

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles, letters. Copy deadline for next issue (No. 19) is MONDAY 25th SEPTEMBER. NEXT DESPATCHING DATE IS THURSDAY 28th SEPTEMBER. Come and help from 5pm. (Help also welcomed the previous Thursday, 21st September, for folding the review).

International

- AUSTRALIA
Canberra: Alternative Canberra Group, 10 Beltana Road, Pialligo, ACT 2809
New South Wales
Black Ram, PO Box 238, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010
Disintegrator! PO Box 291, Bondi Junction, Sydney, NSW
Sydney Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jura Books Collective, 417 King Street, Newtown, NSW 2042
Sydney Libertarians, PO Box 24, Darlinghurst, NSW 2010
Queensland
Libertarian Socialist Organisation, PO Box 268, Mt Gravatt, Central 4122
Self-Management Organisation, PO Box 332, North Quay, Queensland
Victoria
La Trobe Libertarian Socialists, c/o SRC, La Trobe University, Bundoora, Vic. 3083
Monash Anarchist Society, c/o Monash University, Clayton, 3168 Melbourne
South Australia
Adelaide Anarchists, PO Box 67, North Adelaide, 5006
Western Australia
Freedom Collective, PO Box 14, Mount Hawthorn, 6018
TASMANIA
c/o 34 Kennedy St, Launceston 7250
NEW ZEALAND
PO Box 2052 Auckland
PO Box 22-607 Christchurch
Daybreak Bookshop, PO Box 5424 Dunedin
CANADA
Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, BC. Write for information on activities.
USA
Minnesota: Soil of Liberty, Box 7056, Powderhorn Station, Minneapolis, Minn. 55407
Missouri: Columbia, MO 65201
New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York, NY 10012
SRAFF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, NYC, NY 10012
San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101
Texas: Houston SRAFF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035
WESTERN EUROPE
DENMARK
Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Mellegade 48, 8000 Aarhus
Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd, Bogcafe, Studiestraede 18, 1455 Copenhagen

Christiania: Write Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Baden: ABF Infoburo, Postfach 161, 761 Schwabish Hall
Berlin: Anarkistische Bund, Publishers of 'Anarkistische Texte', c/o Libertad Verlag, Postfach 153, 1000 Berlin 44
'Gewaltfreie Aktion' (non-violent action) groups throughout FRG, associated WRI. For information write Karl-Heinz Sang, Methfesselstr. 69, 2000 Hamburg 19
Hamburg: Initiative Freie Arbeiter Union (Anarcho-syndicalists). FAU, Repsoldstr. 49, Hochpaterre links, 2000 Hamburg 1.
Ostwestfalen: Anarchistische Föderation Ostwestfalen-Lippe (Eastwest-failian anarchist federation). Wolfgang Fabisch, c/o Wohngemeinschaft Schwarzwurzel, Wöhrener Str. 138, 4970 Bad Oeynhausen 2.

FRANCE
Paris: Federation anarchiste francaise, 3 rue Ternaux, 75011 Paris
ITALY
Roma: Gruppo Hem Day, c/o Giovanni Trapani, via A. Tiffoni, 5-00153 Rome
SWEDEN
Frihetlige Forum, Landsvågsgatan 19, 41304 04 GÖTEBORG.
Frihetligt Forum, Renstiernsgata 51, 11631 STOCKHOLM.
Revolutionära Anarkisters Organisation, Box 11075, S-100 61 STOCKHOLM.

Freedom Typewriter Fund *Whoops!*
The typewriter fund has got off to a good start. Thanks to all comrades who have sent contributions. Now, the rest who have been meaning to send some money but haven't quite got round to it yet—aren't you feeling left out? In fact, our position is getting more desperate. We are now down to one machine and that is giving occasional splutters! Help!
FREQUENT!—Typist.
TYPEWRITER FUND
23 August-10 Sept. '78
Anon.:£4.00, HB (London):£5.00
M O'C (London):£1.00, DR (London):£15.00, NB (Burgess Hill):£1.00, JST (Reading):£15.00, DG (Bexleyheath):£1.00, JL (Wolverhampton):£1.00, in shop 10.9.78:FY:£2.00, Anon:£50.00
AA:£10.00 TOTAL £105.00
Previously acknowledged £215.30 £320.30
TARGET £1,000.00
STILL TO GO: £679.70

Meetings

CELEBRATION
Faced with the prospect of an anarchist anti-election campaign, they backed down! So, come to the party. (It's also a benefit for Persons Unknown!)
29 SEPTEMBER 7.30 - 11.00
CONWAY HALL, Red Lion Square, WC1
If not, send the price of your ticket (£1 or 50p. unwaged) to Box 123, Rising Free, 182 Upper St, N.1.

MIDLANDS FEDERATION'S regional pow-wow. Sunday, 17 September at 32 Lower Dale Road, Derby (off Norton Road). Phone 0332-368678 or 0332-48154 for information.

Monday, 18 September. 8.00 pm.
WORKERS IN SPAIN
400,000 workers are now members of the CNT, the anarchist industrial union. What are their ideas, strategies, preparations and actions, and what can we learn from them?
A London Workers discussion at the Pub, 2 Pancras Road, NW1 (all workers welcome, no Party-builders!)

THE SLOW-BURNING FUSE

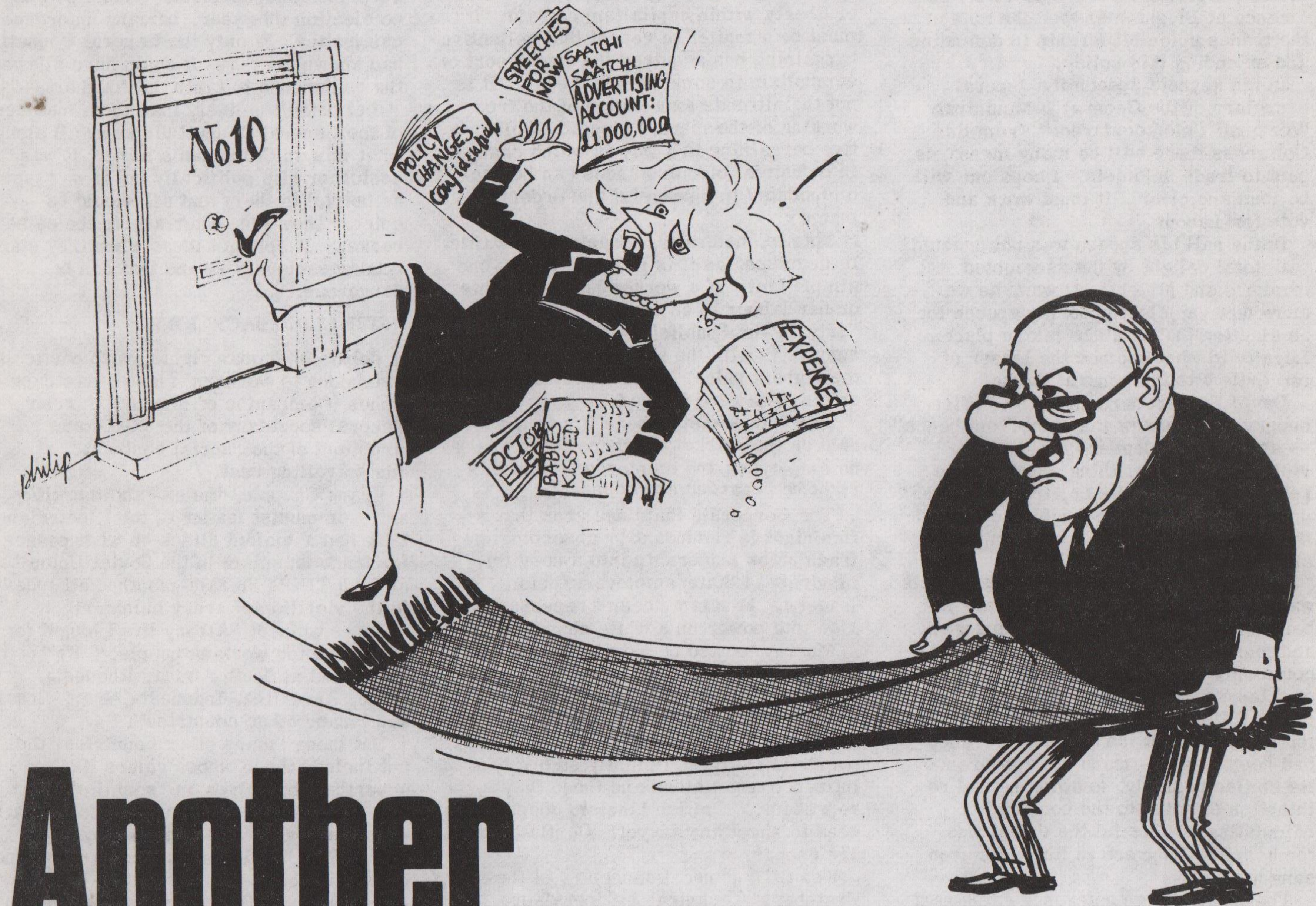
Saturday's book signing party incapacitated the Freedom Collective and a large assortment of visitors for the entire weekend. We must remember not to have a repetition on a weekend when a news section must be produced!
We still have available a few copies of the book "The Slow Burning Fuse" by John Quail, now inscribed by the very author. Price £1.95 plus 26p post—equals £2.21. Order from Freedom Bookshop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.
REMEMBER—present stocks of signed copies are limited. If you would like to show your appreciation of the author's erudition and Freedom's acumen, why not add something for the Press Fund and/or the Typewriter Fund...?

Press Fund

August 24 - September 6 inclusive
Co. DONEGAL: M.W. £1.30; E.S. £4; In Shop: P.P. £0.20p; C.S. £0.40p; BURGESS HILL: N.B. £1.00; MUNSTER, W. GERMANY: H.M.B. £5.00; BRIGTON: M.C. £1.00; SUNDERLAND: D.H. £0.50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1.00; J.K.W. £0.10p; In Shop: Anon. £1.35; MANCHESTER: M.B. £3.50.
TOTAL: £20.41
Previously acknowledged: £842.24
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Another Whitehall Farce

NO TOWN PLANNER could have ordained a cultural coincidence as apt as that which exists in London's Whitehall—major street of government departments, with the House of Commons at one end and the Whitehall Theatre at the other.
For this particular theatre has been for many years the home of the 'Whitehall Farces', a series of nonsensical plays where the laughter rose higher the lower the trousers fell around the hero's ankles, where the merest suspicion of adultery gave birth to hilarity and the main action consisted in avoiding spouses by leaping in and out of the closets.
The thing about farce is that nothing really happens - no adultery ever really takes place; joyful fornication may be hinted at, but only through titillation and suggestiveness (which the obscene Mrs Whitehouse finds quite acceptable) and truly the whole aim is just to put on a show for the public.
Our more perceptive readers will already have seen the parallel with that other show down the road. At the Palace of Westminster, farce is also the order of the day, with

equally strict and hallowed format, deviating decade by decade only in the names that go up in lights. For closet read Cabinet, for titillation read debate and for plot read conspiracy—the conspiracy of the ruling class and all those aspirants to the ruling class, who put on a great show for the paying public. The stand-ins stand by; the understudies wait, hoping for the stars to break a leg or fall from grace by sexual misconduct or financial peccadillo.
The clowns are brought on. One pulls the rug from under the other. She takes a pratfall and serve her right for believing her own propaganda. Nobody would be so ungallant, or, in these days, so sexist, as to suggest she's been caught with her pants down—it's just 'egg on her face.' The band plays on.
And outside, real life goes on. The homeless suffer, the workless survive, somehow. The paying public are entertained by identifying with the stars, paying heavily for tickets.
A new show is running at the Whitehall Theatre. It's called 'Deep Throat'. Make what you like of that.

GOING THROUGH THE MOTIONS

WE ARE NOT alone in seeing the connection between the Labour Government's attacks on the freedom of expression and its economic strategy. It adds up to the Corporate State. The TUC Conference at Brighton showed the role of the trades union leadership in defending and extending this policy.

In his keynote speech the general secretary of the General & Municipal Workers' Union declared: "From this Congress there will be many messages sent to trade unionists. I hope one will be loud and clear. It must work and vote for Labour."

In the hall his speech was not greeted with total delight by the assembled brothers and sisters. It was, as we know now, an electioneering speech for an election that won't be taking place. Loyalty to what seemed the lesser of two evils was the general theme.

David Basnett denounced the "office hungry members of the Tory front bench" -- as if Labour leaders are modest violets who want nothing more than to return to their farms or, indeed, trade union leaders haven't fought and clawed their way to the top of their own hierarchies.

His answer to all our problems and his way forward to whatever nightmare he believes in was a shorter working week and more public spending -- and these could only come about with the re-election of a Labour Government.

The following day the Prime Minister for whose benefit the whole conference had been rigged - made his appearance. He smiled benignly, knowing he had no intention of going to the country but calculating how useful the threat was for keeping Congress in line. He even sang a song.

The meat of the conference came next day -- the debate on the Government's 5 per cent limit for the next round of pay settlements. This was heavily and predictably defeated on a show of hands. But a feeling of going through the motions was in the air.

VOTING MEANS NOTHING

Leonard Murray, the TUC General Secretary, made it quite clear that the vote against the policy meant nothing. He warned anyone thinking of breaking the 5

per cent limit that they could expect no "automatic support by the General Council."

Attacking those who imagined free collective bargaining represented a kind of liberty within capitalism he said: "It must be a matter of regret that collective bargaining has acquired the wrong sort of symbolism in some people's eyes. It is not the ultimate expression of the free working of the market place... Collective bargaining is a way in which changes in industrial circumstances can be accommodated in a peaceful and orderly manner."

This is, naturally, meaningless waffle. It disguises, as it is intended to do, one simple fact. If a worker has to sell his or her labour to an employer -- whether "private" or "public" -- the only way to survive is with the ability to fight for the highest price. This is why unions, originally, were formed.

Only in a society where life is not for sale on the market -- where there are no employers and employed -- can this right be regarded as redundant.

The Corporate State declares that this right is redundant by absorbing the trade union leadership into a cosy triumvirate of State/employers/union leaders. Fascism doesn't necessarily ride into power on a white charger.

Murray harked back to 1974 and 1975: when inflation reached 30 per cent, military coups were in the air and union leaders saw "sense". He said: "We believe that the memories of these events are still sufficiently strong to influence negotiators and those they represent." British fascism doesn't need to shoot anyone yet. Gentle threats are enough.

Ken Gill, general secretary of the Engineers' Technical & Supervisory Section, made the blindingly simple point that whoever benefited from rigid pay control it wasn't the workers. During this period unemployment had risen by one million. This hardly seemed a useful bargain.

The debate on unemployment -- after calls to support the Government that encouraged it -- seemed a trifle unreal. Moss Evans of the Transport & General Workers Union suggested shorter hours and perhaps even a shorter life (working,

of course), points made earlier by Basnett and other desperate speakers.

Then -- with all this safely out of the way -- Callaghan was free to make his surprise announcement. There will be no election this year, barring unforeseen calamities. If only the General Council had known earlier. It could have allowed the conference to talk a lot tougher.

But it isn't unlikely that some members of the General Council did know all along what was on Callaghan's mind. It was useful for him politically but it was just as helpful to them that all should be quiet. They are, after all, in the same racket. People get ideas when they start talking seriously -- and that can be dangerous.

SNIVELLING JACK JONES

A debate on human rights, with particular reference to workers' rights, saw Jack Jones (Companion of Honour), former general secretary of the TGWU and architect of the "social contract", at his snivelling best.

Frank Chapple, the ex- and therefore anti-communist leader of the Electricians, launched a violent attack on what passes for trade unionism in the Soviet Union and the TUC's "mealy-mouthed attitude" to the violation of every human right.

Jones whined: "All my life I fought for peace and for working people." He lashed out at South Africa, Rhodesia, Chile, Argentina, Indonesia, Iran, Brazil and "many other countries".

But those "many other countries" did not include those whose rulers like to describe themselves as "socialist". At this point emotion and concern for working people ceased, to be replaced by vague hints about "asking questions" and no-one being perfect.

It was ironic indeed that it should be on this day that National Union of Journalists' president Denis McShane was forced to walk out of the conference when Basnett refused to permit discussion on the Old Bailey secrets trial and the record of this Government on the freedom to even write about its activities.

In the speech he wasn't allowed to make McShane said this Government had "the worst record of any this century in trying to limit the freedom of expression." The connection is clear. H.H.



A.B.C. 'INFORMATION RECEIVED'

THE STATE'S counsel in the trial of Crispin Aubrey, John Berry and Duncan Campbell at the Old Bailey has admitted that anyone charged under Section One of the Official Secrets Act must prove their innocence.

Aubrey, a journalist on *Time Out*, John Berry, ex-Intelligence Corps NCO and now a social worker, and freelance journalist Duncan Campbell have all pleaded not guilty to all charges against them under Sections 1, 2 and 7 of the Act.

During the course of his outline of the prosecution case which is lengthy and often confusing the State counsel John Leonard QC said:

"In the ordinary way it is for the Crown to prove guilt but, with minor exceptions, in a case under the Official Secrets Acts, if the Crown establishes that information collected wholly or in part relates to prohibited places, then to that extent the material is decreed to have been collected for purposes prejudicial to the safety of the state, and unless the contrary is proved, the burden of proof is reversed."

Campbell is charged under Section 1 because he collected information on defence communications in the course of his work as a journalist.

Leonard said that "although an amount of the information was culled from published sources he has assembled it in a form which might be of potential use to an enemy."

The opening of the trial was marked by a 200 plus picket at the court from all over Britain.

Inside the court it came out that the Crown had been in possession of the jury muster since July and had been systematically combing it in order to disqualify "anyone who is known to have been disloyal." Of the 82 named on the list only 71 turned up and Leonard was unable to say where the missing 11 were.

The first witness for the State was a major who was described as having served in a "certain signals base in Cyprus. The defence pointed out that this "certain" base was Ayos Nicolaos and that it had been written about in the *Guardian* and *Hansard*. Utmost secrecy was therefore not completely necessary. Leonard persisted in never naming it.

The following day saw the playing of a tape recording made by Aubrey of the conversation between the three of them on the night of their arrest. Discussion revolved around John Berry's army service and the judge ruled that this should be heard in secret.

But before the recording was played Chief Superintendent Harry Nicholls of the Special Branch explained how he just "happened" to be on duty outside Berry's home.

The obvious point following on from this was how did Nicholls know a meeting was taking place.

On Monday he told the court he was acting on information received from a "senior Special Branch officer" - Commander Watts. Nicholls said he knew nothing about any conversation that the two journalists were having with a contact but he had been told that something was going on that might be in contravention of the Official Secrets Act.

How did Watts know the meeting was taking place? Nicholls didn't know but he agreed he must have been "acting on information received."

The ABC defence committee have long maintained that the police got to know of the meeting through a combination of letter opening and phone tapping.

The trial - at first expected to last eight weeks - may now go on for 13. The judge has allowed the defence to produce material from seized documents that the police were not intending to disclose. Such evidence showing "innocent intent" includes the manuscript of a book for the Open University 'How to study the telephone system' of which Campbell is co-author.

There is a picket every morning (10am) at the Old Bailey. Comrades who wish to support the defendants can also get in touch with the very active ABC defence committee c/o *Time Out*, Southampton St., London, WC2. (01-278 1976 direct line).

IN BRIEF:

These 'In Briefs' seem to be becoming solely on police matters. It's interesting to note the increasing intrusion into everyday life.

A couple of instances from Britain. John Alderson, Chief Constable of Devon & Cornwall, has emulated Superstar McNee and made public pronouncements about the role of his colleagues. However, he is subtler than McNee and says, "repeated faith in reaction and penology is not enough." He was talking at the British Association conference. His idea is that teachers should be responsible.

"It was the educators who taught our children to challenge the statements of their elders, to expose the ignorance of their parents, to demand the source of the policeman's authority, to question the control of the employer, and even to show pupils how to go on strike."

An Appeal Court judge, Justice Lawton, also has comparatively "liberal" ideas on these matters. He blames the increase in juvenile crime on misguided penal theories, a reluctance to discipline and a breakdown in

moral standards due, apparently, to the abandonment of Christian and western culture.

Meanwhile Commissioner McNee has been criticised by Trevor Phillips, president of the National Union of Students. He considers that McNee is "either a reactionary or a jack-ass." Which just goes to bear out Chief Constable Alderson's point. What are we coming to when students feel free to comment on the attitudes of those responsible, mature people who are doing their best to maintain some standards.

Policing is also extending itself in other ways. It has recently been found that the Metropolitan Police have caused a number of documents to be removed from the Public Record Office. These are generally of a political nature, for example, relating to marches in the 1930s. Liberal academics and historians are horrified.

Another intrusion of policing is proposed in Southampton. The leader of the Tory dominated council, James Hill, wants to set up security patrols to combat vandalism.

"We don't want these security patrols to be labelled vigilante," Mr. Hill said. "That's an emotive word, but we are determined to cut down vandalism on our estate."

He admits that the idea might attract bullies, but says the selection process would be very careful and they hope to engage policemen who took early pensions, or possibly ex-servicemen. "People who are able to look after themselves but are disciplined in their own behaviour."

STATISTICS

More trends of interest. The Universities Central Council on Admissions have released figures showing that the percentage of university places gained by children of "professional parents" has gone up from 34 per cent in 1973 to 36 per cent in 1977. The proportion gained by the children of manual workers has fallen accordingly and now stands at 24 per cent. In the last census manual workers accounted for 62 per cent of the 45-59 year old male workers, against the professionals 9 per cent.

And more on class. Professor Jeremy Morris of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine has discovered that are people more disadvantaged than those in "socio-economic stratum" 4 (semi-skilled workers), but better off than class 5 (unskilled labourers). Prof. Morris has discovered a whole new class!

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Rhodesia

THE READERS of FREEDOM will not want to be bored by the details of the catalogue of deception, lies and political expediency associated with the non-application of oil sanctions to the Rhodesian rebel regime. Economic sanctions have never been particularly effective in dealing with the more extreme forms of imperial and fascist regimes. Where such regimes have behind them powerful economic interests who are always willing to pay then in commercial capitalism (not forgetting the so called communist regimes) there will always be someone willing to supply the means to deal death and destruction to their fellow human beings.

The discovery of oil as a source of power was an immense boon to the power based economic and social system as it did not require vast numbers of bloody-minded workers to dig it; it was a handy fuel for the internal combustion engine that could deliver the means of death quickly and easily. Moreover it enabled factories to be set up in areas of low wages much more simply.

Used with imagination, care and with respect to human beings and resources its benefit to humanity could have been immense. Instead this resource has been wasted and squandered, often in the various orgies of blood-letting organised by the states and their economic backers.

Without a doubt the Smith regime would have collapsed very rapidly had oil sanctions been applied. But Smith could afford to be intransigent for he was well aware of where the sympathies of his kith and kin in the oil companies were.

The hypocrisy and humbug of Wilson and the bi-partisan policies of the Labour and Tory parties have now been exposed. The backwoodsmen of the Tory party did not have to make much fuss as they knew that sanctions were ineffective.

There was at one time a united front consisting of the so called democracies of France and Britain and the fascist states of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. They operated a non-intervention agreement in which Germany and Italy supplied Franco with the means of war while the democracies imposed an embargo on the Spanish Government. This also enabled Stalin to nobble the only genuine workers' revolutionary movement by the back door. The Spanish people had demonstrated their ability to organise their own economic and social system without politicians and parties. It produced the first power politicians united front with Stalin and his Spanish Communists as the fifth column. These were economic sanctions that worked.

The financial involvement of Britain in the South African apartheid regime is well known and it would not be expedient for the Labour Government to upset it.

Of course, it would have been preferred that an orderly transfer of power to black government not likely to upset British interests should have taken place but Smith and his ultra-racialists upset those plans. Britain has long accepted that the facade of black rule is inevitable but from experience it does not necessarily mean the end of western economic domination. That black politicians are no different from white ones is the hard lesson that people unfortunately have to learn but the cynical moguls of the oil companies have delayed the process during which time the catalogue of death and destruction must be placed squarely on their shoulders.

Much of the oil must have come from third world sources and while they exercised their muscle in extracting more loot from western countries for the oil rich emirates they obviously did not think it worth while to exercise that muscle in the interests of their brethren in southern Africa.

ALAN ALBON

Spain

Early on August 24 the bookshop and printshop of the Basque anarchist group Askatasuna was destroyed by fire. No-one was hurt but the shop is in ruins.

The attack follows a series of threats made against the group and CNT members by the extreme right. These are a symptom of the general tension throughout Euskadi (the Basque country).

July saw the attack by police on the crowd in the St. Fermines bullring in Pamplona. This set off a chain of violence and streetfighting in which two died followed by a general strike in four provinces. This strike was not supported by the nationalist parties - particularly the communists.

Fiestas asserting Basque identity have been taking place throughout August and the police have been conspicuous by their absence. A repeat of the July incidents - generally considered to have been a provocation organised within the police and army - would lead to civil war in Euskadi. This alarms Madrid politicians to the extent that it would undermine the transition to European democracy.

The fiestas in Bilbao have been the first held for 40 years. Only the extreme right is keen to destroy them.

The nationalist and left parties have set out to avoid any antagonism - most are present at the fiestas as groups of dancers or running drinkstands. The CNT appears under the banner of an owl.

But the lack of explicit politics makes the popular tone all the more obvious. The Basque flag flutters from every stand and the slogan "Que se vayan" (a demand that the forces of public order leave the Basque country) is heard spontaneously from every group.

Faced by this the extreme right resorts to a more sinister strategy. On August 23 a marquee collapsed, killing one person and injuring eight. This was claimed by the Triple-A

(Anticommunist Apostolic Alliance) as their achievement.

Next morning saw the fire-bombing of the bookshop.



The intention is to cast a shadow over the fiestas and then to provoke violence from which the right would emerge strengthened.

But the fiestas continue.

Greece

ONCE AGAIN the prison gates have closed on Nikos Balis, an anarchist imprisoned last October following demonstrations in Athens after the deaths in Stammheim of Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin and Jean-Carl Raspe. *Le Monde Libertaire* (Paris) of July 6 reports his incarceration to serve a sentence of 13 months passed on him last year by a court to which he was not called and of whose judgement he was not even informed. This was for 'incitement to disaffection' in the magazine he was editing at the time of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus; *Otan*; in which he protested against the war between Greece and Turkey and urged soldiers to desert.

We hope to publish in a future issue his present address to which messages of support may be sent.

Wanted men

Even heavier sentences for 'incitement' were imposed in Thessalonika. Following the passage of a new anti-terrorist law in Greece last April, posters appeared depicting Marx and Engels, Kropotkin, Bakunin and Wilhelm Reich as 'wanted for terrorist activity' and offering a reward of 500,000 drachmas (the sum offered for 'information leading to the arrest of a terrorist.')

Three people arrested on 9 May for putting up the posters proclaimed themselves anarchists in court, were found guilty of 'stirring political passion' and sentenced: G. Caras to 2 years 7 months; G. Kitsos and T. Tsantarmas each to 13 months, plus substantial fines.

The magazine for Greek anarchists and libertarians in Britain, *To Rigma*, comments, apart from the harshness of the sentences, on the serious implication of the new law involved in the case with even use of the word 'anarchist' on

Following the fire members of Askatasuna sifted and paddled through the ruins of the shop and took what was salvageable out to the street. They set up a stall and covered what remained of their shop with posters: "The fascists have passed here".

A festive lunch was organised in the street - with aid from a CNT bartender - and passers-by donated 70,000 pesetas for repairs. This is about £460 - the loss as a whole amounts to 5 million pesetas.

Discussions between a delegation from the group and the commission organising the fiesta resulted in a planned march being diverted to pass the bookshop in solidarity. Once again "Que se vayan" was a slogan, and "You fascists are the terrorists".

Members of the group are appealing for help in the rebuilding of their shop. Aid should be sent to Askatasuna, Apartado de Correso No. 1682, Bilbao, Vizcaya, Spain. (Edited from a report by a local correspondent).

posters, in books etc., being liable to prosecution as 'stirring political passion.'

However, according to our correspondent 'Shevek', a strange thing has occurred, namely the release of the three comrades following the decision of the highest Greek court that a person does not necessarily hold the ideology that the poster s/he sticks up is putting across. "The release is still rather odd", Shevek comments, "as the three young men had stated that they were anarchists at their first trial. Such a release has apparently never happened before in Greece, so perhaps international publicity had an effect."

Shevek also conveys the less happy news that a pro-Albanian revolutionary who locked himself into his flat, set up a loudspeaker system and regaled the populace with anti-government slogans was attacked by 200 (!) special Greek riot police. Forty of these gentlemen broke into the flat and when the revolutionary doctor's family had left he was found dead (having committed suicide).

"The same demo police" says Shevek, "have been very busy, what with industrial strikes, demonstrating peasants and even 'common criminals' to chase. One such 'criminal' was shot dead after (the police claim) he opened fire, but oddly enough no gun was found with his body. Two policemen are accused, but apparently not yet officially charged, of his murder.

Insult?

A.J. CANELLIDIS, the editor of the anarchist individualist review *Utopia*, is to stand trial in Athens this month. He is charged with 'promoting and propagandising criminal behaviour' and 'insulting State institutions.' The first charge arises from an article he published about society making scapegoats out of criminals, thus using them to define moral and legal codes. The second charge arises out of *Utopia* referring to the police as 'cops' and 'finks'. The Greek government appears to be suffering from a particularly thin-skinned paranoia ... S.E.P.

Bicicleta prosecuted

The permanent military court no. 3 of Madrid has taken up legal proceedings against the collective of the Spanish anarcho-magazine *Bicicleta* for publishing an anti-militarist declaration by a conscientious objector, alleged to insult the Armed Forces. The action had been initiated by the Ministry of Culture.

Kolev banished again



Christo Jordanov Kolev, the anarchist militant has now been set back yet again into internal banishment at Balvan, a small village in Bulgaria. He had only just been released from a previous, indefinite period of banishment for a speech he had made at the funeral of a fellow comrade of the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation. His re-banishment seems to have been connected with human rights activities in Sofia where dissidents were propagating a more radical version of the Czech Charter 77. Shortly before news came through of the arrest of Ljubomir Sobadshiev of Russe. A sailor from the Danube, unable to pursue his studies because of his radical political views, Ljubomir Sobadshiev had been involved in the above group of dissidents and had already spent 5 years in gaol. But at least there has been some good news from Bulgaria - namely the early release from banishment of the anarchist comrades Christo Yuranov, Athanas Artakov, Ljuben Djerimanov, Athanas Kissjov and Nedoklanov, who had been the subject of pickets a few months ago outside the Bulgarian embassy in London.

**MARG BA
SHAH!**

THE MOVING FINGER

IT IS interesting how difficult it is to be objective. At any one time in the world there are a number of "dictators". One can accept their existence with some equanimity when not directly affected. At the moment there are two "ongoing insurrection situations". I know little of what is happening in Nicaragua and don't feel personally involved. The opposite applies to Iran. I feel rage, worry, a whole range of emotions. President Somosa is, to me, just another bastard in power. James Callaghan and James Carter have as much blood on their hands, if not so directly. After all, they have supervised the sale of arms to all sorts of places, for all sorts of uses, including Iran. Yet, knowing all this, I can still seethe. I could, personally, disembowel Muhammad Reza Pahlavi.

Suddenly, the European press has noticed Iran. For years it was a block against Russia, a convenient market for arms, a romantic eastern country with a playboy Shah and a beautiful Empress (well, a succession of them. The current one is the third). Even when the Iranian government was heavily on the side of massive price rises during the "oil crisis" a few years ago, it didn't come in for a fraction of the shit as, say, Saudi Arabia. A blanket was drawn over the 100,000 political prisoners, the all-pervading secret police, the complete denial of political and trades union rights.

Let's look at a bit of history. Persia, as the west used to call it, was in a mess by the end of the last century. Most of the population were peasants, eking out a living on bare, arid ground, under feudal conditions. The ruling classes were decadent, using their wealth for personal indulgence, looking back on nearly 2,500 years of tradition and culture. The country was divided in a number of spheres of influence, with British, French and Russian influences vying for power. By 1900 it had fallen apart. In the meantime a donkey driver had joined the army and worked his way up. He became an officer, an achievement itself in that society giving an indication of his single-mindedness and ruthlessness. Eventually he found himself commanding

a regiment of cavalry against various tribes who were trying to break away from the central power. In practice he controlled the only effective military unit available to the Tehran government. He became "Minister of War" and later, in 1921, took the name "Pahlavi" (the name of a middle Persian dialect and hence conferring some heritage) and proclaimed himself Shahanshahi Anjam-e-hr (King of Kings, Light of the Aryans). This was the man who became "Reza the Great" and under whose personal rule the whole country fell. A heavy individual.

In the meantime Iran, as it was now called, found itself important. It had oil.

In 1941 the British and Americans decided that Reza was too pro-German. He was deposed in favour of his son, Muhammad, who was much more amenable. He stayed like that for a few years. The country had been held together by heavy repression and (dreadful though it is for an anarchist to say) Reza's personality. Muhammad couldn't cope with this. Times were breaking away, there was a Communist republic proclaimed in the North West. But then in 1948 he narrowly survived an assassination attempt. He changed. He began to build up his apparatus and Iran as a state has always revolved around the Shah's throne. Without a strong central power the outlying tribes begin to break away. Now, with foreign aid (largely American, the British had been eased out) this power began to be re-established. In 1953 there was a crisis as a Nationalist movement, temporarily linked with the Communists ("Tudeh") ousted the Shah. He fled to Italy. His sister went to Geneva, met CIA agents, returned with trunks of dollar bills and within a couple of weeks the Pahlavis were back in Tehran. All political opposition was smashed. The secret police (Savak) was built up. According to the Western press there has been stability since. The "Shah and People's White Revolution" was proclaimed. Photographs were published of the Shah breaking up feudal estates and "giving away" the land. (And what use is arid desert without irrigation?) In fact the population drifted to the cities. Tehran has trebled in the last fifty years.

The media presentation is that oil prosperity will buy "westernisation". It has certainly brought luxury for the Iranian upper classes. It has brought Japanese electronics and European cars for the middle classes. Yet the south of Tehran is a festering slum. Most of the oil revenues have disappeared along the way in bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption. Imported goods pile up on the docks. Cement is impossible to obtain. Not surprisingly there has been discontent. Even with the all pervasive Savak there have been strikes, riots and insurrections. These have been met

with brutality, batons and bullets. Guerilla organisations (both right and left) have formed.

From the outside Iran looked solid. It has huge armed forces and is seen as a bulwark against Russia. The government has always mistrusted Russia. The two countries share a long border and Persia has always feared Czarist imperialism. Now, of course, it is Soviet imperialism. Plus ça change. The Shah has always been fiercely anti-"communist" (sometimes he says "anarchist") but this doesn't prevent a busy trade across the Caspian. Still, in public, he is anti-Russian. So much so that he can swallow his anti-communism enough to receive Chairman Hua. And yet he was supposed to tour Eastern Europe. Strange how these principled stands can become less rigid. His oil value isn't quite what it was either. Even government estimates only give 30 years maximum. All those British and American arms will come in very handy then. There's already been a bit of mini-imperialism. Troops to help the Sultan of Oman, the odd island taken over in the Gulf. That sort of thing.

The current wave of riots is the largest for a long time. The actual stimulus is confused. According to the Western press it is largely reactionary, religious bigots, who resent the modernisation schemes. This is certainly an element. But, in fact, every anti-government fraction is involved. For a while there was an attempt to buy it off. "Liberalisation" was promised, direct censorship was lifted and some political activity allowed. This was given about four months. When the discontent continued the prime minister was changed. The ungrateful masses still didn't seem satisfied. However, at the demonstrations to mark the end of Ramadan, the marchers were unarmed and threw flowers to the troops. But the demonstrations and strikes were against the government's decrees, martial law was imposed and the regime reverted to type, bullets. I've no idea what the current death toll is. Several hundred from last Friday alone. The total must be thousands in the last few months. I don't know what will happen. The guerilla groups are recruiting semi-openly. It isn't just a lot of religious bigots, it's a people in open insurrection. Quite a close parallel could be drawn with Russia in 1917. There the best organised groups seized power and established a new dictatorship. The same danger applies in Iran (Shah/Czar?). There is little chance of libertarianism, there isn't the tradition. But, knowing the danger and the historical precedents, I'd still like to see the Pahlavi's regime ripped to shreds.

OMAR

DE SADE

Dear FREEDOM

My thanks to S.E. Parker for answering my query and for reminding me of de Beauvoir's essay. However, I would like to make a couple of further points:

Certainly, much of de Sade's writing is boring and repetitive (is Stirner innocent of this?); but also some of it is surely of interest to anarchists - I would suggest the "Dialogue between a Priest and a Dying Man" (atheism), "Philosophy in the Bedroom" (the passage entitled 'Yet Another Effort, Frenchmen, if You Would Become Republicans'), and perhaps "Juliette" (the iconoclasm to which S.E. Parker refers).

I don't accept that Sade was simply an immoralist. De Beauvoir summarises his position to be that "One must make oneself a criminal in order to avoid being evil, as is a volcano or a member of the police." This is not clearly classifiable as immoral or amoral.

Finally, Sade's obsession with sex was surely not so much a spook as a side effect of years of incarceration. If he was possessed of a spook, it was undoubtedly his conception of Nature: as he has one of his characters say in "Juliette", "To my mind, man's greatest torment is the impossibility of offending Nature."

Yours

Benjamin S. Beck

London SE14

PEDANT?

In his second letter (August 19), Mark Hendy in general sees sexual problems only in the context of class structure and their solution only through the method of class struggle, and in particular sees the working class as having some special insight into sexual problems and revolution as bringing their solution. I think this is nonsense.

In his letter (September 2), David Goodway condemns my journalism and pedantry before sending a correction to a newspaper! I am grateful to him for his distinction between Charles Duff and Myles Mordaunt, though I must plead that I carefully said only that the former was believed to be the same as the former. I am also grateful to him for his request that I should produce books instead of articles, but I must add that I am no worse than he is!

N.W.

LETTERS



Comrades

I should like to intervene in John Bradbrook's argument with GF. I can appreciate that the usage of the term 'social fascist' has poisoned the atmosphere and was ridiculously unscientific in usage because of the Stalinist heritage of the term; nevertheless there is a sense (and unfortunately this term is poisoned by Healyite usage) in which Labour's policy is validly described as being corporatist, and a parallel between Labour and early (Mussolini) fascism is justified.

John Bradbrook is no doubt aware that Gramsci defined fascism as the authoritarianism of the centre; that when the forces of revolutionary socialism and those of traditionalist (monarchical-absolutist) conservatism reach impasse, when neither can impose its economic solutions, when the old order has collapsed and cannot be rebuilt, but the working class is too weak or has too low a level of consciousness to build socialism, then the 'forces of order' at the centre impose class peace through the corporate state.

He is no doubt equally aware of Mussolini's initial proposals of the corporate state; that briefly this is a state-directed (dirigiste) mixed economy, rationalised by legislative decree into centralised industries, linked to class peace created by integrating the trade unions and other autonomous organs of the working class into joint consultative organisations whereon the representatives of big business and of the state are similarly represented. Sections of industry being taken completely into the hands of the state, though still being run in a capitalist manner, with leading men from private enterprise in control. The sections being in the main industries which are old and thus no longer profitable, but whose running is essential to the overall profitability of capitalism.

I do not suppose John Bradbrook would question that the general drift of Labour Party economic policy is towards precisely such a corporate state, and that this is not altered by the fact that 'social democrats' choose to go back to the older term of mixed economy. I do not suppose

he would doubt that nationalisation is far from being socialist and indeed the economic policies of the 1945 Labour Government served to restore the power of capitalism in 1945 when it was weak after the war. All of which is normally conceded by 'libertarians' (I apologise for the quotes, but it is a term normally used for anarchists) within the Labour Party.

Similarly I do not suppose that he would question that Labour has introduced racially-discriminatory legislation (in 66, 68) and ministerial actions. Nor that the power of the state surveillance machine has increased beyond all measure (not only through technological developments) and that a militaristic ethic pervades the country and is not opposed to Labour, which benefits from it.

The debate then is to what extent are these features of fascism which Labour has done as much as anyone to introduce the product of policies and of a philosophy that bears any relationship to fascism. He presumably would deny that there is any relation and say that the similarities are purely fortuitous - indeed many anarchists would so argue - I would disagree.

Let us therefore return to Gramsci's analysis. British capitalism was at the end of the war in a state of collapse. Had there been anything like the level of working class militant action that had obtained in the 30s, through the later 40s, we would now have a socialist society. The basis of capitalism - of the old form - had vanished with the Slump and the War. Had the Tories won the election they would undoubtedly have foundered and collapsed.

There was not however a viable working class movement capable of making a socialist reconstruction of society. The majority of the working class had reformist illusions; and the largest minority had Stalinist ones. Whereas in Italy in the 1920s the socialist parties were too small to change society, here they were too reformist. The forces of order did not need to enforce class peace, there was not - as there had been in Italy - a general air of instability, as no-one knew which side would end the winner, and so there was not the same desire for class peace at any price; but nevertheless the effect of reformist policies was to place a new 'meritocracy' in power and this meritocracy built its own economic power base by creating new relationships to the mode of production. (This was not of course a purely national phenomenon). The Conservatives saw that in order to regain power they must remodel themselves on new Keynesian lines (though these are now being challenged by the 'monetarist' right wing - curious in its way that the extreme right wing of the Tories are the only authentically non-fascist part of that party); and so the corporate state remained not because there was the force to maintain it, but because no significant political force challenged it.

Fraternally

Laurens Otter
Wellington, Salop.

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A LIBERATED PERSON

THE MAKING OF AN ANARCHIST, Voltairine de Cleyre with an introduction by Marian Leighton. Black Bear, 25p.

"Liberty is not the daughter but the mother of order"
- Benjamin Tucker

THE significance of the above quotation is that it does not mention father or son but mother and daughter. For in the haste to do away with roles it is ignored that in the natural order every living thing does have a role. Society based upon power and commerce devalues roles which are basically essential to the continuance of society and the human race. For what is so refreshing about this pamphlet is that they are the words of a liberated person, not a liberated woman or a liberated man but a liberated person.

Personally the women in my own life have not been particularly oppressed, whether mother, aunts, friends, political associates, lovers or daughters. However, this does not make one unaware of the isolation that the role of motherhood imposes (in the nuclear family set up) on many women, particularly coupled with the extreme poverty that was widespread up to the second world war.

My father recently gave me a novel published by Reynolds of New Cross, London by George Noyes Miller, called *The Strike of a Sex 1891 or Women on Strike against the Male Sex for her 'Magna Carta', the absolute ownership of her own person.* It goes on, "one of the most advanced books ever published, intended to revolutionise public opinion on the relation of the of the sexes." Inside the cover is a whole list of books on contraception, psychology and population, which could only be purchased through the post, thus showing the state of affairs at that time. Indeed our own Lilian Wolfe was imprisoned for spreading contraceptive knowledge.

Many years ago I bought a small pamphlet by the Anarchist Communist Federation of Glasgow, containing Voltairine de Cleyre's poem *The Gods and the People*:

What have you done, o skies
That the millions should kneel to you?

Why should they lift wet eyes
Grateful with human dew?

And another verse which says:

What have you done, o state
That the toilers should shout your ways?
Should light up the fires of their hate
If a 'traitor' should dare dispraise?

Voltairine tells of meeting Kropotkin at the home of Will Wess, a shoemaker in the East End of London. My grandfather, who was also a shoemaker in the East End, took my mother and her sister to some of Kropotkin's meetings at a time when the idea that politics was strictly a male preserve was well entrenched.

The Black Bear pamphlet gives a good account of the early American scene and the author's development of ideas as circumstances changed. Such lack of rigidity of response may well be a lesson for us if we are to make an impact now.

As the pamphlet says at the end:

"I can see not end of retaliation unless someone ceases to retaliate. But let no one mistake this for servile submission or meek abnegation: my right shall be asserted no matter at what cost to me, and none shall trench upon it without my protest.

"Good, natured satirists often remark that 'the best way to cure an Anarchist is to give him a fortune.' Substituting 'cure' for 'cure', I would subscribe to this: and believing myself to be no better than the rest of mortals, I earnestly hope that as so far it has been my lot to work, and work hard, and for no fortune, so I may continue to the end; for let me keep the integrity of my soul, with all the limitations of my material conditions, rather than become the spineless and ideal-less creation of material needs.

"My reward is that I live with the young: I keep step with my comrades; I shall die in harness with my face to the east - the East and the Light."

ALAN ALBON

Rising Again

ONE OF THE features of the contemporary literary scene is the proliferation of little mags, on both sides of the Atlantic, devoting themselves to the avant-garde, sound poetry, visual poetry, lit crit, info and a vast variety of aspects of the contemporary literary and political arena. This is nothing new, of course, although the quantity, if not the quality, of the mags is perhaps something new.

Some mags are more traditional, both in their presentation and content; some place greater emphasis on the literary, others on the political aspects of their work; but no matter how 'purely' literary the content, little mag publishing is always an implicitly political act.

Some of these mags are produced most beautifully, the greatest care being taken in layout, printing, design and all aspects of production, far greater care than a commercial press would ever deem it 'profitable' to take; others almost

seem to take a 'bloody-minded' pride in their scruffiness and show a determination to make no concessions to casual reading.

All this is by way of preamble to a review of a 'little magazine' that has recently come my way; it is an exceptional mag for a number of reasons; it is exceptionally beautifully produced, finely printed and expertly designed; it devotes itself to fiction and politics as much as to poetry; it is 'traditional' in the best sense, leaving the avant-garde to the oh-so-many others.

I have to hand Vol. V. nos 3/4, Vol. VI, nos 1/2 and 3/4, all double issues of *The Phoenix*; each of them is over 300 pages long, pocket book size, cost \$6.00 (£2.95) and is available on subscription from Morning Star Press, RFD, Haydonville, Mass. 01039, USA, for \$10.00 per year (USA and Canada) or \$12.00 per year elsewhere.

I'll devote myself to one issue of particular interest to FREEDOM readers and which we will shortly have available in the bookshop. *The Phoenix* vol. VI, nos. 1 and 2, summer/fall 1977, contains amongst much else, an extract of nearly 100 pages from the *Memoirs of Louise Michel* dealing with the Paris Commune, and translated by Elizabeth Ellington Gunter and Bulliff Lowry. Louise Michel's *Memoirs* are not available in English, except in very short extracts contained in now out of print anthologies and it's very good to have such a substantial extract available. There is also an article by Kay Boyle on Alexander Berkman, and Rosa Luxemburg's *Prison Letters*, as well as much more. The UK price will probably be £2.95p (plus 19p postage); as I say, this issue will shortly be available from Freedom Bookshop, but if I've whetted your appetite, why not write to us or them for a sample issue (\$6 or £3.00 should cover it) and/or take out a subscription.

JH

overheads. Unlike many presses I also use a large share of the surplus to subsidize UAFS and DISABILITIES UNLIMITED. In an ideal world I would like to see all presses do this. As it is, I have to pass them on to you. Once upon a time I wondered if anyone bothered to read these notes, now I'm beginning to think it's time I took another long rest. Correction: chauvinist not - enist.

Anarchist Review Freedom

16 September '78
Vol 39 No 18

COMMUNITY AND COMMITMENT-2

TELLING IT
LIKE IT WAS?

John Quail: *The Slow Burning Fuse*, Paladin, £1.95

IN THE LAST issue of FREEDOM I described John Quail's new history of the British anarchist movement and discussed its merits. In this issue I shall discuss the defects of the first half of the book.

To begin with there are several minor slips in this as in all historical books. Thos I have noticed are as follows. The author of *This Little Band of Prophets* is Anne Fremantle, not Freemantle. The co-author with George Woodcock of *The Anarchist Prince* is Ivan Avakumov, not Avacumovic. Kropotkin's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* was first published in 1899, not 1908. Kropotkin left England for France in autumn 1882, not 1881. Henry Seymour was prosecuted for blasphemy in 1882, not 1883. The Hyde Park reform demonstration was in July 1866, not May. The Northampton hustings when Bradlaugh was acclaimed for the first time were in November 1868, not October. The radical organisation which became the Manhood Suffrage League was the Democratic and Trades Alliance Association, not just the Democratic and Trades Alliance. The Bradlaugh-Hyndman debate on socialism was in 1884, not 1883.

Stan Shipley's *Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London* was published in 1972, not 1971.

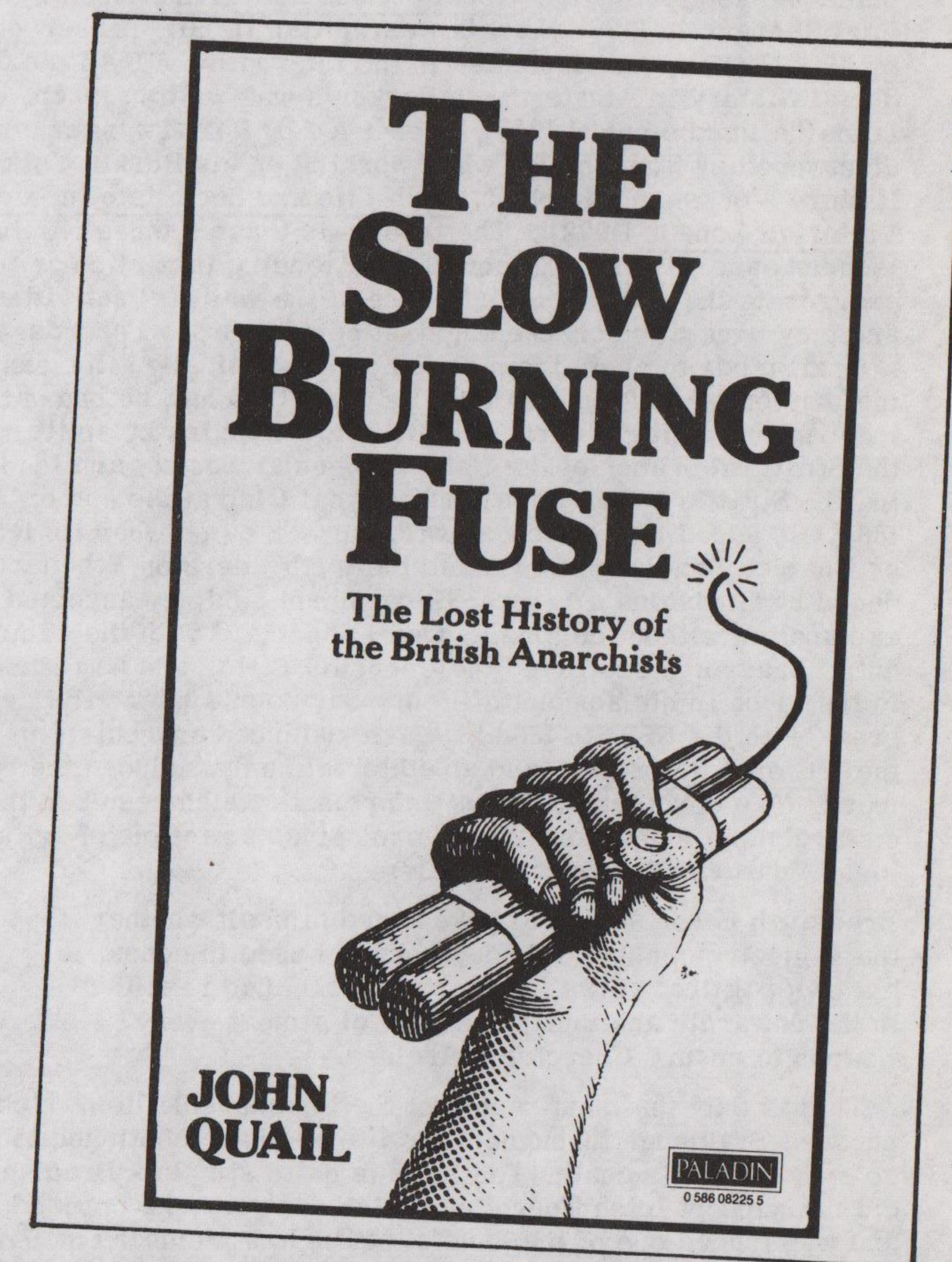
No doubt there are others, but such errors, though unfortunate, are insignificant.

The most significant thing wrong with the book is that it is too short and too narrow - Quail begins his story too late, and leaves too much out of it. The first problem is his approach to the subject. There are two possible approaches to the problem of writing the history of anarchism. One is describe only those actions involving people who have actually called themselves anarchist, whatever the people involved called themselves. Quail chooses the former approach, which is fair enough. But he is not consistent, which causes difficulties.

One difficulty is that apparently no British individuals, groups or periodicals called themselves anarchist before the 1880s. Yet Quail's first three chapters cover events during the decade before the appearance of explicitly anarchist organisations and publications in the mid-1880s. These events involve what Quail calls 'popular revolt' or 'self-activity', but they do not involve explicit anarchism. He says: "Of Anarchist groups there is no trace, though Anarchist individuals can be found from time to time." What is described in these chapters is in fact the development of some extreme forms of radicalism or socialism, with strong libertarian tendencies, in the labour movement.

But the origins of anarchism in this country are not to be found only in this restricted period and milieu. A full account of British anarchism should begin with at least a summary of the much longer libertarian tradition in British politics, in theory as well as practice, during the five centuries before the emergence of the explicitly anarchist movement in the 1880s. So the first serious defect of *The Slow Burning Fuse* is the omission of a proper introductory chapter, covering the radical movement not just from the 1870s but from the 1790s, and also the republican movement, the British sections of the

International which broke with Marx, the O'Brienite movement, the Chartist movement, the Cooperative movement, the Owenite movement, Captain Swing and the Luddites, popular movements going back through the English Revolution to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and the many libertarian writers in our literature.



Turning to Quail's first three chapters, the process leading to the revival of an independent working-class movement in the 1880s, with the emergence not only of formal socialism but also of formal anarchism as significant elements, was extremely complex. From our point of view, there are two opposite dangers. One is to play the anarchist element down, patronising or attacking it as irrelevant or perverse; the other is to play it up, searching for anarchists where there were few or none. Liberal and socialist historians have generally tended to

play anarchism down; anarchist historians have naturally been tempted to play it up - Nettlau did so in his many writings on the subject, and Quail tends to do so too, not making it sufficiently clear just who or what really was anarchist.

After all, despite his self-denying ordinance of excluding virtually everything that happened before the late 1870s, almost all the people and activities he describes in the Manhood Suffrage League, the Social Democratic Club, the Marylebone Radical Association, the Stratford Dialectical and Radical Club, the Homerton Social Democratic Club, the Labour Emancipation League, the Democratic Federation, the Social Democratic Federation, and the Socialist League up to 1885, belong not to anarchism but to republicanism or radicalism or socialism or revolutionism without ideology.

Thus, while Johann Most and some of his German colleagues had become anarchists by the time of the *Freiheit* prosecution in March 1881, none of their British friends in the Social Democratic Club or in the *Freiheit* Defence Committee seem to have considered themselves so. And, while nearly all the foreign delegates to the International Congress in London in July 1881 were anarchists, none of the few British delegates seem to have considered themselves so. Of the many British activists Quail mentions in these three chapters, very few were ever anarchists at all. Of the four whom he rightly chooses for detailed description - Frank Kitz, Joseph Lane, Ambrose Barker and William Morris - the first three didn't call themselves anarchists until the late 1880s, and Morris never did (Quail says that "Anarchists have claimed him as an Anarchist", but is this true?).

This brings us to one reason for giving prominence to Kitz, Lane and Barker - that they all wrote autobiographies in later life. Kitz's was published in *FREEDOM* in 1912 (and was republished as a pamphlet, *Recollections and Reflections*, by Carl Shenger in 1976). Lane's was written in 1911, preserved by Max Nettlau, and deposited in the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. Barker's was written much later (he lived on until 1953), preserved by Ella Twynam, and discovered by Stan Shipley when working on his *Ruskin College History Workshop Pamphlet, Club Life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London* (1972). The trouble is that all these reminiscences are valuable but unreliable, tending in particular to exaggerate the priority or influence of the writers' activities, and they have to be checked against contemporary records.

Quail tends to quote them rather too uncritically. One example may be taken from Barker. He described how he began his independent political career in his early twenties by splitting the Stratford branch of the National Secular Society and founding the Stratford Dialectical and Radical Club at the end of 1880. He added that his break with the NSS came when its leader Charles Bradlaugh supported the Irish Coercion Bill introduced by Gladstone's Liberal Government. Shipley accepted this explanation without comment. Quail accepts it with the comment, "Bradlaugh supported the Coercion Bill", and he returns to the issue in his account of Henry Seymour's later similar break with the NSS. In 1884 Seymour defended anarchism in the *National Reformer*, and an editorial reply included the remark, "We consider all views unfortunate which result in the cowardly and murderous use of explosives as means of agitation." Quail comments caustically:

Bradlaugh never seems to have asked himself whether the same argument could not have been used to denounce his own political views, which, after all, had resulted in the cowardly and murderous use of almost every weapon to ensure Coercion in Ireland.

This is only the most recent of the innumerable lies which pursued Bradlaugh throughout his life and have continued to do so ever since his death. The truth is quite simple - Bradlaugh did not support Irish Coercion: on the contrary, he opposed it, and was indeed one of the handful of English Members of Parliament who fought every stage of the Coercion Bill in the House of Commons, moving the amendment to reject its Second Reading and speaking against it over and over again inside and outside Parliament. The lie was being told almost immediately afterwards, first as part of the campaign to arouse opposition to the leading exponent of atheism in Parliament from the Irish Nationalists in the Commons and from the Catholic voters in his Northampton constituency, and then as part of the campaign to arouse opposition to the leading radical opponent of socialism. The *National Reformer* was printing refutations of it as early as 1882, and in 1885 one of Bradlaugh's supporters wrote

a whole pamphlet on the subject - Charles Bradlaugh, MP, and the Irish Nation: What Charles Bradlaugh has said, and how he has voted, in regard to Ireland by Humanitas (i.e. W. P. Ball).

Anyway, the Coercion Bill was introduced in January 1881, and the Stratford Dialectical and Radical Club had already been formed in autumn 1880. Quail then follows Shipley, who followed Barker, in saying that Barker tried to propose a motion of censure against Bradlaugh for betraying the Irish cause. A different impression is given by Barker's own report of the motion he proposed on the morning of 13 February 1881 at the Hall of Science (the NSS headquarters): "That this meeting condemns the weak and cowardly action of Mr Charles Bradlaugh on the Irish question, and is of opinion that he would have more strongly denounced the Coercion Bill had he still been a democratic agitator outside Parliament" (*Radical*, 18 February 1881). Barker could get no one to second his motion, which is hardly surprising. Bradlaugh remarked, "He is young and thoughtless," which is the politest comment Barker deserves. He was only echoing the extreme radicals who rightly distrusted the great radical leader once he had got into Parliament, but it was silly to choose this issue for a confrontation when Bradlaugh had probably done as much as anyone could against Coercion. Indeed the Anti-Coercion Association had on 18 January passed a motion thanking the eight radical MPs who had opposed the Bill, including Bradlaugh!

THE
COMMONWEAL

Vol. I.—No. 2. JUNE, 1896. One Penny.

PILLAGE AND MURDER
IN AFRICA.

DYNAMITE FOR NIGGERS

The Walsall Anarchists.

GREAT MEETING IN LONDON.
FULL AND SPECIAL REPORT.

Now my lads we are a going to 'ave a blooming bust up. I says it, mind you. Who am I? Why they calls me "Owd Smeeton." I am no relation to the bloke that used to blow people hup. No, the only blowings up I 'ave to do with, is what my old woman takes part in, and I have quite enough of them I can tell yer. Now they calls me "Owd Smeeton" because I 'its 'em ard. What do you think on that owd lad? I am a wunner I am, I am always a going for somebody. I cant elp it, it is the nature of the brute. Now look yer. I aint civilized yer see. I am one of *Civilizations barbarians*, settled in

As for the editorial reply to Seymour in the *National Reformer*, this was part of a defence by the NSS leadership against several anarchist attacks. An editorial reply to "Enquirer" explained: "The views of 'anarchists' are explicable in countries like Russia; but they are most unfortunate wherever held. In civilised society there must be government..." (*National Reformer*, 21 September 1884). The editorial reply to Seymour repeated the point: "We consider all views unfortunate which result in the cowardly and murderous use of explosives as means of agitation. Such views are explicable, though not defensible, in countries where there is no reasonable expression of opinion allowed, or opportunity of association permitt-

ed..." (*National Reformer*, 28 September 1884). These comments were probably written not by Bradlaugh but by his co-editor Annie Besant, who did most of the routine work on the paper and who was much more strongly opposed both to anarchism and to violence. Bradlaugh had long been associated with Continental and Irish militants involved in violence, and he was less worried about anarchism than about socialism, which was attracting Annie Besant and many other valuable colleagues. A good rule is that Bradlaugh seems to have been one of the most consistent figures in British political history.

On the other hand, Quail elsewhere treats Barker too critically. He mentions his lecture to the Stratford Dialectical and Radical Club on the evening of 13 February 1881 (the same day as his anti-Bradlaugh motion!) on "Duties of Government", and quotes Barker's description of it as "the first lecture of the kind in East London or for the matter of that in London itself on the basis of Anarchism", but comments that it "remains within the bounds of Radical thinking and at best remains only an ur-Anarchism." A different impression is given by the report of Barker's talk in the *Radical* (19 February 1881):

He said Governments were popularly supposed to be the protectors of the people. A knowledge of the past, and the bitter experience of the present, especially of the Irish, seemed to point out that it was against, rather than by, Government that protection was necessary. The lecturer argued that people made a great mistake in looking to Government for help. It had always been the destroyer of independence. The people's redemption was in their own hands, and would be worked out when they became more self-reliant.

This is not within the bounds of radical - or socialist - thinking, for it rejects either the improvement or the capture of government, whether by reform or by revolution. It is anarchism, pure and simple.

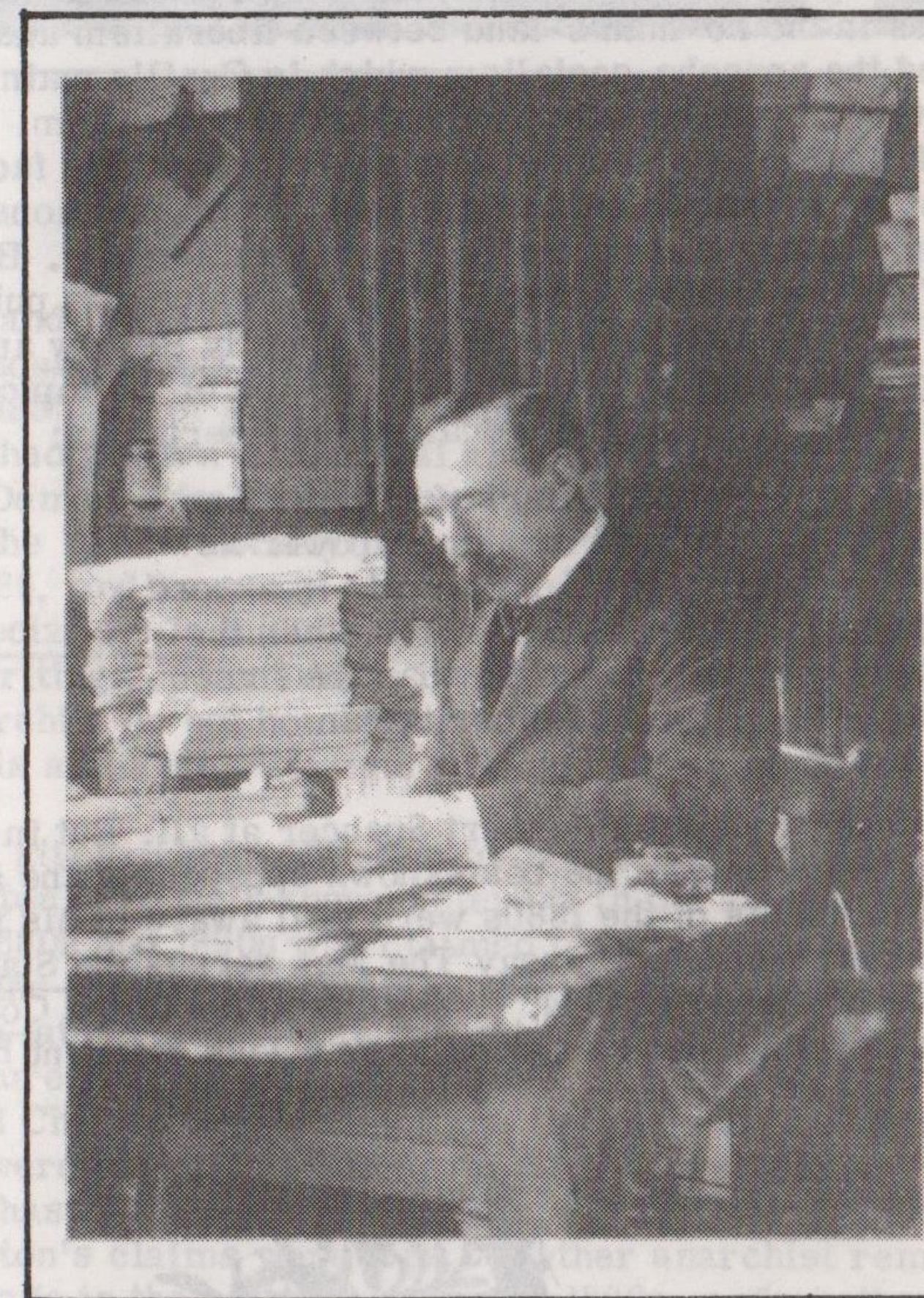
Barker's lecture is not the only evidence of a genuine anarchist presence in this country early in 1881 - i.e. before the *Freiheit* prosecution or the International Congress. Quail says that "the first systematic propaganda defining itself as Anarchist that had any effect within the Socialist movement came from America in the shape of Benjamin Tucker's *Liberty*." *Liberty* began publication in August 1881, and was indeed read in the British radical movement and mentioned in the British radical press from the start. But in January 1881 there had already been an earlier American paper, the *Anarchist*, which was edited by Edward Nathan-Ganz, was produced in Boston (like *Liberty*), was not individualist or mutualist (like *Liberty*) but "socialistic revolutionary", and was mentioned in the British radical press and read in the British radical movement until it closed after a couple of issues.

The American *Anarchist* is included in Nettlau's *Bibliographie de l'Anarchie*, but it isn't mentioned in any of the histories of American anarchism published so far, so it presumably had little effect in the United States. But it was claimed to have a run of 20,000 copies, and a remarkable reference to it appears in an article called "Anarchy" in the *Cambridge Review* (April 1881), written by Karl Pearson, later a leading intellectual and the main propagandist for eugenics, but then a young Cambridge graduate. He said that "thousands of copies" of the *Anarchist* "are scattered broadcast throughout the factories and workshops of this country." He also said that the German socialists and Russian populists had been forced by repression of their governments to form a "secret party of anarchy", that they were taking refuge in Britain, that as a result "there is a party of anarchy actively at work in this country", that there was an "anarchical element existing in strength" in London, and that the condition of the poor made a social revolution in the near future both probable and justifiable: "Anarchy can bring them no harm, they can but benefit by it."

There is further evidence to the same effect, which Quail approaches but misses. He mentions Kitz's reference to "the reissue of two pamphlets on Communism by H. Glasse" by the English section of the Social Democratic Club at the end of the 1870s, and later mentions an article in favour of anarchist communism by Henry Glasse in the *British Anarchist* in January 1886. He says no more about Glasse, but he is significant not just in general as a radical activist during the late 1870s but in particular as the author of an article in favour of "Anarchism" in the *Republican* in March 1881. Like Barker's lecture at exactly the same time, this expressed no mere "ur-Anarch-

ism", but anarchism, pure and simple. Glasse went to South Africa later in 1881, but he continued to contribute to the anarchist press in Britain, and he was still in touch with *Freedom* more than thirty years later.

Quail also mentions George Standring, but only as "a regular lecturer to working-men's clubs" and a distributor of *Liberty* in Britain in the early 1880s. He was far more than this, being a leading secularist for twenty years and then a leading Fabian socialist, and also a leading radical and Malthusian, from the early 1870s onwards. But above all he was for fourteen years the editor of a leading left-wing paper - called first the *Republican Chronicle* (1875-1876), then the *Republican* (1879-1886), and finally the *Radical* (1886-1889) - which expressed an extreme radicalism rejecting both socialism and anarchism but remaining sympathetic to each of them. As well as Glasse's articles, it published biographical material about Bakunin and Kropotkin; it drew attention not only to Tucker's *Liberty* (in late 1881) but also to Kropotkin's *Révolte* (in early 1880), Most's *Freiheit* (in late 1880), and Nathan-Ganz's *Anarchist* (in early 1881); it reported Kropotkin's arrest and trial in France (in late 1882 and early 1883); and it reviewed anarchist publications.



ALFRED MARSH - AN EARLY EDITOR OF FREEDOM

Quail says of *Liberty* that "the introduction of specifically Anarchist ideas into the working class movement was thus going on well before the alleged Year 1 of English Anarchism, 1882", which saw the foundation of *Freedom*. "In fact it was going on well before the appearance of *Liberty* (anyway, when and where was it alleged that the foundation of *Freedom* marked Year 1 of British anarchism?). It seems absurd to suggest that *Liberty* introduced ideas into Britain which were already being discussed in Britain. It seems especially absurd to suggest that British readers got their information about the Lyon trial in 1883 from an American anarchist paper when the news had already appeared in Britain not only in radical papers but also in the national press!

So Quail's treatment of the pre-anarchist movement before 1885 is defective in several respects, though it is generally interesting and informative. His treatment of the beginnings of the explicit anarchist movement is better, but still defective in some respects. The account of Seymour's *Anarchist* is good as far as it goes, but it could have gone further. Quail says that the first issue of March 1885 "had a characteristic piece of verbal acrobatics from George Bernard Shaw." He doesn't add that this article, "What's in a name? How an Anarchist might put it", was Shaw's only public statement favourable to anarchism, and that it was reprinted by the anarchist press in the later 1880s and 1890s when Shaw became the main opponent of

anarchism in the socialist movement. Quail also says that the first issue of the *Anarchist* reprinted an English translation of the anarchist manifesto from the 1883 Lyon trial, but he doesn't mention that it had already been printed at the time as a leaflet and reprinted later in the *Republican* (April 1884).

Quail says that the *Anarchist* "steadily dwindled into insignificance from 1887, but he could have mentioned that Seymour kept it going until 1888, and followed it with the *Revolutionary Review* in 1889 and *Free Exchange* in 1892, before he took over the *Adult* from George Bedborough in 1898. (Quail's account of the Bedborough trial in 1898, and of the *Adult* and the Legitimation League is too summary and derivative and also too remote from the whole subject of the sexual liberation movement). In fact Seymour is an interesting figure who deserves study for his own sake. But he was an individualist or at most a mutualist, and Quail has little sympathy with this side of anarchism. He doesn't even mention other people and papers active in this area during the 1880s and 1890s - Albert Tarn and the *Herald of Anarchy*, Lothrop Withington and the *Democratic Review*, Wordsworth Donisthorpe and *Jus*, and above all Auberon Herbert and the *Free Life*. Nor was all this activity just on paper; these and similar figures were well known participants in the struggles in the no-man's-land between liberalism and socialism, and the anarcho-socialism which is Quail's main interest was matched by an equally lively anarcho-liberalism.

The deliberate omission of this phenomenon is in fact one of the most important defects of the book. Quail mentions Oscar Wilde only to say that he isn't going to mention him. But Wilde's essay *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*, which was published in 1891, first as an article in the *Fortnightly Review* and then as a pamphlet, was an eloquent expression of the topical view that socialism must be individualist and libertarian:

If the Socialism is Authoritarian; if there are Governments armed with economic power as they are now with political power; if, in a word, we are to have Industrial Tyrannies, then the last state of man will be worse than the first... It is clear, then, that no Authoritarian Socialism will do.

Quail doesn't mention Herbert Spencer at all. But in the 1870s and 1880s he was the best-known opponent of the state, and the anarchists of the 1880s were well aware of his relevance to their work. His essay *The Man versus the State*, which was published in 1884, first as articles in the *Contemporary Review* and then as a book, was a less eloquent but more

cogent expression of a similar view, frankly describing state socialism of the kind advocated by the Social Democratic Federation as "the coming slavery".

Wilde was an outsider, and his influence was destroyed by his fall in 1895; but Spencer was an insider, and his influence was considerable. It is relevant that in the rising ferment of radical clubs around 1880, which Quail sees as the main origin of anarchism, a Personal Liberty Club was formed at the beginning of 1881 to spread the ideas of Herbert Spencer and Auberon Herbert. And a few months later one of its leaders, Henry Tyler, wrote an article on "Personal Liberty" advocating a line which could be called either libertarian liberalism or individualist anarchism (*Radical*, 6 August 1881).

Of course this kind of anarchism can all too easily relapse into laissez-faire capitalism, or the phony libertarianism of the far right - just as our kind of anarchism can all too easily relapse into libertarian communism, or the phony revolutionism of the far left. But this is no reason to ignore it or to exclude it from the historiography of British anarchism, in which it has always played a significant part. It is relevant that the anarchist communists of the late nineteenth century always took it seriously, so that Kropotkin and Charlotte Wilson, for example, frequently took the trouble to refer to the radical anti-statism of Spencer.

Turning to Quail's treatment of these anarchist communists, it is regrettable that his sarcastic remark about "Year 1 of the Anarchist movement" is followed by a gratuitously hostile attitude to *Freedom* throughout its existence from 1886 to 1927. He begins by saying that from the start "the paper is not considered so much an agitational newspaper but as a general propagandist paper reviewing events as they take place outside", unlike Seymour's *Anarchist* or the Socialist League *Commonweal*. "Neither did it consider itself at any time the newspaper for the Anarchist movement but as the newspaper of the Freedom Group." This is meant as a critical rather than a merely factual description, and it is repeated several times.

When Quail describes how *Freedom* survived the 1890s, he says that this was "because his friends were able to help it", as if this made it different from any other anarchist paper (or indeed any minority paper of any kind). When Charlotte Wilson was succeeded as editor by Alfred Marsh, in 1895, Quail complains that *Freedom* continued to "remain largely theoretical in content and comment on events rather than see itself as an agitational instrument making events." When *Freedom* became virtually the only anarchist paper, a few years later, he mentions that "it became the focus of criticism, disappointments and hopes which more properly belonged to the movement as a whole", and when it was attacked at the anarchist conference of 1897, Quail claims that the Freedom Group "did not seem properly to understand the situation"; but their attitude seems pretty realistic. When *Freedom* struggled on into the twentieth century, Quail complains that it "remained the paper it had been from the beginning, largely separate from events, unaware of

small-scale developments until it was informed of them by activists, commenting on major conflagrations from a distance."

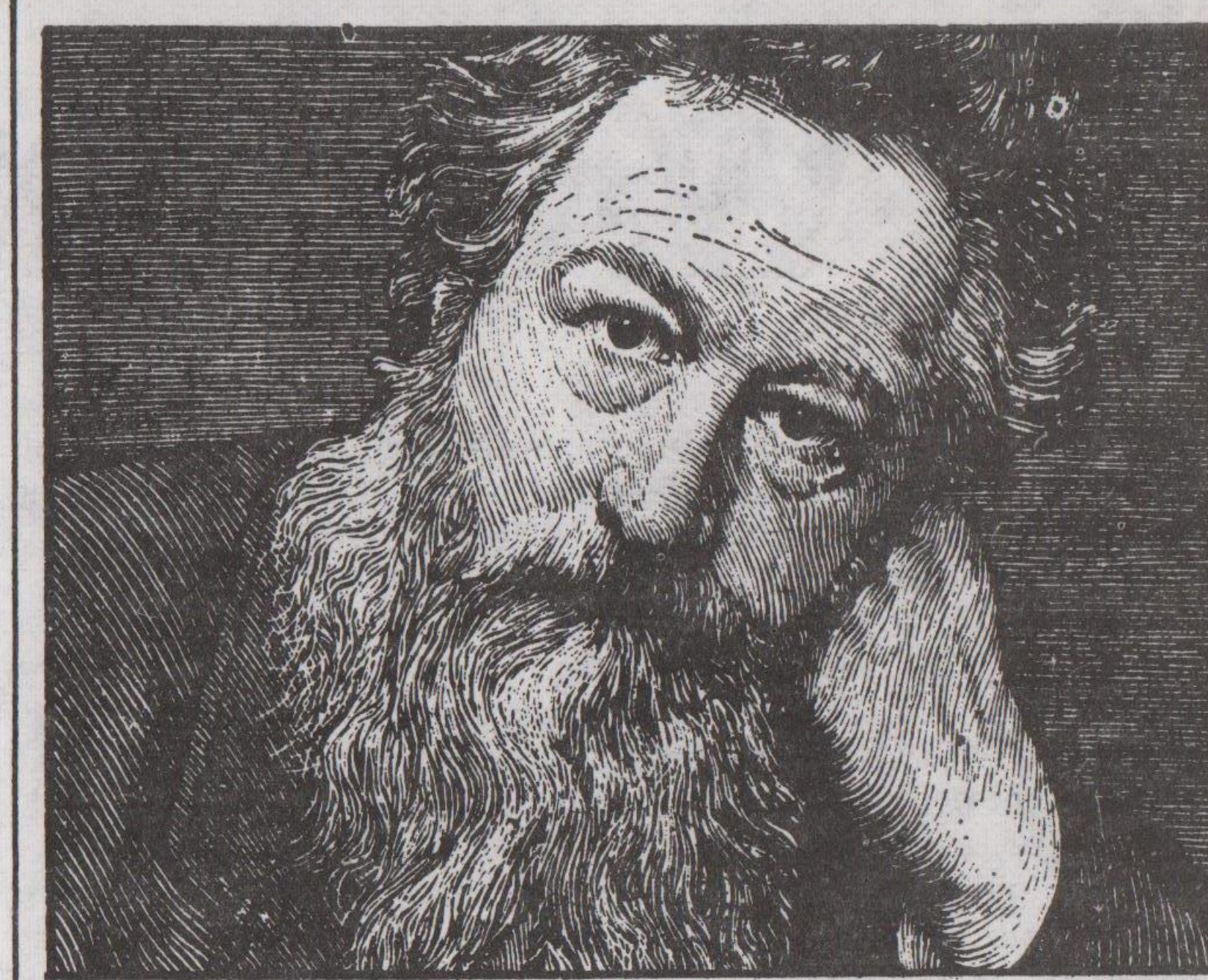
The trouble is that Quail doesn't seem to recognise that both types of paper are necessary for a minority movement (it is often easier to make converts by theoretical propaganda than by practical agitation), and that the difference between them is often more apparent than real (all papers are to some extent isolated from events in the real world); nor does he seem to reflect whether the fact that *Freedom* survived for more than forty years in its first form, long after all the more agitational papers had died, may be connected with its character. The same sort of criticism is often made of its second form - *Spain and the World* (1936-1938), *Revolt!* (1939), *War Commentary* (1930-1945), and once again *FREEDOM* (since 1945) - and the same sort of reply can be made again, as it repeats its achievement of surviving for more than forty years while the more agitational papers live and die around it. No doubt the same rather senseless argument will continue when we reach our centenary in 1886!

On a more sensible level, Quail rightly notes that the original *Freedom* in effect showed "distinctly Fabian tendencies", which may be connected with the attitude of its first editor and publisher, Charlotte Wilson, who was the leader of the anarchist fraction of the Fabian Society from 1884 to 1887. But Quail wrongly adds that her prominence in the Freedom Group was connected with Kropotkin's "difficulties with English". It is true that his spoken English was accented and that his written English was "defective", but it is absurd to infer that he therefore "needed sub-editors", and that the Freedom Group was therefore a "front organisation for Kropotkin". Kropotkin was by no means alone in needing sub-editors - so did many foreign socialists, from Marx downwards, so did many native ones (Lane, for example, never mastered written English), and so do many still. But Kropotkin was fluent in both written and spoken English - after all, during the thirty years he lived in this country he earned his living as a journalist and lecturer. (Incidentally, Quail is also wrong in saying that Kropotkin had no trouble with French because it "was the court language in Russia"; it had long ceased to be so, and Kropotkin's fluency was the result of having a French tutor as a child.)

Charlotte Wilson's prominence and Kropotkin's reticence in the Freedom Group were in fact the result of their characters and their positions - she was a very well-educated woman who moved easily in the intellectual world, and he was a very well-known foreign agitator who had to temper valour with discretion. Quail's prejudice against Charlotte Wilson is shown when he describes as "a little too genteel" an account of meetings at her house, without making it clear that they were meetings not of the Freedom Group but of the Fabian Society. He doesn't name the other members of the Freedom Group, but it is worth mentioning that they included such Russian refugees as Stepaniak and Nikolai Chaikovsky and such British intellectuals as Sydney Olivier and H.W. Nevinson.

Quail is generally critical of the rather cautious and aloof attitude taken by the Freedom Group towards the anarchists of the Socialist League, but it must have been easier to sympathise with the non-sectarian anti-parliamentarians around William Morris than with the sectarian anarchists who first divided and then destroyed the League, and with it much of the militant libertarian movement. Anyway, Quail himself shows that in critical circumstances - such as strikes, struggle for free speech, or the protests against the judicial murder of the Chicago anarchists - the Freedom Group worked closely with the Socialist League.

Quail's treatment of the Socialist League itself is both too short and too long - too short to tell the full story of the first real militant anarchist organisation in Britain, and too long for the balance of the book - but this is one of the most useful parts of his work. He does, however, exaggerate the importance of Lane's *Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto*, which was written as an internal minority report and then published as an open pamphlet during the struggle with the parliamentarians in 1887. As the main spokesman of the extreme anti-parliamentarist fraction of the Socialist League, Lane moved steadily towards anarchism, but he avoided using the word until he dropped out of the organisation (and the movement) in 1889. Quail says that his pamphlet "can fairly be claimed as the first English Anarchist home grown pronouncement", but it cannot be fairly claimed as anything of the kind. Apart from Glasse's



William Morris

article and Barker's lecture back in 1881, home-grown anarchist pronouncements filled the pages of the *Anarchist* from March 1885 and of *Freedom* from October 1886, and Charlotte Wilson had written substantial articles on anarchism in the *Social Democratic Federation* paper *Justice* in November 1884 and in the Fabian Society paper the *Practical Socialist* in January 1886, and an essay on anarchism in the *Fabian Tract What Socialism Is* in June 1886. Since Quail mentions most of these writings, he seems to be implying that they were either not anarchist or not home-grown, which is nonsense. But Lane, again, is an interesting figure who deserves study for his own sake.

Quail gives proper attention to James Harrigan and Dan Chatterton, two well-known veterans in the socialist movement of the 1880s and 1890s who claimed to have taken an anarchist line in the radical movement of the 1870s. He also quotes Kropotkin's later remark that, when he advocated anarchism in his lectures to radical clubs in 1882, "Occasionally some grey-bearded Chartist would rise from the audience and tell us that all we were saying had been said forty years before." It is a pity he hasn't managed to discover whether Harrigan's and Chatterton's claims were true, whether anarchist remarks were made in the clubs in the early 1880s, and whether anarchist statements really were made in the early 1840s.

Quail seems to have missed one clue here, when he says that Lane's *Anti-Statist Communist Manifesto* "paid a disproportionate amount of attention to the religious question - though this section is interesting for its echoes of Bakunin's God and the State". Its echoes are rather of the anti-religious tradition in the British radical movement since the 1790s, and especially of the militant secularist propaganda which was still getting writers imprisoned for blasphemy as late as 1883 and was to do so again twenty years later. There was a strong libertarian tendency in the anti-religious movement - not just in the sense that secularists often became anarchists or that secularist organisations were fertile ground for anarchist propaganda, which Quail mentions, but in the sense that secularism itself forces the issue of political as well as of religious authority, that atheism implies anarchism, that the common slogan of both is "Neither God Nor Master."

Moving on to the peak of anarchist activity around 1890, it is a pity that Quail doesn't mention two literary works which illuminate this period - the documentary novel *The Anarchists: A Picture of Society at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (1891) by John Henry Mackay, the Scotch-German individualist, which gives a vivid impression of the anarchist milieu in London in the late 1880s; and the utopian novel *News from Nowhere* (1891) by William Morris, written just as he was being driven out of the Socialist League, which gives a vivid impression of a libertarian society following a revolution of the kind that seemed imminent in the late 1880s. Nor does he mention that

continued on p. 15

THE COMMONWEAL

A REVOLUTIONARY JOURNAL OF Anarchist-Communism.

VOL. I No. 1 NEW SERIES,

THE FIRST OF MAY.

MONDAY MAY 1, 1893.

FORTNIGHTLY, ONE PENNY.

For the third time the thinking proletariat of all countries affirms by means of an international demonstration, true solidarity among the workers, hatred of exploitation, and the will, which from day to day grows more determined, to bring the existing system of things to an end.

Governments and the classes tremble, and they have good reason. Not because on this day the revolution will break out—for that is an event which may happen on any day in the year—but because when the oppressed people begin to feel the weight and the shame of oppression, when they feel themselves brothers, when they forget all the historic hatreds fomented by the governing classes, when they clasp hands across frontiers and feel solidarity in the struggle for a common emancipation, then is the day of deliverance close at hand.

What matters it that men and parties give various reasons now—hope to derive from their immediate ends, according to the common announcement that they are all united, and are of one accord in the struggle against masters. This fact remains, and of one accord in the struggle for the Great Revolution, and as one of the signs of the civilisation founded on the welfare of all, and the bringing to the day by that other importance, which will bring to the most important events of the century, and as one of the signs of the day among the workers.

And the movement is not of the masses, and

only to deceive the people, and divert them from putting in substantial claims, or else to appease them when they menace the Government and the proprietary classes.

These objections are wrong in our opinion. Popular movements begin how they can; nearly always they spring from some idea already transcended by contemporary thought. It is absurd to hope that in the present condition of the proletariat they can only come to be by a small number to whom circumstances have given exceptional means of development, a programme which can only come to be consciously accepted by the great mass are capable of material conditions which the number through the action of Communist colours, we shall see the tide of great risk, we wait to plunge into the fray until the movement itself must scarcely contributing anything to a free field mean while to our flag where

WAR DRUMS IN W1

WHEN Rashid M. Al-Khater the Ambassador of the State of Qatar invited me to view the paintings by Qatari artists hung in Kensington Gore two questions flood the questing mind. One is where is Qatar and the other is that if strong liquor is served and drunk does it mean that one has to submit to the ritualistic flogging and/or have one's right hand chopped off? The Public Library solves the first problem for Qatar is an 'oil State' draining out tankerwise into the Red Sea and the second problem in relation to flogging and chopping in pursuit of truth and beauty is that no strong liquor was served, only gallon after gallon of orange juice so the whip and the axe were never called into play.

Yet it was a pleasant evening with all the caviare, smoke salmon and asparagus that one could force oneself to eat and glass after glass of the juice of the orange in deference to the teachings of Mohammed. A beautiful girl at the small press table gave me Helga Graham's *Arabian Time Machine* (Heinemann £7.50) and John Moorhead's *In Defiance of the Elements* (Quartet Books £8.50) and though freely given and freely accepted it must be recorded that though well and competently produced they are not mind blowing revelations of the bloody murder that stains the Middle Eastern sun or tints the flowing oil for they are strictly for the student and the tourist to leaf through but I thank them for the gift. The work on view should now be on its way to Paris to be exhibited within the Musee de l'art moderne and in honesty to my hosts I can only say that the work is competent, pleasant on the eye and in the western tradition. Sultan Al-Selity, Hassan Al-Mula, Salman Ebrahim, Essa Ghanem, Mohammed Ali, Mohammed Al-Kuwari, Yousef Ahmed have a use of the brush and a subject matter that would merge into any Bond Street gallery and it is left to 25 year old Wafeeqa Sultan to carry the torch with her crumbling surface textures, non figurative patterns and use of dead whites and burnished browns pocked marked with sunless blacks that one assumes, under an English baby blue sky, is truly the eastern scene. Wafeeqa Sultan has talent and a sense of her social background. Yet it was an odd social gathering in Kensington Gore for bloody murder, eastern time, is the order of the hour with ambassadors and the opposition being bombed and blasted to Paradise and in those crowded rooms one genuinely wondered if some comedian would pull out a gun or throw a hand grenade mixing the less fortunate up with the art work, the orange juice, the caviare, the smoke salmon and the asparagus.

There was tension in the air and Harry the critic for a plush coffee table magazine left in a huff because the Dutchman insulted the Queen, praised the Germans and said that 'we' should be kicked out of the Common Market and Polish George drank orange juice and roared his bull like laugh and I continued to eat the caviare and I questioned a tall beautiful woman in glowing eastern costume about the use of human figures in the paintings and she said that eastern artists were rejecting old traditions and privately I wished that it included not supplying hard liquor and refraining from murdering the opposition.

In the dirty sleazy Tottenham Court Road is the Iraq Cultural Centre with a pretty little Irish girl at the desk and the photographs of N. Ramzi that echo the paintings of Wafeeqa Sultan and it is very quiet in the Iraqi gallery as I kill the idle minutes talking to the little Irish girl but outside on the streets are groups of Iranians, their faces covered with black hoods, handing out leaflets protesting the Shah's regime in Iran. I walk to the National Gallery to the press view of Dutch genre Painting and, hand on heart, it is a sorry exhibition of second rate Dutch paintings but I drank of the wine and gazed at Phyllis Rowlands the P.R. and found that Harry and the Dutchman were now on speaking terms but there outside the National Gallery on the steps of

Saint Martin's Church, where in the grim 1930s the homeless slept in the crypt and I witnessed two mounted police ride full gallop into that crypt to drag out an innocent and unfortunate street trader who had run for sanctuary into the House of God, sat the "United Islamic Students" all garbed in black and each one of them with their entire head black hooded and they squatted fifty or so on the steps of Saint Martin's Church. And I went to the leader who stood alone among his seated people and I asked him why they all kept their faces masked and behind the mask the voice said that if they were known their families in Tabriz and Qum (Iran) would be persecuted and I recalled all the ancient militant demonstrations with the Special Branch clicking their cameras like berserk tourists for in the end comrade, whatever your cause, noble or tainted, the mask conceals nothing for THEY simply have to follow the leader to his/her nest and wait and wait and the unmasked followers will assemble at private meetings and the hidden cameras will click click click. But masks Provo or Prod, KKK, Batman, Zorro or plain ol' Red Shadow gives the illusion of invisibility.

And it is there for the testing in the Museum of Mankind next to Piccadilly's Burlington Arcade. The *Evening Standard* wept that this magnificent little exhibition has been almost unreviewed and they should know for they did not review it for the Art of the Brazilian Indians should be a must for holidaying small children. Laid out by the British Museum staff under the auspices of the Brazilian Embassy it offers the war bonnets, the clubs, the arrows, costumes, pots and the clothings. In 1500 a fleet of 13 Portuguese ships were blown into a bay now called Porto Seguro or Safe Haven and they made contact with the natives. Pero Vas de Caminha wrote of the natives' innocence and charm but it was not that that saved the Brazilian Indians from run of the mill genocide but the simple and literal fact that they had nothing worth stealing in the matter of jewel and gold and at the first threat of slavery they drifted off into the thickly wooded hinterland. They still use barter as a means of exchange for they will not accept paper money (sad paper) and they do not use the potters wheel but the method of winding the clay in thick coils round and round and then varnishing the fired pot with the sap of the Jatoba tree. Their feathered headdresses are from the brilliant plumage of a variety of birds. Yet it would be foolish to believe that the Brazilian Indians are nature's innocents for here within the exhibition are the Shaman masks and the Maku's bows and arrows and it was these arrows that were tipped by curare poison. This is *strychnos toxifera* and is favoured by the Maku tribe in the Rio Branco area and with a poison arrow in you one tends to dismiss Rousseau and his noble savage.

One should be honest and point out that curare poison is mainly used for animal or bird hunting while in tribal warfare clubs are the Order of the Day. The Brazilian Indians survive but the inevitable tragedy is that their days are numbered by international monopoly capitalism and the lovable good hearted American sociologists for each group carries the kiss of death and all in the interest of the common people for in their books the inoffensive Brazilian Indians like the eskimo and the aboriginal just happen to be that little bit more common than the rest of us.

But all this is the world of brute reality with the threat of bomb and bullet among the caviare in Kensington Gore, the black hooded United Islamic Students poised outside the Iraq gallery in Tottenham Court Road and the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square and Harry refusing to speak to the Dutchman for speaking slightly of Brenda, My Queen. Let the real world, for a brief moment, be the world of fantasy for they tell me that Rauschenberg the American monster scrap artist's star is on the wane and I bow the head as I pass the

continued from p. 13

during the same period Kropotkin, who was contributing regularly to both the French and British anarchist press, was also contributing anarchist material to the liberal press - such as the essay on *Anarchist Communism* in 1887, and the articles which later became chapters in his books *Fields, Factories and Workshops* and *Mutual Aid*. All this literature was read far beyond the anarchist or socialist movement, and joined that by Wilde and Spencer in tilting British political thought in a libertarian direction.

Moving on to the bomb era of the early 1890s, it may be felt that Quail gives too much space to this aspect of our history, but he is probably right, since this is what most people think about in connection with anarchism, and it is important to explain what really happened. The main defects of his complex narrative of these tragic episodes are a failure to take enough account of the long tradition of political violence in British politics, both in native movements and in the Irish Nationalist movement, which was widely played down then (just as it is now); and a failure to take enough account of the deep involvement in these events of European refugees, both in native bombings and in using this country as a safe base for bombings in other countries, which was widely played up then (just as it is now). One unfair comment he makes is that it was "a bit of poetic licence" for the Times to call Johann Most's *Revolutionary Warfare* a 'Dynamite Guide'; the full title of that notorious work, after all, was *Revolutionary War Science: A Handbook of Instruction Concerning the Use and Manufacture of Nitroglycerine, Dynamite, Gun cotton, Fulminating Mercury, Bombs, Incendiaries, Poisons &c.* - if anything, the Times was understating rather than overstating the case!

Quail is puzzled by the early appearance of the stereotype linking anarchism and bombs, but the reason is that the use of bombs was labelled anarchist long before the anarchist movement existed, whoever used them. Thus the Russian and Irish terrorists were called anarchists, although anarchism was the last thing they wanted. The anarchist adoption of "propaganda by deed" in the late 1870s simply fixed the image once and for all.

As Quail comes to the first nadir of British anarchism, at the end of the 1890s, the most interesting - if not the most important - thing he tends to leave out is what happened to the "unsung demi-heroes" and "unreviled villains" of its first two decades. Some stayed in or returned to the movement many years later. Others turned up elsewhere, sometimes in significant places. Quail mentions that when H. B. Samuels was driven from *Commonweal*, in 1894, he reappeared in both the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party, in 1895; but he can be traced as late as 1909, writing in the *Social Democrat* (a paper of the Social Democratic Party, *né* SDF) against the emancipation of women - see Sheila Rowbotham's *Hidden from History* (1973). Quail mentions that Charlotte Wilson left *Freedom* in 1895, but not that she returned to take a leading part in the Fabian Society, leading its women's section from 1908 and rejoining its council from 1911 until she left politics again in 1914. (She lived for another thirty years, dying in the United States in 1944, but nothing seems to be known about her later activity).

The first half of the book closes with sad stories of lies and libels, denunciations and expulsions, fights and thefts within the movement, and of attacks on the movement by a hostile

Mayor Gallery where the lad is exhibiting. And the Redfern tell me that Hockney is set for his next exhibition there and I thank David Hockney for the two lovely 14 x 17 inch ink drawings he sent me despite all the rotten piss taking things I have written about his work over the years but I shall continue to write rotten piss taking things about the minor work of fashionable artists because I am basically honest and decent and find I can survive on £17.50 National Insurance Giro payments.

But let me praise the collages of Penny Slinger now issued in book form as *Mountain Ecstasy* (Phin Publishing, Sunshine Industrial Estate, Churchill Road, Cheltenham, Glos. £4.25 plus 75p packing and post). Penny is a tough little cookie who had Angela Flower and her staff climbing

RUSSIAN AND GERMAN CARTOON

W/C Guardian - Sept. 11/17



Kropotkin (grandfather of the Revolution): "You know, that grandson of ours is quite in the wrong style."
Breshkovskaya (grandmother of the Revolution): "Yes, he is too German in his style."

from Manchester Guardian Sept. 11 1917
(reprinted from: *Novy Satirikon* (Petrograd))

press and public. The two fictional caricatures of this period - heavy in Joseph Conrad's *The Secret Agent* and light in 'Isobel Meredith's' *A Girl Among the Anarchists* - distorted the facts but don't seem to have exaggerated the atmosphere of doom. Quail cannot be criticised for his detailed account of this period, but he could have commented on the connection between the nature of the movement at its height and its fate in decline. Similar things have happened since - and indeed are happening now - and it might be worth wondering why. It is significant that in the long and bitter dispute caused by Nicoll's determined and desperate campaign to expose the agents provocateurs, even Kropotkin said in 1807 that he should be 'beaten' if he didn't keep quiet; he was never the gentle prince of the liberal image, but this sort of talk from the leading anarchist in the country shows how bad things had become.

But things got better again, and in the next issue I shall consider the second half of *The Slow Burning Fuse* and Quail's treatment of the second half of the first half-century of British anarchism.

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the walls with rage and who collected all her work from off the walls of Patrick Seale's Knightsbridge gallery on the night of the Private View and walked out to surface a week later at a Baker Street gallery wherein she entered, her tiny figure draped in ribbons and robes of tiny jewels and coins. Her every exhibition is a cause for excitement but behind that excitement is a true creative artist. Magnificent erotic assemblies of nudes, flowers, masks and rocks against Dali landscapes, they tease, they excite and they dazzle the eye and in the end the sheer voluptuous beauty of these erotic montages finally exist in their own right as works of art and nary a bullet or a bomb in them.

ARTHUR MOYSE