTIC FARMERS

"Foreign buyers are creaming off record numbers of the top young calves at U.K. auctions. And prices have risen so sharply that British beef units are obliged to buy cheaper, second quality rearing calves.... Shipments are now thought to exceed 10,000 a week.... Exports for the first three quarters of the year were 153,969 head - 122,937 more than in the same period last year.... They represent a loss equivalent to 77,000 tons of beef cattle, worth around £45 million at current prices. This lost production is roughly equivalent to one fifth of our beef imports in 1975.... Mr. John Williams who markets more than 200 calves a week for west Wales farmers... agrees that British beef units are having to take second quality calves. 'All the better conformation calves of export weight are going abroad. We are selling ours this way because our members demand the best possible price... Member loyalty is often a question of pennies and we must export to keep business... While the high prices are a welcome boost for dairy farmers they are making things more difficult for beef producers and the rush to export is worrying butchers (who point out that) 'The advantage of this calf trade is short term. As butchers we are losing throughput for our slaughter houses and losing the beef supplies we need for the future' ".

Farmers' Weekly 12.11.76

The housewife will be reaping the consequences of these patriotic farmers (they always insist they are growing for the Nation) this year and next year because calf export business has gone on flourishing thanks to the Green £ and the devalued market £!

The EEC founding fathers, the Monnets *et alia*, thought of agriculture in the same terms as multinational industries and services but without taking steps to put the land into public ownership or even seeking to plan and regulate production based on good husbandry and consumer demand.

All industries and services in the EEC are today virtually nationalised (after all, the multinationals are so big that they are the Establishment), by contrast, the land is still in the hands of a large number of landowners big and small who are literally free to do what they like with it (apart from building houses without getting planning permission) and this includes doing nothing with it.

Is it not extraordinary that governments, which are so concerned with subsidising and taking over vital industries—e.g. the mines, shipbuilding, steel, gas and electricity; which show a greater sense

of responsibility than does the fishing industry (which, given the chance to make a quick buck, would fish the sea dry) when they seek to control annual catches and the mesh size of trawl nets—are unconcerned about the use or misuse of the land, that most vital of all sources for human survival

It is about these issues and not the MCAs and CAPs that all people of goodwill should be actively concerned. The revolution, we know, will solve all these problems at a stroke! But in the meantime millions of people are starving or undernourished in various parts of the world while in the affluent EEC large sums of money are spent annually to encourage the already overfed millions to eat and drink more than is good for their health in order to absorb the surpluses that are the result of this chaotic, unplanned agriculture.

But there can be no planned food production so long as the land is not publicly owned and so long as even tenant farmers are at the mercy of the weather and the "market forces". My suggestion as a realist as well as an anarchist is that the North Sea oil bonanza (the disposal of which seems to be giving the politicians so many heartaches) should be used to take all land out of private ownership and return it to the Community where it belongs.

LANDWORKER.

#### NEWS FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM

The following items both appeared in *The Grower* (Jan. 26, 1978) which has the sub-head "Run by Growers for Growers".

"Prices Secretary Roy Hattersley has done it again! After touring Sheffield wholesale market... he was gloating again over the low prices. 'Good news is worth publishing,' he said. 'Vegetable prices have fallen fast and are continuing to fall.'"

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"The recent spell of frost and snow has firmed up vegetable trade and prices were marginally better; we really need a continuous spell of frost and snow to restrict harvest operations and turn over-supply into shortages. Customers always want what they can't have and as soon as solid frozen soils or deep snow cover prevents, or makes extremely difficult, any harvesting of roots, brassicas and leeks, then some will pay any price."

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No doubt about it. The capitalist system brings out the best (or is it beast) in us!

#### Glossary of Symbols:

E.E.C. - European Economic Community (Common Market)  
M.C.A. - Monetary Compensatory Amount  
U.A. - Unit of Account  
C.A.P. - Common Agricultural Policy  
N.F.U. - National Farmers' Union.

## MINERS, FIREMEN etc

to drive tankers. Using them against the firemen, with no complaint from the TUC, set a useful precedent the State won't want to forget.

As we go to press it seems the tanker drivers are already beginning to back down.

The power workers are less open to this kind of military blacklegging. Drafting troops into power stations is, one Electricity Council official was quoted as saying, "like asking a chauffeur to fly Concorde."

But Frank Chapple, their union leader, is a no-nonsense right-wing boss. He sees his job as working strictly within the system: capitalism is reality. There's no airy-fairy socialist idealism about it. And because of this he's smart enough to understand that pushing the whole economic system even closer to collapse when you've got no idea or even inclination to build something else is absurd.

So settlement looms for this group of workers: with their leaders, by their very nature, unwilling to push and no possibility of support from any other group should they try for themselves.

What remains? Next in line for settlements are the civil servants, the rail, gas, steel and shipyard workers, and the engineers. Their negotiations, if you can call them such a thing, drag out through the spring. Though we may see some sporadic resistance from isolated pockets we can be sure that, ultimately, reason will prevail - and reason is priced at roughly 10 per cent.

"Money can't make you happy," they used to say (and they could have added "or free.") The snap answer was always, "Maybe, but at least you can be comfortable in your misery."

That is really all we're asking for when we put in demands for a larger pay packet and the material standard of living we imagine we are wrenching from our bosses - and it's certainly all we're likely to get.

Is it good enough? For the moment perhaps. But do we want to go on like this forever? Common sense says that the way we live now is stupid and destructive. Too busy preoccupied with getting the means to live we never find the time to live.

Wealth is communally created so its sharing should be collectively decided upon. If we refuse to accept this we condemn ourselves to perpetually squabbling among ourselves for crumbs while our masters sit comfortably at the table sniggering.

H. H.

# CANADA

THE announcement by Pierre Trudeau, the Canadian Prime Minister, that he would use the Canadian army to resist any unilateral declaration of independence by Quebec is yet another example of the limitations of North American 'democracy.' Trudeau argues that the people of Quebec are bound for all time by the British North America Act of 1867 which created the confederation of Canada, and that not even a referendum result in Quebec, which favoured independence, would be deemed valid.

Contrary to the claims of Trudeau, there is not at present any great demand in Quebec for independence at around 20 per cent. The vast majority would simply prefer greater autonomy. Trudeau's attitude however reflects the outrage among English-Canadian business circles at French Canada's new pride. Trudeau, in 'castle-Catholic' style, is more related to the ruling class in which he moves than to the cultural group from which his family came. His authoritarian attack on the spirit of confederation is reminiscent of the early 1970s when, in response to the murder of Pierre Laporte, a mafia-sponsored Quebec minister, Trudeau suspended civil rights and sent the army onto the streets of Ottawa and Quebec.

The isolation and pressurisation of Quebec since the coming to power there of the separatist parti Québécois (PQ), have brought into the open the cultural

imperialism in Canada which usually passes unnoticed abroad. Quebec's distinctive French culture was down-trodden from 1759 until the 1960s, the years of the 'quiet revolution' in the province. In that decade social attitudes changed and in particular the mental shackles of the dogmatic Quebec Catholicism were shaken off. Quebec opted for its own roots - a process which enabled the separatist P.Q. to win a provincial general election by the mid-1970s.

Trudeau's actions are cause for concern not simply for their implications for Quebec, but because they raise questions of a fundamental nature, particularly the significance of cultural imperialism and political secession. The arguments given in Ottawa against an independent Quebec are basically the same as those made in London against independence for Scotland and Wales. Significantly the demands in these countries too are for cultural integrity and greater autonomy rather than for statehood.

We often read in the British anarchist press of the demands of Basque and Catalan separatists. Yet there is virtually no discussion of the question of nationalism in Britain, nor is there any evidence of a real understanding of the difference between cultural integrity and racially-based patriotism. This is all the more surprising in the light of the evidence that anarchist movements,

despite, or perhaps because of, their opposition to the nation state, have had their most notable impact in regions where culturally-based nationalism has been strong - Catalonia and the Ukraine being obvious examples.

In Britain, the growth of anarchist groups in Wales recently has been strongly aided by the entry of comrades who were also members of the Welsh Language Society, and whose libertarian instincts have been nurtured by their feelings of cultural oppression by the state.

The growth of regionally based networks in Britain - Midlands, East Anglia, North-West, Kent, Scotland and London - seems to indicate that effective anarchist organisation works best when its boundaries are to some extent culturally defined, giving the regional federations for example a logic and vitality that the 'British' federations of the last two decades seem to have lacked. This phenomenon needs to be appreciated and discussed among anarchists in Britain if the welcome growth of numbers in the movement over the last few years is to be maintained and accelerated and an effective anarchist movement created. That is why the denial of a group's right to withdraw from artificial units should be noticed and appreciated, whether it occurs in Canada, Spain or wherever; but most significantly for us, in Britain itself.

JOHN DRAKE

## Marginal Notes

A FEW WEEKS ago we ran a piece on the collapse of F.G. Minter Ltd., the building contractors, which threw over 1,000 out of work.

One of these was the office manager who at the age of 61 was sure he'd never get another job. Lucky him, you may say. Not so lucky if you've been conned into selling your life for a pension linked to what you're earning immediately before retirement.

Anyway, F.G. Minter MBE himself finally said he'd look after his former servant and fixed him up with a job at his property company offices. Not with the kind of work he was used to and the salary would be a lot lower: in fact, as an underground car park attendant.

The bloke was only on the job for a few weeks when a car ran out of control, demolished the shed he worked in, and crushed his pelvis.

He is now lying at home in constant pain. F.G. Minter MBE still thrives. He has sold a piece of his land in Wiltshire and set up another building company.

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The Low Pay Unit says that one in four employers is underpaying workers in retailing, catering and hairdressing by ignoring wage council regulations.

Employment Minister Albert Booth won't do anything to change this and admitted that bosses expecting a visit from the Wages Inspectorate raise wages and then drop them again when the coast is clear.

Why don't the workers tell the inspectors? They're probably scared they won't have a job at all if they do. One and a half million unemployed is a sharp whip where the work ethic still rules.

But the State can get tough when it comes to bosses who overpay, relatively speaking, by agreeing to wage increases in excess of the 10 per cent guideline. The State has its famous black list and withdraws Government grants and contracts to bring them back into line. Cheap Labour Government works.

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The world economic recession - which is, it goes almost without saying, an artificial situation brought about by a world economic system geared to enriching the few at the expense of the many - is creating suicide and murder in Japan.

On one typical day, The Guardian reports, nine people died in violent recession connected deaths. An unemployed man was so ashamed at his inability to find a boss to exploit him that he killed his two daughters with an axe and then hanged himself. Capitalism, not content with trying to drive us insane at work to meet its

absurd demands, then breaks the hearts of the most vulnerable by rejecting them.

Anarchism is a positive social philosophy, working towards a world where we can all live in self-ruled harmony. But we shouldn't forget that this may involve a day of reckoning on which some people may have to answer a few questions.

A Typist.

SCRAP THE OFFICIAL SECRETS ACT !

M  
A  
R  
C  
H

TO M15 HEADQUARTERS

Sunday 19 February. Assemble 1.30 pm for 2 pm start. Tolmers Square NW1 (Euston Square tube).

Aubrey Berry Campbell Defence Committee

Colonel H.A. Johnstone must be feeling distressed. His job as Head of UK Signals Intelligence is no doubt taxing enough. Now numbers of left wing and anarchist papers will persist in linking him with 'Colonel B' of the Aubrey/Berry/Campbell case.

In Brief

STAGGERING STATISTICS

More in our occasional series of demographic shocks. The Registrar General has felt moved to issue a report on occupational mortality. Conclusions are that while one third of unskilled workers die before retirement age, just over three quarters of "professional men" (I suppose that makes them the ultimate chauvinists) live to collect their pension. This fecklessness is also visited on the unfortunate children, those of the unskilled masses are five times more likely to be killed on the roads. We must conclude that traffic congestion is less of a problem in Surbiton.

"Homes and Gardens" magazine has also conducted a survey and in our quest for sociological understanding we must waive its more unofficial nature. Those responding are generally in favour of the Tories, dislike Labour and blame the trade unions for Britain's "present industrial and economic situation". Ivan Reid, who devised the survey, sees the thing in class terms and 89 per cent of his respondents described themselves as middle class. He, being a professional sociologist, defines class by occupation, but the readers will have none of this academic theorizing and insist that it is based on appearance and behaviour. Half the sample had incomes of over £6,000 a year.

UNIONS

Forecasts are that the communist led CC.OO will obtain a narrow victory in union elections in Spain, the first for 40 years. In Catalonia the elections are being boycotted by the anarchists.

Roy Grantham, president of APEX, has withdrawn from a debate in Oxford when he learned that George Ward, Managing Director of Grunwicks would also be speaking. Observers believe that it is due to previous ill will between the two.

Varvara Kucherenko, from Moscow, has been committed to a psychiatric clinic after trying to set up an independent trade union.

INTERFERENCE

1) The British section of the International Commission of Jurists, in its publication "Justice", says that if plutonium becomes a major component of nuclear fuels civilian populations could be liable to armed searches of their persons and property, large groups of people would be secretly surveyed and civil liberty "as we understand it" could be seriously eroded. Part of their disquiet is over the Government's official definition that subversion, which we are assured is the only basis for surveillance, consists of "activities threatening the safety or well being of the State and intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means."

2) Legislation is to be prepared to give the House of Commons the power to fine newspapers, corporate bodies or individuals who "deliberately flout its authority or seek improperly to influence its proceedings."

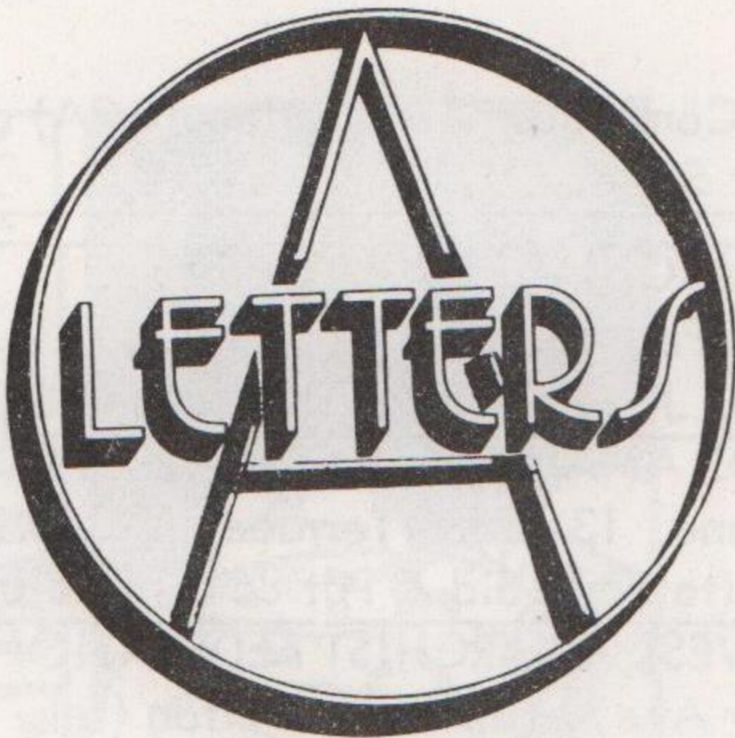
3) Paisley College of Technology is annoyed with the local constabulary after a Special Branch officer offered a student "tax-free financial incentives" for producing information about political activities at the college. The college's liberalism has its limits however. Their concern is that the policeman contacted the student via an official channel, intended for other purposes. A spokesman said that the governors did not challenge the role of the Special Branch as a police agency.

The South African Bureau for State Security is adopting the motto "Knowledge Strengthens Us".

A Post Office employee in Manchester has been "severely disciplined" after putting a note "NF rule OK" into a parcel on its way to the North West Committee Against Racism.

WRONG CONTINENT

In our last Review section (4 Feb.) Carl L. Harp, whose letter was published on the back page, was inadvertently transported to Australia. Carl is in an American jail, and for comrades who might wish to correspond with him his address is: Carl L. Harp, (126516) Box 520, Walla Walla, Wisconsin 99362, U.S.A.



LOCAL NEWSLETTER

Dear Freedom,

I am writing to you because I feel that we as anarchists are letting something slip by us which is so important to our future. I live in Whitechapel, and for years now, if you meet someone in the pub and have a chat and have a chat, or at work, and mention the 'Socialist' or 'Communist' parties, they go on about the fact that these parties are fighting for the workingman or 'sticking up for working classes'. I'm sure you've heard it all before. However, if you mention anarchy, people will straight away associate it with chaos, disorder, murders, rape, one against all, not realising that this is all being created by the system we have now.

Therefore I would like to start a fortnightly/monthly newsletter or handout in the area to try and get through and explain what we as anarchists want and to try to show people the true face of the State. It will be difficult and time consuming but I believe it's badly needed. FREEDOM and Zero do an excellent job but I feel they are only being read by the committed anarchist or the politically motivated (I may be wrong). I believe a regular newsletter into people's letter boxes on council estates could be a great idea. If anybody would like to help it would be very welcome. Write to me via FREEDOM.

Thank you.  
Gary H.

Dear FREEDOM

I am writing as one of those who were arrested on the Black Aid demonstration in solidarity with the West German resistance. At a defendants' meeting where five of the eight turned up we decided to set up a Defence Fund to pay for the fines of those who are found guilty. At the same time there was much discussion over how we should conduct our defence; some of us wanting to use it as an open political platform, others wanting to keep things at a lower level so that we don't get hammered by the law. Certainly the question of bringing out the politics of that demonstration rests on the Defence Fund and on how much money we can raise to support the defendants. Neither should we forget that some of the defendants risk a hell of a lot more than just fines. However we have decided to launch the Defence Fund and ask that postal orders be sent to:

Black Aid Defence Fund  
Box 73  
Rising Free  
182 Upper Street  
Islington.

In solidarity  
Steve Bushell

N.B. The trial begins on 21 March at Horseferry Road magistrates' court.

PRESS FUND

27 January - 8 February

WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; London N1: S.B. £ 1; MONTREAL: W.F. £ 2.40; LONDON NW4: N.W. £ 5; COLD MEECE: S.G. 50p; BRUSSELS: R.J. £ 3.50; In Shop: Anons £ 1.76; R.W. £ 24.40; R.D. £ 2.25; T.C. 16p; HAMBURG: P.V.B. £ 4.36; SHEFFIELD: R.A.D. £ 5; LLANWRST: M.B. £ 2; HUDDERSFIELD: P.G. 50p; CAR: DIFF: R.W.A. £ 5; NEW YORK: B.P. £ 1.63; WIVENHOE: Patsy & Friend £ 1; RENSSLAER, N.Y.: G.T. £ 5; TORONTO: N.D. £ 5; COVENTRY: N.P. £ 1; LONDON NW6: B.S. £ 1; MIAMI, Florida: Proceeds from Italian Cpmrades' Picnic on 2 Feb., per A.B. £ 75.

	TOTAL:	£ 151.91
Previously acknowledged		£ 110.69
		£ 262.60

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# FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is THURSDAY 2 March. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. Folding session for Supplement No.4 on Thursday 23 February, 6-8 pm.

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS, ARTICLES. Latest date for receipt of copy for Vol.39 no. 4 (N.B. events occurring March 5 - 19) is Monday 27 February (and let us have them by Thursday 23rd if you can).

Articles for Review section no. 5 by Saturday 4 March please (latest date Monday the 6th)

## Groups

**ABERYSTWYTH.** Mike Sheehand, Newadd Caerlaan, Victoria Terrace, Aberystwyth.

**BELFAST.** B.A.C. c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (Correspondence only).

**BRISTOL.** Anyone interested in forming group contact Bob, Flat 4, 14 Westfield Park, Redland, Bristol.

**BOLTON.** contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton. (Tel. 387516).

**CAMBRIDGE.** Raphael Salkie, Queens' College, Cambridge.

**CORBY.** Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

**COVENTRY.** write John England, 48 Spencer Avenue, Earlsdon, Coventry, Warwicks.

**EAST ANGLIAN** Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

**EXETER.** Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

**LEAMINGTON & Warwick,** c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa.

**LEEDS.** Tony Kearney, 5 Toronto Place, Chapel Allerton, Leeds LS7 4LJ (tel. 624096)

**LEICESTER** c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester.

**MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION**  
Change of Secretariat to Nottingham:  
Stephen Henstridge, 1 The Close, Chilwell, Beeston, Nottingham.

**NEWCASTLE,** Black Jake, c/o Tyneside Socialist Centre, 235 Jesmond Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE2

**NOTTINGHAM.** c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. (tel. 582506) for activities, or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302)

**OXFORD.** Steve Bushell, Balliol College, Oxford (N.B. CHANGE OF ADDRESS)

**MANCHESTER.** Contact Al on 061 224 3028

**PORTSMOUTH.** Carolynne Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.

**READING.** University Anarchists c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading.

**SHEFFIELD** Anarchist group: Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd, Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029).  
Group mtgs. Tuesdays 7.30 for 8 pm at 10 Hanover Square, Sheffield 10; discussion mths Sunday evngs. fortnightly. Also Student group (Box 1SG); Black Cross secretariat (Box 1BC), Syndicate of Initiative (Box 1SI), all at 341 Glossop Rd. (tel. as above).

**SWANSEA.** Dan Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

**THAMES VALLEY.** Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead. (tel. 062 2974).

**WESTON-super-Mare.** Anyone interested in forming group contact Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road, Weston-s.-Mare, Somerset.

**LONDON FEDERATION** of Anarchist Groups

Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533).

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. (tel. 359 4794 before 7 pm).

Clapham, 3 Belmost Rd, SW4 (tel. 622 8961).

Dorking Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodway, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814).

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Road, E.6. (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom, 84B Whitechapel High St. (Angel Alley) E.1. (tel. 247 9249).

Hackney Anarchists. Contact Dave 249 7042.

Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564).

London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St., N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swinton St., W.C.1.

S.E. London Anarchist Feminist Group, 54A Westbourne Drive, Forest Hill, SE23 2UN.

South London College, c/o Simon Grant, Students Union, S.L.C.I., Knights Hill, West Norwood. (tel. 670 3774)

Addition:

Anarchist Communist Association (ACA) c/o 182 Upper Street, N.1.

**KENT ANARCHIST FEDERATION:**

Ramsgate, Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road

Sevenoaks, Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Road.

**MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION.** Sec. Louise Crane, 13 Arden Terrace, Braunstone, Leicester (tel. c/o Sid & Pat 864511 Leicester)

**NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION,** 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516). Mthly mtgs., newsletter.

**ANARCHIST STUDENTS NETWORK,** Secretariat: Reading University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights Park, Reading, Berks.

**SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION:**

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

Glasgow, C. Baird, 122 Benneray St., Glasgow, G22 (tel. 336-7895), also for Port Glasgow and Stirling.

INTERNATIONAL LISTING IN NEXT ISSUE

## Meetings

**LONDON Sat. 18 February.** 'Finnegans Wake'. A talk on the book and readings by T.F. Evans and J. Cooke. 3 pm at 32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1. (£ WEA.) Adm. 30p

**Monday 20 February.** 'Anarcho Utopian Mystics'. Meet 7.30 pm in Concourse Area, St. Clements Building, Houghton St. W.C.2.

**Monday 20 February.** London Workers group meets 7.30 pm at Earl Russell pub, 2 Pancras Rd. NW1 (Kings X). For independent militants All workers welcome (except Party-builders). Contact Dave 249 7042 or Adam 247 4829

**Thursday 23 February.** S.E. Parker speaks on 'Max Stirner and the Case Against Humanism'. Lewisham Humanist Group. At Unitarian Meeting House, 41 Bromley Road, Catford, SE26. At 7.45 pm. (Near Catford Stations. Buses 1, 36b, 47, 54, 141 and 180 pass door).

**Saturday 25 February.** From 10 am. Study day on Northern Ireland. "When can the troops be withdrawn?" Film and workshops.

Called by British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign. Venue: Pax Christi Centre, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Road, N.W.5. (tube Chalk Farm: buses 24 & 46).

**Sunday 26 February.** From 10.30 a.m. BWNIC General Mtg. All supporters and sympathisers with the campaign welcome. Venue as for Study day (above).

ACA North London (Anarchist Communist Assn.) Public Mtg. Monday 27 February 7.30 at Centerprise, 136 Kingsland High St. E.8. Subject: Trade Unions.

**Sunday 19 March.** Windscale Rally. In Trafalgar Square being organised by Friends of the Earth as part of their campaign to get the Report (Mr. Justice Parker) on the Inquiry published before any decision taken. Fuller details from Friends of the Earth, 9 Poland St. London W1V 3DG (tel. 01-434 1684).

**NEW YORK.** Libertarian Book Club Lectures Thursdays 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center 365 8th Ave., 29th St. N.Y.C.

March 9: Eric Gordon: "Anarchist Movement in Brazil"

April 13: Dwight Macdonald: "Confessions of a Literary Journalist".

## Literature

Number One of BORROWED TIME: an anti-authoritarian bulletin of news, contacts and debate. A sort of Contact Column for the Movement: "If we bring together the various strands of the anti-authoritarian movement together in these islands, it will allow a clearer assessment of what's going on here, and hopefully stimulate discussion and a deeper understanding." Short reviews, discussions, descriptions of groups. 16pp. From Box 100, Rising Free or Freedom Bookshop. 25p (post 7p)

**ZERO 5.** Out on Valentine's Day. The A.R.M. Statement (Seattle); What happened to The Other Cinema; Spanish prison rights. 20p from Box 0, Rising Free, 182 Upper St. London N.1 or Freedom Bookshop (post 7p)

**MINUS ONE,** anarchist individualist review. No. 40 now out. 19p from S.E. Parker, 186 Gloucester Terrace, London W.2.

**BLACK RAG.** First issue of anarchist/anarcho feminist paper published in Ireland. See Review section p. 15 this issue.

**INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST,** no. 6 now out. 11p from I.W.W. British Section, 226 Emscote Road, Warwick.

**SOLIDARITY/SOCIAL REVOLUTION.** First issue of the combined grouping. Includes Anarchism and Feminism, Official secrets; Gays; Strikes &c. 15p + 7p post from Solidarity, Box 23, c/o 163 King St. Aberdeen (or Freedom Bookshop).

**PEACE NEWS** for nonviolent revolution. Reports, analysis, news of nonviolent action for social change. Antimilitarism, sexual politics, ecology, &c. 15p fortnightly (post 10p) from 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham (or Freedom Bookshop).

**OPEN ROAD** No.5 (Canada). N.American news, Nuclear family; Revolt Against Work, Punk Rock &c. 40p post 7p from Freedom Bookshop

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# FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

18 FEB 78

## The International

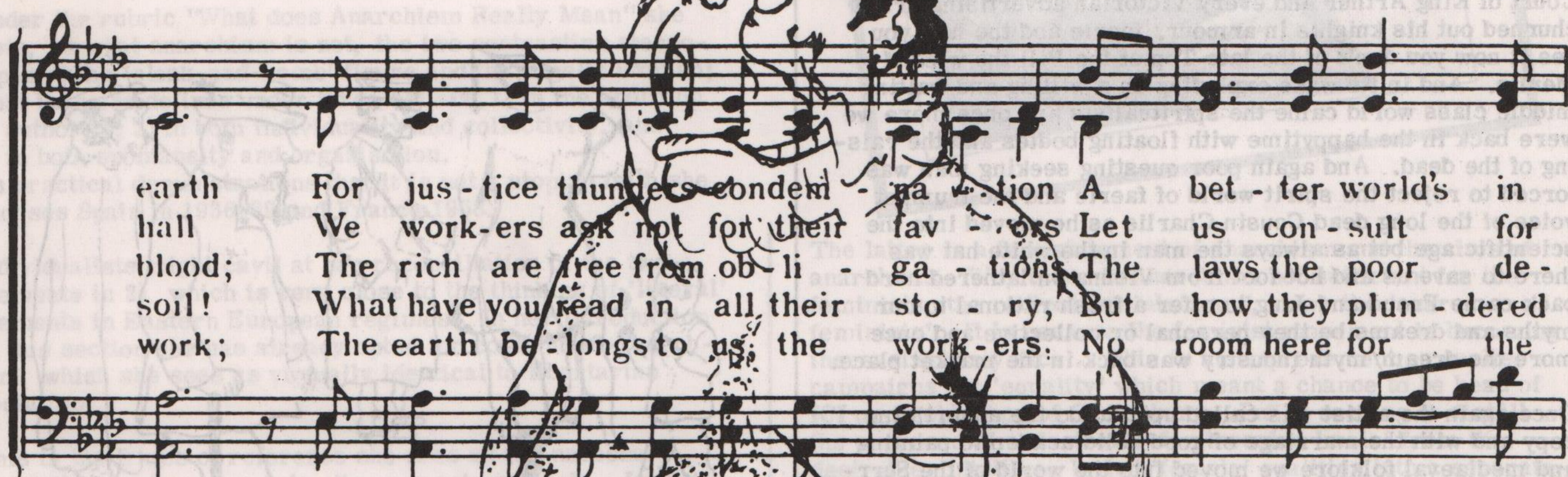
Adapted from  
CHAS. H. KERR'S translation.

*Slightly slower than march time*

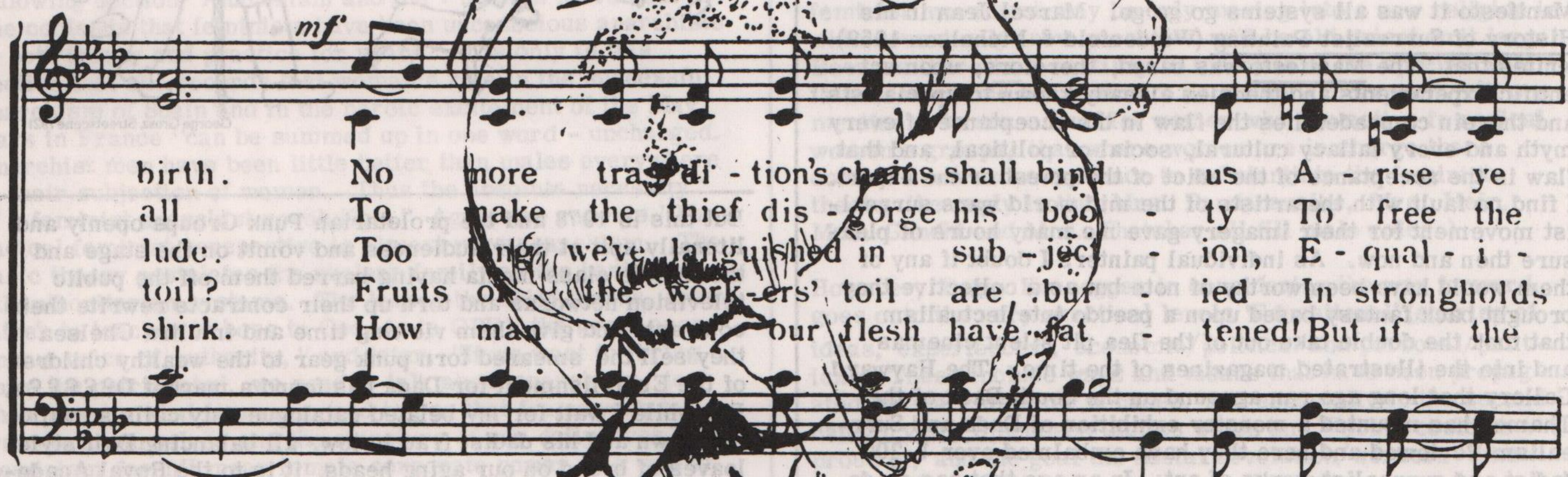
Harmonized by  
RUDOLF LIEBICH



1. A - rise ye pris'ners of star - va - tion A - rise ye wretched of the  
2. We want no con-descend-ing sav - iors To rule us from their judgment  
3. The law oppress-es us and thickens us, The wage slave system drains our  
4. Be - hold them seated in the sky, The kings of mine and rail and  
5. We toil - ers from all fields and Join hand in hand with all who



earth For jus - tice thunders - condemn - na - tion A bet - ter world's in  
hall We work-ers ask not for their fav - ors Let us con - sult for  
blood; The rich are free from ob - li - ga - tions The laws the poor de -  
soil! What have you read in all their sto - ry, But how they plun - dered  
work; The earth be - longs to us, the work - ers, No room here for the



birth. No more trans - mi - tion's chains shall bind us A - rise ye  
all To make the thief dis - gorge his boo - ty To free the  
lude. Too long we've languished in sub - jec - tion, E - qual - i -  
toil? Fruits of the work - ers' toil are bur - ied In strongholds  
shirk. How man - y of our flesh have fat - tened! But if the



slaves no more in thrall the earth shall rise on new foun -  
spir - it from its cell We must our selves de cide our  
ty has oth - er laws; "No rights" says she, "with-out their  
of the i - dle few In' work - ing for their res - ti -  
nor - some birds of prey Shall van - ish from the sky some

# MAMA & DADA

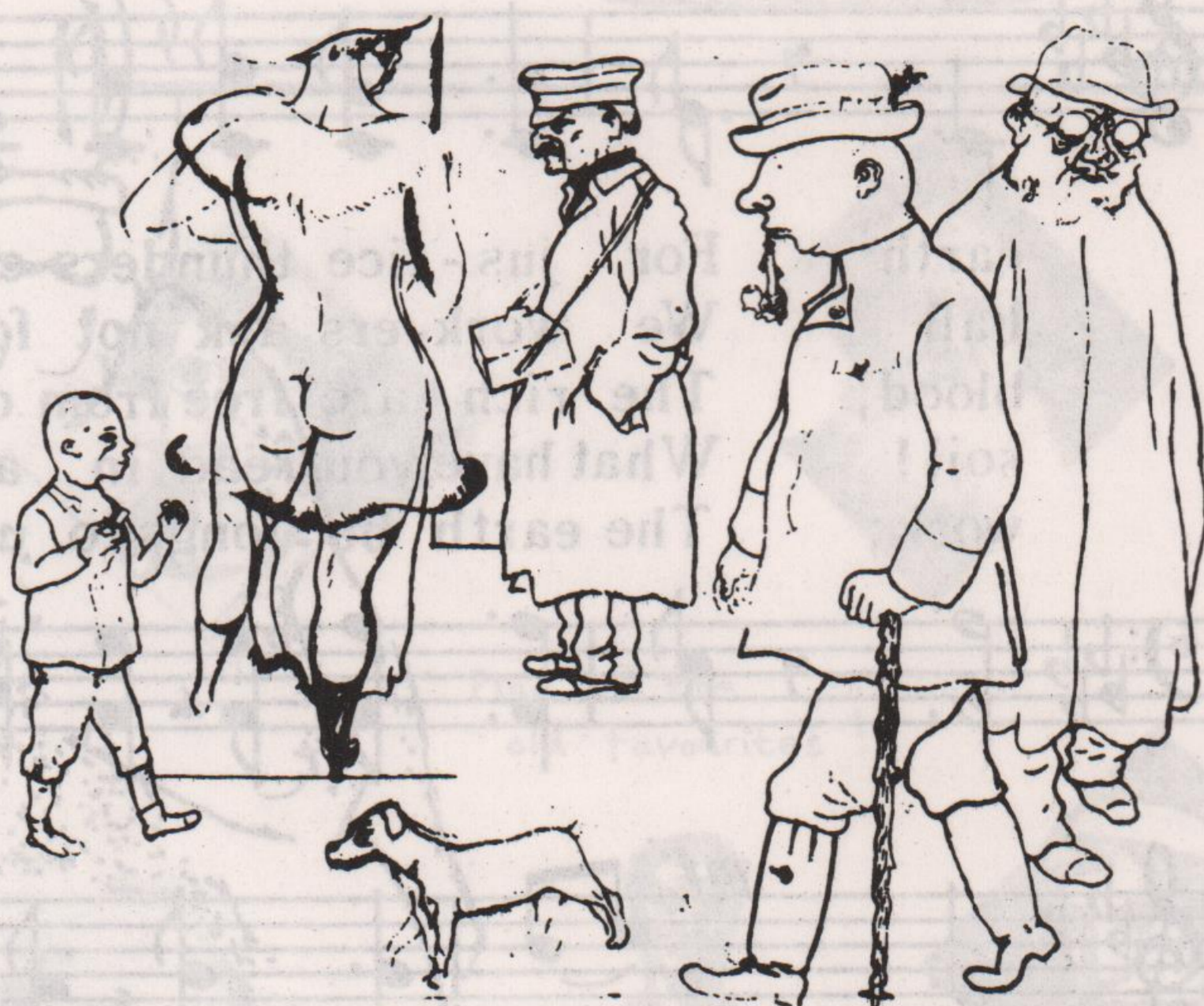
WHEN I WAS a child I did on a limited number of public appearances attempt to walk upon the face of the water. Each time I tried to follow in the footsteps of our Lord Jesus Christ by walking upon the face of the crowded water of the Lime Grove Swimming Baths I sank to the bottom of the bath and this was not due to lack of faith but probably to the excess of chlorine that the Public Baths Authority used to purify the swimming bath water. These things are not fantasies for children for they truly believe that miracles can and do happen. Children come to physical harm by trying to fly out of windows, they close their eyes and believe that they are invisible and they fear the dark for the malignant spirits they know exist therein. But the adult must rationalise his and her fantasies. With religion we could explain away the gentle myths of floating bodies, halting suns and the brewers' nightmare water into wine, and the singing hosts of angels did not require scientific justification only faith in an intellectual priesthood. Yet when rational man rejected religion he was still left with his fantasies and he demanded and manufactured a scientific basis for the reinterpretations of the ancient myths and the Victorian historians, scientists and archaeologists found their facts in the search for the Court of King Arthur and every Victorian advertising artist churned out his knights in armour, faerie and the now you see it now you don't of the late Top of the Bill the wizard Merlin. And in its wake exploding on a willing and waiting middle class world came the spiritualists and once more we were back in the happytime with floating bodies and the raising of the dead. And again poor questing seeking man was forced to reject the spirit world of faerie and the trumpet voice of the long dead Cousin Charlie as he moved into the scientific age but as always the man in the white hat was there to save us and hot foot from Vienna on lathered hard back came Freud and Jung to offer a fresh rational to our myths and dreams be they personal or collective and once more the dream/myth industry was back in the market place.

Once again the artist was called upon to do the advertising copy and with the marriage of good solid academic painting and mediaeval folklore we moved into the world of the Surrealist movement and with Andre Breton's 1925 Surrealist Manifesto it was all systems go go go. Marcel Jean in his *History of Surrealist Painting* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson 1959) writes that "The Manifesto was based, therefore, upon scientific experiments and theories already known to specialists" and therein comrades lies the flaw in the acceptance of every myth and every fallacy cultural, social or political, and that flaw is the acceptance of the edict of the priest or the expert. I find no fault with the artists of the mid world wars surrealist movement for their imagery gave me many hours of pleasure then and now. As individual painters I doubt if any of them would have been worthy of note but as a collective they brought back fantasy based upon a pseudo intellectualism that took the double take out of the flea pit silent cinemas and into the illustrated magazines of the time. The Hayward Gallery that long ago ran aground on the South Bank of the Thames has mounted a monster exhibition of Dada and Surrealism Reviewed and here they have embalmed over 1,200 dadist and surrealist works of art. In an age that has made contact with punk rock and Mars I doubt if the new young can be impressed by these gentle fantasies and kultural nose thumbings but in the non permissive age of the 1920s and 30s with mass social misery and half the world bogged down in famine and civil wars this gentle middle class knees up was truly welcomes. From it all I doubt if much will survive in the museums of the world. Dali will form part of the State galleries wall paper and Schwitters' rubbish collages will

Hayward Gallery DADA AND SURREALISM REVIEWED : Royal Academy GUSTAV COURBET / HOLOGRAMS (sponsored by Guinness) / CITYSCAPE 1910-30 (admission free) : Editions Grafiques VIVIEN JOHN.

supply a thesis for some future Teutonic American scholar but of them all only Max Ernst supplied the gut muscle of the movement. The surrealists were a very gentle and a very fortunate people for they found an outlet for their minor creative talents and by combining they found a willing audience happy and eager to participate. In an age of slaughtered millions they played at revolutionary politics and they were the subject of and the willing spokesmen for a sophisticated intellectual charade.

Of the bleak and awful 30s they were the cultural gloss of the Bright Young Things and at long remove they gave me much pleasure and now like unto Egypt's ancient kings they lay mummified for all time, at least until the 27 March 1978, in the vaults of the Hayward Gallery. And of Dadism comrades... in 1920 a Dada exhibition was held in Cologne in a room behind a cafe that could only be reached through a public urinal and Ernst had chained an axe to one of his objects so that it could be easily destroyed and legend has taken over, and I live it, that the exhibition was held in a public lavatory and everyone was given an axe to smash the exhibits.



George Grosz, Streetscene 1921

But this is 1978 and the proletarian Punk Groups openly and literally spit at their audiences and vomit on the stage and the middle class media having barred them off the public television networks and torn up their contracts rewrite their contracts and give them viewing time and in ultra Chelsea they sell the smeared torn punk gear to the wealthy children of the Establishment for Dada has found a market D£££££a. But while I wait for my belated catalogue duty calls so with the Town and his dadist frau in tow, all balancing Dali style loaves of bread on our aging heads, it is to the Royal Academy for four magnificent exhibitions, five if counts the presence of George and myself at the free issue of Guinness and champagne (black velvet). "You both behaved abominably" said the lovely Griselda Hamilton-Baillie and then she smiled and George and I went back for more Guinness and champagne. This return visit of a holograms exhibition costed by Guinness the working man's friend is truly amazing, for here we have a fantastic introduction to a new breakthrough in human communication for here is visual three dimension and within our lifetime comrades the film and the television image will not only be in coloured, moving three dimension but, and hear me well, the viewer will be able, nay is able now, to examine the figure, the stage set or the object from different angles. I know that it is a mark of intellectual fashion to murmur "So what" but I am one who

(cont pg 11)



# USEFUL UNEMPLOYMENT

THE RIGHT TO USEFUL UNEMPLOYMENT  
(and its professional enemies). Ivan Illich.  
(Marion Boyars £3.95).

THEY TELL US how and where to build, what to think, how to die, what to eat, advise on our health, what to wear - this vast and growing army of professionals that impinge with statutory powers on every aspect of the citizens' life. All these people have conspired to reduce the mass of people to a state of dependency with the able assistance of the media, the most powerful part of which is the television.

This book is really a postscript to the book 'Tools for Conviviality'. The writer says this book reflects the changes that have occurred since 1973.

"It assumes a rather large increase in the non-technical, ritual and symbolic powers of our major technological and bureaucratic systems, and a corresponding decrease in their scientific, technical and instrumental credibility. In 1968, for example, it was still quite easy to dismiss organized lay resistance to professional dominance as nothing more than a throwback to romantic, obscurantist or elitist fantasies." (p.11)

This unease does not appear to have spread very far into the industrial working class of Britain in spite of the danger of such incidents as being bombarded by radioactive residues of our technocratic adventures in outer space. The growth of dependence has largely developed with the social democratic state whose spurious radicalism has tended to give people a feeling that they can go along with these developments as being for their own good. The media gives this impression with its talk programmes and the state with its loaded inquiries.

"It will be remembered as the Age of Schooling, when people for one-third of their lives were trained how to accumulate needs on prescription and for the other two-thirds were clients of prestigious pushers who managed their habits. It will be remembered as the age when recreational travel meant a packaged hawk at strangers, and intimacy meant training by Masters and Johnson; when formed opinion was a reply of last night's talk-show, and voting an endorsement to a salesman for more of the same."

(pp.46-7)

## DADA (cont)

applauded the first men to step onto the moon, the beauty of the Concorde sailing through space with the grace and elegance of man's first arrow and now the 3-dimensional Holograms. The military and the proletarian punk groups have taken over the laser beams for killing and for pleasure. The brewers have taken over the 3-dimensional holograms and are now experimenting with them for 3-dimensional Guinness advertising so how long before the intellectual strata who played Johnny Come Lately to the flea pit silent cinema, the music hall, television, the breakthrough in space and the Concorde aircraft will realise that one of the great breakthroughs in human communication is on display at the Royal Academy by courtesy of Guinness brewers. Surfeit with black velvet, George and I made our way within the Royal Academy to the definitive Gustave Courbet exhibition. Great massive canvases fill the wall space of this artist who turned from the Romantic school of painting to portray the lives of the peasants. Here was the friend of Prud'hon and of Baudelaire. An artist who mixed in the revolutionary circles of his day. Who took his part in the revolutionary struggle, was imprisoned and survived. Like Augustus John, whose daughter Vivien John's paintings can be viewed at the Editions Graphiques Gallery off New Bond St., Courbet was the fashionable painter but not to be rejected for all that. He was applauded and held his court in his large studio work shops as his assistants filled in his huge canvases and all with the air and style of a renaissance court painter and one

### THE RIGHT TO USEFUL UNEMPLOYMENT and its professional enemies Ivan Illich

"Industrial growth produces the modernization of poverty."

"In an advanced industrial society it becomes almost impossible to seek, even to imagine, unemployment as a condition for autonomous, useful work."

"Food, fuel, fresh air, or living space can no more be equitably distributed than wrenches or jobs unless they are rationed without regard to imputed need, that is, in equal maximum amounts to young and old, cripple and president."

Ivan Illich

For the last ten years Ivan Illich has questioned the myths of progress and has relentlessly attacked some modern institutions as obsolete sacred cows: his detailed analyses of education, medicine and transport have first shocked and then provoked people into rethinking some of the basic assumptions that underlie modern society.

In this postscript to *TOOLS FOR CONVIVIALITY* (1973) he tackles some of the most cogent economic principles: he revives the Marxist notion of use-value, abandoned by all modern economists in favour of exchange-value, as an economic indication in assessing the value of people's work; he decimates the myth of professional beneficence; he pinpoints the structural deficiencies and contradictions inherent in an industrial growth system, in both capitalist and socialist economic societies; he advocates maximum rather than minimum criteria for equitable distribution of the riches of industrial productivity.

Ivan Illich calls for the right to useful unemployment: a positive, constructive, and even optimistic concept dealing with that activity by which people are useful to themselves and others outside the production of commodities for the market. Unfettered by managing professionals, unmeasured and unmeasurable by economists, these

(continued on back flap)

Jacket design by John Collings

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(continued from front flap)

activities truly generate satisfaction, creativity and freedom. Like all revolutionary thinkers, Ivan Illich takes a fresh and scarily critical look at the nature of the society which he and we experience and observe. His startling conclusions bear witness to his deep commitment to an ethical value system that has its roots in a profound belief in the real possibilities of an equitable distribution of commodities, the effective and voluntary limitation of production which ensures equal access to equal freedom to useful unemployment.



Ivan Illich

IVAN ILLICH was born in 1926. He studied theology, philosophy and history. He was assistant pastor in an Irish-Puerto Rican parish in New York and vice-rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico. From 1962-1967 he directed research seminars at CIDOC in Cuernavaca where he still lives. He is the author of *Celebration of Awareness, Deschooling Society, Energy & Equity, Limits to Medicine: Medical Nemesis-the Expropriation of Health and* (with others) *Disabling Professions*.

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18 Brewer Street, London W1R 4AS

SORRY - UNABLE TO REPRODUCE FRONT COVER! RED+D.BLUE=BLACK

In fact the professionals have created a planned destruction of both our towns and cities with vast tower blocks and a concrete jungle with the occasional tree to pacify the professional landscape people. At a meeting at the Essex University this point was driven home, another new university of glass and concrete which reminded me very much of the harsh New Covent Garden market: the first where our soft cops are processed, the second where our fruit and vegetables continue on their commercial and standardised way.

Alan Albon.



could love the man for his aims and his appetites yet as ever I judge and accept Courbet for his still life of a clay dish of sour looking apples and pomegranates that he painted in 1871 while in prison for his revolutionary activity. Take all the great canvases but leave me that one and you leave me the man. Within the R.A. are the paintings and collages of the American painter Robert Motherwell and like the work of Kline or Alan Davie they seem to me to be work that is in itself valueless and can only find a market if there is a powerful dealer to hawk it. But for those who cannot afford the tough R.A. prices then for all that visit the R.A. and take the lift to the free exhibition Cityscape 1910-30.

Despite its drab title it is the finest free art exhibition in London for it spans the work of men like Ben Shahn, Brangwyn, Otto Dix, Grosz, Beckman, Hopper, Sickert, Burra, name them comrade and they are there.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

FREEDOM intends to devote a whole Review to Dada and surrealism in the near future. All contributions are welcome.

# THERE ARE CRIME

The Guardian's San Francisco correspondent reports that a Mr. Edward Lawson has been arrested twenty times on the occasion of his visits to Los Angeles and San Diego in the past eighteen months.

This generally happens when he is taking an evening stroll. He is an impeccable citizen, with a profession no less honoured than many in financial society. The law which he is usually charged with infringing is an inherited one: 'It is an inheritance from England's old vagrancy laws by which those considered undesirable were kept in their place.' (This law in some form seems to be still extant in Britain.)

State of California law 647E declares, says the Guardian, that a person is guilty of a misdemeanour if he or she '...loiters or wanders from place to place without apparent reason or business and . . . refuses to identify himself and to account for his presence when requested by any police officer to do so, if the public safety demands such identification.'

Mr. Lawson's major offence (excluding one factor): he usually refuses to produce proof of identity without an adequate explanation from the police of why he is being stopped. His lawyer says: 'He has always told them who he was and what he was doing, but the definition of loitering without reason is so vague that it is open to almost any interpretation.'

The American Civil Liberties Union is assisting Mr. Lawson sue the police for \$250,000. By the way, Mr. Lawson is black.

J.R.

S

A WEST GERMAN court has told a pacifist, Heinrich Haberlein (29) of Ansbach, chairman of the Bavarian branch of the German Peace Society, that he cannot become a teacher because he has not convinced the court he would 'actively support the free democratic order'.

The court found that although he was not an enemy of the Constitution he could not be expected to actively support it. Applicants for Civil Service status could be rejected, the court said, even if they only displayed indifference to the Constitution.

(from The Guardian (25.1.78)

J.R.

WE ARE CONSTANTLY being reminded by the media, by moral reformers and the police, that we are flooded by a crime wave. In fact we are positively submerged, to believe the media (which prospers on crime), the moralists (whose ambivalent fears and hopes are confirmed) and the police (who, in the careers sense, if in no other, have a vested interest in crime).

Lacking the positive evidence of continual living in a criminal environment, of seeing every day crimes being committed (except on the telly) we must rely on statistics. In the words of the old adage, there are lies, damn lies and statistics. The source of such statistics is in itself suspect, being the police.

Now, following on American research

in the mid-sixties, three dons (Sparks, Genn and Dodd) from Oxford, Cambridge and Berkeley, California have issued their own research under the forbidding title of Surveying Victims: a Study of the Measurement of Criminal

Victimisation at the deterrent price of £12. To summarise its content (according to the Guardian) 'They indicate that many of the 'crime waves' reported in annual police figures may well be a statistical illusion created by ignorance of a huge number of offences which are never reported to police.' The Guardian continues that 'the explanation of the apparently dramatic periodic rises in figures; for offences like burglary, rape and mugging is that more offences are reported after victims realise that the offences are in the news at the time'.

Five hundred people in three London districts (surely not entirely representative? London, the 'Great Wen', has a reputation for rootlessness and lack of communal society) were asked what offences had been committed against them over 12 months. These figures were adjusted to reflect the population of the area to compare with police statistics. It was found (says the Guardian) that 'the volume of indictable crime in these three areas was over eleven times greater than the police statistics suggested'.

Of course this research, granting its validity and accuracy, will be used by the vested interests to prove that the growth of crime is greater than that previously claimed and therefore the tried and tested non-solutions of the moralists, the police and the judges must be increased and accelerated. More laws, more police, and more—and harsher—punishments.

But the anarchist philosophy and viewpoint on what is called 'crime' or anti-social behaviour is not that man is perfect and crimes are all an illusion or the product of environmental conditioning. In a free society anti-social behaviour would probably still occur; but present-day society is calculated and geared to produce the maximum of anti-social behaviour and the minimum of relationships to discourage its repetition.

It is quite true that many crimes are not reported to the police. One recalls an abortive attempt at robbery from one's person in the Whitechapel Road, Freedom Press has been broken into a few times, some occasions leading to actual personal confrontation with the burglar. It is reported from America that in the great cities robberies below a certain figure are not even booked on case sheets. Does a similar practice in Britain account for the discrepancies?

From personal observation in other respects (viz. car accidents) it is well-known that often it is economically inadvisable to make 'minor' claims on insurance companies, since it only leads to increase in premiums and loss of no-claims bonus. No doubt the same applies to losses of property. It is well-known that insurance companies insist on stringent precautions against robbery (including the futile nuisance of the burglar alarm) before they will insure property—the only thing an insurance company will not take is a risk!

Apart from personal philosophies and the non-protective functions of insurance companies there is more solid evidence of reasons for non-reporting of crime which hinge on the anarchist thesis of the artificial nature of the definition, and of the undoubted creation of 'crimes' by reason of the fully-sanctioned competitive social set-up and property relationships which constitute life today—particularly in the great cities.

¶

The London research which produced the current book was based on American technique. An American book (published here by Duckworth 1969, in USA by Quadrangle Books 1968) Violence in the Streets, has two essays by criminologists (neither is an anarchist) which sheds light on the problem of 'unreported crime'.

Shalom Endleman (editor of the symposium) starts his study with the words, 'No one knows how much crime there is in the United States today'. In the US the FBI issues Uniform Crime Reports annually but, says Endleman, there are 'significant reasons for not relying heavily on its figures'. He lists these reasons for variation: 'a community's differential tolerance of deviant behaviour' and 'its expectations for police protection' as well as the community's power to command a given proportion of what, after all, is a finite commodity—police service. 'Different communities. . . make different kinds of demands on their police service.'

Stripped of some of the sociological gobbledegook this comes down to the propositions that 'not all crimes are considered by everybody to be crimes'; 'People do not always consider the police to be effective in dealing with crime.' 'The price of protection from crime is too high.' 'Some classes need, and get, more protection than others.'

Endleman instances that some crimes, for example 'blackmail, criminal abortion, rape, homosexuality, or offences involving some form of vice involve a measure of social risk for the victim, who as a result, is less likely to report an offence to the police'. This is well-known, of course. Once could include

# ES AND CRIMES

non-reported theft of property or money which had originally been the proceeds of illegal transactions or an undisclosed asset—from the taxman's viewpoint. Endleman further adds, "Criminal assault, an offence often involving members of the same family, is less likely to come to the attention of the police than homicide."

Endleman, comparing the statistics, says, "The wide discrepancy between the actual and reported crime waves may be created by merely increasing the efficiency of the police in reporting offences or in apprehending offenders." The cynical may find in this confirmation of the theory of police-made crime engendered by going out and picking up innocent 'offenders'. He quotes Daniel Bell's suggestion that there is probably less crime today than there was (in the USA) a hundred, fifty, or even twenty-five years ago. What is certain is that there are more laws (both in America and in England) and more police.

Endleman makes the acute observation that the public fears most those crimes which occur least often; and that "the crimes which instill the greatest fear are not committed by strangers—the source of the greatest apprehension—but in fact largely by offenders known to the victim". The US President's Commission on Law Enforcement is quoted by Endleman as saying "on a straight statistical basis, the closer the relationship the greater the hazard. In one sense the greatest threat to anyone is himself, since suicides are more than twice as common as homicides".

The report explodes some myths of crime. Firstly, that one's own neighbourhood is statistically more dangerous than other parts of the city. Secondly, "the chances of falling victim to a violent criminal are considerably smaller than are the chances of being hurt, maimed or killed in occupation or sports activities or in automobile travel". But these have not the sensational news value of 'Fifth Body Discovered'.

The effects of public anxiety about crime are analysed by the Commission as threefold. Firstly, the anxiety inhibits people from taking advantage of cultural and social activities which require walking in unfamiliar streets or in a reputedly dangerous neighbourhood. Secondly, the decline in sociability and mutual trust. Finally, the anxiety becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy by reason of reduction in street use due to fear.

To paraphrase Endleman's somewhat turgid style. The city dweller getting his information on crime from the media has little knowledge of other methods of control than by punishment. Hence he comes to rely more on the law and the police ("There ought to be a law——") But the more society relies on the law, the less is it able to control

the behaviour of its members; the legal process thereupon increases the laws, increasing the numbers of reported crimes, swelling the statistics and increasing fears.

One must conclude this précis with Endleman's last paragraph, embedded as it is in sociological jargon:

"Solutions to the resulting intensification of concern are being sought in still greater reliance on criminal law and police protection, a formula which reflects the state of mind of those caught in the urban industrial complex but does not contain the seeds of a solution to their problems."

A second article in this symposium, *Crime in the Streets* by James Q. Wilson, is just as critical—and more readable. Wilson repeats the relative statistical unimportance of highly serious crimes which make up about 10% of all 'serious' crimes which, for police purposes, include robbery, murder, rape, aggravated assault, burglary, auto theft and larceny of items valued at over fifty dollars. He claims that the incidence of murder and rape has been fairly constant in the US over the last few decades, and may even have declined.

Some crime rates, says Wilson, appear to have gone up:

"Burglary rates may increase statistically, not because more things from homes and stores are stolen, but because more things from homes and stores are insured. The spread of theft insurance, and the willingness of insurance companies to pay off (at least on minor claims) with little or no proof of actual burgling, creates temptations to collect for missing items (or even items that are not missing, but that the owner wishes were). Larceny... may also reflect not so much the presence of more criminals as more opportunity for 'criminal' activity. Sometimes it really is criminal; ; other times it is more accurately described as merely illegal. A prosperous society multiplies public telephones and parking meters; until the belated advent of theft-proof devices, the more such instruments installed, the more chances for picking up loose change. Our department stores and supermarkets, packed to the rafters with the products of the world's richest society offer tempting targets to people who want (and think they are entitled to pick up) more things than they can afford. This, incidentally, seems to be one main reason why big-city theft rates are higher than those in small towns and rural areas—it is not that the city dweller is less virtuous, it is only that he is more prosperous; thieves go to the cities for the same reason business men and shoppers do—that's where the loot is."

Regarding supermarkets, one wonders if the saving on serving personnel, the high turnover through speed-up of customer-handling and the breaking down of consumer resistance by easy access

(even the tempting display of sweeties at the cash desk catering to the waiting infant) balances the losses through shoplifting. One is inclined to believe the apocryphal story of the manager whose shoplifting figures declined and who was reprimanded for not making his displays attractive enough!

To return to Wilson. He continues, "Prosperity affects theft rates in other ways. The more bicycles we can afford to buy our kids, the more bicycles there are lying about in front yards waiting to be 'borrowed'. The more fancy accessories... we can afford to pack into our cars, the more such things there are to pilfer from unlocked (or insecurely locked) autos." He also examines the fifty dollars starting point for 'serious' crime, and points out that inflation etcetera has pushed up prices so that thefts are suddenly promoted to "Part 1 larceny—a 'serious' crime".

Wilson speculates that we may be more shocked by violence than we used to be. A bar-room brawl is now reported by a saloon-keeper to the police (for the sake of his licence) and becomes an 'assault'. Further, "We do know that there is an official tendency to exaggerate the prevalence of crime." "Aggravated assaults, for example, are rarely practised by unknown, cold-blooded assailants on innocent victims. On the contrary, two-thirds of such assaults involve hot-blooded assailants venting their fury on family or friends who themselves ought probably to share in the blame for the event... Friends and relatives tend to drop charges or change their stories once tempers have cooled."

So, given the interpretations of the figures one can appreciate that the so-called increase in crime is due to other factors than an increase in human wickedness. An increase in conspicuous prosperity, an increase in expectations, an increase in availability, an increase in rootlessness, an increase in laws, an increase in media-catering to sensationalism, an increase in political and pseudo-religious exploitation of suspected immorality, all contribute to the falsified picture of a crime-ridden society. It is obvious that right-wing forces which assemble at the point where politics and religion meet are capitalising on this co-called crime wave. But it is even more probable that left-wing 'do-gooders' some of whom are now in power have a too great, naive democratic faith in higher remuneration of a more efficient (and less corrupt) police enforcing more and wider laws under the auspices of fairer judges. Moved as they are by the highest of motives they are, like others, capable of the grossest errors, the harshest sentences and the most appalling consequences of the crime called 'law and order'.

JACK ROBINSON

# BEYOND RADICAL FEMINISM

Socialism, Anarchism and Feminism

Carol Ehrlich, Research Group One Report no. 26. Vacant Lots Press, 2743 Maryland Ave, Baltimore, Md 21218 ("building the new society in the vacant lots of the old")

"Developing alternative forms of organization means building self help clinics, instead of fighting to get one radical on a hospital's board of directors; it means women's video groups and newspapers, instead of commercial television and newspapers; living collectives, instead of isolated nuclear families; rape crisis centers; food co-ops; parent-controlled daycare centers; free schools; printing co-ops; alternative radio groups and so on.

"Yet it does little good to build alternative institutions if their structures mimic the capitalistic and hierarchical models with which we are familiar. Many radical feminists recognized this early: That's why they worked to rearrange the way women perceive the world and themselves (through the consciousness-raising group), and why they worked to rearrange the forms of work relationships and interpersonal interactions (through the small, leaderless groups where tasks are rotated and skills and knowledge shared). They were attempting to do this in a hierarchical society that provides no models except one of inequality. Surely, a knowledge of anarchist theory and models of organization would have helped. Equipped with this knowledge, radical feminists might have avoided some of the mistakes they made - and might have been better able to overcome some of the difficulties they encountered in trying simultaneously to transform themselves and society."

ONE sometimes gets the impression that some anarcho-feminists are feminists first and anarchists only second - anarchists only because their feminism has driven them through the ranks of the socialist left towards us in despair. It is for this reason, among others, that Carol Ehrlich's essay is so welcome a contribution to the wholly positive case that it is anarchism and anarchism alone (notwithstanding the sexism still lingering within the movement) that can preserve and develop the revolutionary and libertarian undercurrents of the women's movement.

This is not by any means to insist upon the facile equation of anarchism with feminism that one at times comes across. If feminism has much to teach anarchism the opposite is also true; indeed most of this essay is concerned with the pitfalls into which feminism has fallen - above all, as the above quotation makes clear, with the fact that it simply isn't enough for radical feminism to base itself on the "unconscious anarchism" of which Peggy Kornegger has written (and in this, incidentally, Peggy Kornegger agrees).

The first pitfall she deals with is one mentioned earlier in FREEDOM (23 July 1977) in connection with Mama! and the cult of the mother goddess, which Carol Ehrlich finds "anything but harmless", though nothing like as dangerous as the reformism (electoral politics, but also and more subtly, "capitalism in the guise of feminist economic power") to which socialists are prone. Commenting that very few women find the "dingy, cramped quarters of the Old Left sects" habitable, Carol goes on to observe that while the newer Left groups such as the New American Movement and various autonomous women's unions have been running "an energetic and reasonably effective campaign to recruit nonaligned women" their attempt to graft contemporary radical feminism onto an updated core of Marxist-Leninist thought has led to some odd results - and notably to a situation in which, in order to accommodate it, Marxism-Leninism itself, and its insistence on the primacy of class oppression, is rendered meaningless.

It is this "socialist feminist hybrid" that anarchism must attack if the natural libertarianism of radical feminism is not to be lost; and what only anarchism can do is take it beyond the area where they now meet - and which, again in Carol's words, is centred on "control over one's own body; alternat-



ives to the nuclear family and to heterosexuality; new methods of child care that will liberate parents and children; economic self-determination; ending sex stereotyping in education, in the media and in the workplace; the abolition of repressive laws; an end to male authority, ownership, and control over women; providing women with the means to develop skills and positive self-attitudes; an end to oppressive emotional relationships; and what the Situationists have called 'the reinvention of everyday life.'"

What lies beyond, and what differentiates the anarchist feminist from some radical feminists (as from Marxists) is the ending of all power relationships, the belief that power in women's hands in no way leads to a non-coercive society or that "anything good can come out of a mass movement with a leadership elite."

Carol Ehrlich goes on to argue how conscious anarchism might have helped the radical feminists avoid certain of the mistakes pinpointed by critics such as Anselma dell'Olio and Joreen, whose angry rejection of "unconscious anarchism" - mainly concerned with problems arising out of the "tyranny of structurelessness" of the small leaderless group - she takes seriously in their emphasis on the real problems and complications in relations between "weak" and "strong" women. Nevertheless she rightly points out that such criticisms are mistaken in consequently arguing in favour of large groups and thereby implicitly accepting the continuation of hierarchical structures and ignoring the fact that guerrilla tactics on the part of a small group "will do very nicely in retaliation" against institutionalised oppression.

Carol Ehrlich concludes with a section on anarchist feminism and situationism which she sees as an anarchist theory uniquely suited to the aims of the radical women's movement in its combination of a "socialist awareness of the primacy of capitalist oppression with an anarchist emphasis upon transforming the whole of public and private life." To women in particular the situationist concepts of commodity and spectacle are applicable and again, to place the concerns of radical feminism within a consciously anarchist and situationist framework is to broaden and strengthen "the analysis, by showing women's situation as an organic part of the society as a whole, but at the same time without playing socialist reductionist games."

If I have quoted from the writer's own words at some length relative to that of the review itself, it is, I think, a reflection on the high quality of this essay which I would recommend to all anarchist feminists as one of the most thoughtful and intelligent contributions to this crucial area of libertarian theory that I have yet come across and one that should be borne in mind by all of us in our future work together.

GIULIA

# FEMINISM

ANARCHISM: The Feminist Connection.  
Peggy Kornegger. 16pp. Black Bear, 25p.

THIS IS THE THIRD pamphlet in the series published by Black Bear, a small collective in London publishing anarchist-feminist literature, this one more designed to present anarchism to feminists than feminism to anarchists.

The author is editor of an American feminist magazine, *The Second Wave*, in which the article here reproduced appeared in Spring 1975. Peggy Kornegger opens here personal story 11 years earlier, when she was a high school pupil who had never heard the word anarchism; knew that anarchy meant chaos, and inferred from her history classes that socialism, communism and fascism were much of a muchness. She apparently in the succeeding years had gathered some political ideas, and presumably above all from the feminist upsurge of the 1960s, and discovered her first definition of anarchism in an essay by Emma Goldman reprinted in 1972. From then, she started making mental connection between anarchism and radical feminism.

Under the rubric "What does Anarchism Really Mean" she lists, as what anarchism is not, the two contrasting stereotypes of the 'cloak-and-bomb' figure and the angelic utopian; what it is she defines under three beliefs: 1) in the abolition of authority; 2) in both individuality and collectivity, and 3) in both spontaneity and organisation.

As practical demonstrations that it is not a utopian faith she chooses Spain in 1936-39 and France 1968.

Individualists might cavil at her reconciliation of the two elements in 2), which is very close to the thinking of 'liberal' elements in Eastern European regimes. In her introduction to this section she has already opted for communist-anarchism, which she sees as virtually identical to libertarian socialism.

This is the frame of reference she sees as the necessary revolutionary framework for the women's struggle. In the following section "Anarchism and the Women's Movement" she contends that feminists have been unconscious anarchists in both theory and practice for years. It is only in this section that she records that woman's role in the successful anarchism of Spain and in the heroic excitement of the May Days in France "can be summed up in one word - unchanged. Anarchist men have been little better than males everywhere in their subjection of women. Thus the absolute necessity of a feminist anarchist revolution." Again she repeats "The radical feminist perspective is almost pure anarchism. The basic theory postulates the nuclear family as the basis for all authoritarian systems. The lesson the child learns, from father to teacher to boss to God, is to OBEY the great anonymous voice of Authority," and later, "If we want to 'bring down the patriarchy', we need to talk about anarchism, to know exactly what it means, and to use that framework to transform ourselves and the structure of our daily lives. Feminism doesn't mean female corporate power or a woman President, it means no corporate power and no Presidents."

## PEGGY KORNEGGER ANARCHISM: THE FEMINIST CONNECTION



The latter is a fair statement of anarchism and the aims of anarchists. Why then, is anarchism not sufficient for the feminists, the radical feminists and, now, the 'anarcha-feminists'. It is because the feminist movement is becoming increasingly mystical. This is an improvement on earlier campaigns for 'equality' which meant a chance to be head of ICI or Archbishop of Canterbury. But in seeking to distill the essences of undesirable domineering 'male' from the desirable, intuitive, loving 'female' qualities into a separate-ness they never have inside individual human bodies, the feminist movement may be only moving into a new religion in which eventually 'new presbyter will be old priest writ large'. Because there is a hostility to the male of the species which is unconcealable but seems to be difficult to explain. (If one mentions, to non-anarchist women who are active in radical women's groups, that where women are in charge there doesn't seem to be evidence to substantiate the feminist thesis, the reply is that Mrs. Bandaranaike, Mrs. Meir, Mrs. Gandhi and Mrs. Thatcher all fill male roles.)

However, Peggy Kornegger in considering the way forward, goes onto the very practical levels 'Educational' (sharing of ideas, experiences), economic/political and personal/political. These include ways and means that have been propagated by anarchists for decades, and especially in the second category she discusses tactics which any Wobbly could be proud of, and the goal the social revolution/workers' take-over of the traditional anarcho-syndicalist.

M.C.

## BLACK RAG

Produced by the collective in Belfast with contributions from Dublin, 'which explains its northern bias', the first issue of *Black Rag*, the Irish anarchist/anarcha feminist paper is now available, price 15p - a most welcome addition to the anarchist press. An editorial statement declares that "We feel Ireland lacks an anti-authoritarian forum at the moment. Ideas and organisations of a hierarchical nature abound."

*Black Rag* is an attempt at filling the gap." The Belfast/Dublin collective sees "our struggle as one against patriarchy, state and capital. We recognise that these three forces whatever their origin are now inextricably bound up with each other and exist for each others' benefit. All three must be destroyed ..." Thus they "oppose not only the British and Irish States, but any state which exists, even in embryonic form." The first issue includes articles on drugs; women, terrorism and the media; gay politics in Northern Ireland; plans for a self-help network by some anarchist prisoners and a very useful list of contacts. Badly needed donations should be sent to *Black Rag*, c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12. (No subscriptions).

# Freedom Press

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THIS 'notes' is really a piece of total self-indulgence; I am going to 'plug' books which have given (and indeed continue to give) me real pleasure in the reading, in the totally egocentric view that what I like, someone else might too.

Firstly Jaroslav Hasek's *The Good Soldier Svejk and his Fortunes in the World War* in Cecil Parrott's marvellous translation, unabridged and including 156 of Josef Lada's original illustrations - £ 1.95 (plus 54p. post) - a classic work of humour and compassion and a biting sideswipe at war in general and the bureaucratic pettyfogging military (and political) 'mind' in particular.

Just out is Cecil Parrott's biography of Jaroslav Hasek, *The Bad Bohemian*, £ 10.00 (plus 54 p. post) - a book I have just finished reading; expensive, but Hasek and his creation are such 'doppelgangers' that one understands more clearly how Svejk came about. Hasek is a much neglected genius and this book sheds valuable light upon his life and involvement in the anarchist 'underground' of his time; reading it I was struck by the qualities that link Svejk, Hasek and Don Quixote, and doubtless one or two other heroic anti-heroes.

To continue, George Orwell is perhaps my favourite of all writers and although his work is too well known to need my meagre advocacy, I'll just add my twopence on behalf of my three favourite of his books - *Homage to Catalonia*, £ 0.75p (plus 15p. post), *Animal Farm*, £ 0.50p. (plus 12p post) and *Down and Out in Paris and London*, £ 0.50p. (plus 15p. post).

To move on, two totally unconnected titles, one a classic, one more recent, that I have read and re-read with increasing delight: Thoreau's *Walden*, £ 0.95p (plus 15p. post) and Richard Holmes' magnificent biography of *Shelley: The Pursuit*, £ 2.95p. (plus 86p. post), which, apart from many other things has put the final nail in the coffin of those who would have emasculated this revolutionary poet and consigned him firmly to the bourgeois' drawing room.

Being involved in the little press movement myself, I am always interested at any attempts to promote the work of small presses and two such are the Association of Little Presses' *Catalogue of Little Press Books in Print* (4th edition 1977), £ 0.45p. (plus 15p. post) and Len Fulton's *Small Press Record of Books in Print* (6th edition 1977), £ 4.95 (plus 54p. post). The former covers UK titles only, the latter is world wide; the ALP catalogue has a cover by Jeff Nuttall and interestingly, was produced by each press producing 500 copies of as many A4 sheets as their list of titles required - which were then collated and bound to make a fine tome - a fascinating compilation of different layouts and printing methods. It may sound daft to recommend two catalogues as fine reads, but just the names of the presses, titles of works and their description are often more than enough to furnish the mind's eye with visions aplenty.

Newly reprinted is William Godwin's fine tale *Caleb Williams* (£ 1.50p (plus 54p post), edited by David McCrachen - a dark epic of guilt, insidious curiosity, detection and pursuit.

Two volumes of letters, which I have found particularly fascinating, are *Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman*, edited by Richard and Ana-Maria Drinnon, £ 4.95p (plus 54p post), and *Daughter of a Revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/Nechaev Circle*, edited by Michael Confino and now available in hardback at the reduced price of £ 2.00 (plus 66p post), while stocks last.

Lastly Bakunin, his *Confession*, translated by Robert C. Howes with introduction and Lawrence D. Orton; unreliable to a scholar but fascinating reading to anyone interested in the man - the giant - warts and all. Expensive at £ 9.50p (plus 54p post) - but worth it.

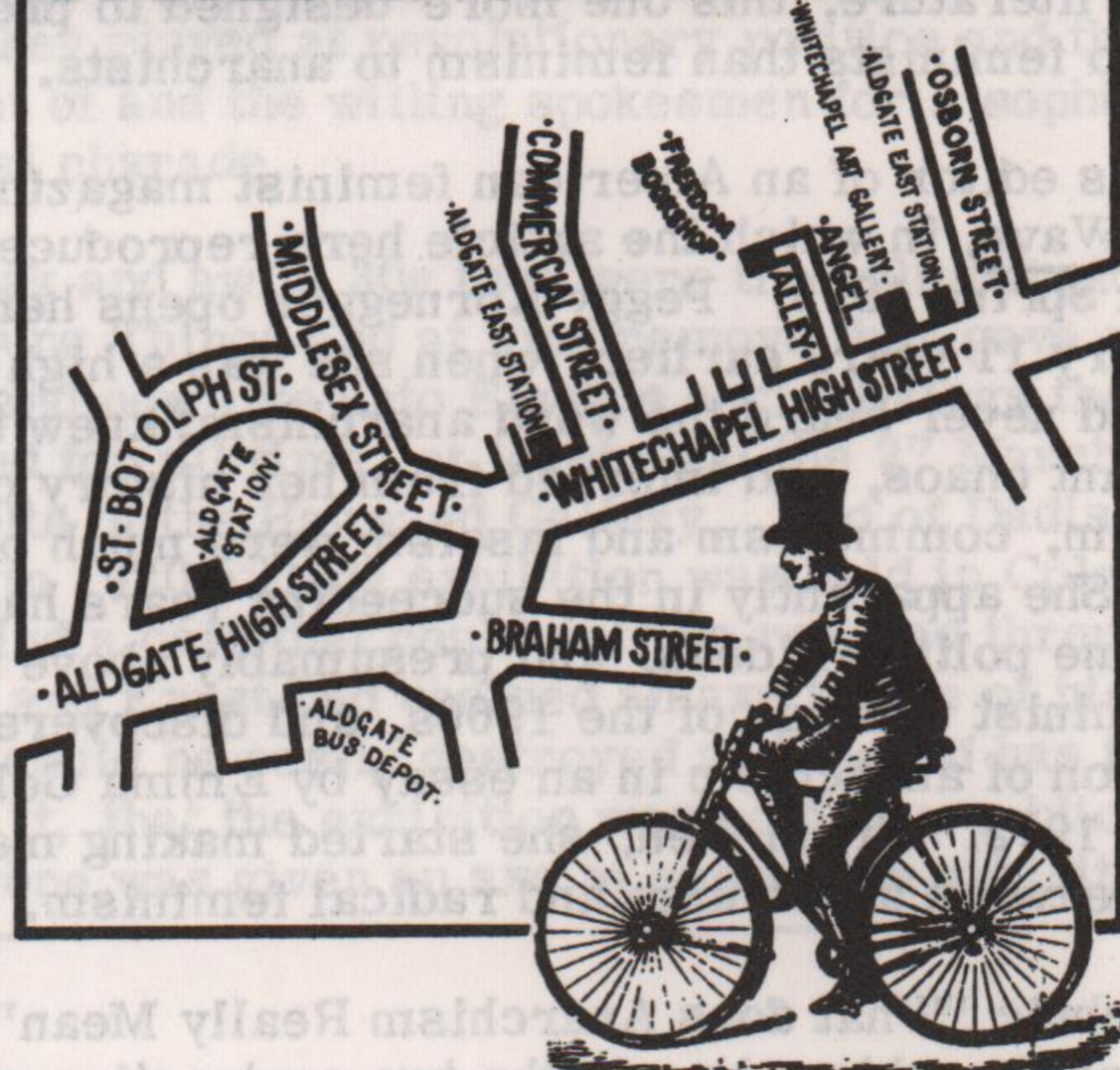
§ § § J.H.

All the titles listed here are available from Freedom Bookshop,

# BOOKSHOP NOTES

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Tuesday - Friday 2 - 6 p.m.  
(Thursdays until 8 pm)  
Saturdays 10 am - 4 pm (Closed Sunday & Monday)

## WHERE WE ARE....



Plus all the old favourites!



## FREEDOM PRESS

- MALATESTA : *Life and Ideas*, compiled and transl. V. Richards £ 2 (29p)  
MALATESTA : *Anarchy*. The essay Malatesta considered his best. 35p (10p)  
ALEXANDER BERKMAN: *A B C of Anarchism* 50p (12p)  
PAUL AVRICH : *Bakunin and Nechaev* 20p (7p)  
NICOLAS WALTER : *About Anarchism* 25p (7p)  
JOHN CLARK : *Max Stirner's Egoism* £ 1.50 (15p)  
COLIN WARD : *Housing : an anarchist approach* £ 1.25 (25p)  
GASTON LEVAL : *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*  
cloth £ 4.00 (66p)  
paper £ 2.00 (54p)  
VERNON RICHARDS: *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* cl. £ 1.50 (54p)

These are the main titles in the current FREEDOM PRESS list. See also the range of issues of *Anarchy* (1961-70) still on sale @ 15p each; the volumes of *Selections from Freedom* 1956-64 also in stock.

P.S. 'Ian the Printer' is still here! it's just that what will all these graphics in the Review now I have no time to add my comments. Plus the fact that any spare time or energy I now have goes towards trying to get DISABILITIES UNLIMITED off the ground!

