

FREEDOM CONTACT PAGE

PHONE 01-247 9249

Freedom Press

 IN ANGEL ALLEY
 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST.
 LONDON E.1

International

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 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

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 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
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 New York: Libertarian Book Club, Box 842, GPO, New York, NY 10012
 SRAF/Freespace Alternative U, 339 Lafayette St, NYC, NY 10012
 San Francisco: Free Socialist, PO Box 1751, San Francisco, CA 94101
 Texas: Houston SRAF, South Post Oak Station, PO Box 35253, Houston, TX 77035

WESTERN EUROPE

DENMARK
 Aarhus: Regnbuen Anarkist Bogcafe, Meilsgade 48, 8000 Aarhus
 Copenhagen: Anarkist-Synd, Bogcafe, Studiestræde 18, 1455 Copenhagen
 Christiania: Write Stot Christiania, Dronningensgade 14, 1420 Copenhagen

RAINBOW ANARCHISTS of the Free City of Christiania, c/o Allan Anarchos, Tinghuset, Fristaden Christiania, 1407K, Copenhagen, Denmark.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Baden: Karin Bauer, Info-Büro, Postfach 161, 717 Schwäbisch 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. Tittoni, 5-00153 Rome

SWEDEN

Frihetlige Forum, Landsvagsatan 19, 41304 04 GÖTEBORG.

Frihetligt Forum, Renstiernsgata 51, 11631 STOCKHOLM.

Revolutionära Anarkisters Organisation, Box 11075, S-100 61 STOCKHOLM.

NETHERLANDS

De Vrije Socialist, Postbus 411, Utrecht.

Meetings

EDINBURGH. Friday, 27 April 7.30 at First of May Bookshop, Niddrie St. Iris Mills talking on 'Persons Unknown'.

A meeting on Anarchism and Non-violence is being planned in Cesena (Forlì) Italy for autumn 1979 or spring 1980. Depending on the number of participants it is proposed to hold 'working commissions' on subjects such as anti-militarism, disarmament, self-management, teaching, feminism, power and violence (could non-violent power exist?) Material, papers, contribution of expenses, addresses and new contacts should be sent to: Lombardo Antonion, via Piacenza 66, 15100 Alessandria, Italy (tel: 0131-444238).

CORRECTION From the second paragraph of the second column of the second page of the article 'American Journey', 5th line down, a couple of words were omitted. The sentence should read: 'After the suspension of The Match! Open Road also seems to be in some difficulty.'

Persons interested in helping to launch and develop unique youth and community project in Caledonian Rd, North London. The emphasis will be on a completely independent grass roots approach and only those committed to this idea need apply; paper qualifications are irrelevant.

Once the show is on the road full-time salaried posts will be created (£4000-5000) but some initial spade work is necessary before this can be realised. We have premises and some initial capital, with the promise of more to come.

Anyone interested please phone (01)-837-5408, 8.30 - 9.30 a.m. or 11.00 - 11.45 p.m.

We are sorry for the lateness of this issue, which should have appeared on 5 May. The main reason is that while we have acquired a second IBM there are one or two adjustments still to be made to it. In the meantime our other typewriter has been going through one of its periodic crises. To prevent our falling irremediably behind schedule we have combined two issues in one, and will endeavour to make up for the loss of pages to subscribers within the year.

TYPEWRITER FUND

Nov - Dec 78

JL: £1.00, LS: £1.00, JL: £1.50, DS: £3.00, NB: £1.00, CB: £25.00, OM: £5.00, JL: £1.00, LH: £1.00, TJ: £1.00, JJ: £5.00, RL: £5.90, JL: £3.00, CC: £2.00, JS: £6.00, LA: £2.00, Cash: £3.00, HD: £2.00, CH: £2.00, Cash: £3.00.

Jan - April 10 79

BL: £2.00, MC: £2.00, MC (Madrid): £2.00, RBM (Oslo): £2.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00, JA (USA): £1.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00, AL-S: £2.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00, LT (Aust'a): £10.00, JL: £1.00, LF: £15.00, JL: £1.00, JL: £1.00.

TOTAL TO APRIL 10: £122.40

ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED: £430.10

TOTAL RECEIVED: £552.50

TO MEET TARGET OF £1.000: £447.50!

TYPEWRITER FUND

As can be seen from the list of receipts, donations to our Typewriter Fund have fallen off considerably since Christmas. Our thanks to those comrades who have continued to contribute - especially to our very good comrade JL of Wolverhampton, whose regular donation is much appreciated. How about the rest of you following suit?

Although we are still a long way from our target of £1.000, the situation has eased slightly in that we have acquired an IBM typewriter only for the cost of overhauling (tho' that was considerable!) and think that we still have enough to get a further second-hand machine like our standard one, which we can then have overhauled too.

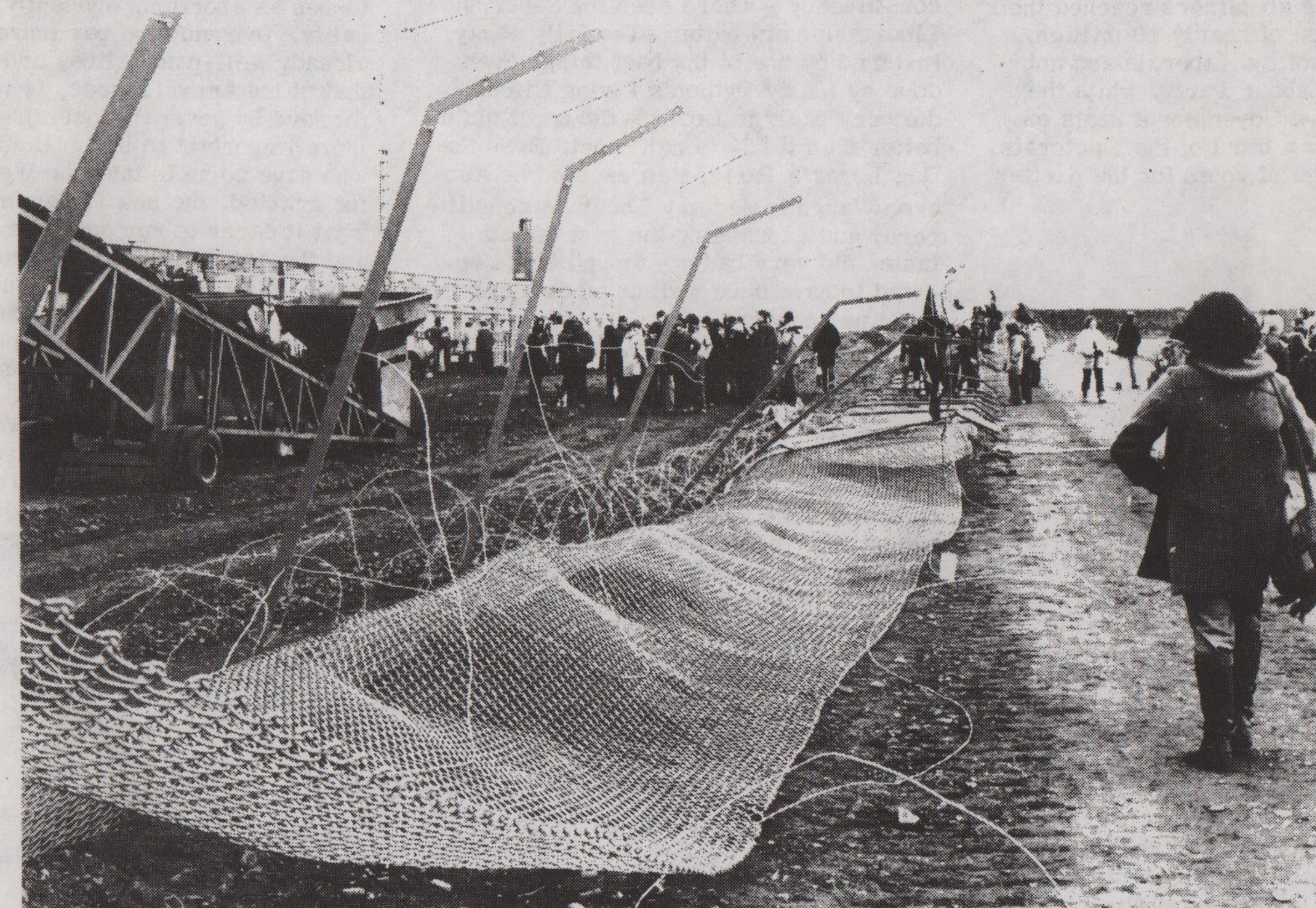
But these will still leave us very limited in our typesetting facilities, and we do ask comrades to help us reach our target figure as soon as possible. Just small amounts from a lot of you will do it!

SEEMED A PITY TO WASTE THIS SPACE SO I'VE STUCK DOWN ONE OF THE SLOGANS OF THE 3 U ECONOMY LABELS. SORRY NO ROOM FOR THE BIRDS!

anarchist fortnightly Freedom

 19 May / 79
 Vol 40 No 8 & 9
 20p

ANARCHO-CATALYSTS!



TORNESS is an area of great natural beauty, with fertile soil and excellent farm land. On the coast adjacent to the festival site lie some of the earliest lime kilns for the processing of limestone. Further back from the coast there is now an enormous cement factory which, no doubt, had something to do with the decision to build a nuclear power station at Torness; for thousands and thousands of tons of cement are required for the project.

Coming up the A1 from the border the first thing you see is a mile or so of fence in front of a huge bank of earth set between green and productive fields. Chain-linked barbed wire-topped fences are symbolic of all that is wrong with modern society. They are the symbols of the modern state, in which all the political parties are united. Just as the anarchists were well represented in the direct action

against that ultimate in state violence, the nuclear bomb, so too were the anarchists well represented in this campaign against another form of state violence against humanity and the physical environment.

The site was largely organised when we arrived on the Friday night after the long drive up from London. The festival site was some way from the camp site and the Saturday night was taken up with a festival. This, with its theatre, live music stalls, books, crafts, alternative technology, did not neglect the real business of the gathering: to take direct action against the actual site at Torness some one or two miles away.

The anarchist presence made itself felt through distribution of a leaflet pointing out the inadequacies of the democratic processes in dealing with the sort of state violence Torness represents. The comrades concerned are to be congratulated on starting this dialogue, for I am sure it had some effect on what happened during the weekend. The leaflet went on to point out how the anti-nuclear bomb campaign had been completely defused by the political factions in the movement - and indeed the marching Foots and Benns made no effort to persuade the government they entered to abandon the nuclear deterrent. The participation of anarchists in the Committee of 100 did, I believe, assist the growth of direct action elsewhere in the world.

An anarchist workshop was held on the festival site on Saturday afternoon, 5 May, and the discussion there revolved around whether or not the direct action undertaken in the process of occupation should include the damaging of McAlpine's property. (The fence had already been

Continued on page 7

SAVE OUR SEA BIRDS STOP OIL POLLUTION

ANTI-ELECTION ACTIVITIES DIDN'T WE DO WELL!

OUR PARTY lost a little ground in the General Election, but not only did it easily maintain its position as the third largest party in the country, it drew closer to the second party, and clearly holds the balance in any contest between left and right. In other words, the proportion of the total electorate of 41 million who voted on May 3 rose from 74 to 76 per cent, but the abstainers reached their largest ever total of nearly 10 million, being far ahead of the Liberals and not far behind the Labour Party, while the new Conservative Government rests on the votes of only a third of the electorate.

The percentage of votes for the parties are as follows:

Conservative	33
Labour	28
Abstainers	24
Liberal	10.5
Nationalist	1.5
Fascist	0.5
Others	2.5

Thus, if you imagine the British population over the age of 18 represented by a sample of 200 people, 66 voted Conservative, 56 voted Labour, 21 voted Liberal, 3 voted for the Scottish, Welsh or Cornish Nationalists, 1 voted for the National Front, and 5 voted for other parties (mainly the Protestant and Catholic parties in Northern Ireland) - while 48 didn't vote at all.

The most significant swing in the election was not that from Labour to Conservative, but that away from the small to the large parties. The Liberals and Nationalists not only lost their position of being able to keep a Government in power in exchange for minor legislative concessions but also lost much of their support. The 57 varieties of Marxist parties made fools of themselves, only one Communist and one Trotskyist getting more than 1000 votes. The National Front made its biggest intervention yet, and fell flat on its face - apart from having most of its election meetings prevented or disrupted, it won more than 1000 votes in only 30 places, mostly the decayed suburbs of London and Birmingham. The Democratic Labour candidates - i.e. the right-wing Social Democrats who can't bring themselves to join the Liberals or the Conservatives - almost disappeared; Eddie Milne fell further back in his vain effort to get his old seat in Blythe as an Independent Labour candidate fighting against corruption in the Labour Party.

The Ecology Party, which fought under the only manifesto that could begin to appeal to most anarchists, won more than 1000 votes only in a dozen rural constituencies, mostly in the West Country, where environment is not a serious issue.

The ecology lobby will be forced back into extra-parliamentary politics. Ron Mallone, again fighting as a Fellowship candidate on a pacifist platform in Greenwich, again failed to get serious support - though he did do better than the National Front. Pat Arrowsmith, like most other well-known leftists, made a complete fool of herself in James Callaghan's constituency - where even the Severnside Libertarian did better. The Silly Party, inspired by one of the best things ever done by Monty Python's Flying Circus, did very badly in Dover - though it did do better than the National Front. Even the Dog Lover's Party, represented by Auberon Waugh in Jeremy Thorpe's constituency and expressing the best of bad taste, did very badly - though it is reported to have done well at mock elections in many schools.

But the general pattern is that a small majority of the population preferred to choose between the two big parties which have so incompetently run the country since the First World War - so incompetently that at least they have failed to ruin it. It all looks like a repeat of 1970, except that Uncle Harold has been replaced by Uncle Jim, and Ted Teeth has been replaced by Laura Norder.

Alarmists have already predicted that the Government will quickly run into

economic and social crisis. It seems more likely that it will slowly stagger on much as before, relying on America and Europe to keep us going. But a more right-wing House of Commons, a rather reactionary Prime Minister, and a Catholic Leader of the House, may well combine to amend or even repeal some of the liberal legislation of the 1960s - on such issues as abortion, obscenity, homosexuality. (Already the pay increase of the already well-paid police, and probably that of the armed forces, is to be brought forward by several months). And, much more important to the millions of people who have come to take the Welfare State for granted, the new Government will do what it dares to run down the schools and the hospitals, social security or more union power, but to adopt the politics of do-it-yourself direct action, there might be some prospect of movement in a libertarian direction. We face another five years of opposition not only to the class rule of the Conservatives but to the false remedies of the Tribunites and Bennites, Communists and Trotskyists, as generation after generation walks the primrose path of parliamentary socialism. We shall do our best.

EDITORS

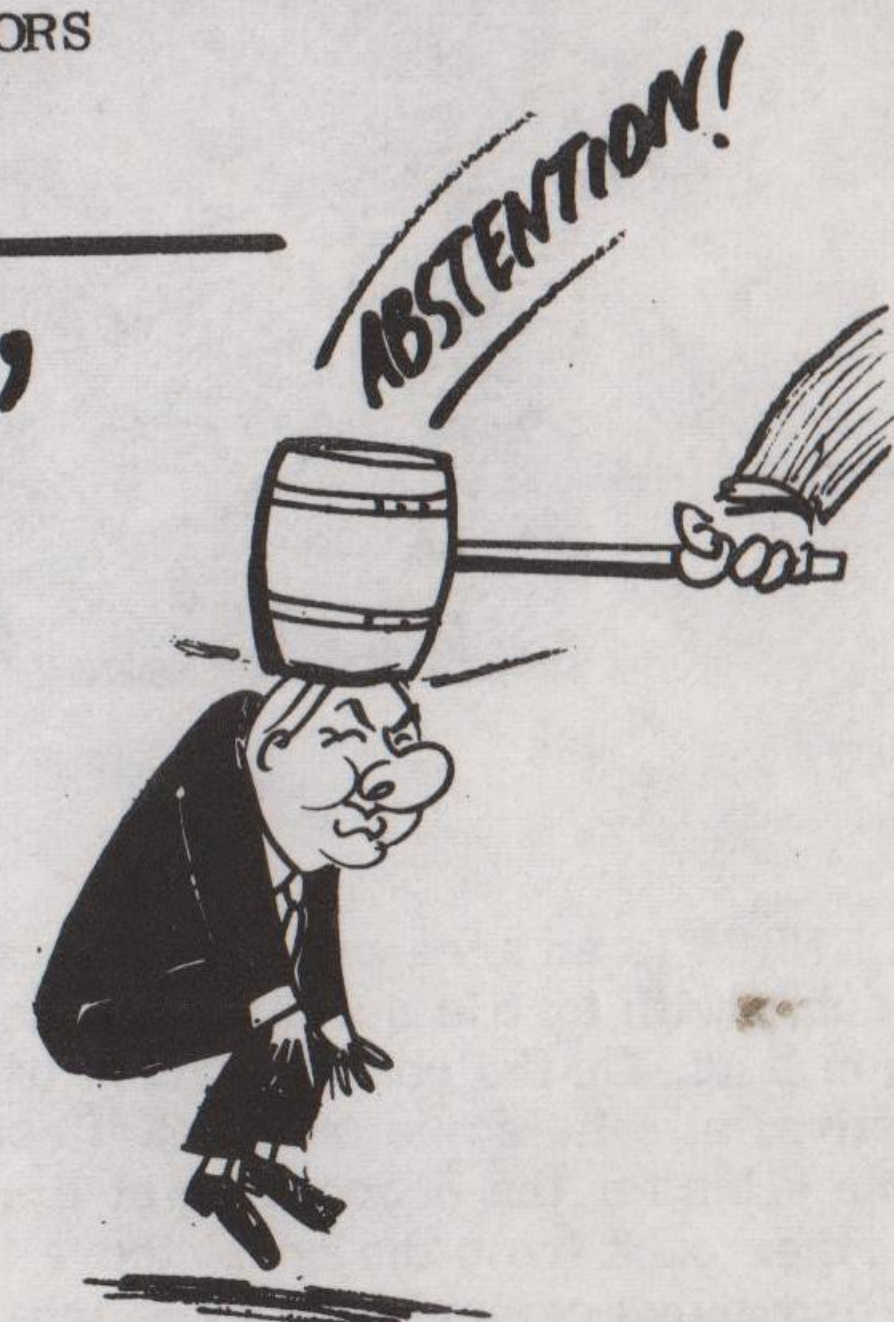
'WELL DONE, MY DEAR!'

I HAD betaken myself and my home-made DON'T VOTE poster to the polling station in the Tory bastion of Old Portsmouth.

No ... oh! No.... oh! You can't do that here, said the policeman in a lugubrious voice, shaking his head with all the conviction and solemnity of Moses delivering the tablets of the law to the naughty Israelites.

I removed myself and the offending poster - as authority had decreed - to a position outside the immediate vicinity of the polling station, only to be assailed by a sharp shower which threatened to make a bedraggled mess of both me and my poster. However the weather soon cleared up and no-one but the policeman apparently took exception to my protest. Naval officers, accustomed like horses to keep their eyes to the front, were content to march by with a proper and dignified contempt.

Meanwhile quite a few people actually read the poster, whilst some stopped to discuss it with me. One old chap suggested that if I put the message on postcards I would be able to sell hundreds of them,



whilst an elderly woman gripped me warmly by the shoulder and said, "Well done, my dear, well done!" But just as I was about to leave for home a woman declared, "If you don't vote, you can't grumble" - and added triumphantly "we've just had our office decentralised and it's a disaster!"

Even so she had read the poster and paused long enough to hear something of my argument!

CAROLINE CAHM
Southsea

AND HOW!

AS our editorial points out, we did well in the recent ongoing democratic situation. 24 per cent of people over 18 years old, excluding peers, criminals and lunatics. Well, everybody qualifies as the second (yes, officer, I used to nick sweets from Woolies ...) And we must be the last or why would we spend our time in this crumbling slum. So that excludes me on all three counts.

Anyway, this is by way of a summary of the anti-election stuff we've had sent in. Most of it too late to disseminate to the eager hordes, of course. It would have made a nice supplement three weeks ago.

First, us. We've been swamped. Ever since we printed the Guy Fawkes poster we've been frantically filling orders. Ian the Printer has slaved over his red hot machine for three reprints. Thousands have gone out. Copies will remain available but we're afraid that we can't keep up the rock bottom price. Watch the bookshop page for details. And thanks again to Mushroom for the original. I had one in my window and it drew loads of favourable comment. The owners of the shop, above which I live, became very fed up with enquiries. Peter Ford's artwork (on the back of our original printing) has also elicited masses of response.

We've had a whole bundle of stuff from Glasgow. An affinity group there concentrated their DON'T VOTE activities in

the Cathcart constituency, and in particular in the housing estate of Castlemilk which has a population approaching 40,000. The poster side picked up the theme 'Put rubbish firmly in its place', a campaign launched in April by the District Council Cleansing Department. Hundreds of posters plastered the area urging people to become conscious of rubbish and put politicians in their place - the dustbin of history. In addition, street theatre using the Cleansing Department's character 'Captain Clean' also happened. Stickers and leaflets were distributed in abundance. Anarchy continues in Clydeside!

There was also a nice 'Ballotitis' leaflet from Glasgow.

From the North East Anarchist Federation came a poster ('Whoever you vote for ...') and a leaflet, (illustrated).

In London I picked up a number of things. Rising Free had a duplicated leaflet, more reasoned argument than polemic and 'Whoever you vote for ...' badges. Solidarity had a very good leaflet, 'Vote Labour ...' and on the reverse 'Vote Tory ...' (each printed in the appropriate colour) and with enough text to succinctly point up the whole farce. And around South East London there was the handwritten 'Please Refuse to Vote', exposing the Labour Party conservatives, the true blue Conservative Party conservatives, the League of Russian Empire



Loyalists, Trotskyists Termites, Marxites and Bovrilis.

We have also received a couple of more extended contributions. Peter Cadogan (of Conway Hall) produced 'Tweedle Her and Tweedle Him, the Positive Reason for Abstaining at the General Election'. Three pages of text, with an accompanying letter. Even longer is the manifesto of the Vote Informal Party from Wales. This analyses the situation at this moment in time, and produces four planks for change: Truth, Alternative Technology, Leisurely Employment for All and Housing for All.

D. P.



BOYCOTT EUROPE

WITH this article I should like to present a short explanation of the movement in Holland against the European Economic Community and the European elections which are taking place on 7 June.

We should like to know what the situation is in other countries and what feelings there are about taking international action against the European elections.

A proposal for such an undertaking, made at a meeting of the northern sections of the International Workers' Association (AIT), could be to hold an international demonstration in Strasbourg or Brussels. Already some time ago, between Christmas and New Year, there should have been an international meeting to discuss such international actions further. Unfortunately the meeting did not take place.

We in Holland don't know exactly what the AIT is working out but we are prepared and willing to take part in international actions. At the moment however, we do not have sufficient contact with foreign groups and are not very well informed about what they are planning.

In Holland the movement against the elections is going reasonably well at the moment. Our movement consists mainly of independent progressive groups and organisations which react against the

elections from different points of view. An important part of the movement consists of anarchist groups, organised locally round the whole country. Among them is great agreement with regard to actions against these elections, and others such as the anti-atomic groups, farmers, anti-militarists, anti-repression groups are also joining in the activities.

The local groups are organised on a national level in the Anti-Verkiezings Komitee (Anti-Elections Committee - AVK). Representatives of the local groups meet each other regularly to deliberate on and arrange national action. There have already been demonstrations against the EEC. We also arrange lectures and discussions at schools, young people's clubs, trade union meetings, etc. We are preparing a brochure on the EEC and the elections and have contacts with wall newspaper groups and press organisations. The coordination centre for the groups in the AVK is at Tilburg and run by anarchists. I am the contact person and can be contacted by day at 013-681269 or by night at 013-322580. We would like to emphasise that we do not present ourselves as anarchists but as the AVK. This is because anarchists are not the only members of the AVK and also for strategic reasons. We are taking

action against the European elections and are interested in, and have a good chance of, reaching a large number of people. We therefore pay a lot of attention to argument and a little less to the ideological side of our actions (insofar as this can be separated). The Dutch people don't feel very enthusiastic about the EEC and the coming elections and a lot of them see the gigantic advertising campaign sponsored by the government in a negative light.

Thanks to these negative tendencies there is a lot of potential for the AVK movement and people are willing to listen to us and to lend credence to our arguments. We believe the same can be said for other countries.

We hope we have given you a reasonable picture of the situation in Holland and we would appreciate it very much if you could let us know what is happening in your country as soon as possible, in view of the short time before the elections take place. Anyhow we wish you lots of success in your struggle against capitalism the EEC and the elections.

WILLIE VERHOYSEN
(for the Anti-Verkiezings
Komitee), Postbus 10217,
Nederland.

AMERICAN ARRESTS

ON Friday, 13 April 10 anarchists and four other individuals crossing from Windsor to Detroit were seized by United States Customs officials at the Ambassador Bridge. The 13 Canadians and two Americans were hauled from their van and accompanying car, body-searched against a wall and interrogated for six hours. The two Americans were finally released, but the 12 Canadians were threatened with indefinite detention if they refused to submit to being fingerprinted. Following forced fingerprinting, the 12 were expelled from the United States. A hearing is being held in Detroit on charges of entering the US with intent of endangering the US government. Any attempt to enter the US before the hearings will result in detention in a Federal penitentiary. No date has yet been set for the hearings.

Also seized were copies of the Toronto Anarchist, bulletin of the Toronto Anarchist Group, and dozens of documents intended for a conference of the Anarchist Communist Federation of North America (of which TAG is a member) in Ypsil-

anti, Michigan, the group's destination.

The official charges against the group are, as follows: "You are seeking to enter the United States to engage in activities which would be prejudicial to the public interest; you advocate opposition to all organised government (i.e. anarchy); you probably would, after entry, engage in an activity a purpose of which is the opposition to the Government of the United States by unconstitutional means".

The charges were termed 'ludicrous' by an anarchist spokesperson, who said they were refused entry under the 1952 Immigration Act, relevant sections of which date back to 1901. This incident is a clear violation of the 1975 Helsinki Agreement which provides for the unhindered passage of individuals and ideas between signatory nations. The ACF-NA plans to contest this administrative law at the hearings later this year in Detroit and is planning a series of actions to protest against this blatant infringement of personal liberty.

TORONTO ANARCHIST GROUP

MIND?

Dear friends

..... I was a little confused by the reference in your (anti) election document to techno-bureaucracy and capitalism. In one line you refer to capitalism and state capitalism as terms of meaningless abuse; in another to the "destructive processes that capitalism and state capitalism have wreaked on the physical and social environment".

Shouldn't you make up your collective minds?

Yours in anarchy

BART

London SW15

Reply: Admittedly we could have been clearer, but we were not in fact contradictory. We believe that the underlying power base of modern society is technocratic and bureaucratic rather than capitalist (or state capitalist), in that power today operates mainly through control rather than ownership, of wealth and knowledge. This does not mean that the latter terms are unjustified as descriptions of power processes in society. However, although still enormously destructive, we see them as increasingly marginal to discussion of the nature of the modern State. Even under a Thatcher government, ideologically coloured by notions of Friedman and Hayek, the techno-bureaucracy is unlikely to go away!

EDS.

BACK IN THE USSR

ALEKSANDR Zinoviev, author of *The Yawning Heights*, now exiled in Munich, has commented that the USSR could greatly benefit from an injection of anarchy.

It seems that others who remain in the USSR are of the same opinion. And, given the anarchist tradition there, who could doubt it

But for anarchists in the West this has largely been a matter of faith. Though we know (and have reported) recent repressive action against anarchists in Bulgaria, though we have heard of all kinds of dissident groups in the USSR, including the independent trade unionists, there has, since Kropotkin's funeral been virtually no precise information on Soviet anarchism.

Until now.

Last month news broke in the West (and both left and right wing sources seem agreed on the details) of a group belonging to the 'New Left Opposition', based on a commune in Leningrad, and of similar groups in the Baltic states, Moscow, Ukraine and elsewhere.

Information on the Leningrad group emerged from the conviction, on 6 April this year, of the 19-year-old Arkady Tsurkov, on the familiar political charge of 'anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'. Arkady Tsurkov, who had been arrested on 31 October last year, was sentenced to 5 years in a labour camp and 2 years of internal exile. His comrade, the 20-year-old Aleksandr Skobov, who had been seized a few weeks earlier and is another founding member of the group, was taken to the Serbsky Institute for psychiatric examination and declared insane. He is in all probability being held at Leningrad psychiatric hospital. It is believed that both were subjected to 'physical pressure' during police interrogation. The following details are drawn from a report by the Leningrad writer Vadim Nechaev (yes, Nechaev) who left the Soviet Union in October 1978 and who, in turn, has taken them from former commune members in exile.

The New Left Opposition is described by Nechaev as an 'anarcho-syndicalist youth movement'. No doubt this is a misleading term in that, as in the western world, the 'new left' consists of a large number of different tendencies. Anarchism seems, however, to be prominent in the literature which, after 18 months of underground existence, the Leningrad group began to put out publicly. Apart from their journal *Perspektivy*, this included the selected works of Kropotkin and Bakunin and the Cohn-Bendits' *Obsolete Communism* as well as Marcuse's *One-Dimensional Man* and forbidden books of the twenties such as *The Kronstadt Rebellion* and works by Trotsky. Debates and seminars were held in the evenings and the group elaborated two 'programme statements' which were published in the



Leningrad Psychiatric Hospital where Aleksandr Skobov is thought to be presently held.

second issue of *Perspektivy* - 'The Theses of the Present Moment' and 'Critique of the Theses of the Present Moment'.

According to Nechaev, "The first of these presented a criticism of Soviet society, economy, and ideology from Marcuse's position. The preamble stated:

"This group of young people is not entering the political struggle for the sake of playing at revolution or for achieving selfish aims, but is motivated by the single desire to save the country from imminent catastrophe, and lead it out of the terrifying situation it has been in for the last sixty years. We are profoundly concerned for the future of both the Russian people and other member nations of the Soviet empire. On the fate of the peoples of Russia now depends the future of the peoples of the whole world, and this is a matter of the deepest concern to us. For the past sixty years Russia has been in the hands of wordmongers, bandits and robbers who profess to be communists".

This statement was followed by a serious analysis of the structure of Soviet society and its defects. Constructive suggestions included proposals for democratic reforms; for dismantling the KGB machine; for abolishing the apparatus of Party control, the Komsomol, and other bureaucratic edifices; and for replacing them with socio-cultural organisations. The conscripted army would be replaced by an all-volunteer force. In the field of foreign policy it was proposed that funding of various adventures be interrupted, that a mutual disarmament treaty be signed with the United States, that a treaty be signed with China, and that good-neighbour relations be established with the democratic countries.

In *Critique of the Theses of the Present Moment*, Arkady Tsurkov polemicalised

with Skobov's programme. Tsurkov was against violence but considered that methods of coercion were admissible and, in certain circumstances, even necessary to achieve a democratic coup. Yet Tsurkov himself was a scholarly type interested in mathematics, a lovable and charming person who seemed rather divorced from the real world. After 1976, he was not subjected to repression and continued his studies at the Physics and Mathematics Department of the Herzen Institute. He did, however, manage to accumulate a lot of experience in standing up to the KGB, since he was under continuous surveillance. Once he managed to outwit two persons shadowing him by making them trail him all over Leningrad until exhaustion and exasperation finally drove them to start ranting and raving at him publicly - at which point, Tsurkov calmly called the militia and turned them in. In principle, Tsurkov disapproved of applying labels to people and dividing them up according to their political sympathies. He believed that a man had to show himself in action and that this would make his political profile clear".

Nechaev traces the origins of the 'anarcho-socialist movement' to the opening day of the 25th Congress of the CPSU in February 1976, when anti-government and anti-Party leaflets criticising the existing regime and calling for 'a fight for pluralism and humane socialism' (demands similar to those being made at around this time in Poland - by the Workers' Defence Committee - in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria) were scattered on Nevsky Prospect in Leningrad. In the next fortnight a large number of students from Leningrad State University and other institutes were arrested, including Skobov and Tsurkov, Lepetukhina and the 'orthodox Marxist' Reznikov who, though only 17, was sentenced to 2 years in a strict lab-

REPORTS



Aberdeen

DESPITE snowstorms and bitter winds, 25 anarchists and friends and a few dogs were able to have a fine picnic on May Day in a local park. Fortunately we could shelter in the winter garden green-houses for most of the afternoon. In the evening we ran a dance which went some way towards paying off our massive debts.

We're now proud owners of a disco unit which we got cheap from a friend. This should be a good 'investment' and can be hired by other left and community groups.

As far as we could see our election campaign was well received. We produced two posters and our stickers, which were plastered over town and 4000 leaflets saying 'Turn Parliament into a Dung Store!' We gave these out outside the city's main polling station and round our neighbourhoods.

Unfortunately our housing campaign hasn't got off the ground yet due to other commitments. We were, though, able to organise a public meeting about 'Persons Unknown' at which Iris Mills spoke. Most of those who came were 'regulars' but the meeting was still useful and some of us hope to come down for the 'Persons Unknown' demo in London in September.

Three of the group have been charged with 'malicious damage' for tearing down sexist advertising posters - Aristoc tights ads. Tear down/delete some in solidarity!

Lastly, the 'Big Print', the local anarchist paper, celebrates its first birthday. Birthday cards, pound notes and requests for copies to 163 King Street.

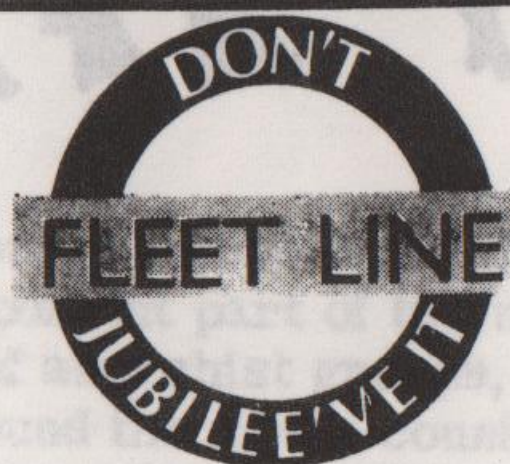
ABERDEEN LIBERTARIAN SOCIALISTS

GREEK PRISONER

Theodore Tsouvalakis, imprisoned in Greece (see FREEDOM, 24 March, vol. 40 no. 5) would like letters from comrades. Address: c/o Chalkis Prison, Chalkida, Greece.

GAY CARNIVAL

30 June, Hyde Park, London. Carnival and concert as culmination of Gay Pride Week '79. In London the week's events will include a gay film festival at the Scala cinema, several concerts, a series of late night shows with Tom Robinson, and a series of evenings at the ICA with gay authors; also a play, 'The Dear Love of Comrades' by Gay Sweatshop to mark the 50th anniversary of the death of the gay, socialist poet Edward Carpenter. GAY PRIDE WEEK COMMITTEE can be contacted: 5 Caledonian Rd, London N1 9DX. Or phone Barry Jackson on (01-278 5670; (01)-263 4918 or (01)-373-5497 (eves).



MOVEMENT AGAINST A MONARCHY
Box M, c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1

MOVEMENT Against A Monarchy (Ma'am) have been campaigning against the re-naming of London's newest tube line which was, to boot, impertinently opened on May Day (1 May, that is).

MA'AM reports that Karl Marx (161 years) travelled on the Northern Line from Highgate to break a ceremonial bottle of stout over a gleaming new FLEET line train, accompanied by Demolition Decorators, Fare Fighters, supporters of MA'AM and mountebanks, who presented him with a birthday gift of a free pass on the FLEET line for life.

They remind us that £50,000 of taxpayers' money (not the Queen's) has been spent on changing the original name of the FLEET line to 'Jubilee' line in a burst of royal bootlicking.

MA'AM have accordingly produced some stickers 'tastefully designed' - with Her Majesty in mind' with the London Transport symbol bearing the words 'Fleet Line' across the middle and around the edge the legend 'Don't Jubilee've it'. They are in glorious red, white and grey and cost £1 for 150 from Box M, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1. They are also available as badges.

MA'AM points out that since the Paris authorities renamed the Metro station Etoile 'Charles de Gaulle' a campaign of public disobedience has been going on. Completely irresponsible elements persist in restoring the original name with felt tip pens. But MA'AM believes that the travelling public may not be convinced by unauthorised inscriptions of this kind.

For further information write either to MA'AM at the above address, or ring the Public Relations Officer of London Transport on (01) 223 5600.



LONDON anarchists celebrated May Day on the right day, in spite of torrential rain in Highgate Woods. There was a good turnout despite the absence of wet suits and some even managed to play football, although water polo would have been more appropriate. The day was warmed up by a good bottle of Spanish brandy and by seeing a few old friends. It also hardened a few of us for our foray to Torness. When we achieve the anarchist millennium perhaps we shall restore the Spring and the Green Man will once again emerge from folklore.

AA

Rising Free

RISING FREE is a collective that runs a bookshop in North London. We stopped selling Socialist Challenge and Socialist Worker last year because they refused to carry any news about some anarchist comrades who had been arrested under the PTA. Recently we took the decision not to sell Republican News, the paper of the Provisional IRA.

The decision was not unanimous, though the only justification offered for keeping it was for its information content. (It is regularly available at another bookshop nearby). When we stopped selling Repub-

lican News it created a minor controversy among left-wing groups. We were several times criticised in print, and there were censure motions passed against us. These actions were all the more amusing for what they revealed about the confused politics of the Trotskyist left, who try to support both the IRA and the British state. A current example of the latter case is their support for the Labour government in the general election, but their continuing support for the British state is just as clear in their frequent calls for nationalisation of industries, and their efforts to prevent people breaking with the unions.

Having said this, the question remains: what should we be doing about N. Ireland? We can help specifically by working against British presence in Ireland - military, political and economic; by revealing to people what is happening in the way of juryless courts, torture, summary terms of imprisonment, H-block, everyday harassment and house searches, SAS assassination squads and so on, and by anti-recruitment work to prevent unemployed kids from being packed off to fight Britain's war. This is all useful, but by itself not enough. We can't really do anything about N. Ireland, or for that matter about nuclear power, whales, pollution, racism, South Africa, police murders, or low wages, except in the practical struggle against present conditions of oppression. This will inevitably lead to strikes which are free from the control of the unions, bigger confrontations with the police, disruptions of every kind, flying pickets, attacks on certain kinds of property, exorbitant wage demands, etc; this will lead in turn to the need for resistance against police and military intervention (some or all of the troops having been withdrawn from Ireland), but this should not be just left to small specialist groups of people whose sole function is 'armed struggle'.

None of this is going to happen while leftists in the unions and the parties of the Left proceed unopposed with their function of stifling struggle and preventing things getting out of hand (their hands) - in fact, nothing is going to happen unless we try to get a few things clear first, and then put them into practice.

RISING FREE COLLECTIVE

TORNESS

Continued from page 1

breached in several places). The workshop became an unofficial Alliance meeting, and the consensus was that such measures that were necessary to make sure we could enter the site be taken.

On Sunday the first wave of some 500 moved off more or less on time, with anarchist flags in significant numbers. It was preceded by vehicles carrying straw bales, rope, net and planks and a ramp was built over the fence without opposition. As we marched down the A1 towards the site we saw that the road was flanked with fertile fields growing potatoes and corn, and grassland with bullocks and sheep, as well as with acres of land turned into a Pasolini landscape by the monstrous machines we were to find on the site. A site that, if allowed to be developed, will after its estimated life of 25 years remain barren and unusable well into the foreseeable future. As the demonstrators poured over the fence the security guards' landrovers appeared on the derelict horizon.

Once on the site people fanned out, some staying near the road to plant trees and build slogans to carry the message to passing motorists, others removing the surveying marks and the SEGB notices saying 'Private, Keep Out'. The yellow tape marking underground cables was taken away and used for making signs on the fence.

RUSSIA

Continued from page 5

our camp. He was, however, released two months later on account of his age and drafted into the army instead.

By the time he had come out of the army in June 1978, the Leningrad commune was already established in Primorski Prospekt. Nechaev describes it, and Aleksandr Skobov, in his rather quaint style (at least as translated):-

"He had rented the first floor of a wooden house in 1977 and taken over two practically unfurnished rooms. He moved his books in and pinned up homemade posters of Che Guevara and of Jesus Christ carrying a submachine gun. Behind Christ stood the Apostles, also armed to the teeth, and beneath them the caption, 'If you are hit on the right cheek, turn the left, but if they hit you on the left cheek too ...!' Paintings by avant-garde artists were also on display there.

Skobov's appearance was such that anyone in the street could have stopped him and accused him of being an anarchist. He wore a long, curly beard that served to conceal his youth and the simple lines of his face, and he went about in an old torn overcoat and a VOKhR (camp guard's) peaked cap with a star. By nature he was a mild-mannered and kind-hearted idealist who would not hurt a fly. In his political convictions he was an avowed anarcho-Marxist; in economics an adherent of the early Marx. He believed in a pluralist economy, or rather anarcho-syndicalism,

Within the site there was a further compound guarded by police, in which the machinery and construction site facilities were stored. There was some debate as to whether this site should be broken into. Ultimately it was. The main entrance was then blocked and barricaded with pipes to prevent the entry of police reinforcements - for the inner compound was lightly held. In a typically rational Scots fashion the police were not going to spend vast sums defending McAlpine's machinery; there was a very low level of police activity. And they were local, country police, many of them also against the Torness power station, which has to contend with a high degree of opposition in the area.

Once the inner fence was breached the demonstration took a step beyond that envisaged by the organisers. You cannot construe such actions as 'violent', there being in effect no confrontation with the police. The most impressive sight of the day was the evacuation of the inner site in a body, after an afternoon's discussion.

The lesson to be learned is that of the effective contact made with the local population by SCRAM (Scottish Campaign to Resist the Atomic Menace). For the importance of not being an elitist organisation must be recognised. It is clear that anarchist society cannot be enforced and that our actions must take this into consideration. A good start was made at this demonstration to communicate with our fellow demonstrators and, if only we could achieve some degree of cooperation bet-

combined with total democracy in politics and ideology. He also believed in pacifism and rejected all violence. That, in short, was his programme. He sympathised with the hippies but was not one himself. He was enrolled as an external student at the Department of History and also worked as a nightwatchman. He used his earnings to finance the commune. His parents, well-to-do people with a beautiful apartment and a good income, had disowned him after he set up the commune.

The commune was open to anyone who had nowhere else to go and who wanted to move in. Skobov was the real organiser, and it was his set of rules for the commune that were accepted. Members could of their own volition turn over their property to the commune which was to be run according to communist principles. Members included artists and hippies from the Baltic republics, Moscow and Belorussia and, on occasion, students too. They held constant discussions about how things had been in the last century and in the 1950s and 1960s. In the course of these discussions, it emerged that 'new left' groups were to be found in many widely scattered parts of the country, including the Baltic states, Moscow and the Ukraine. What they had in common was a critical attitude towards the regime, a rejection of the capitalist path of evolution, a negative approach to the idea of the state as an end in itself (it could, in their view, only have an educative function), and a belief in the necessity of democratic reform.

In mid-August last year, five militia-

weon ourselves in making our own facilities on these occasions, I'm sure we could benefit from the growing disillusionment with the so-called democratic processes.

However, I think direct action should be taken beyond the nuclear site, and that firms such as McAlpine's engaged in their construction should be hit all over the country, and the reasons for doing so explained.

As Michael Morris pointed out in a Guardian article, Torness may be a crossroads: the argument is on as to which way the opposition can now go to be effective. The British media and British government is, perhaps with the exception of the Eastern bloc, one of the most secretive and deceptive of all ruling elites. Without the anarchist dimension the demonstration would scarcely have been mentioned, for the media reports only sensation, not argument.

What many anti-nuke people do not realise is that a power-structured society requires vast quantities of energy and that that energy has to be endless, and that to relinquish the nuclear source will be to strike at the very basis of such a society. Power-structured society has always regarded human casualty as acceptable in the cause of (a doubtful) progress, and the destruction of resources has always been a feature of centralised, authoritarian regimes.

To anarchists such an attitude has never been acceptable. It is an attitude that is common to the policies of both right and left. The anarchist path is very different.

ALAN ALBON

men broke into the commune and announced 'We're in charge here now, and we'll do what we like'. This was to take off the commune typewriter, place the house under surveillance and, in the course of subsequent searches of other suspects - Christyakov, Lepotkhina, Volkovysky, the Vinogradovs, Antonenko, Sokolov - demand the production of weapons and explosives, and confiscate (from Christyakov) the works of Osip Mandelstam. The police showed consistent interest in the politics of Skobov and Reznikov and wanted to know details of the planned All-Union Conference, and of the journal Perspektivy.

The arrest of Skobov and Tsurkov in October does not, of course, mean the end of the New Left Opposition in the USSR. On the contrary. On 5 December, for instance, around 200 people (a large number for protest demonstrations in the Soviet Union) gathered in the Kazan Cathedral Square to demand the release of students who had been arrested. Political discussions on these events were held in schools. A few days later, on 12 December, Reznikov was taken into custody for 12 hours because of the planned demonstration on Senate Square to protest against Skobov's arrest. Senate Square is the place where traditionally dissidents go to mark the Decembrist Uprising.

FREEDOM will report on any further details about the prisoners of the New Left Opposition as soon as we receive them.

GATA

NEWS FROM ANGEL ALLEY

THE MILAN COMRADES who publish that excellent monthly, *Rivista A* as well as, like ourselves, running a publishing enterprise, *Edizioni Antistato*, commented, not without bitterness, in a recent appeal for money, that if all those who ordered supplies of their journal and literature were to pay for it their enterprise would be solvent. Our own position is not quite so bad, partly because we no longer let subscriptions run on indefinitely (as we did in the past when postages and printing were not the major items they have since become) and because we limit the amount of credit we allow on literature orders. Nevertheless we are still a soft touch for some groups and individuals, for every so often we decide to write off a batch of bad debts as irrecoverable.

Freedom's finances suffered greatly in the past from failure to pursue payments for sale-or-return bundles. We have some excellent comrades and booksellers who pay regularly on the invoices they receive with each issue, but we need all comrades and groups to do this and not wait for a statement, and letters when they don't settle even after receiving papers for months. (We eventually have to stop supplying, so we hope readers who buy from a group or shop will bear this in mind and subscribe if their supply dries up.)

Freedom Bookshop suffers a similar fate at the hands of enthusiastic newly formed groups who expect us to fin-

FREEDOM'S DEFICIT FUND
(Target for 1979 £2000)

Donations Received
March 29--April 11

In Shop: Anon £2; ENFIELD: Z.J. £2; NEW YORK: S.B. £2; EDINBURGH: C.L. £2; SHEFFIELD: M.D. £1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p; LONDON NW8: D.S. £5; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. 50p (Again!); SASKATOON: P.M. 20p; STOCKHOLM: S.L. 40p; WAINUOMATA: G.A.E. & C.N.E.: £4; CHELTENHAM: J.L. £1.

TOTAL: £23.60
Previously ackndgd: £511.06

TOTAL TO DATE : £534.66

ance their literature stall and which fizzle out after the initial euphoria and the activists disappear into thin air and we stand the loss. At the end of March this year we reluctantly decided to write off bad debts totalling £474. The debtors are not commercial booksellers, nor those groups and "alternative" bookshops which run their enterprises in a businesslike manner but the starry eyed, real revolution-

aries, who would not dream of keeping an account of literature bought or sold but want to demonstrate that "to each according to his/her needs" has been achieved. No matter that it should be at the expense of the efforts of others, "quietists" who send a bill with orders!

Perhaps we should publish a list of these bad debtors. After all they are the real revolutionaries - or are they?

BOOKSHOP NOTES

TITLES CURRENTLY IN STOCK ON
RUSSIAN ANARCHISM GENERALLY:

*Robert C. Howes & Lawrence D. Orton (Eds.): *The Confession of Mikhail Bakunin*, cloth, £9.50 (54p), 200pp.

*Alexander Herzen: *My Past and Thoughts*, the memoirs of Alexander Herzen, ed. & abr. by Dwight Macdonald, cloth, 412pp., £4.75 (86p)

*Isaiah Berlin: *Russian Thinkers*, cloth, 312pp, £6.95 (54p). The "Thinkers" of the title being Herzen, Bakunin and Tolstoy. Berlin's highly original collection of essays edited by Henry Hardy and Aileen Kelly

*Nicolai G. Chernyshevsky: *What is to be done?* - a novel, paper, 354pp, £1.95 (22p).

*Paul Avrich: *Russian Rebels 1600-1800*. A highly scholarly and sympathetic account of a much neglected era in anarchist history, 310pp., pp., £3.50 (26p).

We also have a limited number of the cloth edition of this title at the same price. First come, first served!

WORKS OF GENERAL INTEREST CURRENTLY IN STOCK ON THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION:

*Victor Serge: *Year One of the Russian Revolution*, transl. & ed. by Peter Sedgwick, cloth, 436pp., £3.95 (86p)

*E. H. Carr: *The Bolshevik Revolution 1917-1923* (3 vols.) paper. The set 1452pp, £4.50 (66p).

*E. H. Carr & R. W. Davies: *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926-1929* (2 vols.), paper. The set 1632pp, £5.50 (66p).

*Anthony D'Agostino: *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists*, £2.00 (36p). A series of eight studies of the part played by the Russian anarchists before, during and after the Revolution; together with a critique of Marxism, Leninism and Stalinism from an anarchist perspective.

*Robert Nozick: *Anarchy, State & Utopia*, £4.95 (54p). A widely acclaimed exposition of minimal statism. Nozick is Professor of Philosophy at Harvard and this work is a complex philosophical critique of the state and the continual conflict between the demands of the state and the rights of the individual.

*Arthur Goddard: *Harry Elmer Barnes, Learned Crusader*, £5.95 (86p). An anthology in tribute to this revisionist historian - including contributions from James J. Martin, Murray Rothbard and many others. 884pp.

*Paul Eltzbacher: *Anarchism Seven Exponents of the Anarchist Philosophy*, £4.75 (54p). An American re-issue of a book first published by Freedom Press in the 1950s. Translated by Steven T. Byington, Edited by James J. Martin; it also contains Rudolf Rocker's essay 'Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism' - until recently available as a separate Freedom Press pamphlet. The 'seven' are Godwin, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Tucker and Tolstoy. (Our usual trade terms are available on this title.)

FREEDOM PRESS 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 7QX Phone 01-247 9249
in Angel Alley

Freedom

Media

Manipulation

YOU may have seen one of David Frost's Global Village TV spectacles the other week, which went out under the subtitle *Scared Straight*. It was about an experimental scheme in the US which employs scare tactics against groups of teenagers already in trouble with the law in an effort to put them off a life of crime.

Roughly speaking, it works like this: the young people pay a visit to a state penitentiary in New Jersey where they are confronted by a group of long term prisoners who proceed to lecture, threaten and cajole them about the evils of prison incarceration. The teenagers are humiliated by floods of street language invective on themes of homosexuality and violence in prison.

The idea of the Frost show was to screen a dramatically made film describing the project to an invited UK studio audience who would then 'discuss' it - with Frost as anchor person. During this floor discussion live TV links were available via satellite to two locations in the US.

One of these had a group of the prisoners who were involved in the project actually inside the jail - the other had the superintendent of the prison concerned in a TV studio. The programme was broadcast live on the whole UK ITV network late night on 17 April.

Of interest to libertarians, was the fact that among the invited studio audience was a sprinkling of comrades. Two comrades, in particular, were Jake Prescott and Anna Mendelson - both of whom served long prison sentences as a result of having been found guilty (in the British legal sense) of belonging to the so-called Angry Brigade conspiracy.

They were there - along with other ex-cons, screws, prison governors, PROP representatives and other prison-related individuals and groups - to put their points of view during the Frost-orchestrated discussion period.

It all seemed a bit like walking into the media piranha pool and expecting to walk out again on the other side completely unscathed. Or was it? The logical thing seemed to be to find out why they were there by asking there. To be more precise I asked Jake Prescott a string of questions some 30 minutes before the show was to go on the air. What follows is a slightly edited transcript of an audio tape recording.

* * *

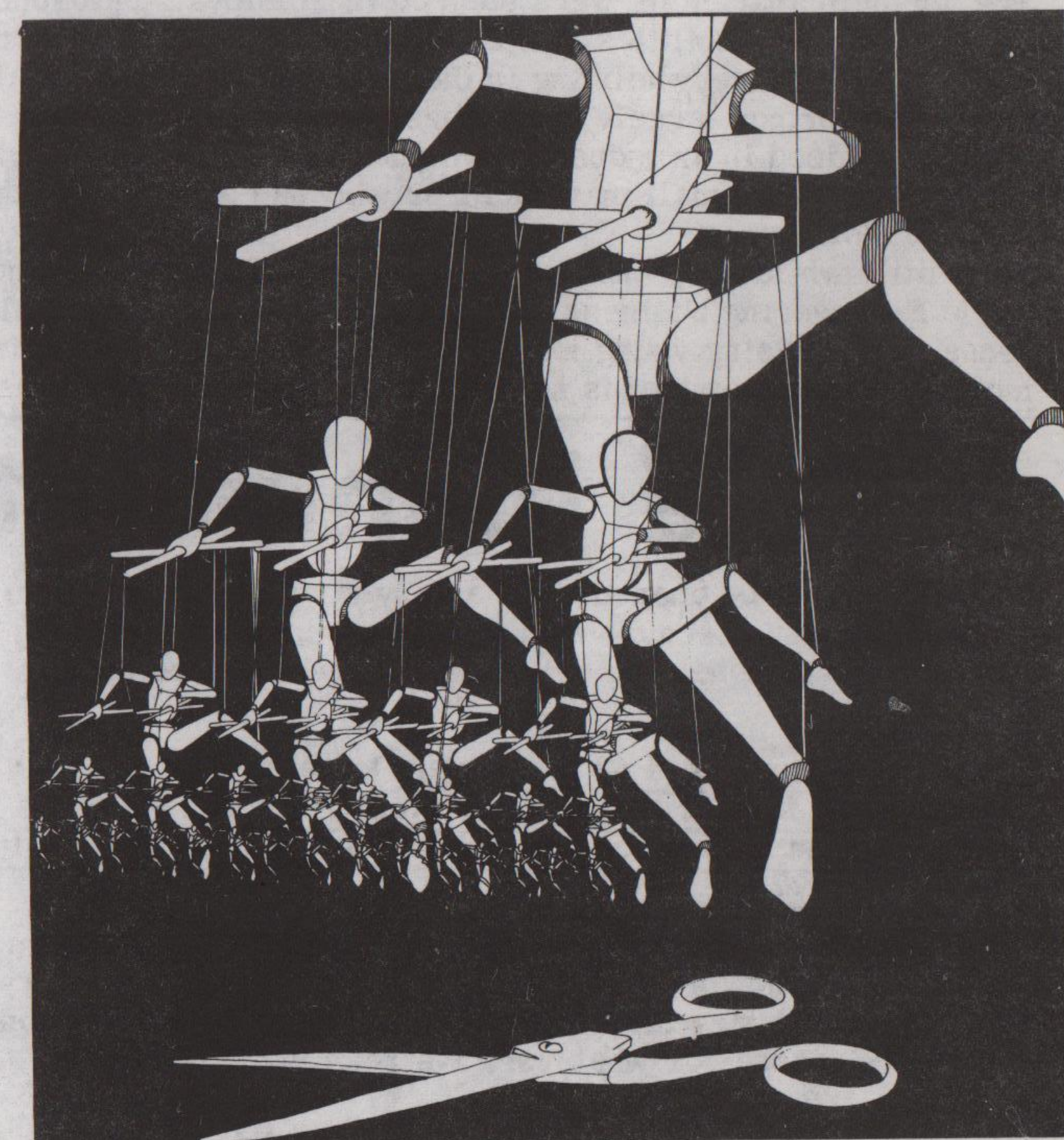
"What do you think you're going to get out of appearing?"

Well, the ex-cons that have just met together here (Yorkshire TV studios, Leeds), both men and women, have collectively agreed that all of us have come into contact with TV for the first time here, tonight, and basically we feel it is like a sophisticated version of the *Sunday Mirror*. A sensationalised thing.

Some of us have already seen the American film (also called *Scared Straight*) which is going to be the butt of the programme. We feel the guys in it (the prisoners in the US penitentiary) shouldn't be knocked - because they're doing a long time - but nevertheless the idea of the film should be knocked.

Basically we feel - or I feel, certainly - that however dramatic the film may be, it's not going to make a lot of difference to juvenile delinquency. They're not going to be 'scared straight' - they're just going to go straight outside, rationalise it and go back to their peer groups and boast about it.

This sort of project, I don't think will make a lot of difference. We live in a certain kind of society - we have criminal statistics and they haven't changed a lot whether you have capital punishment or you don't have capital punishment, or you have long sentences or whatever.



And I think we agree that we have to change society. But also we think the idea of the project in the film - in as far as it creates a dialogue amongst prisoners to get the thing going - is very interesting.

This dialogue - also between prisoners and the public, whether it be juveniles or whatever - is laudable. In the general British scene, with official secrets, totally closed institutions, total control, totally paranoid Home Office department and so on, they squash research, deciding what should be done - we believe it's very important to get across in this TV programme, if we can, against this amiable dictator David Frost, that prisons ought to be opened up more.

Continued on p10

Alternative Communities IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND

THE 1890s was a rich decade in the evolution of anarchism in England, with a variety of theoretical and practical developments. Not least of all were the community experiments in this period - drawing heavily on the writings and influence of Peter Kropotkin and, especially, Leo Tolstoy. Bearing in mind Kropotkin's advocacy of intensive cultivation and of Tolstoy's belief in the purity of nature - coupled with a long tradition of rural communitarianism - it is not surprising that most communities were based on the land. This was true of the Clousden Hill Communist and Cooperative Society near Newcastle (1895), the Norton Colony on the outskirts of Sheffield (1896), the three Essex colonies - at Purleigh (1896), Ashingdon (1897) and Wickford (1898) - and the Whiteway Colony in Gloucestershire (1898). In the midst of this 'back to the land' fervour it is interesting to find two communities in the north of England - the Brotherhood Workshop in Leeds (1897) and the Blackburn Brotherhood (1899) - which carried their Tolstoyan principles of 'pure communism' into the towns.

THE BROTHERHOOD WORKSHOP, Victoria Road, Leeds

The establishment of the Brotherhood Workshop in 1897 in the very centre of Leeds (and, in early 1899 a similar enterprise in Blackburn) showed that an urban location was not incompatible with anarchist principles. Nor did it matter that the urban-based groups were making bicycles and mending electrical apparatus rather than growing lettuces and making sandals. The northern anarchists were steeped in Tolstoyan philosophy, but found the possibilities of spreading outward in an industrial centre 'almost overwhelming in their extent' (1). The initial group was formed largely by engineering workers who had been victimised in an industrial dispute, and who were provided with capital by a small manufacturer who was attracted to the ideas of Tolstoy:

"A little while ago, one G. Gibson owned an Electrical and Cycle Engineering business and was ... in the 'Samuel Smiles' sense, a promising young man. But alas! for our good thrift-mongers, the 'promise' is not fulfilled, for our comrade has

come to the conclusion that he has been helping to perpetuate the property system and must alter his ways. In coming to this conclusion we are glad to say that he was greatly helped by the 'pernicious' teaching of J.C. Kenworthy. The upshot of it all is, that he has thrown his business into a communist workshop, and there today, with several other comrades, is busy making bicycles and other things, as merrily and as joyfully as one would picture men doing in the good time to come.

The organisation is entirely Anarchist and Communist in character. Each man receives according to his needs, on the basis of a common agreement, without the aid of any laws or rules. The profits from the business are to be devoted to its extension and ultimately to the establishing of a regular Communist Colony - an oasis in the desert of commercialism.

Needless to say we want every comrade, who needs anything in the shape of cycles, tyres, electric apparatus, etc. to see that he patronises the place.

Good sound 'bikes' not made of gas pipes but equal to many sold at double the price can be had from £9. The address is 6, Victoria Road, Leeds" (2).

As well as bicycles and electrical repairs the workshop diversified with woodwork, cobbling and tailoring. One room was put aside as a meeting room, and there were two more rooms where some of the comrades lived (with plans for further communal accommodation). With new activities and members, reports on the workshop's progress were encouraging. A year after its inception it was described as "something like a beehive, there is plenty of work for all concerned, and gradually the thing is becoming systematised and more conducive to right relations. The spirit of the comrades is excellent and bids well for the future" (3).

Reports suggested that the anarchists were succeeding in organising a diversity of activities without curtailing individual freedom. At the same time, they were acutely conscious of the familiar contradiction between running a cooperative workshop and then having to sell their products in the open market.

CONT PAGE 11 →

Continued from p9

During the actual transmission Jake Prescott spoke once for about ten seconds. Anna Mendelson did not speak at all.

After the programme Anna said she felt depressed about the whole thing. Jake was also unhappy with the way the show went. What the millions who watched got out of it no-one will ever know. Last week there were about 250 hours of TV transmitted on three channels in the UK. The same was true of the week before and the same will be true next week.

Are you getting your message across?

GEORGE BOWLING

New
from

ANARCHISTS

Rising Free Collective

THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE
Raoul Vaneigem, £2.

Cienfuegos Press

A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS (The Faces of Spanish Anarchism), ed. Albert Meltzer, £1.75.

and

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK

vol. 1. The Leninist Counter Revolution
Gregory Maximoff, £4.95

Media Manipulation

They ought to be opened up in a very structured way, a very responsible way, because eventually the aim for everyone should be no prisons - no crime. That's what we're aiming for.

"Leaving the content of what you want to get over, let's talk about the format of the programme. Have you got fears about being sat on and not being able to say things effectively and coherently?"

Well, I came along here on Saturday to discuss it with them. And no matter how nice the people are in TV, there's a very exploitative industry there. It's feeding a kind of monster out there - the masses or whatever. We're going out there, hopefully, like Mohammed Ali.

We realise some people are out to exploit us, to screw us - and probably we are going to be exploited to quite an extent. But, prisons being such closed institutions, any opportunity to talk about prisons is acceptable to us - whether it's PROP or anyone. Each of us, as individuals, might manage to say something coherent, and that might manage to stick to some brain out there.

"Are you optimistic or pessimistic about that happening?"

Pessimism of the intellect - optimism of the will. That's my credo.

To have refused to come on the programme would be to negate all responsibility. If the people appearing could have met beforehand it would have been much better - then perhaps we could have put forward some coherent refusal to take part in the programme.

* * *

One of their members, Tom Ferris (who later joined the Blackburn Brotherhood), found it particularly hard to reconcile commercial practice with his firm belief in the abandonment of money. With a comrade he is reputed to have travelled without any money to Russia to visit Tolstoy. Certainly, in 1899 he visited the Whiteway colony, where he "preached the gospel of no-money ... asserting that it was incompatible with good Tolstoyism to use money. Money in itself had no intrinsic value, and was received as a means of exchange only because of the Government's superscription, which being based on force (soldiers, police etc) was morally wrong. Also, people should be content to produce to the best of their ability, share freely all they had with their fellows and trust to God for the rest. This was elaborated in an eloquent and forceful appeal. The idea caught on like the measles, and was accepted by nearly all the colonists ..." (4).

Beyond their own circle the members gave public lectures and open air meetings in Leeds to tell others of their work and beliefs. They claimed that socialists, anarchists and members of Christian churches were watching with curiosity and interest the success or otherwise of their experiment in 'industrial communism'. They numbered amongst their own members the experienced speaker, J.C. Kenworthy, who had been so influential at Croydon, and others who had spent some time at Purleigh and Whiteway. But although trying to convince others, they were more concerned to see "new advances on the lines of action, than to draw a large congregation of people who, like so many around us, stop short of theory" (5).

THE BLACKBURN BROTHERHOOD, Blackburn, Lancashire

J.C. Kenworthy, who had been active at Croydon and instrumental in starting the Brotherhood Workshop in Leeds, was also responsible for carrying the message of Tolstoy across the Pennines to Blackburn. It seems that, as early as 1895, Kenworthy had been invited to speak at meetings that were sponsored by the Independent Labour Party. He paid two visits and implanted the idea of a Brotherhood Church in Blackburn. The idea was eventually taken up and, in early 1899, the group involved acquired their own premises at 35 Victoria Street. There were about ten of them at the start, including Tom and Lilian Ferris who came from the Leeds community. Their message was a mixture of hope and humility:

"We in Blackburn are like a city set on a hill; and it is a source of wonder to us that our tendency towards a simpler, truer and, therefore, happier way of living should be deserving of so much notice. One realises at once both the strenuous need of a right example and the inadequacy of one's fulfilment of it" (6).

Described as an offshoot of the Leeds group, it shared both its urban character and its Tolstoyan principles of organisation. The main activity of the Blackburn Brotherhood was the repair of electrical apparatus, and a sign on their window which announced that this was undertaken on 'non commercial' lines aroused understandable local interest. Alongside examples of their work in the shop window were copies of Tolstoy's books and pamphlets.

Tom Ferris explained to a puzzled visitor that "we call ourselves a church because we believe in Christ; we call ourselves the Brotherhood Church for want of a better name, and we read and circulate the writings of Tolstoy not because we are his followers, or recognise him as our head and teacher, but because we think his conception of the ideal life is the nearest to ours, and we think his literature among the best we can publish" (7). In essence, what they were trying to do was to put into practice the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, and Ferris traced the previous efforts to do this - first at Croydon, and then to Purleigh, Leeds and Whiteway. They believed that love is the denial of force, even of resistance to evil by any form of compulsion; that truth involves perfect openness and sincerity in all dealings, that spiritual life is only co-existent with entire purity; and that these principles, when carried out, would bring peace and goodwill to all. "We believe in the kingdom of heaven upon earth, which embodies everything good that is in socialism without its attendant disadvantages. We believe in the socialist's principles, but insist on their being carried out by Christian methods. I don't see the slightest reason why a number of people, holding the convictions which I have expressed, should not form a society within society, which should be an example of communism such as was realised in the early Christian Church" (8).

It was recognised that the fulfilment of their principles amounted to a total revolution, but that a start could be made through individual and communal acts of truth. One such act

at Blackburn was to practice the no-money principle. "We say that where exchange comes in love is not. Now you see how it is that I cannot accept payment for what I do as an electrical engineer. If anyone came to me and requested me to do some electrical work, I would do it cheerfully, only they would have to provide the materials. Not having them I cannot give them, and not using money I cannot buy them. If I had the materials I would give them also. But I could not accept payment for work" (9). In fact, only Tom and Lilian Ferris went to these lengths, and the rest of the community found the abandonment of money too drastic at that stage.

Alternative Communities IN NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND



DENNIS HARDY

More difficult than getting agreement on single issues like the no-money principle was that of developing a true understanding of each other and of what was believed to be right, which was essential for their high ideals of spiritual community. Their reports on the availability of work, and the increasing numbers who attended their meetings were encouraging, compared with their recognition of the spiritual barriers that had to be crossed. Practical experience strengthened their belief that the only difficulties in living the right life were internal, not external (10).

The truth is that it was probably both internal and external difficulties which rendered their ideal of a 'society within a society' beyond reach. It appears that the community did not persist for very long, and that it did not diversify its activities, even to the extent of their comrades in Leeds (11).

ADAPTED FROM HIS BOOK
(TO BE REVIEWED LATER)

DENNIS HARDY

NOTES

- (1) This particular comment is from a report in *The New Order* in December 1898. The publication carried regular reports (Leeds Notes) on the community between 1897 and 1899.
- (2) *The Free Commune*, June 1898, no. 6, Victoria Road was within an inner zone of Leeds that has now been extensively redeveloped.
- (3) *The New Order*, August 1898
- (4) Shaw (1935), p. 120, N. Shaw, *Whiteway: A colony in the Cotswolds*. C.W. Daniel Co. London 1935.
- (5) *The New Order*, December 1898.
- (6) Tom Ferris, in *The New Order*, August 1899
- (7) Tom Ferris in *The Blackburn Times*, 15 July 1899
- (8) Tom Ferris in *The Blackburn Times*, 15 July 1899
- (9) " " " "
- (10) Tom Ferris, in *The New Order*, November 1899
- (11) The shop in Victoria Street, where onlookers could once see the works of Tolstoy, is now a second hand furniture store. There was also a Brotherhood Church in the London Road in 1900, but this, too, seems to have gone by 1903.

INSANITY & the LONE ANARCHIST

I CHANGE

I MOVE FROM GREEN, THROUGH TO AMBER AND ON TO RED
ON THE ONE HAND I AM A TRAFFIC LIGHT
AND ON THE OTHER HAND - A SCHIZOPHRENIC

AS a group, society has created a strange state of being known as the 'accepted norm'. It seems odd that this 'norm' is so hard to define. The fact is, I have never met an individual who could be called normal! We are all different personalities and we all have strange quirks and idiosyncracies. That is good! It makes life colourful and interesting.

Oddly enough, as soon as an individual becomes part of a group they seem to fall under a spell; a kind of collective hypnotism. The individual will often deny the 'accepted norm', at least as far as he or she is concerned, but will endorse the need for everybody else to conform to certain behavioural patterns and anybody who makes a stand and says, "I will not conform" is either Criminal or Insane! Perhaps both. We are then faced with the question, "Is a wo/man criminal because s/he is insane or insane because s/he is a criminal? And to follow on from this would insanity exist in an anarchist society; I think



not. Mental illness, so called, seems to stem from the stresses involved in living within our present system; competition, housing, material worries, and hire purchase. Ideally, problems like this would not exist in a society based on mutual aid. Psychiatry is based on the politics of whichever government is in power at the time and in many countries it has become a very powerful political and economic weapon. For instance Russia has an employment problem, that is - there is lots of work and not enough people, hence the reason why many of Russia's mental institutions take the form of factories. The situation in Britain is the reverse of this and inmates in our mental institutions do little or no actual work. Both systems are designed to de-humanise people who do not fit in with the

way things are run. The psychiatrists have become the 'mind police'. They have created a new vocabulary and words like paranoid, schizoid and psychopath are fast becoming part of our everyday speech. What makes matters worse is that we are beginning to believe in them. Here begins the story of a lone anarchist.

In 1970 I was busted with five ounces of cannabis and the court in its wisdom sent me for a psychiatrist's report. The shrink asked me lots of questions like, where did I get my dope from? Who did I sell the dope to? Had I ever had a homosexual relationship? Obviously the man was a bit weird and I refused to answer most of his questions. It was not an interview, it was an interrogation. The result of his report was that he described me as having a severe behavioural disorder, based mostly on the fact that I had told him that I thought that dope should be legalised (silly boy!)

The fact that I had some kind of disorder came as quite a shock to me. I had never realised it before and for a time I believed it, until the next smoke that is. This was my first offence and I received a Borstal sentence for it; after all we can't have people who are a bit tapped roaming the streets, can we.

All laws are political and if dope had been legal there would have been nothing wrong with my behaviour, would there. It was in Borstal that I discovered I was an anarchist. I didn't decide to be an anarchist, I discovered that I had always been one. Psychiatrists would describe my experience as a 'trauma'. I didn't want to be an anarchist. I wanted an easy life and in a flash of vision I had followed my fate to its 'illogical' conclusion. I was mad, insane, and alone, there was no way out. I could not deny the person I was. It was a long time before I met anybody with the same ideals as myself and realised that I was not mad, not alone at least. I had, for a time, in fact, been convinced that I was from another planet, Zero the Hero, a 'Stranger in a Strange Land'. I believe that the mental confusion I suffered came because I realised that I could not conform to the 'accepted norm'. I was made to feel odd because of this, out of place and out of mind. I was very naive at the time and found it hard to back up my ideas with logic or facts, perhaps because of my education and inputs from society.

I kept very quiet for a while and never told anybody about my feelings, mainly because I had a horrifying fear of being carried off in a straight jacket screaming, "I'm not mad, I'm not mad". I had almost fallen into the schizoid trap. I had become paranoid. In retrospect my experience was a good one. I had achieved a certain amount of enlightenment. I had become politically aware and although my body was imprisoned, my mind had become free of its shackles. The authorities, of course, tried to impede this freedom with threats of further imprisonment and the ever present fear that I was going mad because of my individuality. The story of - I - the lone anarchist may seem strange to some. Is this man paranoid? you ask yourself.

I don't profess to be an expert on mental illness. There may be many strange states of mind caused by the chemistry of the brain, but if anybody is interested in a deeper study of psychiatric classification as a means of personal constraint, they should read *Ideology and Insanity* by Thomas Szasz (Pelican Books). Perhaps it's best if I finish the story of the lone anarchist with a quote from the same book:-

"Mind is like skin. Things happen to each. Some of these happenings we call 'diseases' - we investigate their causes and, if possible, we remove them. But what is the status of human nature in this scheme? The answer is: None. There is no such thing as action to attain a goal - only behaviour determined by causes".

Nearly Normal Norman
(The Unacceptable Norm)
NFH/KMS

Germany in midwinter

The Lovely Years by Rainer Kunze, Sidgwick & Jackson, £3.95

WHAT is it like to live in a dictatorship? Those of us who live in the only moderately corrupt state of Britain, and seeing the other country at second hand through the eyes of its exiled militants - whose emphatic rejection of the dictatorship often leads them to become its reverse image, authoritarians of dissent - tend to imagine it as some burning inferno of black black black night and death and despair where they, the bastards, crack bullwhips, and we, the suffering, cringe behind barbed wire and dream of freedom.

Unfortunately - for it were literally a case of such violent extremes, few dictatorships would last very long - the society described in this book is nothing so melodramatic. Rainer Kunze, an East German industrial worker turned writer, has put together a series of short concise existential notes which anatomise the society of the GDR, and particularly the lot of youth in the GDR, with a naked clarity not to be found in many heavy socio-political volumes. Kunze writes as a man who writes, not as a writer - and there is a difference. Events which impinge on daily lives are written down, recorded as they happen, and left as they are without literary artifice or sentimental moral judgement.

In the first section of the book, "Children of Peace", the author encounters a six year old boy sticking pins through his toy soldiers. "And why these especially?" - "Because they're the others", says the boy. At seven years the boy is playing with toy guns, he has a revolver in each hand and an automatic across his chest. His mother bought them for him and told him to kill the baddies. "And who is good?" asks the author. - "Lenin". - "Lenin? Who is he?" - The boy thinks hard but can't find an answer. - "You don't know who Lenin is?" - "The captain". At eight the boy fires his toy pistol at a man in the street. For the rest of the week the man has nightmares of a barrel levelled at him by a fanatic child. At nine - "Suppose an uncle came from America..." - "Impossible. He'd be shot at once by the tanks. Eng-peng-peng-peng" (with the motion of a submachine gunner). At eleven the boy is in the blueshirted Youth Movement organising something called 'Socialist Defence Training'. At twelve a patriotic teacher gets him to fire his first real pistol... Some years later, the day before his call up for real military service, the boy tries to defect. Caught at the border he is taken to a police cell. The subsequent police report says that he hanged himself there by his underpants. The patriotic Leninist mother who bought him his toy guns is handed the urn containing his ashes. The author passes no judgement, and the record needs none.

The second section describes those who manage to survive, and especially Kunze's own teenage daughter. This is a longer section of some 30 entries each one of which encapsulates some aspect of the petty tyranny and cowardice which flourish best in totalitarian climates. The atmosphere of the school is that which used to be typical of Britain - and to an extent still is - compulsory education being an excuse for many feeble and inadequate types to bolster their ego by bullying a group of children over whom they have been granted despotic powers. The difference is that in the GDR this is allied to the language of Leninism which, like the Bible, has a quote to cover every occasion... Schoolboy N is told to volunteer into an officer cadet academy, and schoolboy N refuses. He is expelled from school, and from all secondary schools in the state, for insulting the National People's Army. Writes the headmaster to the boy's mother, "We hope that this measure will help your son to mend his ways with regard to his attitude to the demands which must be made on any young citizen of the German Democratic Republic"... A Christian schoolboy kills himself (without police aid). The headmaster refuses to allow any other

pupils to attend his funeral and locks them in school for the duration of the day... A teacher goes into paroxysms because a schoolgirl is wearing a dark pullover ("I want the pupils in my class to wear optimistic colours!") and foams at the mouth because the parting of her hair is not straight... Another teacher pronounces steel-rimmed spectacles to be an imperialist fashion, a decadent influence. "To prove his point, the form master had produced pictures from a Western weekly showing long-haired youths wearing steel-rimmed spectacles"... And outside the school, the blueshirted Free German Youth and the People's Police - the police who are everywhere, alleviating their boredom with arrests, harrassment ("If you lie to me once more, I'll give you a taste of worker and peasant power!"), violence and simple omnipresence "like newly-sprouted trees. Police green. Evergreen".

The third section which concludes this all too short book deals with Prague, the Prague of 1968 and 1975, and the story of infantrymen whose unit was sent over the frontier to defend the Czech people against the imperialist hordes and camped somewhere in the Bohemian mountains for two months not doing anything. Beat music. Films. Dreary uplift films: foreign entertainment films: finally Swedish sex films with English subtitles. Boredom giving way to near mutiny as the lies collapse. "Unsuccessful attempts to make contact with the Czechs. A great awakening: 'I thought they called us?!'... No-one's afraid any more. One would only have fired to save one's own life. Have grown up more during these days than in years before". Then - recall. Inside the Democratic Republic - a hero's welcome. Bands and flags and patriots with speeches. "The troops - sulky reaction. Looked like pigs. Underwear changed three times in two months. Stank. But heroes".

(And when it is all over; when it has all ground to a halt... the bliss of being in a crowd... and of waving flags in groups... then someone will come along and make a downright staggering discovering - he will discover the individual. He will say: there is an organism, by the name of man, and he is what matters. Whether he is happy - that is the question. That he should be free - that is the objective. Groups are something secondary... the State is something secondary. What matters is not that the State should live - what matters is that man should live! - Kurt Tucholsky).

COLIN MACKAY

GIANTS AND PYGMIES

INTERNATIONAL congresses bring out the egomaniac in all of us. As a proud delegate of an organisation of British political pygmies, the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, I had hardly set foot on the rue Planchet near the site of the XVI Congress of the International Workers' Association than I was being lobbied for our support for various causes.

Rumours continually circulated about the attitude of the Spanish CNT delegation to the participation of the exiled CNT in the Congress. Eventually it became clear that the Spanish section had instructions to leave the Congress if the exiled Spaniards took part. Ultimately the exiles agreed in the interests of unity to meet the demands of the Spanish CNT and the Congress went ahead.

Concern existed throughout the Congress among the northern sections of IWA (Norway, Sweden, West Germany and Britain) about the relationship between the CNT of Sweden and SAC of Sweden, who had three observers at the Congress. It was thought that the SAC, whom most of the northern sections consider to be a reformist trade union, had been trying to seduce the CNT. In this respect the northern sections are deeply suspicious on mainly ideological grounds of both the SAC and of reformist elements within the Spanish CNT.

RESEARCHING ALTERNATIVES

IN October '78 a group called Alternatives Research Group (ARG) was formed at the University of Canterbury and we now have about 40 members; about a quarter are 'outside' (the university system) members, the rest students and lecturers. What we do basically is explore alternatives and thus give members a chance to decide for themselves what they like. We are mainly anarchistic/ecology minded and have quite a few activities going during the term, but are almost stagnant in vacs. We also publish a newsletter. Not very good as yet, but getting better all the time. If anyone in or near to Canterbury would like to get in touch, could they write to:- Wally Barnes, Eliot College, University of Kent, Canterbury.

REPORTS

The XVI Congress could crudely be divided, as later became clear, into Giants and Pygmies: with the larger trade union-based organisations like the CNT and, in the background, the shadow of the SAC observers forming one distinct approach rooted in syndicalism, and the ideologically anarchist oriented propaganda groups like the northern sections advocating a more consciously moral line. The most articulate and comprehensive statement for this group was made in the proposals of the Norwegian delegates, the NSF. Indeed, in many ways the Congress was largely a compromise between the Spanish and Norwegian proposals.

What the CNT wants is an International based on trade union syndicates. This became obvious in the proposals of the CNT delegation for a commission to look into the possibility of more unions becoming attached to the IWA. They opposed ideological dogmatism and sectarianism within the International and recommended a highly practical approach to social problems, like unemployment, with a set of cleverly worked out proposals.

Oddly enough the British SWF, perhaps the most lightweight of the political pygmies at the Congress, was able to support the Spanish CNT almost unreservedly on many points, including the CNT proposals for dealing with unemployment. How could this be explained when the SWF, so removed from responsibilities to a wider social movement - unlike the CNT - could normally be expected to be associated with a more anarchistic, moral, linear, ideological position?

Part of the reason lies, I suspect, in some of the distorted sources of information available in Britain which often tend to be unfairly hostile to the exiled Spaniards. But perhaps the most significant factor is that the British trade union movement is highly developed and that syndicalism on the shop floor is a meaningful force with structures, attitudes and procedures which are deeply ingrained in the British way of life. As E. J. Hobsbawm* recently remarked, "inside every worker there is a syndicalist trying to get out".

Now these positive aspects of British syndicalism or trade unionism set the British SWF apart from both the Scandinavian and the West German sections, who have a different trade union set up which seems closer to the notion of unions as state functionaries. This means that while the SWF is small and not very representative of the British Labour movement we are nonetheless the products of it and in a real sense influenced by it. Thus while we were identified with the northern sections ideologically, and supported many of the Norwegian proposals on crucial issues like unemployment and the siting of the next secretariat we often found ourselves alone supporting the Spanish CNT.

On the question of the siting of the next secretariat in Spain we expressed reservations about it, and asked for some reassurances from the CNT on the issue of security and the danger of a threat from the Spanish state to an international centred in Spain. The CNT delegate from Valenica (Carlos Martinez) retorted that it would cause more problems for the Spanish state if they tried to suppress the CNT than if the British government suppressed the SWF.

But the security of the secretariat in Spain was only one of the worries; concern was expressed by the German, British and Bulgarian sections and the former General Secretary, himself a Spanish exile, that the CNT delegation was treating the other sections like political pygmies. Here resides the basic problem of anarcho-syndicalism - on the one hand it is syndicalist, that is committed to the self interests of sections of workers as best expressed through the CNT section at the congress. At the same time, in order to prevent syndicalism degenerating into a kind of industrial gangsterism or purely conservative self interest, as has happened in some unions in Britain and the USA for example, there is some attempt to apply an anarchist world view and morality to limit the crude self-interest of unionism. In the Congress this approach was emphasised in the attitudes of most of the northern sections.

The danger in the CNT, as in all mass organisations, is that it may surrender its moral commitment to anarchism in pursuit of self-interest and organisational objectives. This was the fear of the Spanish exiles and most of the northern sections. We in the SWF, while we recognise the problem, do not believe that the CNT will in fact become a movement without a soul - a sort of political Frankenstein, like many of our own British trade unions. One influential factor in this will be the attitude of the smaller sections who should persuade the CNT that anarcho-syndicalism is not just a matter of numbers, the interests of major and political muscle, as the CNT delegation seemed at times to suggest. It is also a question of rights and obligations and a full-blown anarchist moral attitude to society. The CNT must already clearly realise this, otherwise it would not have remained inside the International. For there can be little benefit to them in terms of self-interest.

However, having said this, I personally feel that the future of the International must lie along the lines recommended by the Spanish CNT. In other words, to be effective it must become an International of syndicates or unions, rather than one of propaganda groups.

B. BAMFORD

* New Society, 5 April 1979

ANTI-NAZI FARCE

THE counter-demonstration against the National Front in Leicester was just about the worst organised demo I've ever been on. I say counter-demonstration, but in fact there were dozens of little marches going in different directions. For those who weren't there and haven't heard the sorry story, or who were there and couldn't work out what the hell was going on, here is a personal account.

I arrived in a coach at Victoria Park just after 12 and wandered around with Wrekin Libertarians to see who was there and work out the route of the march. This wasn't too easy, since there were several loudspeakers trying to persuade people to do different things. Basically there were three groups to start off with: the 'peaceful demonstration' known as 'the Bishops', who were so anxious not to have a confrontation that they marched right out of Leicester; the Anti-Nazi League (complete with Trotskyist accessories) who marched off to where they thought the Front were and various people

under the Trades Council who had the honesty to admit that they didn't know where the Front were and stayed put. Probably the most reliable information we received was from a Leicester Anarchist comrade who told us that most of the Front were already in an impregnable position in the school. They also had the sense to produce some maps and showed us roughly who was where.

We tagged along after the ANL to see what was going on in the city centre but, not surprisingly, every road that led anywhere worth going to was blocked by police cordons, who moved around like some elaborate country dance, shifting the already fragmented ANL all over the place. After about an hour of this meaningless shuffling we went back to Victoria Park in disgust, then cut through the university to see if anything was happening at the school. Well, we couldn't see much except for a massive ring of blue, so after looking at them looking at us, and overhearing one of them saying "All this winning is getting boring!" we started to wander back to the park. On our way we met Big Flame & Co. coming in the opposite direction, so we joined them and went back to the school. Yawn. One guy with a loudspeaker made a little speech, then came out with a few of the old favourites like "THE WORKERS UNITED SHALL NEVER BE DEFEATED" etc (who are Workers United anyway? Don't even know which league they play in). A couple of people got so bored with this pompous fool that they started stoning the police, who, being just as bored themselves, decided to have a charge with shields. The whole thing was completely ritualised - Big Flame, or whoever it was, enjoyed throwing stones at the fuzz, and the fuzz enjoyed the chance to play with their riot shields, arrest people and generally put the boot in, or at least that's how it looked. After this interlude, those of us who had escaped arrest or injury had the nauseating privilege of listening to some self-satisfied idiot claiming the whole fiasco as a VICTORY for the ANL! If anybody 'won' it was the police.

Admittedly, this was by no means the only thing that happened. One group managed to occupy some ground and pelt the Front with bricks as they started their march. Well at least they were the only group who didn't juggle things completely (with the exception of the Bishops who must have been half way to London by this time), but what did it actually achieve? True, the Front couldn't complete their march but they got a lot in return - lots of space on the News and in the papers, and a lot of public sympathy they don't deserve. Meanwhile the police can claim once again to be defending honest folk from 'anarchy' and also get sympathy for their brave lads in

hospital. Correct me if I'm wrong, but didn't the NF vote soar in the Hands-worth bye-election as a result of being bricked?

What are the lessons, if any, of this boring and miserable demonstration? Here are a few suggestions - I'm sure people can think of others: (1) If anarchists are going to take part in these things (and I think we should) we should go as a unified section and decide well in advance just what it is we're going to do. Leicester Anarchists did a good job in working out who was where, but we really need to do a lot more organisation for ourselves (whether or not we decide to follow the ANL line) and not end up following anybody who happens to have a loudspeaker or a loud voice.

(2) Throwing stones at the fuzz and/or panicking when they make the inevitable charge is pretty useless. A large, well-organised and determined group of people who know the area well can run rings round them without having to break skulls to do it. Surely somebody could be picking up police radio messages? If we had some idea of what they were up to, a few good, old-fashioned sit-downs could work wonders - they aren't the only ones who can block roads. (3) We mustn't let marches be dominated by authoritarian buffoons such as the Spartacists (no, this lot aren't a football team either) and other Trotskyist groups. There were about half a dozen sects of varying shades of Trotskyism peddling papers of varying degrees of boringness but as far as I could see, only the Libertarian Communists got it together on the anarchist side. Moreover, I could only see one other black flag, so either our normal group of demonstrators weren't there or they were somewhere on the other side of town.

One thing is clear - either we give up counter-demos as a bad job and leave it up to the Trots and the Bishops to wallow in confusion or we get together with each other and anyone else who agrees with us and provide a worthwhile alternative.

WINSTON SMITH

BLACK JAKE

SPECIFICALLY anarchist activities are restricted at present, due to energy being put into the North East Anti-Nukes Group, etc. An anti-election meeting entitled 'Don't vote; Fight back' was held on Wednesday, 25 April and we have produced a range of leaflets for the streets and for pushing through doors. The sequel to our expose of the state's 'Home Defence' plans in the north-east is now at the printers. Called Region 1 Supplementary, it reveals the location of the Sub-Regional Control, investigates County plans and Special Branch activities. Out in about a month.

AZIONE RIVOLUZIONARIA ALLEGED MEMBERS ARRESTED



FREEDOM's Anarchist Review of 9 November 1978 contained a document by the Italian anarchist guerrilla group, Azione Rivoluzionaria. Since then several alleged members of the group have been arrested and attempts made to construct a link between them, the Red Brigades, the Autonomia movement and the Red Army Faction in West Germany. Details of these arrests, and new material on the ideas of AR will appear in FREEDOM within the next month.

AMERICAN JOURNEY-

LAST MONTH I had an unexpected chance to spend a fortnight in the United States, and while I was there I was able to meet several American comrades.

My journey was made possible by the American Atheists, who invited me to attend their ninth Annual Convention in Dallas, Texas, and paid my air fare. The American Atheists is the largest militant freethought organisation in North America, founded and led by a remarkable sixty-year-old woman called Madalyn Mays Murray O'Hair. She has been fighting a bitter struggle for the complete separation of Church and State, following the American Constitution, during the past 20 years. This struggle has involved legal and physical harassment, arrest and assault by policemen and vigilantes, going on the run and working underground, affecting her family as well as herself. In the process she has fought against as well as with virtually every other freethought organisation in this country, and during the past ten years she has been mainly concerned to build up her own. She is its undisputed figure-head and spokesperson, being mainly assisted by members of her family, though she has even quarrelled with some of these.

What makes all this interesting is that Madalyn O'Hair calls herself an anarchist in general and a Stirnerite in partic-

ular - though her authoritarian methods and her obsession with constitutional and judicial matters make this hard to accept without reservation. Nevertheless she is probably one of the best-known anarchists as well as certainly the best-known atheist in the United States.

At the Convention there were some other anarchists, especially from the lively group in Tucson, Arizona. Fred Woodworth, who produced *The Match!* until two years ago, wasn't able to come, but some of his colleagues did, and I was especially impressed by Conrad Goeringer, who used to work on *The Match!* and who now produces his own paper, *The Protest*. This is a monthly newspaper which he finances and produces himself, printing 15,000 copies of each issue which are circulated free in the community. It has the same high standards of appearance and writing as *The Match!* and must be one of the best libertarian papers now appearing in English.

Like many American radicals, Conrad came from the political right and has a strong interest in conspiracy theories of politics. Although he is an expert on the Kennedy assassination, he hadn't been to Dallas before, and he treated me to a remarkable description of the whole subject on the spot. It seems to be generally agreed in Dallas that Oswald wasn't the only person involved and to be widely assumed that truth will even-

tually emerge. I remain pretty indifferent, but I couldn't fail to be impressed by the evidence I was shown in Dealey Plaza.

I wasn't able to visit Tucson, because I had already arranged to go on to Chicago. There I went to one of the great shrines of anarchist history - the Waldheim Cemetery. This was originally the German graveyard, nearly 10 miles west of central Chicago on the site of an Indian burial ground, and its name has now been translated as Forest Home. It lies just off the huge Eisenhower Expressway, at the end of one of the subway lines, being only about 10 minutes' walk from the station. There is no indication of it, but there is no difficulty in finding the Haymarket Martyrs' Monument, a large sculpture erected in 1893 by Albert Weinert in memory of the four anarchists who were hanged in November 1887 after being framed for a bomb which was thrown at the police during an eight-hour demonstration in May 1886.

Under the statue of a woman placing a wreath on the brow of a prone man is the date, 1887, and an inscription giving the last words of one of the martyrs, August Spies: "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today". On the back is a quotation from the pardon granted in 1893 by Governor Altgeld, and the names of the four who were hanged (and the fifth who killed himself): August Spies, Adolph Fischer, Albert R. Parsons, Louis Lingg and George Engel. Above are the names and death dates of the three who were reprieved and later released: Michael Schwab, Oscar Neebe and Samuel Fielden.

This is certainly one of the most impressive monuments to our cause, and it was a moving experience to see it. Immediately next to it is the grave of Lucy Parsons, the widow of the only American among the martyrs, who remained active on the extreme left for more than half a century. Nearby are several graves of other comrades, the largest monument being that of Emma Goldman, whose body was brought here when she died in Canada in 1940. The gravestone has a bronze relief of her, the wrong date for her death (1939!) and a good epitaph: "Liberty will not descend to a people, a people must raise themselves to liberty".

Not far away is the grave of one of her lovers, Ben Reitman, one of the heroes of the Wobly free-speech struggle. His epitaph is: "Liberty was his life, liberty in thought, word and deed". There is Harry Kelly, who was active on both sides of the Atlantic, with another nice epitaph: "He shared his life with humanity". There is Voltairine de Cleyre. There are many others - anarchists, Wobblies, socialists, Communists. There are some of the ashes of Joe Hill and Bill

Poster for
Protest Meeting,
Chicago, 1886.

THROUGH ANARCHIST HISTORY

Haywood. It is a haunted, and haunting, spot.

Back in central Chicago, the place where the bomb was thrown just off Haymarket is unmarked, and the area is being demolished and rebuilt. Nearby is the site of a sculpture in honour of the police, but it was defaced and destroyed so many times from its erection in 1889 onwards that in 1972 it was finally removed to a police station for safety, and all that is left is its symbolically bare base! Not far away is the site of the execution, but this alley is also unmarked. Fortunately there is a detailed guidebook called *Haymarket Revisited*, written by William J. Adelman and published by the Illinois Labor History Society in 1976, which is a model of its kind.

Turning to the other extreme of anarchism, right-wing libertarianism is very strong in the United States, producing more publications than any other variety. In Buffalo, where I stopped to see the Niagara Falls, I visited one of the editors of one of the better Libertarian papers, Ralph Raico of *Inquiry*, a fortnightly I write reviews for. It is published by the Cato Institute, a rich foundation obviously backed by businessmen willing to finance radical propaganda, of which there seem to be an inexhaustible supply in America. Most of those involved seem to have come from the political right or centre, and it is perhaps only in the peculiar context of American politics that they find themselves moving into libertarianism and towards anarchism.

In New York I visited the libertarian bookshop, Laissez-Faire Books, which has good premises at 206 Mercer Street, between Greenwich Village and Chinatown, but which is not very well stocked or attended. In fact I didn't find a single place in New York which offered a proper range of left-wing publications, the political shops being too specialist and sectarian and the general shops not bothering at all. The Libertarian Book Club still holds meetings, but publishes virtually nothing.

I was unable to meet many of the people I should have liked to meet, such as Michael Coughlin of *The Dandelion* or Chuck Hamilton of *Free Life Editions* or Murray Bookchin. But I did manage to meet Sam Dolgoff, the veteran anarcho-syndicalist agitator and author, and Ahnre Thorne, the last editor of the *Frage Arbeiter Shtimme*, the paper which was until it closed down last year the oldest Yiddish anarchist paper in the world. They and their wives told me many interesting things about the struggles for free thought and free socialism among the Jewish immigrants, and asked after many old friends in Britain.

I was able to renew an old acquaintance with Paul Avrich, who has turned his

scholarly attentions from Russian to American anarchism, though he is also working on a study of left-wing opposition to the Bolsheviks during the 1920s. He has of course just published a biography of Voltairine de Cleyre, and he has nearly finished a history of the Ferrer Schools in the United States, which will be a valuable contribution to the study both of anarchism and of education. He has collected a great deal of material about a great many anarchists, including several British comrades who spent some time across the Atlantic. We can look forward to more books or at least essays in *FREEDOM*, filling in the gaps and putting right the errors in our knowledge of our movement.

I got the clear impression that the anarchist movement is even more confused and disunited in America than in Britain. After the suspension of *The Match!* also seems to be in some difficulty. There is no single regular paper directed at or read by the bulk of anarchists - indeed the nearest substitute seems to be *FREEDOM*, but the American comrades rightly point out that it

is unavoidably narrow in range and unfortunately poor in appearance. There are very radical groups, but they seem to be fragmented and alienated from what wider movement there is. There are very moderate groups, but they are being diverted into the blind alley of parliamentarism - the Libertarian Party fights elections, and looks like taking them seriously.

The most obviously useful thing coming from America at the moment is a constant stream of serious books on various aspects of anarchism - biographies and histories on all sorts of individuals and groups - but they are unfortunately both expensive and elusive. More important than this, however, is the quiet but clear influence of a libertarian lifestyle, not just in communes but in all aspects of society. In a bare fortnight I saw only a tiny fraction of that frightening and fascinating country, but I felt that serious attempts are being made by many good libertarians to seize the opportunity of the end of the civil rights struggle and the Vietnam War to get on with the constructive work of developing both the theory and the practice of the free society which America has always aspired to but never achieved. Perhaps they have a better chance in the absence of a political labour movement or a parliamentary socialist party; anyway, good luck to them, and let us learn what we can from them.

N.W.

LETTER

AMERICAN PRISONERS TODAY

WE received the 24 February '79 (vol. 40 no. 3) issue of *FREEDOM* through our comrade Carl Harp here at the Washington State Penitentiary. We read the Belfast Anarchist Collective's article on 'Prisons and Political Status'. We would like to respond to part of it if we may, seeing's how it is talking about us prisoners.

The last line "But the question of all prisoners being political, in fact class prisoners, must be raised, and answered". We wish to say this: Not all prisoners are political or even progressive, but when prisoners rise up against the keepers and/or the State we must come to their aid. Priorities are mandatory even when we are over-all trying to do away with the whole system. Political prisoners must be supported and protected. All prisoners are class prisoners and in that sense political prisoners, but all prisoners are not political or even progressive.

How do we say all prisoners are class prisoners? Very simple if one can't see that only working class and poor people fill the jails and prisons and get the shit treatment and conditions, while middle class prisoners shoot golf etc. if they go to prison. When you are arrested, guilty or not, who brings you to jail? Servants of the ruling class, right? They do so by any means necessary, and the court belongs to the ruling class also, right? And the courts with the help of the police send you to prison by any means necessary, right? And what are prisons? They are

warehouses where property is kept and that property is treated anyway the ruling class wishes to treat it. Therefore it is a class question and a matter of politics. So all prisoners are class prisoners, those who recognise this and fight back are political prisoners, those who go to prison for the revolution are political prisoners also. One can become a revolutionary in prison no matter ones crimes just as any person can be a revolutionary, go to prison and become a political prisoner. There is no difference. We must support all prisoners' struggles, even to improve their lot if that is what they wish for or for freedom and the end of the system; either way we attack the system and thus the State. Prisoners who will not do anything but their time should do just that, their time, and the rest of us should ignore them except where they are being done an injustice by the State if we can't educate them or help them see reality. All levels of struggle are mandatory in our war with the State.

We hope this letter helps. Our publication, the Anarchist Black Dragon, can be obtained from COUNT DOWN 901½ Williamson St, no. 1 Madison, Wisconsin 53703. We need your support for our work and existence here in the State Penitentiary. Please help us. We want friends and communication.

Neither God nor Master
ANARCHIST BLACK DRAGON
COLLECTIVE

Attention Workingmen!
MASS MEETING
TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,
HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.
Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest
atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.
Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Achtung Arbeiter!
Größe
Massen-Versammlung
Heute Abend, halb 8 Uhr, auf dem
Heumarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen
Desplaines- u. Halsted-Str.
Gute Redner werden den neuesten Scherenschnitt der Polizei
indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschossen, gezeihen.
Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!
Das Exekutiv-Comitee.

TRUCKIES IN REVOLT

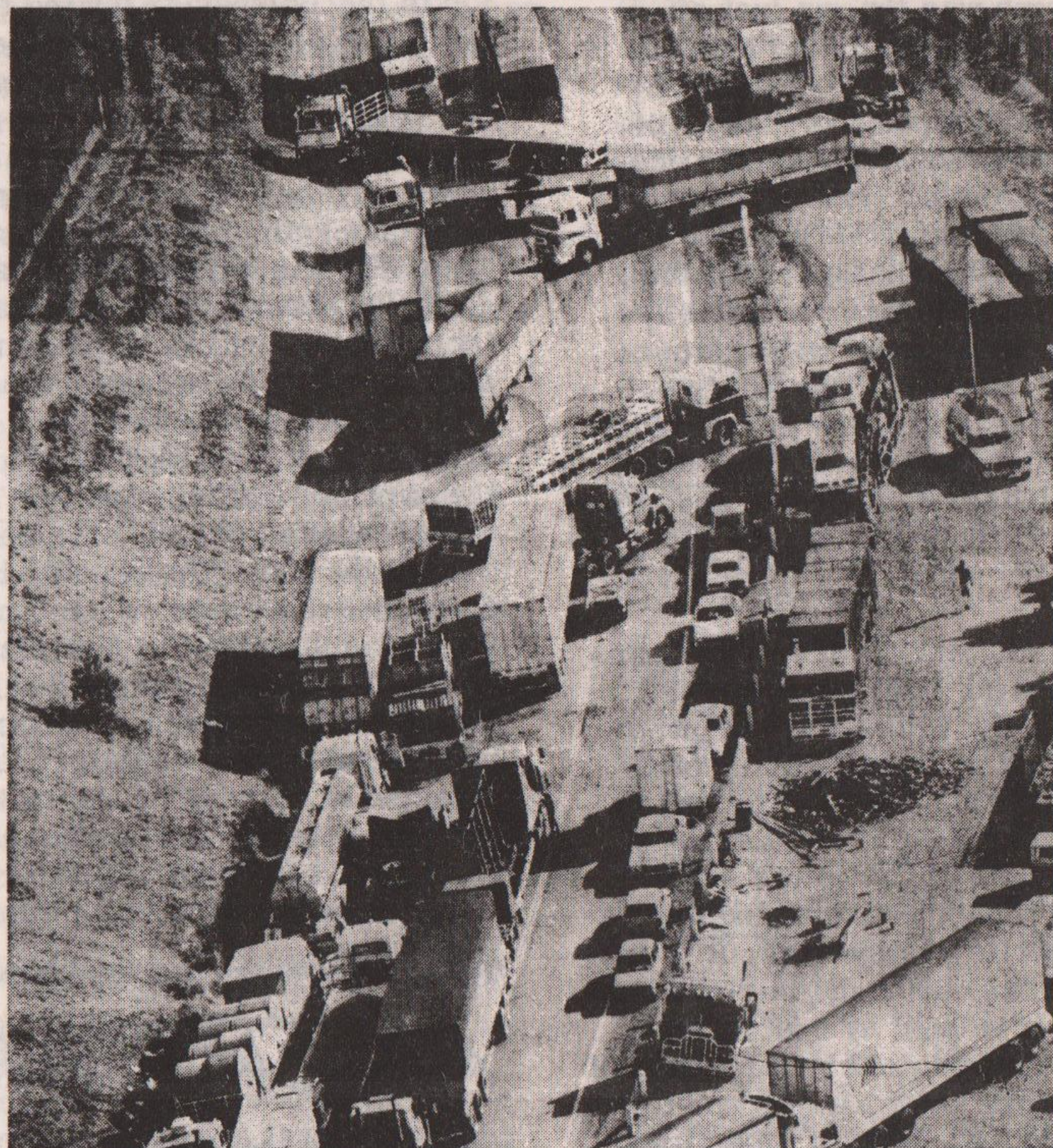
AS the nuclear drama at Three Mile Island unfolded, it had to contend (unsuccessfully) with the actions of rebel Australian truck drivers for space in Australian newspapers.

The truckers have been negotiating, petitioning and protesting for years about their grievances. If there's a proper channel in existence they've been up it. They've gone to government, unions and contractors and they've got nothing. Now they've taken direct action with a considerable degree of success and whatever we think of their cause there are lessons to be learnt from these events.

The protesting truckies are mostly 'owner drivers', that is, one-man business operations buying their truck on hire purchase. They are victims of the same misnomer that calls a 25-year mortgage commitment 'home ownership' and whilst they may have been sucked into the industry with the same sort of romantic image mongering, they've been spurred to action now by the cold hard facts of the industry. Net incomes of \$100 per week for 60-80 hours' work do not make for satisfying self-employment (average income in Australia is over \$200 per week). So they are seeking to improve their position. They are demanding an end to the road taxes levied by State governments, an increase in maximum permissible tonnage, a larger share of the revenues received by the large road haulage contractors from whom the owner drivers sub-contract most of their work, restrictions on entry into the industry to reduce the pressures of competition, and reform of the higher purchase agreements which overshadow the truckies' independence.

FORMING THE BLOCKADES

On Monday, 2 April six trucks arrived at a rest area on top of Razorback mountain. They broadcast a call over CB radio to say they were staying there until their grievances were attended to. Within an hour there were over a hundred rigs on the site. They soon overflowed onto the main highway from Sydney to Melbourne where they picketed heavy traffic. On Tuesday when the police stepped in to try intimidating the drivers the trucks were pulled across the highway to block it completely, and similar blockades were set up on almost every major inter-city route in the Eastern States. The truckies have a tremendous store of resentment to give them strength and they have muscle, both in the sheer size of their rigs and in their importance to the smooth running of the economy. They also have good communications through their CB radio network which has allowed them to act quickly, effectively and without a centralised hierarchy.



Some of the hundreds of trucks still blocking the Hume Highway on the Razorback Range

The New South Wales State Labour government responded by trying to intimidate the drivers with harsh legislation and police harassment. The right wing governments in Queensland and Victoria tried to use the situation to score political points by dropping the road tax immediately and pretending there was no further problem.

The mass media have rushed in with their usual sensationalist style - dramatic photos and headlines have abounded. But there's been no discussion of the structural problems of the industry or of the implications for the railways in the truckies' demands. In fact, the only medium to clearly set out the drivers' demands has been the counter-culture radio station 2JJ. The sensationalism of the rest of the media has fuelled the grandstanding impulses of the main politicians involved and this has made any negotiations slow and hard drawn out; but it looks, after two weeks, like the governments have given way on load limits and road taxes, and that the other problems will be looked at to forestall further actions. The blockades have also been lifted with the truckies more or less getting their way.

One point about the conduct of negotiations which is worthy of comment is the fact that the truckies were consistently represented by strictly mandated delegates who refused to negotiate beyond their mandates. The media and politicians of course claimed this was proof

of the truckies' bloody-mindedness and irresponsibility - rampant double talk strikes again.

THE TRUCKIES AND THE ORGANISED LABOUR MOVEMENT

The NSW ALP (Australian Labour Party) and trade unions were hostile in the extreme. State Labour premier Neville Wran used the worst insults in his vocabulary when he labelled the truckies initiative as 'incipient fascism' and then turned round to call their media-proclaimed leader Ted Stevens 'a power-drunk anarchist'. The left in general has echoed the premier's ideological confusion. For the most part left wing activists have tried their best not to think about the situation; where they have done, their thought has for the most part been incredibly shallow - following Wran's cue of 'incipient fascism' to point at the CIA-funded haulage strike in Chile which so badly weakened the Allende government.

In fact, there is nothing to suggest a conspiracy on the part of the drivers, just a growing awareness that capitalism has given them a rough deal. One of the first places they turned to for help in their dispute was the Transport Workers Union. So it might be safe to assume they have become aware that their mortgage commitments and limited market access make them virtual wage slaves to the big haulage contractors. Had the unions decided to back the

CONTINUED:

TRUCKIES IN REVOLT

truckies the obvious comparison would have been with the recent truck drivers' strike in Britain. But they didn't - which won't surprise anarchist critics of the modern trade union movement.

However unsurprising the TWU decision is, it remains an extremely unfortunate one. Firstly it killed any prospect of cooperation between the owner drivers in the foreseeable future. Also it cuts the owner drivers off from the sort of broad class conscious solidarity which may have led to a wider social perspective, a greater degree of responsibility and a longer term constructive potential.

SEEDS OF CHANGE?

To my mind, the big difference between the British dispute and these events in Australia is this:-

However remote the possibility it was always at least theoretically conceivable that the British situation could have mushroomed into a general strike followed by a reconstruction of the British economy organised by workers' councils and factory and neighbourhood committees. Or, in a more piecemeal development, factories closed for lack of raw materials could have been occupied and reopened for 'essential services' without wage labour or any vestige of the money economy, with the truck drivers allowing supplies on the condition that produce be distributed free amongst the struggling proletariat. Wild utopian speculation perhaps, but the necessary elements of class solidarity were formally provided for, had there been a sufficiently large and imaginative group, network or current of thought, organised enough to broadcast the seeds of such ideas.

Here in Australia though, the TWU set the drivers adrift in refusing them admission to the ranks of the 'organised working class'. And without the solidarity of other sections of the workforce the truckies' demands are bound to be-

come selfish, right wing, anti social, etc ... The search for privilege will emerge unchallenged by the dispute's other potential - to overthrow capitalism and build a better society in the search for simple justice and a fair go.

And so we have to look at what the truckies have actually achieved:-

Firstly, they have effectively reduced their responsibility for road maintenance and safety - through the dropping of road tax and the raising of maximum road limits. As an anarchist I'm pleased to see people effectively fighting taxes and government regulation, but we have to look for responsible behaviour to replace them, and I don't see the truckies making provision for road repairs, etc.

Secondly, and tied in with this is a further disadvantaging of the railways' ability to compete with road haulage. Road transport has always been less accountable for road provision and maintenance than the railways have been for their track provision. And now, the road haulage industry is to have its responsibility reduced further, reducing its costs and making it more price competitive. Thus we see a further strengthening of a highly pollutive, accident prone transport mode at the expense of the ecologically saner railways whose true economic costs are much cheaper but whose scope for corporate profit is dramatically less.

Thirdly, with calls for limiting the numbers of truck driver licences issued and prohibitive HP down payments on trucks we can see a move towards closed shop privileges at a time of high unemployment.

But these tendencies are not so different from run of the mill union struggles. Last year we saw the British miners undermine safety factors in their industry with the conclusion of productivity deals, and for years the unions in the struggling aero-space industries have been calling

for subsidies for their anti-social products. Groups like the wharves and the printing unions in most countries have featherbedded their own situation through closed shop regimes at the expense of unemployed workers outside. Perhaps the truckies' case provides us with a less clouded opportunity to observe these anti-social aspects of union militancy and reminds us of the need to constantly agitate within the union/organised labour movement for the stressing of progressive and anarchist initiatives in preference to the creation of labour elites and the fracturing of class solidarity.

Unionists are capable of first class initiatives; the Lucas Aerospace proposals are a good example of this, as are the NSW Builders Labourers Federation 'Green Bans' of five or ten years ago. These sort of tendencies may have grown out of the truckies' dispute here, had they not been sabotaged by the TWU and had they had a vigorous input of constructive ideology.

But the biggest single element in this case which stands out for me is the degree of spontaneity involved. Union betrayal was no doubt at least in part because it was obviously a movement which could not be easily contained. But before the spontaneists in our ranks cheer too loud, they should realise it was only made possible by the existence of effective and freely accessible media. In this case it was CB radio, just as neighbourhood radio has fuelled the struggle in Italy. So if we want to prepare the ground for spontaneous struggle we have a lot of work to do in creating media networks of all sorts, regular door to door news leaflets, wall newspapers, agitational papers for selling on the streets, back-up journals for theoretical debate, distribution of anarchist cinema and theatre and the opening up of the broadcast media to militant rank and file and community activists.

ALAN WESTFALL

SOUTHALL

ON Monday, 23 April, Blair Peach became the second person to be clubbed to death by the police on an anti-Nazi demonstration. There have been many racist murders. And we are advised that we must have 'law and order' to protect 'free speech' and 'democracy'. Just four points:-

1) 'Free speech' appears to be restricted when applied to anti-authoritarians and the left. The cases of Colonel B, ABC and the revival of prosecution under the blasphemy laws are only the most prominent examples.

2) By contrast the laws restricting racist incitement are little used. From 1965-

1978 only 23 prosecutions were authorised.

3) 'Freedom of speech', in their terms, is a gift bestowed from on high. The day after the murder the Chief Constable of Devon and Cornwall was on the radio, saying that it would have to be restricted further. Apparently we children need discipline for our own protection.

4) These riots, according to the standard media presentation, are the work of outside trouble makers. Yet 80 per cent of the over 300 arrests at Southall were of local residents.

These are facts. If someone, presumably a solid white resident, argues with them, try asking how they would feel if the Provisional IRA held a 'Kill the Brits'

meeting in their street

The need to protect free speech in Southall apparently necessitated the police breaking into a number of houses and beating up the occupants. In one of these a medical centre had been set up. Ironically enough, the doctor, who was one of the victims, was treating an injured policeman at the time. Another was Clarence, manager of the reggae band Misty. You'll not have seen much about it in the press but he is still in hospital. It is not known if he will live.

The Southall Defence Fund urgently need money. There are over 300 cases to defend.

D. P.