



SILENT PROTEST

ABOUT 10,000 anti-fascists marched silently last Saturday afternoon (22.6.64) through the streets of central London, in protest against the police brutality which made a another victim in the person of Kevin Gately, the 21-year old student from Warwick University, killed as a result of a mounted police charge in Red Lion Square on Saturday 15th.

We noticed with regret that the Trotskyist sections of the march chose not to respect the National Union of Students' call for a march without banners. The International Socialists had a banner and placards, the Workers' Revolutionary Party had also a banner, and the International Marxist Group was wearing T shirts and armbands with the symbol of

4th International, thus making political capital out of the violent death of an anti-fascist comrade. Nevertheless, this march was, because of the absence of the usual empty slogans and blaring megaphones, one of the most impressive since the war. It ended in Hyde Park, where student and trade union leaders denounced the brutal class nature of the British police, particularly the infamous SPG (Special Patrol Groups) which have been specially set up, trained and used to smash pickets, strikes, demos, squats and other militant forms of struggle against

the oppressive nature of British capitalism.

While the Special Branch spies on us, the SPG is let loose in the streets to finish their job, arresting and repressing the people of this country who courageously refuse to go down on their knees under the weight of exploitation. As in any other authoritarian regime, the British Establishment will use any powerful method to smash people's will for change, especially those pushing forward for a just, equitable and free society.

Let's make sure that Kevin Gately did not fight and die in vain. Oppose racism and fascism, the ultimate tools of capitalist rule. Resist oppression. . . Smash the State.

Claude.



ARTHUR MOYSE

DIALOGUE

The Threshold of What?

WHEN THRESHOLD agreements were introduced last year as part of the Tory government's Phase 3 wages policy, no one really expected the cost of living index to rise as much as it has. At the time it was really a sop thrown in to ease the wage restrictions imposed by law.

However, the miners' dispute changed all that. They not only got rid of the Tories but showed how direct action gets results. The three-day week was the government's reactionary reply and when they realised this policy was going against the interests of the employers and their profits, they went to the polls to save face. Increases in the

price of oil have also pushed up the cost of living but there is hardly a large company who did not increase their profits last year.

Employers are now complaining about the threshold agreements which are now being triggered off by the increased cost of living. They conveniently forget about the profits they have made in the past, when with the assistance of the government and the state they kept wage claims to a minimum. We all know, or we should do, that profits are what the employers are in business for. When these are on

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THE COMMANDING DEPTHS

'DEMOCRATIC' as this country is supposed to be and perfect as the Mother of Parliaments is assumed to be, there is actually no set procedure for a government to resign when, and if, defeated. So last week when the minority (they all are!) government of Mr. Wilson was defeated three times, Mr. Wilson merely exhibited crossed-fingers or said 'Sucks boo', or some such schoolboy profundity which retarded schoolboy politicians resort to in their games.

Nevertheless the mere distant trumpet of an election was sufficient to set the Fleet Street warhorses pawing the ground and the Great Whore of Liberalism preparing to strut her stuff once more. Fleet Street and the Tories looked around for a campaign and a scapegoat and found it ready-made in Tony Benn who, idealistic prattler that he is, is prepared to take the pratfall and custard pies for Harold Wilson. It was he who had to take the can back for Concorde. Remember the white heat of technology? 'Twas Tony Benn who stoked it up, only having to damp the fire down next time in office.

The campaign was on nationalization, and Robert Carr screwed up Benn's speech to a Marxist plot to take over Britain. The howl was taken up by all the press and it was hate-Benn month. Eldon Griffith, a matching Tory idiot, produced (like McCarthy) a list of 20 companies whose books were being examined by the Government - presumably with a view to takeover. These were a curious lot -- British Leyland, two breweries, Gallaher the tobacco firm, Grand Metropolitan Hotels. . . etc. Twenty companies in all. Hardly 'the commanding heights of the economy' to use Bevan's phrase. It was no surprise when they turned out to be firms whose books the government wished to examine for a variety of reasons -- mostly because they had received assistance and tax concessions from the government! In fact this proves once more that private enterprise is not hostile to State 'interference' when it takes the shape of State 'assistance'. A ludicrous denial that tax concessions were 'assistance' was the weak answer.

It would be foolish to assume that this sudden Labour Party enthusiasm for nationalization was anything more than a story got up by the papers or a bout of propaganda got up by Mr. Wilson, or by Mr. Benn off his

own bat. The Labour Party can afford to have the hotheads in government (i.e. Benn, Heffer, Foot and Castle) blowing their tops every now and again. It doesn't do any harm and it doesn't mean a thing with a minority government.

Herbert Read once said, "Nationalization, which was once the official politics of the Labour Party, has been abandoned, except as a means of maintaining the salaries in the industries that the capitalists were willing to relinquish as dispensable." The major nationalized institutions have been the great financial flops -- the mines and the railways, for example. If anything seemed like paying its way - for example road transport and the steel industry - nationalization was never fully achieved.

Even under the Tories the 'lame ducks' of industry were gathered under the State wing, e.g. Rolls Royce, and many an addled egg (particularly Concorde, Maplin and Defence projects) has been nurtured under the wing of the State.

Countless research and defence projects, particularly in the nuclear field, have been sponsored by the State. That private enterprise takes over when developed and profitable is another story. Whilst one can demonstrate that private enterprise (i.e. capitalism) is not utterly opposed to public

ownership, socialization, nationalization, public enterprise or what-you-will, it can be demonstrated that such a path is not the only alternative; indeed, not a desirable alternative from the anarchist viewpoint.

Rejecting the thesis of right-wing anarchism that capitalism is a viable alternative to state control it is possible to accept Benjamin Tucker's thesis that the four evils of State socialism are the money monopoly, the land monopoly, the tariff monopoly and the patent monopoly.

So obsessed with the profit motive and the necessity of capital are some socialist theoreticians (e.g. Cole and Durbin) that they believe that State enterprises must make a profit in order to capitalize further developments. Under State ownership (as it is in many fields today) a profit is necessary so that the money be put into one pocket and taken out of the other. Nationalized boards often compete with each other like commercial firms, to the detriment of the consumer.

The ownership of land is basic to the problem of rent, housing and farming but rarely is anything proposed to be done. In a free society it is obvious that one would own the land on which one's house was built -

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Our Finances

Comrades our position is again perilous. Even though we have had some generous donations (e.g. last week we had a £20 share of amount collected by US Italian comrades at a picnic), the press fund is not making up the difference between what FREEDOM costs and the amount coming in in subscriptions and sales. By the cheaper method of production we last year ended up with a surplus from which we bought an IBM typewriter to improve on the printing face. We tried to keep the subscription the same for this year, but after the year had started our print bill went up by a total of £750 for the year, and so has every other cost risen from rail fares to ribbons and stationery to now postages again.

We are forced to bring the subscription rate to a realistic figure, so from July the rate for new and renewed subscriptions will be £4.00 (\$9.60) per year, with corresponding increases on airmail subscriptions.

We can only survive if you keep the donations coming, and we make efforts to get more subscribers and sales, AND SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE RENEWED PROMPTLY WHEN THEY FALL DUE. There are no fewer than 151 subscription in arrears. All these have had a further reminder at the rate (£3.25) which has operated up to now. If you are one of these subscribers, please send your subscription for this year NOW.

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13 - 19 June 1974

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ordering. Any book not in stock but in
print can be supplied. New booklist in
preparation.

Review'

Godwin in French

IT IS GENERALLY recognised that
William Godwin's Enquiry concern-
ing Political Justice (1793-98)
is the first full-length exposi-
tion of the theory which later
became known as anarchism, but it
is not generally realised by
English-speaking anarchists that
the book is hardly known in other
languages. A German abridgement
appeared in 1803, but that was
all until the twentieth century,
during which abridgements or ex-
tracts have appeared in German
again and in Spanish, Italian,
Russian, Chinese and Japanese.
Oddly enough the book has re-
mained virtually unknown in French,
the main language of the historical
anarchist movement. Benjamin
Constant, the leading French lib-
eral thinker who was a contempo-
rary of Godwin, did make a
French translation, but it never
appeared -- at least not for
nearly two centuries, for it has
at last been published in an ex-
cellent critical edition by
Burton R. Pollin, the American
authority on the work of Godwin:
De la justice politique (393pp.
Québec: Presses de l'Université
Laval. \$12.00).

Constant's translation, which is
a much abridged and altered ver-
sion of Godwin's first edition of
1793 (he seems to have ignored

the second edition of 1796 and to
have been unaware of the third
edition of 1798), was made in
1798-1800 and was even announced
for publication in 1799, but it
did not appear because Constant
did not wish to publish a work
which, he considered, "unites the
purest and truest principles of
liberty with the most bizarre
paradoxes" (a fairly typical
liberal reaction to anarchism).
A manuscript copy of the trans-
lation was preserved in Constant's
papers and eventually passed to
the Bibliotheque Nationale in
Paris, where it is now. Pollin
reproduces the manuscript, con-
tributing a long introduction,
which discusses the complex rela-
tionship of Constant's transla-
tion with Godwin's text, and also
some appendixes, which reprint
Constant's writings on Godwin.

It would be interesting to
know how this great classic of
libertarian thought is received
by French-speaking anarchists
after such a long delay. And it
would be refreshing if some of
the comparable French classics
could similarly be published in
English translations, to give us
something more substantial than
the stream of reprints and an-
thologies which is virtually all
we get.

N. W.

Workers Control in Peru?

On 30th April this year the "Revol-
utionary Government of the Armed Forces"
of Peru took a step toward "the constr-
uction of a non-capitalist, non-commu-
nist, pluralist society", by publishing
a decree, which encourages the setting-
up of enterprises promoted, planned and
managed by the workers themselves, which
will permit "the efficient use of reso-
sources without concentrating income and
the power of decision-making".

This creation of a third Sector in the
economy between large State enterprises
and small private businesses, is based

A MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY

Comrades are still being held
in custody in connection with
the kidnapping of the Spanish
banker, Angel Balthazar, and
with receiving ransom money.

It is important that these
comrades have our support and
that they are not left isolated.
Prison bars and brick walls are
bad enough, but we can provide
a message of solidarity from
the outside.

Send postcards to: Octavio
Alberola Sunilach; Georges
Riviere; Lucio Urtubia
Gimenez; Pierre Gilbert and
Arnaud Chastel at Prison de
Fresnes, Paris, and to:
Ariane Gransac Sadori; Jean
Helen Weir; Annie Playen;
Anne Urtubia; Daniele Hass;
Chantel Chastel at Prison de
Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris.

Protests can also be sent
to the French Embassy, Knights-
bridge, London, S.W.1.

on a notion of "social property" which
"recognises the creative work of man in
society as the fount and origin of wealth."
While this may remind anarchists
of Proudhon, it is also reminiscent of
some of the ideas of the Social Credit
movement of the Thirties.

Perusal of the four large and closely
printed pages of "Decreto Ley No. 20598"
also reveals corporatist aspects: all
proposals for "Social Property Enter-
prises" have to be submitted for close
scrutiny by two Governmental bodies and
have to be "within the framework of the
National Plans for Development".

Full details are given of the (hier-
archical) control-system of the enter-
prise, with "full participation of the
workers" (annual votes for a general
assembly, which appoints a management
committee); and a list of workers' rights
and duties includes among the duties,
"Contributing to the smooth running of
the enterprise and of the Sector, and to
its productive process in an efficient
and responsible manner", and "Complying
with the statute, regulations and inter-
nal rules of the enterprise, as well as
with the agreements adopted by the con-
trolling bodies of the enterprise and the
Sector." Workers can be dismissed for
"unjustified absence" during "three con-
secutive days", or "five non-consecutive
days in one month...", etc., or for "in-
tentionally spreading false information
which causes serious damage to the en-
terprise."

Scepticism, however, can be overdone,
and it is difficult to get a true idea
of what the decree means in the Peruvian
context, merely by reading the document.
Therefore, we appeal to South American
comrades, or any comrades with up-to-
date knowledge of what is happening in
Peru, to give us their opinions/informa-
tion on this particular version of work-
ers' control.

D.L.M.

Tate Gallery....RICHARD DADD/STUBBS
 Royal Academy....FINAL YEAR STUDENTS
 ALFRED DANIELS
 Garage Gallery...DAVID HOCKNEY
 Gimpel Fils.....PAUL JENKINS
 JEAN CROTTI
 Lasson Gallery...DURAND

MURDER INCORPORATED

I BELIEVE that it would be an honestly held opinion that if Richard Dadd had not murdered his father he would not have been granted this major retrospective exhibition at the Tate Gallery. The flippant critic could murmur Oedipus-schoedipus as he drank deep of the free iced champagne, handed out with due reverence by the firm of Wedgwood, and then admit that Richard Dadd was, in law, neither responsible for the murder of his father or this exhibition.

Dadd was born in Chatham in the year 1817 of good solid middle class stock and by virtue of his gift as a painter was admitted to the Academy Schools in 1837. He had talent as an academic painter in the accepted manner of the period, became a member of a group calling themselves The Clique, won his RA medals and had his work exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibitions. His life, like that of his companions, was mapped out for him as a good and worthy painter churning out fashionable academic rhubarb to decorate the houses of the wealthy industrial middle class. On the 28th of August, 1843 Dadd, working to a preconceived plan murdered his father with a spring knife because, as he wrote to Dr. Wood, "Thise and the like, coupled with the idea of a descent from the Egyptian god Osiris, induced me to put a period to the existence of him whom I had always regarded as a parent, but whom the secret admonishments I had, counselled me was the author of the ruin of my race. I inveigled him, by false pretences, into Cobham Park, and slew him with a knife, with which I stabbed him, after having vainly endeavoured to cut his throat." Dadd was sane enough to flee to France but while travelling through the forest of Valance tried to wile away the boredom of the journey by cutting the throat of an unknown travelling companion. And for this he was detained and on the 22nd of August, 1844 placed in the criminal lunatic department of Bethlem Hospital where he died on the 8th of January 1886 to be buried in an unmarked grave. It would seem that Dadd was treated kindly and fairly by the staff of the hospital, who were interested in the man as a painter, and in his 22 years of confinement Dadd produced those paintings on which his reputation is based.

His work is part of that minor art that floats on the kultural conscience, slick and pretty, emotive in subject matter, competent in execution but lacking in any depth of thought or feeling. Richard Dadd is known to the poster trade for his paintings "Contradiction. Oberon and Titania" and "The Fairy Feller's Master-Stroke", for they became almost a cult flag for the Flower Power Movement when they were tripping over their beads to hand out vocal love and daisies, for in his two dimensional world of painting Dadd crowded every inch of canvas with a fairy land forlorn wherein the very flowers become grave yard weeds and gloom and despair mark every face. It is claimed that Shakespeare rejected the folk figures of the Old Religion and in A Midsummer Night's Dream gave the new age the fairy world as we accept it, hand high and light as thistledown; Dadd reversed the process and gives a fairy world of maladjusted humans but in the end it is not important for Shakespeare's world will survive. Yet Dadd should and must be judged on the body of work on display and in his illustrations to the Passions he does not have the mystical power of Blake, the anger of Gilray or the sweet and erotic humour of Rowlandson. Yet of all the work on display I found much pleasure in a simple Still-Life with Bottles and Corkscrew painted between 1834 and 1838 and the earliest known painting by Dadd to survive. If Dadd had continued in this manner of painting I would hold that he

would be the better artist but he had a right to choose for it was his incarnation, but if he had continued as an artist as opposed to an illustrator of adult juvenile fantasies there would be no Richard Dadd exhibition within the Tate this day.

It is in Dadd's water-colour of "The Pilot Boat" that I take leave of Dadd for it is here that all his faults, for me, become manifest. The Dutch seascapes give the terror of the sea as their wooden ships seek to survive each dark green overlapping wave. The English seascape painters give a world of clean waters laced with white crested green tumbling waves whereon the wooden ships with their white canvases bending and bowing to the soft wet winds dance their gay gavotte but Dutch or English gave the sea a depth, a romance and a knowledge of drowned death that Dadd is unable to capture, for like a child's cut-out theatre Dadd's seascape is indeed a painted ship upon a painted ocean.

REASONS OF POLITIC

One pauses within the exhibition to pay another tribute to the work of Stubbs and the ceramic plaques he produced for Wedgwood in this true marriage of artist and craftsman, drink two more glasses of iced champagne and thank Patricia Alderidge, the Archivist of the Bethlem Royal Hospital, for her researching into Dadd's work, and then walk back to Town thinking on Dadd's claim that when he fled to France he was on his way to kill the Emperor of Austria. If instead of murdering his kindly father poor Dadd had succeeded in murdering the Emperor of Austria, then for reasons of politics one doubts if the British government would have sanctioned an exhibition in such international bad taste and Poor Richard would have found an uneasy foothold in the lunatic pantheon of those unfortunates who believe that the physical extermination of some office holder solves a problem and the political thugs would have used these vulgar and gross fairy paintings as their Stations of the crooked cross. And on Saturday one took one's place within the demonstration as part of the marching silent minority protesting the death of Kevin Gately conscious of the fact that a certain section of the committed Left had been given a martyr and was using the dead youth accordingly, but even with this knowledge one had to take one's place within the marching silent ranks.

Down Whitehall and turning left with the National Gallery on the right and I blow the Directors of the National Gallery a metaphysical fart that they should now mount an exhibition on the history of the National Gallery and mark it with a large Entrance Free sign when not one of them had the guts to publicly declare that they would refuse to implement the admission charges ordered by the philistine politicians literally ten minutes walk away, and down Piccadilly and past the Royal Academy. There within the Royal Academy the Final Year Students were holding their exhibition and there was talent on display. Good work by Leslie Smith, Nicholas Ward, Vittorio Cirefice, Ann Williams, Thompson and Millward, but it is the work of Andrew Turner and Desmond Rochfort that hold the attention for their political content.

Rochfort's oils are no more than crude protest posters but his litho prints are truly magnificent drawings in the Italian manner. Beautifully executed, here is talent worthy of the watching for his future is assured. Turner's "Ballads Moribundus" echo Goa's etchings of The Disasters of War with the roughly drawn figures in tortured poses within the spattered printed paper. Like

Goya, Turner uses simple phrases to make his social protest and each single sheet of paper is an artistic unity. It is his "Black Friday Triptych" that dominates the room, however, for in the crude bright colours of the trade union banners he condemns politicians, mine owners and union bosses and his Bacon type figures act out his condemnation against the workers' banners. Yet history is not that easy. In 1933, Judge Rowlands at Pontypridd awarded £541 damages to the widow of a Rhondda miner who had died of silicosis. The Miners' Federation needed a precedent and it was necessary for the dead miner to be used for a post mortem. There was no hospital or mortuary available and the post mortem was conducted in the dead miner's front parlour while his family waited in the kitchen and the miner's swollen lungs were wrapped in newspaper to be taken away. In that time of starvation wages, Churchill's troops, children's soup kitchens and millions of unemployed the desecration of that miner's body was held by many to be the final indignity and the Miners Federation feared to fight the mine owners on this issue for they knew that if they took the mine owners to court the victims would be dead before the cases were settled, and if they won, the vast payout would result in pit closures and more men on the starvation walk to the Unemployment Office. This is the dichotomy that faces the union in a period of mass unemployment and starvation wages: urge your fellow workers to fight a lost battle for the glory of history or work and starve in sullen silence. From the vantage point of London, time and full employment we cannot afford to play the judge. Men and women are not weak or evil because they will not suffer or die for our ideals, like us they survive and on their terms not ours. So condemn the system and pity the victims and praise the Drawing No. 1 of Margaret Smith whose figure of a single seated man lost in the isolation of her simple drawing spells out the eternal verity.

And I will apologise to Alfred Daniels for confusing his name with that of M. Daniel and therefore their paintings. A. Daniels writes that "The critics are too busy drinking the dealers' free booze, to notice the paintings" and that "all painters, artists, are by definition anarchists". I agree about the free booze but not that the artist-is-an-anarchist thing, Alfred, for if that were so there would be no Royal Academy for you to exhibit in and free booze for me to swill. But I saw Alfred's painting and it is a good, well painted satirical work in the English tradition and I wish him well, him on the line me at the bar.

And I join the Town and his sore footed frau as they compulsorily hand over the protest banners to the IS Steward and we will go to the Garage Gallery at 52 Earlham Street in Covent Garden to admire and question David Hockney's latest drawings in his thin erotic penmanship, pay homage to the best of the fluid abstractionist Paul Jenkins and the solid interweaving forms of the late Jean Crotti at Gimpel Fils at 30 Davies Street W1, wish Richard Nathanson's gallery at 36 Bond Street every success and with the Town and his frau humbly ascend up and into the world of wealth and bad paintings, Durand, that fill the lush Lasson Gallery at 82-on Jermyn Street SW1 yea even to hidden alarum under one of the soft carpeted stairs, and with the beautiful Jane Humphrey and Severino waiting to be seen I shall return. And as we lay the catalogue and the banner aside it is with the knowledge that we have a choice of murders to mourn. Poor mad Richard Dadd's kindly old father, Kevin Gately beaten to death by an unknown hand and a Welsh miner who choked to death in 1932 for the greater good of the economy, and every death was a life that should have not been sacrificed for their living was more important than the manner and the mode of their death.

Arthur Moyse.

Book Review

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION by Raya Dunayevskaya. Dell Publishing Co., U.S.A. Obtainable from Bob Potter, 98 Addison Road, Hove, BN3 1TR, Sussex (£ 1.75)

Mention the word 'Marxism' to an anarchist and you are liable to get a rather 'negative' reaction. Not surprisingly, for among the common characteristics applicable to all 6,429 varieties of 'Marxism' is the dogmatic intolerance of anyone else, especially anarchists. Where 'Marxists' have achieved political power, all opponents have been banned, persecuted or shot with libertarians and anarchists at the top of the list.

While it is true that this intolerance was a personal fault in Marx himself (for example his quite dishonest manoeuvrings against Bakunin) on a deeper level a case can be made that the 'Marxism' of Marx is very basically a philosophy of freedom, of 'self-liberation' through 'self development'. A very convincing argument for this interpretation is built up by Raya Dunayevskaya in her latest book, Philosophy and Revolution.

Raya Dunayevskaya has spent a lifetime in politics. During the period of the Moscow Trials, when Stalin was merrily bumping off the entire leadership of the Russian Bolshevik Party, she was secretary to Stalin's arch-enemy Leon Trotsky. Then came the deal between Stalin and Hitler. ('Our friendship is cemented in blood,' declared Stalin), Trotsky still maintained that Russia was a 'degenerated workers' state' and called for its defence. This was too much for Raya.

She broke with her mentor and eventually declared Russia to be 'state capitalist'.

The break caused her to 'dig deeper' into the philosophical roots of Marxism. She returned to Hegel. She excavated Marx's 1844 manuscripts (being the first person to translate many of Marx's earlier writings into English). She was also doing, she claimed, what Lenin had done before her - discovering Marx's Capital is incomprehensible without a thorough understanding of Hegel's Logic.

Philosophy and Revolution begins by taking us on a journey through Hegel. The going is tough, and we are assumed to already have considerable knowledge. She interprets Hegel's dialectic as self-development, everything coming into being 'negated', and so transcended on a higher level. I personally find this all good stuff, and whether her 'Hegelianism' would be acceptable to Hegel or not, I certainly think it was accepted by Marx.

But I'm not sure that she carries her interpretation through to the end. Her characterisation of Lenin is a case in point. That Lenin developed philosophically after 1914 is incontestable. That the crude mechanism of Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was replaced by an 'Hegelianism' in his Philosophical Notebooks or more concretely in State and Revolution, where he demanded democracy from below, with everyone to a man ruling society is not contested. But what of his practice? What of the suppression of all opposition parties and factions

in his own party? What of Kronstadt, where not only was a genuine movement from below ruthlessly crushed, but Lenin publicly branded the Kronstadt sailors as Czarist plotters? How does she justify this dishonesty before the workers and peasants of Russia? She doesn't. These unpleasant facts are simply ignored.

Her starry eyed vision of Lenin is the only flaw in the book. Later chapters deal very effectively with Trotsky who emerges as a man with a self-proclaimed, almost divine gift of leadership; Mao, whose little jingles in the Little Red Book are shown to be meaningless catechisms, and Sartre, whose existentialism is examined more as an exercise in Hegelian interpretation than as relevant to political action.

*
¶ Philosophy and Revolution ends with a look at the 'third world'. I cannot fault her analysis of the 'liberated' African countries, where 'the relations of production', the position of worker to boss, remain unchanged. The way forward to the self-liberation demanded by Dunayevskaya has been anticipated by the rank and file uprisings in Hungary 1956, in Paris 1968 and so on, all alike in that they were movements completely independent of all 'traditional' organisations. It is from these 'successes', limited as their achievements may have been, that she sees the way forward, through the 'dialectics of liberation' to the humanist society of the future.

We all look for a vision of this future classless society. How will we achieve it? What will it be like? Philosophy and Revolution is one of those books that can help us in our attempts to answer these questions.

Bob Potter.

Letters

THE MAKING OF ANARCHISTS.

Dear Editors,

Lino Molin's letter (15th June) expressed some hard, if unpalatable truths. I agree with his comment that "an anarchist is not made to order, but by a process of mental evolution".

The anarchist concept of a simplified free social system requires a deep and steady understanding if it is to "stick". Also, surely, with most of us there is need for comparative experience.

In my own case, it was early realisation of the cruel contrast between the lives of rich and poor, and especially of the brave struggle which my parents were forced to wage against poverty, which aroused my revolutionary feelings, rather than any freedom-urge.

I joined various groups dedicated to the overthrow of Capitalism, including association with but not membership of the Communist Party. Incidentally I still feel grateful to the Commies for a grounding in Marxist economics which has enabled me to comprehend the workings of the Capitalist system as I might not otherwise have done.

Am filled with awe when I regard those who claim Instant Anarchism, but sometimes humbly wonder whether they might not feel more comradeship for the infidel Reds who are manifestly prepared to work and fight - even to the death - for their beliefs, if they had journeyed with them for a time. Surely, at any rate, there are general issues upon which limited anarchist cooperation with the "Left" could occur? Certainly the snide shots left off from the anarchist Ivory Tower at genuine, if from a libertarian standpoint, mistaken, Marxist revolutionaries, could rebound to the belittlement of anarchism.

Frequently despair, personally, of ever becoming a proper anarchist. Even though, as Neville Chamberlain said "God knows I have tried!". There are so many precepts to be known and observed in this non-authoritarian philosophy.

But, hopefully, there are increasing occasions when I find myself commenting on Governments' behaviour, "The Anarchists are right!".

Fraternally,
K. Lamb

CORRECTION

Dear Comrades,

I would like to correct an error which you made in my letter in your June 8 edition of FREEDOM ("Come the Revolution")

The sentence which read, "...the ideas of anarchism should focus exclusively on industry, work, economics..." should read: "...shouldn't focus exclusively ...". As you can see, the sense is changed radically by this error.

In solidarity,
P. Murtagh.

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Civil War in Spain

CRUSADE IN SPAIN, by Jason Gurney. (Faber) £2.95

THIS ACCOUNT of the experiences of an ordinary soldier in the International Brigade is of particular interest as the author was not a member of any political organization. Jason Gurney, who died last year, described himself as an old fashioned radical who went to Spain to fight against Fascism and for social justice.



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Not being a member of any party he views their roles in the Spanish Revolution as an outsider with no particular axe to grind. Consequently the Anarchists receive more credit for their part in the struggle than they usually receive from partisan Left writers. One thing is certain from his account of the war and that is the burden of guilt which must rest on the shoulders of the Communist Party. The Communist leaders he met in Spain ranged from the incompetent to the brutal and their final betrayal of the Spanish Revolution can be seen coming from the beginning. As a soldier on the Jarama Front, Gurney saw for himself the result of an ideology which puts the 'cause' above the people fighting for that cause.

Although the horrors of the Spanish Civil War are brought clearly to the reader, the book is not without some humour and some cynicism. Gurney tells of the visits to the front by such political tourists as Auden and Spender. Ernest Hemingway visited the front line and, sitting behind the bullet-proof shield of a machine-gun, let off a whole belt of ammunition roughly in the direction of the enemy.

"This did nothing," recalls Gurney, "except provoke a mortar attack. Hemingway did not stay for that!"

"Crusade in Spain" is not a history of the International Brigade, but students of history will find interest in the account of one of the soldiers who mapped the battles of Jarama.

However, even with two maps and twelve photographic plates the book is expensive at £2.95, but there are libraries!

Larry.

New Books in Brief

General History

EDWARD HYAMS, the author of "Assassination No Murder", has now produced "The Millennium Postponed", a history of "socialism from Sir Thomas More to Mao Tse-Tung". Hyams is sympathetic to anarchism, and there are chapters on "libertarian socialism", "anarchists in action", and the Spanish Civil War. The last chapter is ominously titled "The Millennium has been cancelled". The book is 277 pages long, costs £ 4.00, and is published by Secker & Warburg.

Brazil

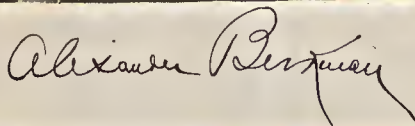
JOHN W. DULLES, an American historian, has produced a very thick tome entitled "Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900-1935". It's got some nice pictures, lots of notes, and is published by the University of Texas Press at \$12.50. (About £ 6.00).

Both of the above can be obtained through Freedom Bookshop.

[illegible]

All popular upheavals have shown this to be true; particularly so the Russian Revolution. It was because of that spirit that the Russian masses so strikingly triumphed over all obstacles in the days of February and October. No op-

It cannot be emphasised too strongly how essential spiritual values are to the social revolution. These and the consciousness of the masses that the revolution also means material betterment are dynamic influences in the life and



It is from this angle that all the problems of the revolutionary period must be considered and solved. Among those problems the most important are consumption and housing, production and exchange.

Jack Robinson.

Contact

HELP fold and despatch
FREEDOM on Thursdays
from 2 p.m. at Freedom
followed by get-together with
refreshments.

Tom Taylor, now living at 30 Mel-
break Ave., Cockermouth, Cumbria
wd. like his friend Mr. Dodds to
get into touch with him.

ANARCHO FEMINIST NETWORK formed
at Anarchist Conference April 19-
21. We'd like to make contact
with our sisters everywhere. A-F
Network, c/o Come/Unity Press,
E. 17th St. New York, N.Y. 10003.

ANARCHO-FEMINIST ANTHOLOGY - we
are collecting material for an an-
thology of anarcho-feminism. Write
Arlene, c/o Siren, 713 W. Armitage
Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60614, U S A.

Guy, 22, would like to get tog-
ether with 6-8 people to start a
commune. If you are interested
please write to Steve Cook,
c/o 60 Settles St., London, E.1.

ARTHUR MOYSE's ironically wound-
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Publishing House, c/o Matsuki
Building, 1-464 Higashiookubo,
Shinjuku-ku, TOKYO. (All monies
to help future publications of
the Tokyo anarchist group)

ANARCHIST WOMEN's group meets
Mondays. Tel. 01-883 2457.

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Con-
tact Keith Sowerby (corresp. only)
150 Shorrocks Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT

CENTRO IBERICO meets Sats/Suns 7 pm
83A Haverstock Hill NW3 (side entr.
Steele's Rd) Bus 31,68. Tube Chalk
Fm or Belsize Park.

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Un-
ion, 2 p.m. 37 Mayola Rd. London
E.5. (tel. 01-986 5251). Informa-
tion on activities elsewhere from
same address.

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM N.IRELAND
campaign still continues. Info.,
leaflets &c from BWNIC c/o
3 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

UNITY THEATRE Case for a Rebel by
Emmanuel Robles (Dutch Indonesia
1948). Fri., Sat. & Sun until July
6, 7.45 p.m. July 10-28 guest
company The Women's Company in
Go West Young Woman (tel. 387 8647)

POETRY READING for East Enders at
Half Moon Theatre, Alie St. E.1.
(tube Aldgate East) Tuesday 23
July, 7.30 p.m. If you have poems
bring and read them (or have them
read if you're too shy).

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CIVIL
LIBERTIES says "If we do not get
a healthier bank balance your
civil liberties as well as every-
one else's will be in even greater
jeopardy". Donations/membership
details: NCCL 186 Kings Cross Rd.
London WC1X 9DE (tel. 278 4575)

We welcome news, articles,
letters. We go to press on
Monday each week.

Threshold of What?

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

the up and up they are satis-
fied, but as soon as they are
threatened they start to talk
of cutting back investment, re-
stricting wages, and finally of
sackings.

A large section of the working
class have already received
threshold increases but others
are either in dispute over the
amount or are trying to force
employers to pay where no actual
agreement had been made. The
high rise in the cost of living
is making the £1.20 and 80p
worth fighting for. Employers
having already reaped the bene-
fits of Tory wage restrictions
are equally willing to make a
fight of it in order to maint-
ain profit margins.

British capitalism is suffer-
ing a 'lack of confidence'.
Share prices have dropped to a
record low. This is all because
investors and companies do not
expect a profitable year. This
lack of confidence in fact af-
fects the whole of the western
capitalist system. Some, like
Mr. Benn and Mr. Foot, see na-
tionalisation as the answer (see
p. 2 this issue). But we have
seen this solution imposed in
Russia. We have seen the State
increasingly coming to the aid
of the private sector but the
lot of those who actually pro-
duce the goods remains the same.
Whether you work for General
Motors or with state-controlled

DIRECT ACTION paper of Syndical-
ist Workers Federation, monthly
5p + post; sub £1 SWF c/o Grass
Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester
13.

WILDCAT monthly anarchist bull-
etin pro tem 5p + post. Send de-
tails demos, groups &c to WILD-
CAT, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby,
Northants.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Robert Cullen,
Eddie Jones, Desmond Keane, Col-
umba Longmore, Noel Murray, all
remanded in Detention Centre,
Curragh Military Camp, Co. Kildare
Ireland, wd. like to hear from
comrades.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity
Committee, 54 Harcombe Road,
London N.15.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE
Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100
MILANO, Italy. Letters, postcards
to Giovanni Marini, Carcere di
Potenza, 85100 POTENZA, Italy.
Still awaiting trial after 2 years
in prison.

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needs books, pamphlets, free copies
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you can spare to Movimento Liber-
tario Portugues, Rua Aneglina
Vidal 17-2-E, LISBOA I, Portugal

motor plant in the "workers'
paradise" of the Soviet Union
you are a wage slave. As such
a class struggle is fought out
between those who give orders
and make the decisions and
those who take them.

But while this class struggle
remains centred round the issue
of wages, workers will continue
to chase their tails. Wage
struggles might be a rehearsal
for the social general strike,
but they should go beyond money
issues. If we are to break out
from the circle of wages chas-
ing the cost of living and the
day to day exploitation, then
struggles have to be concerned
with control. The Plessey wor-
kers' occupation indicates that
they are concerned about cont-
rol. More control can be main-
tained in occupation than by
being outside.

But control should extend to
how goods are produced, why,
and what are the real needs of
the community at large, because
both the State planning of the
Communist countries and the
mixed economies of the western
powers have been found wanting.
They have been found wanting
in not providing enough of cer-
tain essentials while production
decisions have always come from
the top without people taking
any decisions for themselves.

While people rely on leaders,
politically and at their places
of work, then nothing will
change and the exploitation of
man by man will continue.
Anarchists want a real change
to a society where everybody
has free access to the means
of life. We want people to
take control of their own
lives and not be subject to the
power of governments and the
employers.

Workers have the power at
their work places not just to
gain threshold agreements, but
to bring society to the thresh-
old of a revolution. P.T.

VICIOUS COMMENTS COLUMN

"Bulletin" no.4 (written by dissident
members of the W.R.P./ex-S.L.L.) has
the following comment on comrade Healy:

"This W.R.P. leadership has been his-
torically selected. It represents all
that is backward in the working class
and nauseous in the middle class.
That is why G. Healy is its undis-
puted head."

Keep up the dialectic, brothers!

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