ANARCHY 20p or 50c

CRAIGAVON NEW CITY


HAVE NO WORRY, HAVE NO FEAR,
THE FIRST ISSUE FOR SIX MONTHS
IS....
HERE!
ANARCH
PUBLIC
BAR

The veiws expressed in this magazine are not necessarily those of the Anarchy Collective.

SECOND SERIES
VOLUME ONE
NUMBER TEN

CONTENTS

CRAIGAVON NEW CITY	2
EDITORIAL COMMENT	7
A REVISIONIST'S ATTACK	9
LETTER	12
EDITORIAL COMMENT	14
ASPECTS OF ANARCHY	16
FREE 'FREE'	18
REVIEWS	22

Typesetting, illustration and editorial by the Anarchy collective, published by Anarchy Magazine(Publishers), printed by us on the press of the Hackney Press Gang: London E9

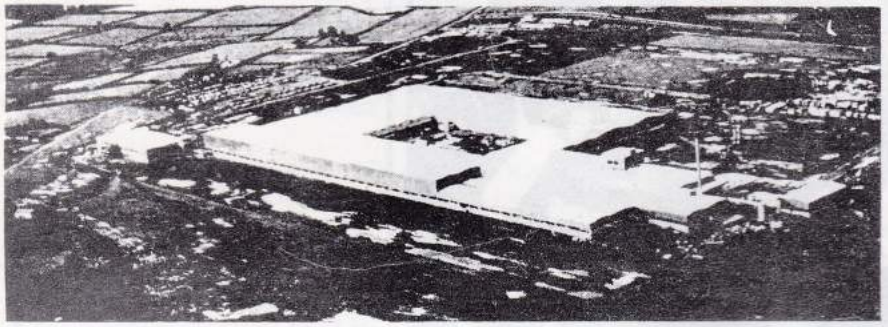
IMPORTANT We've moved. Our new address is:-
29 Grovesnor Avenue, London, N5, England.

ANARCHY

Anarchic contributions are welcomed, either totally unsolicited, or by a forewarning. That goes for articles as well as illustrations or photos.

Distribution is by subscription and by haphazard arrangements. If a subscription copy doesn't arrive, it will be replaced free within 4 months of publication. If you usually buy a copy from a source that suddenly dries up, then you should subscribe. Rates are £2.25 ($6.00) for 12 issues, or £1.12½ ($3.00) for 6

CRAIGAVON



Goodyear International factory (600,000 square feet), Craigavon.

This is an attempt to analyse the creation of a new town. Craigavon New City is situated in Northern Ireland and its exaggerated failure is connected with the crudity and posturing of power politics in that part of the United Kingdom. Nevertheless it is still a product of the same 'line' of socio-political thinking that has resulted in similar New towns throughout this country. New towns are principally created for economic reasons overlaid with precious liberal sociology. The basis of the New town is a sort of capitalist equation, an economically depressed area is a profitless area, to create profit one must manufacture commodities, create property markets, etc; to do this one must create a physical framework that is sympathetic to the movement of money. (Profit is not made from capital standing still.) The New town is the purpose-built framework, part of the new infrastructure of the commodity-culture. Craigavon is worth looking at because the 'liberal' facade is absent owing to its geographical and cultural location, which, incidently, also makes it economically unviable.

N. Ireland has been an economic disaster area for a very long time. Its history is one of vicious exploitation by British capital. Working people have always been poor and frequently unemployed, if not starving, because, like any other colony, the economic prosperity of the 'mother-country' has been built at the expense of its satellites. Although ostensibly an integral part of the U.K., the North of Ireland has always been treated as a colony, a cheap source of labour and raw materials. An example of this is the city of Londonderry, alias Derry, prefixed 'London' because most of the property in the city is owned by the burghers of the City of London, who, until the 1969 electoral reforms, had a block vote in municipal elections although many of those responsible for exercising that vote may never have been to the Six Counties let alone Derry itself. This intolerable situation could not have survived if it were not for the 'religious' problem.

Sectarianism as an imperialist control mechanism was first applied nearly five centuries ago throughout Ireland. It was done by importing Scottish presbyterians at a time when religion was a valid excuse for all-out European war. The protestants were set up as a power-base for English domination of Ireland and the situation remained the same until the Industrial Revolution and the coming of the railways. As cities appeared as industrial centres, most noticeably Belfast in the North, a need for an industrial working class arose. Much of this was imported from the industrial areas around Glasgow and was predominantly protestant. The catholics remained in a virtually feudal state. The minority who did move to the cities occupied the most menial jobs with the poorest pay. Towards the end of the 19th Century, some united action between the protestant and catholic workers did occur on class issues, mainly because the majority of the financial and economic differences that the protestants had enjoyed had disappeared and urban society in Ireland, as elsewhere, was divided on class lines. The embryonic struggles that arose were quashed by a reintroduction of sectarianism in the form of Republicanism, a spectre that was always a

potent force in protestant thinking. (This is how the Great Dock Strike of 1907 and the strike of the Belfast police in sympathy was eventually smashed. - see Anarchy No 6. Second Series.) All possibility of the disappearance of sectarianism from Irish protestant thinking faded with the 1916 rising and the declaration of the Free State in 1921. Throughout this period protestant paranoia grew from 1912 onwards. (In 1912 Lord Carson formed the Ulster Volunteers, the main aim of which was the maintenance of protestant supremacy by force of arms.)
In 1921, Lord Craigavon, (after whom Craigavon New City was named,) produced his infamous sectarian blueprint for the partition of Ireland on religious lines, 26 counties in the Free State and 6 counties in the province of Ulster, to be part of the U. K. The result of this was N. Ireland as we

"Yes, this was going to be the community centre, nursery school, restaurant, cinema, library, pub, and sixteen shops, but we had to cut it down a little." *Drawing by P. Weston*

know it today. Since partition sectarianism has not slackened, regularly, every year, there was sectarian rioting during the Easter republican marches of the catholic minority and the gigantic Orange marches of the protestant majority in and around July 12th. The urban areas of N. Ireland are, and always have been, strictly segregated into catholic and protestant areas, centred around catholic or protestant factories. The resultant ghetto mentality has been, and still is fostered by housing allocation, job allocation and police partiality.

At the beginning of the sixties, the N. Irish government (protestant controlled since its inception,) was worried by economic stagnation and the 'backward' image of the province. The political survival of the Unionist Party, with its aristocratic, high tory makeup, was in question. They searched for ways of stimulating economic growth and improving the province's image. William Craig, then Minister of Home Affairs, appointed Sir Robert Matthew, a distinguished member of the British architectural establishment, to head a committee to examine the possibilities for future development of the province. The Matthew report appeared in 1963 and recommended only the planned development of the Belfast region. It was of course, accepted by the government. The report said that a new city should be built near to Belfast as a counter-magnet to the capital. As a planning decision this had a number of major faults.

Belfast lies in the middle of what was already a linear megalopolis. Nearly all the industrial development in the province had occurred in the area to the East of the River Bann and Lough Neagh. The reason for this was sectarian. The Stormont government has practised an economic policy known as the 'west of the Bann' policy throughout its existence. The majority of protestants in the six counties live to the East, the majority of catholics live in the West. Only 10% of the economic aid handed out by the government since the last war has gone 'West of the Bann'. The Matthew Report fitted in very neatly with this and was really only a reaffirmation of what the government was doing anyway. At the time of the preparation of the report, Londonderry had an unemployment rate of a staggering 20 %, a level that is twice what would be guaranteed to cause a national outcry anywhere else in the U. K. Londonderry is 69·1 % catholic and a high proportion of them unemployed. Matthew turned a blind eye to this, as, no doubt, he had been instructed to do.

The site designated for the New City was to include Portadown and Lurgan, two predominantly protestant towns, twenty miles from Belfast. Proffessor Geoffrey Copcutt, a trendy New-Town whizz kid straight from his triumphs at Cumbernauld New Town in Scotland, was appointed as head of the design team. He immediately started to indulge in fantasies about 10 mile long buildings

enclosing the entire city with an underground motor way and service core. In 1964, Copcutt resigned over a disagreement about the siting of the city. He said in a statement that he had been told by a source close to the N. Irish cabinet that the Ulster government would not countenance any scheme that would upset the voting balance between protestants and catholics. (The catholics, who make up one third of the citizens of Ulster were grossly under-represented both at local government and Stormont level, through a clever system of gerrymandered electoral boundaries and a system of business and property owners block votes. This was changed in 1969 by electoral reforms.) Copcutt said in his statement that sectarian planning would make the whole project unviable and that, furthermore, Derry should have been chosen anyway.
He described the Craigavon project as 'premature and over-ambitious.'
After his resignation, attempts were made to discredit him professionally by the Royal Society of Ulster Architects and the N. Irish government.

At the end of 1964 the planning team had decided that the city was to be made of four areas or neighborhoods, these were the two existing towns , Portadown and Lurgan, and two new areas, Brownlow and one as yet unnamed. They intended that by the year 2000, the city would have six neighbourhoods and that it would be ten miles long by one and one half miles wide.

Government training centre, Craigavon.

In 1967, the architect who had replaced Copcutt, a man named Bannerman, said, and was quoted in the magasine 'Town and Country Planning' that 'the purpose of Craigavon was to relieve Belfast and areas East of the River Bann.' The Ulster government had found someone with a few less scruples.

The population of the area before development was 40,000 in the two existing urban areas and 21,000 in the rural areas of Lurgan and Moira, which would be engulfed in the new city.
Meanwhile the planning was continuing. The main industrial areas were to be located transversely to the residential areas with direct access to the Belfast-Dungannon motorway. A target of 6,500 jobs was set for April 1971 and an estimated density of 12 houses to the acre with localities of 3,000 people each.
The residential sectors were to be of between 20,000 to 30,000 people. The first five years (1965-1970) were to be spent developing the housing and community infrastructure in the first of these sectors, Brownlow. This sector was 900 acres with 5,500 dwellings, 20% of which were to be for sale, all local facilities were to be in walking distance. The centrepiece of this sector was to be a school campus. (segregated, no doubt.)

By the beginning of 1969 the development corporation had completed 450 houses, had 200 more under construction and intended to complete another 1,000 that year. They also announced in a progress report in Town and Country Planning Magasine that they had a 'temporary' shopping centre in operation. This was less than accurate, it consisted of one small shop for the whole of the two completed estates in Brownlow, Moylinn and Meadowbrook, as an article in the 'Belfast Telegraph' pointed out. Except for the two estates mentioned, the Brownlow development was a year behind schedule and there were 3,400 less people in the area than the Development ment Corporation had hoped for. The most noticeable feature of the 'city' at this time was the number of Craigavon Development Corporat ion signs on every available building site , field and hole in the road. The number of new jobs was 2,000 , the target had been 3,000 , and the only new employer of any size was Goodyears.

Industry was and still is attracted to Northern Ireland by Capital loans for plant and seven years of tax-exemption on profits after moving in. They also find the extraordinarily low wages attractive. This is why Goodyears moved to Craigavon. When they got established they found that everything was not rosy. Worried about the lack of potential recruits for their factory, they ran a survey of the unemployed in Ulster. Out

of a sample of 10,000 only 70 were even prepared to consider going there. Of the houses on the two completed estates, many had never been occupied since completion and others had already become empty as people had moved on elsewhere. Out of 194 workers, and their families, attracted to work at Goodyears from outside the area, 58 had left shortly afterwards. The reasons for this highlight the blunders made at all levels by planners and politicians. Most working people in Ulster earn, as previously stated, ridiculously low wages, they also tend to live in very cheap slum housing. In Craigavon the wages are still very low, (that's why industry moved there, also as previously stated,) but the housing is new and rents are high therefore people were worse off moving there. (The majority of Goodyears employees earned less than £25 per week whilst 200 of the 1000 approx. employed there earned less than £15 per week.)

Ib Thomsen, Chairman and Managing Director of Goodyear(U. K.) said, 'diplomatically', that the housing in Craigavon was 'Just a bit too rich for the pocketbooks' of the people he wished to work in his factory.

One of the ancillary reasons for the difficulty in attracting people to Craigavon was the unwillingness of the Belfast Housing Authority to rehouse overspill families in Craigavon. The reason for this being that to do so would upset the Orange Lodges in protestant working-class ghettoes if Catholic families were given nice new houses and upset the voting balance in mixed electoral wards if Protestant families were rehoused outside the City.

Another feature of this period in Craigavon's development was the 'land battle'. Craigavon's designated area meant that 6,300 acres of land had to be acquired, mostly from farmers. After the original land valuation estimates in 1966, there was a great deal of blatant horse-dealing, increases in compensation and deliberate procrastination on the part of the landowners and the district valuer so that compensation money could sit in the bank collecting interest whilst the landowners still occupied the land. Connivance in this by local politicians, the district valuer and other local government officers, all good Orangemen, was fairly obvious but never proved, although a demand was made in the N. Irish parliament, Stormont, in February 1971 for the replacement of the district valuer.

By the end of 1971 the population had increased by just 9,000 people, from 61,000 in 1964 at the time of designation, to 70,000 people. The Brownlow sector was virtually complete, 5,105 dwellings had been constructed, 1,400 by the development corporation, 2,171 by the local authorities, (Portadown & Lurgan,) and 1,534 by private speculators and the Northern Ireland Housing Trust. This works out at an occupancy of 1.8 persons per house, which suggests that a large number of completed dwellings are empty although the development corporation are keeping very quiet about it. 33 new factories have been completed, employing a total of 4,725 people and 46 more factories were under construction with a job-potential of 3000, 1700 less jobs than planned. Work on the central shopping area had just begun providing 220,000 sq. ft. of unadulterated bombfodder, (shops, offices, sports facilities and carparking,)

The Brownlow, Portadown and Lurgan Neighborhood Centres were complete as was the City park at Tannaghmore Gardens plus an immensely expensive golfing facility at Turmoyra at the edge of Lough Neagh.

But by as early as the middle of 1971 the state of the city and its development had ceased to be of any major importance. In August of that year internment was introduced and the guerrilla war being waged by the IRA against the British Army and the police hotted up. The Provisional's bombing campaign grew in intensity until, by the early months of 1972, it was to all intents and purposes, indiscriminate, making urban life an overtly dangerous experience. The economic situation worsened and unemployment grew despite repeated promises of massive aid from the Westminster government. Maybe this was the point where Craigavon New City became absorbed into the everyday life of the province, the residents, both catholic and protestant, either reaching for the gun or the tranquillisers. In fact that's the way rban living could well go for all of us.

Roger Willis

SOURCES.

The Belfast Telegraph,
17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 24th, June 1969.

The Times, 24th April 1967.

The Belfast Newsletter, 21st June 1969.

The Irish Times, 3rd February 1971.

Town & Country Planning Magazine,
Jan 1967, Jan. 1969, Jan 1972

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Assoc

EDITORIAL COMMENT

FREEDOM; A Vote of No Confidence

In recent years, Freedom has been suffering from a decline in support given it by people outside the Freedom Press Group, that is, the anarchist and libertarian movements as a whole. This decline has been in terms of those prepared to sell the paper and those who have repeatedly propped up the paper by monetary donations. Freedom's circulation has now dropped away to approx; 1000 and the paper has a deficit of about £2000.

We feel that there is a great deal of truth in the often repeated suggestion that most of Freedom's problems are of the editors and the press groups making, and in fact arise out of the way in which the Freedom editorial group has chosen to run the paper. Whilst accepting help in selling the paper and in the more mundane tasks of production such as folding, mailing etc, the editorial and the press group have consistently excluded 'helpers' from the decision making roles within the editorial. Not only those who have gone down and helped in the production of the paper and those who, over many years, have actually gone out and sold the paper, but the movement as a whole has been excluded when approaches were made to the Freedom editorial at AFB conferences. Jack Robinson, one of the current editorial group, made this clear at the Liverpool conference in 1970. The Freedom editors have pointed out, time and time again, that Freedom is not the 'movement' paper and that they have no intention of relinquishing any editorial control to the movement. This is despite having survived on the back of the movement for a long time. The Freedom editors have often blamed the movement, indirectly, for lack of support.
We would not deny that 'the movement' all too often gives fellow-comrades about as much support as a dead tree and deserves all the criticsm it gets. However, the experiences of 'Anarchy' over the last two years are relevant to this in that despite the increasingly erratic appearance of the magazine, (This is the first issue for six months) and although a number of issues have been decidedly mediocre or have included articles, the politics of which were controversial to say the least, our circulation has risen slowly but surely since the break with Freedom Press.

In the past, Freedom's content has been both relevant and meaningful. Since its foundation in 1886 it has gone through many different situations and appeared in several formats, (Spain and the World, War Commentary, etc;) its usefulness as a means of propaganda can be gauged by the political and social backgrounds at different times in its existence. It is now painfully obvious that its content bears little or no relation to the state of the movement or the general political situation in the UK or anywhere else.

Although Freedom is showing every sign of imminent collapse, for the reasons stated, we still believe that a national weekly is a viable proposition, but only as a 'movement' paper. What the movement must decide is whether it agrees with us, feels that it really wants a paper and whether people feel that they can provide the commitment and responsibility necessary to sustain such a paper. What must then be decided is exactly how such a paper should be edited, produced, distributed and controlled.

The Anarchy editorial collective.

Trials & Tribulations

In the next issue of 'Anarchy' we do not intend to produce our own lengthy autopsy on the trial of the Stoke Newington Eight but rather to draw out some of the associated issues, the 'spin-off'. This will possibly include material on the propaganda of the Angry Brigade (The communiques,)the involvement with prisoner's struggles that have developed and the organisation of self-mobilising, issue orientated groups on the lines of the SN8 defence group.

For an accurate factual guide to the six months of the trial, the best source is 'Time Out', (available from: 374, Gray's Inn Road, London, WC1X 8BB.) Whilst not wishing to cover the same ground again, there are certain very general points about trials, raised by the SN8 case, and this seems as good a place as any to discuss them.

We feel that the defence itself was very successful and demonstrated that the defence tactics used were of value and relevant to the situation. Whilst is true that four of the eight defendants did go down for 10 years each, this must be put against the pessimistic feelings of a year ago, when most of us assumed that all eight would go down and for a fucking sight longer. That four did get acquitted is due to the defence put forward by all eight. It has been said by many people closely involved, that if Jake Prescott had been tried with the eight, he would have probably been acquitted. This can be compared to opinion before his trial, in November 1971, that he stood a better chance on his own and that being on trial with the others would tend to drag him down.

Criminal trials have developed into a long process, the outcome of which is heavily wieghted against the defendant, particularly if he/she is held in prison whilst awaiting trial. Imprisonment before trial is in itself a punishment for no offence, but its effects go much further, even as far as the outcome of the trial itself. Imprisonment, usually locked in a cell for 23 hours a day, produces depression and lethargy in almost everyone. Prisoners vegetate. This results in a reduction in the will to fight, resist and worst of all, it produces the belief that their is little point in fighting anyway, because winning is impossible.
This leads, time and time again, to people being persuaded to plead guilty in court and even to admit offences that they have no connection with. Even in cases where all hope is not thrown away, much is lost by unnecessary admissions, agreeing to accept certain pieces of evidence, not necessarily because they are true but because they seem too strong so that it appears a waste of time challenging them. Thus is the case of Jake Prescott in 1971. The main reason for his conviction was his 'admission' to the court that he adressed envelopes in which three 'Angry Brigade' communiques were sent, though denying any knowledge of the contents. This admission was made neither because it was true nor because he wanted to but because it seemed that the evidence that he wrote them was too strong to be denied.

Lawyers play a significant part in this process, again even more strongly in the case of people held in prison than those on bail. They are basically class enemies. Their training and their jobs put them in an environment alien to that of most people accused of criminal activity. Most of them are conservative anyway, even the ones that are not usually so have recieved so much conditioning and have so many pressures on them that they cannot be relied upon. Like the doctor, one does not go to them through choice but because one has to. More specifically, the role they play against you is often to persuade you to make the trial as simple as possible, if not by pleading guilty, (the simplest of all,) then by agreeing to as much evidence as possible, challenging as little as possible, being well-behaved in court and saying that you are sorry.
What they say to you and what they tell the court on your behalf are often two completely different things. (Although most of them do not do this consciously)
They will often tell you how good your chances are whilst at the same time persuading you to admit all sorts of things. When supposedly searching for witnesses, they do nothing but write a couple of half hearted letters.
If the defendant has friends outside of prison, as the Stoke Newington 8 had, things are not too difficult but many people in prison have

EDITORIAL CONTINUED ON PAGE FOURTEEN

A REVISIONIST'S ATTACK AGAINST ANARCHISM AND ITS MOVEMENT

Issue 8 of ANARCHY is devoted to material submitted by a Group from Buffalo, N. Y., USA, calling itself "Friends of Malatesta". The lead-off article 'Northamerican Anarchism: problems and tasks' by Steve Halbrook is loaded with a series of deliberate falsifications and distortions that need to be nailed down for what they are. Here follow extracts from the principal lies:

'The major problem of Northamerican anarchism today is that it does not relate...to Northamerican people...to the people of the world...to leftist movements in the US which are relatively progressive...The purpose of the folowing remarks is to question certain old dogmas. (1)

'Anarchism is worthless if it is not populist. It must express the aspirations of the people and not take a commandist attitude to them. (2).

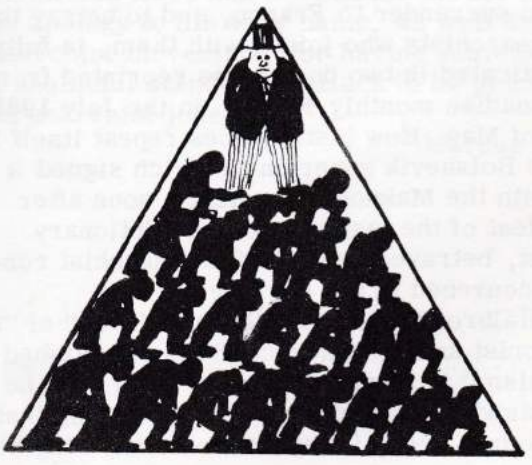
'...if anarchism is the freedom of every individual to do anything he choses as long as he does not initiate coercion against his fellow man, then...individualist...collectivist...or communist anarchism...is dogmatism and is not anarchism. (3).

'...on the anarcho-communist side, all we have is a bunch of wornout , imported slogans ...from Kropotkin (whose utopianism, dogmatism, and anarcho-imperialism should have discredited him long ago...or some other irrelevant old timers... (4).

'...deeply imbued in the northamerican people is an individualist libertarian tradition... traced back to Jefferson and Paine... later manifesting itself in conscious anarchist forms by Thoreau, Lysander Spooner and Benjamin R. Tucker, Albert Jay Nock, and Murray Rothbard. These champions of individualist free market anarchism have expressed very real asperations of masses (usually pettybourgeois - which shouldn't be a bad word for anarchists). (5).

'...northamerican anarchists . are more ivory tower theorists than activists..... anarchist must relate to the popular masses of the world ...anarchists not only of northamerica but of the rest of the world...have repudiated the just struggles of oppressed peoples of the world...every person or group who opposes US imperialism should be considered an ally...most resolute fighters against US imperialism in the world today are anarchist inclined...from London's 'Freedom' all the way to Venezuela's 'AIT Buletin' and then north to Arizona's 'Match' we find anarchists denouncing the current struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America against US imperialism ...many anarchists parrot the imperialists line on China, and stop their ears to newer interpretation which emphasizes Mao's anarchism, the anarchist cultural revolution... (6).

'...unity among all anarchists is the first step to creating a real anarchist movement ...with the absence of intolerance , North American anarchists could finally get organised.... a step to which a few still object to...for being a real force ...requires national organisation.. (7).



(1) The blank accusation that North American anarchism does not relate to the people is unsupported by any facts that would lend any credence to it. The further accusation that it does not relate to "leftist movements... which are relatively progressive" is distortful in as much as it fails to state why this is so. The disastrous experiences of the anarchist movement in Russia and in Spain , when they did relate to marxian leftist movements , served as unforgetful lessons to never again relate to any leftist movement whose principal aims are to control , and eventually rule over any arisen revolutionary movement.

(2) Anarchism is fundamentally opposed to any form of rulership. The assertion that it has a "commandist attitude" is addressed to the wrong movement. It belongs indeed to very left ist movement . The accusation that "anarchism is not poulist" is false in every respect.

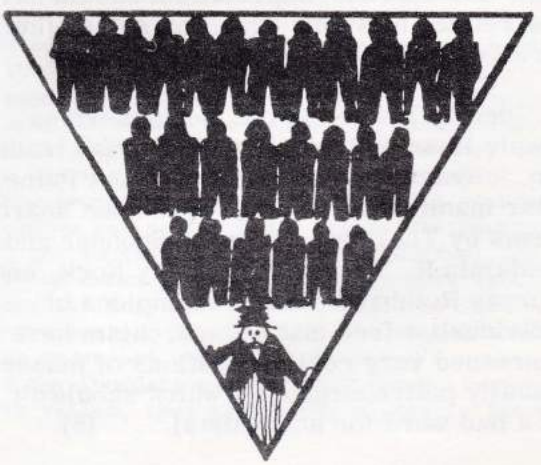
During the most critical period of the revolution in Russia , when the alleged capitalist governments made it possible for Tzarist generals to stage counter-revolutionary movements, it was the anarchist movement that inspired the masses to successfully resist every such attempt in the Ukraine. (See "Makhno's role in the Revolution of Russia", in the July-August 1935 issue of Man.) And during the civil war in Spain it was the uncompromising anarchist inspired people of Catalonia who were the last to hold out against Franco's fascist mercenaries, while at the same time they were establishing genuine communal life, just as the anarchists did in the Ukraine. (See "Catalonia: Anarchism in Practice" by Piere Ramus, in the February 1938 issue of Man). The manner in which the marxian-socialist coalition government was the first to surrender to Franco, and to betray the very anarchists who joined with them, is fully authenticated in two documents reprinted from the Canadian monthly Forum, in the July 1938 issue of Man. How history does repeat itself !

The Bolshevik government which signed a pact with the Maknov movement , soon after the defeat of the last counter-revolutionary attempt, betrayed and jailed an anarchist congress convened in the Ukraine.

(3) Halbrook's self-proclaimed "need" of "a revisionist anarchism to confront established anarchism" is made quite clear as to what he understands by anarchism when declaring that "freedom of every individual to do anything he chooses as long as he does not initiate coercian against his fellow man. . is dogmatic and is not anarchism".

(4) Halbrook's assertion that "from Kropotkin" down to "other old timers" "should have discre dited him long ago" , being deliberately insulting reveals at the same time his own utter ignorance as to how he himself ever became aware of anarchism, if it were not for the same exponants that he so brazenly discards ! Furthermore the untruthfullness of his assertion is most dramatically illustrated by the fact that within the last score of years not only have many volumes appeared about anarchism and its movement, but also reprints of practically every work of the theory of anarchism.

(5) In an attempt to display his knowledge about the significance of past individualist anarchism in the United States, he succeeds only in displaying his ignorance, as well as a lack of understanding as to why that movement disappeared. Josiah Warren , the first leading exponent of individualism, as well as the builder of co-operative stores and communities , some lasting two scores of years, is not even mentioned by him as having existed at all. The demise of that glorious period was caused for the principal reason of the inroads that industrialism had made in the lives of the people, which in turn caused the death of so many anarchist communes which followed. It is only as a consequence of the disillusionment of the marxian-ruled dictatorships within the intellectual world on one hand , and with the most inhumane brutal murderous war in modern history being carried



out upon the Vietnamese people on the other hand , that brought about the rediscovery of anarchism. It is likewise in this war by United States Imperialism that the people in nearly every part of the world are enabled to view daily on television the true reason as to why a archists consider the state not a representitive of the people but its worst enemy.

In mentioning the names of some illustrious individualist anarchists of the past, Halbrook links the name of Murray Rothbard along with them. It is well that he did so , since in learning what Rothbard's ideas are about anarchism, one can realise what kind of anarchism he himself espouses. In issue no. 3 of february 25, 1972, "The New Banner" , published in Columbia, S. C. USA, there appeared a special four-page supplement, along with six large photos of Rothbard, that adorned the interview with him. The answers he gave to some of the questions are as follows:

"As far as I'm concerned , and I think the rest of the movement too, we are anarcho-capitalists. In other words we believe that capitalism is the fullest expression of anarchism, and anarchism is the fullest expression of capitalism."

"As things fall apart people will begin to turn to us for leadership."

"I don't think it's immoral to vote ."

" I think the (black) panthers are a bunch of hooligans."

(6) The accusation that North American anarchists do not relate to the popular masses of the world has already been dealt with.

Halbrook's assertion that anarchists throughout the world "have repudiated the just struggles of the oppressed peoples of the world" , unsupported by any proof , is but another deliberate falsehood.

The equally concocted falsehood is his assertion ion that he finds "anarchists denouncing the current struggles of the peoples of Asia, Affica, and Latin America against US imperialism."

Another deliberate falsehood is Halbrook's assertion that "anarchists parrot the imperialists' line on China , and stop their ears at newer interpretations which emphasise Mao's anarchism..." As reference to support this assertion he cites his own article to this effect in "Libertarian Analysis" , which is no proof that would support his assertion.

Factually, Mao's self-idolisation and acts towards dissidents is as cruel as that of Stalin, as long suppressed news by his regime gradually reveals. The most striking illustration of Mao's marxian opportunism showed itself recently in the shameful manner that he and his ruling clique fetted the chief-imperialist culprit Nixon and his adjutant murderers, just as did the equally opportunist marxian rulers of Russia at the very same time that Nixon ordered to keep up raining deadly bombs upon the heroic people of Vietnam, their homes and land.

(7) After all the deliberate slanders and falsifications that Halbrook has hurled at the theoreticians of anarchism and its movement, he has the brazen audacity to call for tolerance, in order that he may be enabled to organise the anarchists into a "national organisation".

Better still why not outrightly ask the anarchists to join the Communist Party? His concocted vilifying article should serve him well as a recommended testimonial for membership in that party. As for anarchists to do so he is barking at the wrong address.

Finally, the "Freinds of Malatesta", if they have any understanding at all, as to what Errico Malatesta lived and worked for all his life , owe an apology to his very name, as well as to the anarchist movement, for having submitted such a shameful slanderous attack to be printed in an anarchist journal.

Marcus Graham.

LETTER

To Henry Bonny,

You said: "Tactically their is a whole symbolic world of difference between bombing Biba's (the fashion boutique in Kensington)as some fool did in the UK, and bombing the women's toilets in the Pentagon so badly that thousands of gallons of water dropped through onto the American Air Forces computor below, putting them completely out of action and forcing the Air Force to publicly declare that they had other computors and that thankfully they weren't totally dependant on those that were destroyed".

I don't just disagree over your reaction to the Biba bombing, which I'll go over in a bit , but also point out to you that by isolating it you have denied a series of targets aimed at a system which doesn't just attack us in its foreign policy or cabinet decisions, but hits us in our everyday life and exploits our every action.

I've tried to suss out what your objections to the Biba bombing are. I presume that you don't object on the grounds that some have used of "they say they support women , then attack the salesgirls", since the warning blows that one. Maybe you dig dressing up in 'groovy' clothes and buy them from flash exploititive boutiques. There is also the possibility that you cannot see a wider fight than straight forward attacks on defence systems, or rather like the IS orientated argument of "we must seize the means of production and later we'll deal with little matters like women's liberation and lifestyles".

I think your comparison of the bombing of Biba's, which has obvious links with women, with the bombing of the WOMEN's toilets in the Pentagon is very suss, since the latter target was in effect the computor below , but the link made with women here infers that in the UK we can ONLY bomb fashion boutiques whereas women in the USA are onto the REAL thing by attacking the defence system of the country... (why not compare it with the bomb left in the women's bog at the Post Office Tower, that too caused irrepaable damage?)

Your denigration of the Biba bombing is further emphasised by the phrase "as some fool did in the UK" which makes it sound like a foolish prank without any understanding apparent of why it was done and no regard for the oppression of women that stores such as Biba's uphold and encourage. Just calling Biba's a "fashion clothes shop in Kensington" isn't enough , presumably you havn't been there or read the communique that followed the bombing which attempted to explain the oppression and action against it.

Biba's has grown from a small oppressive boutique to a larger one , with salesgirls working in an extremely exploititive situation. Not just being overworked and underpaid, (though that should be enough) but by the practice of all having to dress alike (in Biba's clothes) looking more like clothes props than real women ; real people. Working everyday in a situation that exploits them and forces them to exploit others. Other women who crowd in to make themselves "attractive, fashionable and sexy" by buying clothes that are badly made and expensive out of all proportion. Clothes desig ned not for the people who wear them but for the voyeurs and the moneymakers.

To exlain to someone, who by their writing does not comprehend the exploitation and oppression that Biba's boutique manifests entails going into a whole explanation of women's oppression and our fight against it. Among other actions claimed by the AB is the Miss World BBC van bombing, again an action directed against women's oppression. While any action, for instance the attack on Robert Carr, can include women in its relevance to workers, such is the state of both industry in general and left wing politics in particular that the phrase /word 'workers' always carries the implication of male rather than male and female workers. In fact it takes deliberately pointed attacks on centres of women's oppression for the spectre of it to come into the minds of pigs, press, public and again the left wing in particular.

I don't know how further to explain what Bib a's and countless other stores, does to women, this problem is further complicated by the male orientated output of Anarchy....I know as a woman, that to a certain extent has come out of the particular oppression such shops manifest by rejecting flashy feminine clothes, by never painting myself in mating colours, by smelling like a person not a mixture of chemicals , I

know what Biba's is doing to the women that are still sufficiently repressed to be involved in the exploititive process of fashion, and the whole myth that surrounds it. That is reason enough to want to destroy it , but also to want to explain to women why , to want more women to be able to rid themselves of their oppression , to be a little freer. Remember this is only a small part of the total , for a woman to get out of make up and fashion and playing up to men, is similar to anyone (woman or man) getting out of working a steady job , wanting the 'security' of a pension, or being hung up on money and possessions.

It's not everything , but it's something very important when all your life the emphasis has been on being attractive, having a good body, wearing clothes well etc. and the alternative for 'plain' women is to excell in housewifely , moth erly persuits. . you know , really fullfilling things like cooking , washing up , sewing...

Can't you even IMAGINE what that's like? Can't you imagine the 24 hour oppressiveness of it? And if you escape that , (painfully, meat bleeds remember) then isn't your reaction to hit it hard? With first a desire to show it up to other sisters who havn't yet escaped its clutches and secondly the pure physical joy of hitting something that's hit you all your life.

Because of what Biba's does to both the women who work there and the women who buy there ; because although not in that situation myself , historically I can relate to these women , bec - ause I , as a woman, am fighting for my own and others' (women and men) liberation, I think the Biba bombing was not only really groo- vy but a fucking good target.

Mary Godwin

Race Today

PRICE 10p MONTHLY

RACE TODAY is published on the first Friday of the month by the Institute of Race Relations at 36 Jermyn Street, London SW1Y 6DU. **The Institute of Race Relations 1972. The Institute is an unofficial and non-political body which is precluded by the Memorandum and Articles of its incorporation from expressing a corporate view. Any opinions expressed in articles and other materials published in RACE TODAY are, therefore, those of the contributors.**

Subscriptions and subscription enquiries should be sent to Research Publications Services Ltd., Victoria Hall, East Greenwich, London S E 10: telephone 01-858 1717.

MINISTRY OF INFORMATION, when taken over by the Communists, soon becomes a full-blown Red propaganda agency, suppressing all native anti-Red publications and censoring incoming and outgoing news. In Poland, Communist propaganda has an undisputed field while reports of world affairs are stifled or altered to conform to the party line.

nobody. They have to go into court without important witnesses because their solicitors do not believe hard work is part of their job. Lawyers' dislike of hard work and controversy coupled with their class positions is what sends people to prison, not evidence. Barristers are also unreliable about following their clients' instructions, probably on the basis that they know more about it. In a trial involving more than one person, they often become a positive menace, seeing their duties as to represent only their own client and therefore to act as co-prosecutors of the other defendants In the SN8 trial there was a great deal of evidence against four of the defendants, less against three others and almost none against the other. From the beginning, it was clear that the prosecution had a very strong case on paper and if the defence had relied on the usual standard performances of barristers, all the defendants would most certainly have been convicted. (In a conspiracy case, lack of evidence can be made up by insinuation.) Instead, a united defence was put forward by all eight defendants. Rather than 'I didn't do it' we had 'I didn't do it, neither did any of my mates, not that I have ever met any of them before.'

Keeping a united defence demands more than good intentions. Many people have gone into court with the intention of staying together only to find that their barristers have very different ideas and as mentioned above, act as co-prosecutors of the other defendants. This was prevented in the SN8 trial by three of the defendants defending themselves whilst the other five worked hard to control their barristers. The decision of one defendant to have a Q.C. (a very senior barrister) was the biggest threat to unity, QCs' being far more arrogant and difficult to control than junior barristers who tend to be more mentally alert anyway. Most of the advantages of having a QC are imaginary.

The decision of three of them to defend themselves enabled them to challenge everything and everybody, and because they were backed up by some of the lawyers, they did this well Because of this, flaws in the prosecution's beautiful, overwhelmingly damning case appeared in more and more places.

The prosecutions' biggest failure was the 'scientific' evidence. When tested it turned out to be the biggest load of junk in the whole trial. In many cases before courts, scientific evidence of one sort or another is produced and is almost never challenged or used by barristers supposedly acting for the defence but from the evidence in this case it can be seen that most of it is nothing but a bundle of inconclusive half-truths, completely unreliable and presented in an extremely biased fashion. Yet it is this type of evidence that is trotted out daily, in thousands of ordinary criminal cases, and is excepted as undeniable fact, gaining the police many convictions. This is particularly true of 'evidence' produced by the forensic department at Woolwich Arsenal and of that of handwriting 'experts'.

The defence's worst mistake was their dangerously simple way of regarding judges The judge was expected to be a bigoted old shit, but by treating him as unreal, as a comic-strip 'pig', the defendants tended on occasions to act out the media-image of a 'mindless militant'. Melford-Stephenson, the judge in Jake Prescott's trial, as much of a classic 'pig' as you are likely to find anywhere, required very different treatment from James, the judge in the SN8 trial, who puts on an amazing 'rational liberal' act.

Of course, the manner in which the SN8 conducted their defence is not the only way of doing it It was, in fact, largely an amalgam of methods that have been tried before in political trials There are other methods of defence that are viable in certain situations One such method is the refusal to recognise the court. This has been used by groups such as the Provisional IRA The usefulness of such a tactic depends on the strength of the rest of the movement-you support the movement and the movement supports you.

Another tactic is a variant of this and is more often used in England. Not much of a defence is put forward and that not seriously. Instead the proceedings are turned into a confrontation between the defendant and the judge or magistrate. This tactic was used a lot five to ten years ago, especially before magistrates' courts where there is no hope of acquittal, whatever the evidence, the penalties being small. This was using the situation to its best advantage.

Up until now we have discussed trials where the defendants actions and tactics have a positive meaning. There have, however, been trials where the defendants have not been so successful. Through a failure to consider tactics and worthwhile objectives the defendants have, though perhaps securing an acquittal, managed to convince a lot of witnesses never to perform the task again. Having come along to help the defendant, they have been subjected to waiting around for a long time whilst the defendant does everything possible to alienate the judge and intimidate the police. Not that there is anything wrong in doing this, providing that the inevitable consequences of such actions have been recognised and considered Knowing that acquittal is unlikely, witnesses should be warned. Of course, if you intend alienating the judge with your words and actions, so ensuring conviction, it is worth doing something relevant to the politics of the trial.

To be involved in and with the courtroom as witness, defendant or lawyer is to be involved in the banal, to be a forced participant in a ritual that reduces ones' politics to the level of and makes them part of the circus of the spectacle. It involves demanding the impossible, justice. It means having one's politics categorised, distorted and lied about. Courts are places to keep out of. One accepts that certain activities may lead to arrest. This means being careful not to get caught and minimising the consequences of one's actions on other comrades who are not involved It can be done, that it is not is perhaps due to conditioned defeatism, people entering into actions without any firm belief in their ability to carry them through and get away with them. It is in transcending these attitudes rather than perfecting trial techniques, that we ought to concentrate on. When it all comes down to it, the trial, liberal or otherwise, can go, and arrest, imprisonment or execution become purely administrative acts by the state and then, as ever, we will have to rely on our actions, the movement and its solidarity to get us out of trouble.

Aspects Of Anarchy

ALBERT LIBERTAD

Albert Libertad came into this world on November 24, 1875, Bordeaux, France. He was born of "parents unknown" - and his real name remains a mystery.

Active in anarchist circles in Bourdeaux, he came as a tramp to Paris in 1897. Rejected by the "anarchist pope", Jean Grave, he became secretary to the administration of "Le Libertaire", edited by Grave's rival Sebastian Faure.

A magnetic and violent speaker, he began in 1902 the "causeries populaires", a series of meetings that survived for ten years. These were held at first in a house Libertad had rented in rue Chevalier de la Barre in the Monmartre district. In a room furnished, "with a shaky table some decrepit chairs, some seats pilfered from neighbouring squares or bistros" were held impassioned discussions on Stirner, Nietzsche, Felix le Dantec and Gustave le Bon. It was from this milieu that Ernest Armand began his evolution towards individualism and some of the Bonnot Gang started on the way to dusty death.....

Victor Serge describes Libertad so: "Individualism had just been affirmed by our hero Albert Libertad .... Crippled in both legs, walking on crutches which he plied vigorously in brawls (he was a great one for brawling, despite his handicap) he bore, on a powerful body, a bearded head whose face was finely proportioned.... Libertad loved streets, crowds, fights, ideas and women. Twice he set up home with a pair of sisters, the Mahes and then the Morans. He had children to whom he refused to give state registration. 'The State? Don't know it. The name? I don't give a damn, they'll pick one up that suits them. The law? To the devil with it....' His teaching was: 'Don't wait for the revolution. Those who promise revolution are frauds just like the others. Make your own revolution by being free men and living in comradeship."

(Memoirs of a Revolutionary)

In 1905 Libertad launched the weekly paper "l'anarchie" which became the main voice of anarchist individualism in France up to World War 1.

He died on November 12, 1908, at the age of 33. The cause of his death was given as anthrax.

Some said this was the result of being beaten-up by the police near his house in Monmartre. Others said this was the result of a fight among "the comrades".....One thing is certain, he left his individual mark so indelibly impressed on his milieu that his brief life exercises an influence even today.

Only two of his writings have been translated in to English: "Liberty" and "The Joy of Life". From "Liberty":

"The anarchist, as etymology shows, is against authority...He does not make freedom the beginning, but rather the end, of individual evolution. He

does not say 'I am free, but 'I want to be free'. For him, freedom is not an entity, a quality, a whole which he has or has not, but a result which he gets according to the extent of his power."

"Freedom is a force that one must know how to develop in oneself; it does not come on its own account. When the Republic takes the famous motto 'Liberty, Equality' Fraternity', does that make you free, equal, and brothers? It tells us 'you are free' These are vain words since we do not have the power to be free. And why have we not got this power? Above all, because we do not know how to acquire real knowledge. We take the mirage for the reality.

We are always waiting for freedom to come from a State, a Redeemer, a Revolution - we never work to develop it in each individual. What magic word will change a generation born of centuries of servitude and resignation into a generation worthy of freedom because they are strong enough to conquer it?

This change will come by the consciousness of men who know they are witout freedom, who know that freedom is not a thing in itself, that they have no right to freedom, that all men are not born free and equal. Since it is impossible to have happiness without freedom, the day they develop this consciousness they will be prepared to get freedom."

From "The Joy of Life":

"Wearied by the struggle to live, how many close their eyes, fold their arms, stop short, powerless and discouraged. How many, and they among the best, abandon living as not worht the effort. With the assistance of some fashionable theories and of a prevailing neurasthenia men

have come to regard death as the supreme liberation.

To those who hold this view, Society replies only in cliches. It speaks of the moral goal of life. It argues that one has not the right to kill oneself, that moral sorrows must be borne courageously, that man has duties, that the suicide is a coward or an egotist, etc., etc., All these

phrases are religious in tone, and none of them are of genuine signifigance in rational discussion.

"What, after all, is suicide?"

"Suicide is the final act of a series of deeds which arise from our reaction against our enviroment's reaction aginst us.

"Every day we commit partial suicide."

"I commit suicide when I agree to live in a place where the sun never shines, a room where the ventialtion is so bad that I am suffocated on my couch."

"I commit suicide when I devote to hours of absorbing work an amount of energy I cannot renew, or when I engage in work I know to be useless."

"I commit suicide when I leave my stomach unprovided with food in such quantity, and of such quality, as I actually need."

"I commit suicide whenever I consent to obey oppressive men or measures."

"I commit suicide whenever I convey to another individual by the act of voting the right to govern me for four years."

"I commit suicide whenever I ask a registrar or a priest for permission to love."

"I commit suicide when I do not reclaim my liberty as a lover when the time of love is past."

"Complete suicide is nothing but the final act of total inability to react against the enviroment."

"These acts, of which I have spoken as partial suicides, are not therefore less truly suicidal. It is because I lack the power to react against Society that I live in a place without light and air, that I do not eat according to my hunger or my taste, that I am a soldier or a voter, that I subject my love to laws or compulsion."

"I do not intend to condemn these partial suicides more than definitive suicide, but it seems to me pathetically comic to describe as right or necessity this surrender of the weak before the strong - and a surrender made without having tried everything. Such expressions are nothing but excuses given to one's self."

"All suicides are imbecilities, the total more than the others, since in the partial forms there may remain some hope of recovering one's self. It would seem that, at the very hour of the dissolution of the individual, all energy might be focussed on a single point of reaction against the enviroment even with a thousand to one chance of success in the effort."

"One must live, one must desire to live still more abundantly. Let us not accept even the partial suicides."

"Let us be eager to know all experiences, all happiness, all sensations. Let us not be resigned to any diminution of our egos. Let us be cahmpions of life, so that desires may arise out of turpitude and weakness. Let us assimilate the earth to our own concepts of beauty."

S.E. Parker

(Extracts from "Liberty" are from translations by Jeff Robinson and Stepehen Marletta. And from "The Joy of Life" from a translation by George Hedley.)

FREE 'free'?

This article was originally written for a 'Free Transport' issue which never materialised owing to the general incompetence of the editorial collective

There can be no sadder sight than that of the prophet watching the parade pass by. To sit in splendid unsought isolation as the dust of the bandwagon dulls the bright eye of the seer is an unwished vigilance. All those long and mocking years when one has spelt out the future for fools and clerks are gone with dying echoes of the long debates, and passioned prose yellows on the shelves of college and police libraries. To stand poised on our moment of time and to point out the expanding and limitless frontiers that await each new generation of man, and to know that we are primitive questing children groping our way out of this crowded earthly womb into an infinite universe so vast, so wonderful, and so awesome, that the human mind is incapable of even comprehending what lies beyond the furtherest imagined star, is to weep at the frailty of courageious man and the agony of his limited three-score years and ten.

To be privileged to witness the future being born, to dream of vast unmanned fleets travelling on unreturning journeys beyond man-known time and space, sending back their messages until they vanish beyond the recall of God or man, is as the agony of unrequited love.

And over the long years, to have to tell this to the oafish herd who, in their officed and Established ignorance and the cage of their social status, see the future only in the dim mirror of their own ordered lives, is to be marked as a clown. To dismiss the oaf with one simple and single gesture is but to beat on air, for whn one turns to the self-proclaimed heirs of John Ball, Winstanley, Shelley or of Godwin one meets the same amused indifference and one knows that even among those of us who claim to share a common philosophy of life there are too many who have little faith or understanding of the future even with their own life span. They see the future only in acts of negation, the destruction of authorities and one single glorious day at playing god as they hand out the products of the local supermarket to the cheering mob. A romantic nihilism that stops short at personal violence against the shareholders.

There are those who find pleasure in the sounds of the private explosions; there is the black comedy in the planned baiting of the State's stage army of uniformed police and there is that high point of hysterical excitement in that moment of street confrontation between the bannered demonstration and the eagerly waiting ranks of police. But when the political circus has folded for the night we are left to reconstruct that society that we helped to destroy if only by word of mouth or unrestraining gesture. We can sneer from the heights of our ivory tower at the social democrat, the progressive liberals or the Marxist academics, blueprinting their particular misty futures; but unless we are prepared to mark out, with some suggestion of detail, that for which we march, then we are but the armies of the night. Black romantics mocking the guardians of the plundered cities and breached walls a gay rabble playing rebel. Either we are John the Baptists in our own private deserts or members of the common herd, and as such we must accept the problems that the changing age forces upon men, not with vague advice but positive actions and concrete proposals.

Surely no time was more ill-chosen to discuss the matter of 'free' transport than now when, for five years, we are to be burdend with a Government of fools, philistines, party hacks and disciples of Malthus. Men of greed seeking their petty revenge in every action that harms or hurts the working peoples of this country and acknowledge no public good than that of their own class's economic well-being. To talk of 'free' tansport at this hour when the hard-faced wardens of our lives are taking the milk from schoolchildren, destroying the frameworks of our limited social services, that, ill-fashioned as they are, are some evidence that sweet charity is not the prerogative of the anarchist movement - this hour when the belted and the gelted mob in high office are proudly pricing the mass of the common people out of their own cultural heritage, it makes talk of 'free' transport naught but the polemics of the coffee house or the weekly meetings.

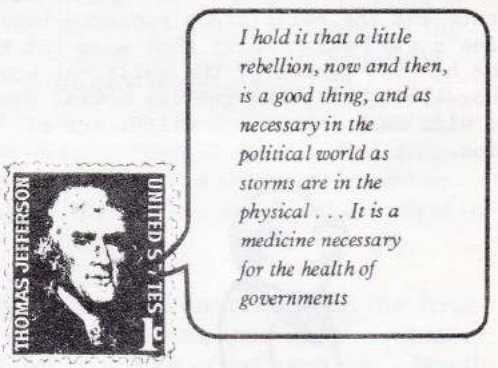
There are too many little comrades who will not accept the simple proposition that they are a reluctant part of the society within which they live, and that the title of anarchist is, or should not be, a simple escape clause from positive social actions. We have too many popes in the anarchist movement and not enough peasants. Too many comrades, noble and high-minded, who have their own particular definition of what constitutes an anarchist and all too often it culminates in a nihilistic negation. Once, every five years, not to vote at an election; to refrain from eating animal or human flesh; to become gallows fodder as a single simple step onto the pantheon of instant left-wing martydom, may find a following but only among those who have little faith in the future or believe in their own private philosophy. For, if we are but the sad agents of destruction, then for whom do we destroy and who will inherit the ruins and the winds?

Let us be prosaic, little comrades, for the subject is not of my choosing, but if we are asked to give time and space to a discussion of 'free' transport, then we must accept the grimy and unromantic fact that a 'free' transport system can only operate within a profit-making society and who among us will have the courage to take hold of my hand and step down into the gutter of daily living?

To the socialist and the communist there is no problem, for within the socialist and communist society the public ownership of production and distribution is a matter for the forseeable future, and distribution without payment is a planned target. Every Labour Party membership card carries within it the printed statement of Clause IV no. 4 of the constituion of the Labour Party that reads. "to secure for the workers by hand or by brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service."

And let us mock the social democrats for our heart's delight but within these left-wing organisations there is a solid mass of humane and dedicated militants. Not only the Tory Establishment, no matter what its day-to-day title, but the tragic and perennial ineffectual leadership of the Left has defeated Clause IV from becoming a reality. For the curse of political office is the, believed, need to compromise with the very evil that one would wish to destroy, but unless we are prepared to soil our hands and blemish our high-minded and negative idealism by joining the sweaty mob then any discussion of 'free' transport within a profit-making society is strictly for the birds.

I recognise two banners, one of which is a loveless, untalented, working-class child, and the other is an elderly working-class man, alone, friendless and eking out his few brief years in the sour poverty of his society's charity; and for that I will be pragmatic, yea, even to the point of derision. For them I will vote for the lesser evil against the greater evil, canvas and petition politicians whom I privately despise, support the militants within the trade union movement though knowing full well that age, vanity and the pleasure of power will in tunr corrupt these men . I will take part in a war that I hold to be a defence of limited gains and against a greater evil, and honour Malatesta and Kropotkin for having the courage to stand up to the public ridicule of the historical academics, for my principles are of less importance than common humanity.

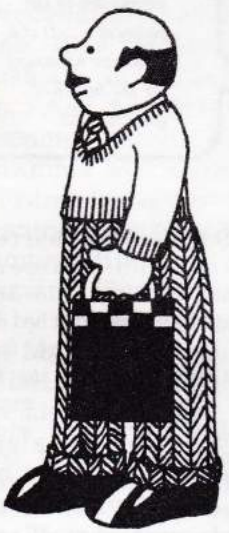


Therefore let other don the white and carry the flame for I am imperfect in an imperfect world and this world is my battleground and my honour and my principles must stay behind in the mausoleum of the illustrious dead. That each step forward opens up another area of betrayal behind us I am fully cognisant of, little comrade. That every healed scab will leave a scar upon the child and that the old man died in some small measure of comfort without contributing to the revolutionary struggle are matters to be deplored, but let me have the courage to fail, let romantic sentimentality blind my prophetic eye, and let me be as lesser men if, by so being, I dry one palm-sized pool of the worlds's tears. It is too easy to play Christ, little comrade, so let us kneel in the dust with the Samaritan.

And now, for a few idle lines, let us talk of'free' transport.
For more years than are worth recording I have spelt the matter out line by line for no other reason than that to buy my daily bread I am a common labourer on London's transport service. In

the day-to-day living of that working life one would have to be an indifferent fool not to realize the manifest failings of any organisation in which one works as one of the lowest common denominator. Literally month by month London's transport grinds to a halt when, for dogmatic political reasons, transport, garages, and train stations, are axed. There was a time, between the major wars, when those who controlled London's transport believed that by virtue of their monopoly they had a social responsibility but that is no longer so. In those inter-war years the fares were high and the transport operators paid their workforce the highest working class wage in London, and the London streets were flooded with an almost endless stream of red buses and for this the transport operators adopted a paternalistic attitude to the people of London.

They were the days of cheap working men's fares, cheap midday travelling, trams like tanks and an efficient night service worthy of a mighty city. In an inflationary economy London Transport failed to keep pace and the politicians panicked into "paying one's way" which meant that a social service became the hunting ground of the political econom' ists as hardline Tories and gutless social democ - rats vied with each other in a wilful act of destruction.



All across London the economic hatchet men prowled and they destroyed route after route, garage after garage, and Underground station after Underground station. Fares failed to keep pace with costs in the inflationary spiral and with every savage cut the politicians of the Right and the Left lied and lied that the amputation of the day was in the interest of the people of London. Every deterioration or improvement in any social service is accepted within a matter of time and our high fares bad services and suburban wastelands will soon become part of our accepted way of living.

It is only if we make our responsibility felt for the welfare of our city and make heard our cry that our transport shall be a social service as it was to a limited degree, so many years ago, that the matter will be attended to. The points that one made in the long years after the Second World Ward are still relevant and the social butchery of the Tories should be no deterrent to any social democratic government in Parliament or city ahll if they felt that it carried votes.

The fundamental point that the people of London should be encouraged to accept is that a moneyless transport system is a practical, more economical and more efficient way of running a social service for when one has taken a social service out of the barer of the market place one can then organise it for use rather than profit. Every society is blindly staggering into a moneyless economy and just as the upper middle class now fashion their lives without almost every handling the common coin so too must the working class realise that that is the only way the fruits of their own labour can be theirs, and not limited to a special class who control the economy. From each man according to his ability, to each man according to his need cna only become a working proposition when we have a moneyless society and a surfeit of common goods.

With a transport system run on a non-fare-paying method, only the wage bill of maintenance becomes relevant and this is paid through the common tax. It is surely moon madness when millions upon millions of ill-used travellers fumble with copper coins before they can make their journey to and from their places of work. Throw open the doors of the Underground stations! Stop payment on the street buses and let the people of London use them as they use the drinking water or the sewers as a social necessity!

If, in 1945. tje social democratic government had taken the advice of the lunatic fringe, the major problems of 1971 would never have come into being. If, in 1945, work had started all over Britain on a vast network of underground railways, we should now be able to trable the lenght and breadth of this island with speeds as fast as man can devise, indifferent to the weather and travelling in perfect safety for in the twenty-five years to 1971 that vast network of roads eating the heart out of the country's economy, the fantastic cost of imported fuel and the waste of human labour would never have come into being, and the fog and blizzards would be left once more to the poets. If, in 1945, the social democrats had taken transport out of the huckster's market and laid the foundation of a free, community-owned, transport system, they would have placed in the keep-

ing of the peoples of Britain one service that every man woman and child could have used for their own personal advantage; a thing that the State ownership of a decaying main line railway system and a dying coal industry never did.

If our homebred social democrats had done as was cried at the time and as the Dutch social democrats did and kep every displaced workman within that same place of employment, on full pay, until he had been trained, no matter what his age, to work in the same area at another acceptable job. If every local garage and Underground station had been handed over to the local elcted council to maintain and administer then any Tory dogmatist would have been hard put to wrench it out of the keeping of the local people. If the social democrats had placed each garage and station in the keeping of a workers' council answerable to the men's own union and the local borough council with the highest wage as the common wage and with experts hired from outside on yearly contract and not on the permanent payroll, if night services had been operated on a short five hour shift with all night services run as a continuation of the day's services, then with every service running twenty-four hours London could have lived, instead of dying after the sun goes down. And with a non-fare-paying service, worker and community control, then London and the rest of the country could have had a transport system that the world would have envied and copies.

All these things could have been done but this is what the leadership of the Labour Party could not understand - for socialism comes as a transformation of our present-day society and not in some William Morris future but within our lifetime. Opportunities have been wasted and the workers have a right to be bitter, those who worked and believed in socialism as a worthy worthwhile thing. There is a democracy within these islands that is left behind at the factory gate. Only when the people's councils take their place in the running of their own industries as they have to run their towns and villages will the poples of these islands believe that they have some say in the running of their lives. Not in the word play of State Nationalization but in a worker-controlled industry when men are chosen by vote and by chance, and they are for jury service.

When every door and cupboard is open, and the highest wage is the common eage and only when we can participate in the fruits of our common toil, be it bread or buses, for when we can do that then the working class of these islands will no longer be aliens within these borders. When young and old can share the common wealth and the only demand shall be a willingness to serve. But for that, little comrade, we must descend into the sweaty corrupt world of struggles and betrayal, low-minded reasoning and vulgar idealism. Of a concern for the living not only in the future but in the dull present. The corrup sweaty wrangling world of our fellow men, and where do you stand, little comrade?

Arthur Moyse

REVIEW

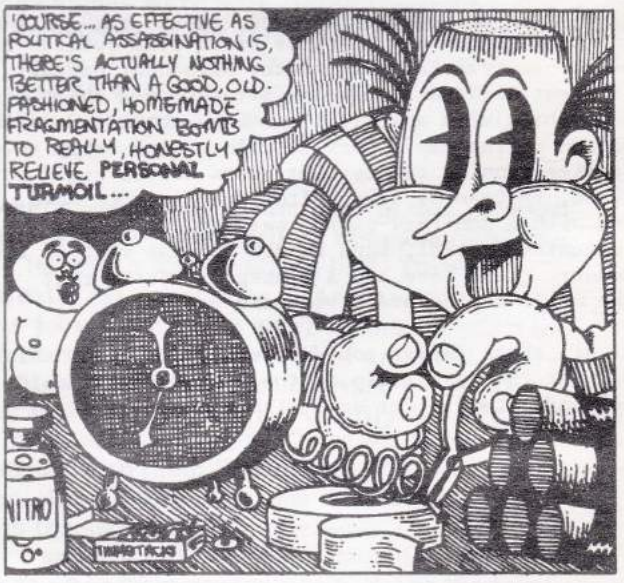
Armed Resistance in West Germany. SN 8 Defence Group.

Amongst the new left today one finds an enfatuation with violence and even an uncritical acceptance and santification of the violent practice of groups like the Weathermen, Angry Brigade and the Red Army Fraction. This small collection of RAF documents, especially Meinhoff's "concept of the urban guerilla", available for the first time in English, permits a basic consideration of this group and its activities.

Fashionable dictates instead of basic political thought and discussion have led much of the new left and many libertarians to unreservedly embrace the RAF as libertarian and in doing so they have inadvertently perpetuated the slanderous lies of the bourgeios press which seeks to implicate , discredit, and discourage all other revolutionary forces. Such people have failed to ask two basic questions.

The first is whether the RAF and similar groups are right in stating that it is "correct, possible and justified to make urban guerilla war here and now". This is the political question. The second is whether the RAF and other groups are basically libertarian in concept and practice. This is not asked out of sectarian spite but out of historical concern which has shown time and time again that the essential revolutionary project will only be realised if it is anticipated in daily practice; if it is conceived in libertarian terms.

The RAF,as did the AB, proceeded from the "analysis that when the conditions are right for armed struggle, it will be too late to prepare for it". Curiously the RAF proceeded from the assumption that the conditions were right for armed struggle.Despite the fact that in West Germany the acknowledged forces of revolution were too weak and the forces of reaction too strong, the RAF argued that it was wrong to exclude any country from the anti-imperialist struggle or to underestimate indigenous revolutionary forces; as world wide struggle against imperialism had divided and weakened the imperialist hegemony and resources. One of the aims of the RAF armed resistance ws in fact to "make verbal internationalism concrete". Urban guerilla warfare as a means of armed propoganda and resistance was the only method of intervent ion of " generally weak revolutionary forces". Not only that but based on the assumed recognit -ion of facts such warfare was the inevitable consequence of what the RAF considered to be the exhausted and discredited legal possibilities of agitation and struggle. Therefore to rely on legality when it had become an insidious means of repression meant not only to express complic -ity with bourgeois justice but to commit the mistakes of the strategy of self-defence by accepting the state's limitations and definations of struggle and thereby reinforcing the dominant political reality rather than abolishing it. In



their outright rejection of legality the RAF fail -ed to accord proper tactical consideration to the whole question of legality and its use in the preparation of the revolutionary struggle. And they became the inadvertant victims of the so-called legality fetish.

In proclaiming that the RAF "organises illegality as an offensive position for revolutionary intervention" in the form of urban guerilla war they failed to follow their own prescription of using "legality simultaneously for political struggle and for the organisation of illegality". Although obviousle aware that restricted measures of legality exists alongside measures of repression the RAF failed to locate extend and secure this already existing legal space. In failing to do so they not only failed to

prepare for their own effective resistance but failed to visibly demonstrate the declared bankruptcy of the system. In their premature rejection of legality the RAF found themselves labelled as criminals, ironically inhabiting a position defined and limited by bourgeois legality. They found out too late that it is only with the people that bourgeois legality can be defeated. Their embrace of illegality enforced their isolation; their actions failed to involve the people in any direct expressive manner because they were criminal actions, and they were criminal actions because they failed to combine legal work with illegal work. Without that effort they lacked an effective overground political organisation which could have permitted the establishment of organic relations with the people and the construction of an enduring popular base. Their mistake was in organising illegality rather than legality " as an offensive position for revolutionary intervention".

Reduced to their own weak resources the RAF could not refuse postures and actions which further alienated the people; armed struggle as a means of revolutionary intervention soon degenerated into a desperate means of survival. And promised real opposition became merely a show of opposition.

Basing their preparation on an incorrect analysis of the situation in West Germany and proceeding from insufficient theoretical formulation , the RAF not only destroyed themselves but discouraged other revolutionary efforts by embarking on extreme actions which not only weakened the already weak revolutionary resources but invited repression and defeat at a time when reaction was strong.

The introduction of the pamphlet condems the RAF for their impatient and ill-timed tactics but unfortunately accepts their strategic premises. Longer periods of gestation devoted to building up infrastructure and the development of effective overground political organisations may remedy organisational weaknesses, but leave fatal political defects intact. "The kind of resistance the RAF has begun will continue..." Hopefully not.

Armed struggle can never replace social struggle, in fact armed struggle is not someth ing apart from social struggle. Ideally armed resistance should not precede or even necessarily complement mass social action but should occur as the final positive conclusion to an imminently victorious social force. The lesson to be drawn, using the RAF's disasterous practice to judge its own dialectic, is that armed struggle is not yet possible and therefore it is not right to organise armed resistance at this time.

The introduction neglects to question the anarchist label that has been attached to the RAF. Whethe r the RAF was truly libertarian in intent (which it clearly was not; it was an avowed Marxist-Leninist avant-guarde) would not have mattered in the end. If it was, its eventual practice would have betrayed such ideals creating as it did events and situations which forced the RAF into elitist and conspiritorial formations. The RAF were not totally devoid of libertarian sentiments, perhaps because the viable urban guerilla organisation must embody such libertarian formats as voluntarism, decentralisation, improvisation, group autonomy etc. Horst Mahler, writing about the criminality of the revolutionary left, defines practical communism as the abolition of bourgeois power through "the initiative and self-determination of the masses"; they must realise "their demands and programmes directly and on their own". But the impossible task of linking libertarian notions with marxist-leninist analysis led to a theory which seemed intent on imposing organisation a priori instead of letting revolutionary progression evolve its own organisational expressions. And their retreat into a dogmatic and adventurist position only exacerbated this tendancy to confine and intimidate the revolutionary project.

But we are able to understand the motivations and intentions of the RAF for we , like they , "are angry enough to hope we have a chance". We , like they, "resist the integration and adaptation of (our) lives to the system". Indeed we "are many". And although we condemn them for their formulations, tactics and actions, we must recognise them, not without reservations, as part of thr world-wide movement of opposition and resistance. The RAF "have given us the possibilty of working out future tactics on the basis of their practical experiences".

We must respond positively if we are not to repeat their failure.

jl.

review THE UNPOLITICS OF AIR POLLUTION

Is there such a thing as Social "Sciences?" Can we really talk about "objective" truths in all those areas which concern human behaviour? How is political influence to be measured?

THE UN-POLITICS OF AIR POLLUTION, a study of non-decisionmaking in the cities by Matthew A. Crenson, published by The Johns Hopkins Press Baltimore, 1971. £4.75 ($10.00).

The neutrality of the scientific activity has been severely questionned by Thomas S. Kuhn in his book "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions" (1): "an apparently arbitrary element, compounded of personal and historical accident, is always a formative ingredient of the beliefs espoused by a given scientific community at a given time". Kuhn conceives scientific research as a "strenuous and devoted attempt to force nature into the conceptual boxes supplied by professional education 'and wonders at the same time if research could proceed without such boxes "whatever the element of arbitrariness in their historic origins and development".

In his book, Crenson recognises the importance of the subjective aspects of power relationships. He questions the paradigms of Political Science by analysing and evaluating the phenomen of non-decisionmaking and by exposing the difficulties in accounting for such a phenomenon with our present methods.

The issue (or non-issue) of air pollution is here taken only as an example; the subject matter of the book is Crenson's approach to the understanding of local political activities and political impenetrability. In other words this is really a book about political science and not about air pollution.

In his introduction Crenson describes two main approaches to the study of community political systems: the reputational (elitist) and the pluralist (2). "The reputational analysts have tended to see the political system as a reflection of the stratification system. Political power accrues to those who hold high social status and specially to men who control wealth." Therefore the reputational method of investigation relies upon the sampling of informed community opinion "to disclose the location of political power".

The pluralist point of view, on the other hand, states that "power can be said to exist only when it has been exercised" and so they sample political actions, not opinions. Pluralists argue that the distribution of political power (and political events) is not determined by the distribution of wealth and status (3): "political institutions and leaders are highly vulnerable to the aspirations and concerns of the citizenry and are, for the most part, unable to influence or ignore those popular sentiments." Therefore, for the pluralists, local political systems are independant and penetrable, i.e. these systems are independant of the class system but subordinated to their enviroment.

To understand Crenson's approach we have to concentrate in this subordination to their enviroment. Here, in the same way as Kuhn, Crenson establishes the inevitable existence of biases acting both upon the researcher - no matter how random the sample is - and upon the community: "local political issues can all be integrated in some coherent cultural configuration, which expresses the spirit or perhaps the cultural motivation of a community".

"Clearly something is missing from any notion of power founded simply upon the association of stimulus and response"...

"Influence is not "possessed by people, it is not a property of a person but of a relationship between people"...

It is quite clear that Crenson recognises the existence of the whole set of cultural assumptions acting upon our perception of the outsede world, assumptions which very often are unconscious.

This chaneling of our perception by hidden cultural/enviromental assumptions makes people concentrate on one political issue rather than another in the same way that it makes a researcher to concentrate on this or that aspect of a political situation.

It is rather a pity that Crenson does not call on theories on Psychology of perception to enlarge and support his view of the phenomenon of non-decisionmaking.

In the same way that Kuhn established that scientific research is biased but also that without these biases it couldn't exist, Crenson supports Schattschneider's suggestion that political instituions cannot exist without promoting bias

in the selection of political issued: "organisation is the mobilization of bias; all conflict allocates space within the political universe. The crucial problem in politics is the management of conflict". (4)

Having established the inevitability of unstated biases and the importance of non-actions, it follows that the pluralist approach will necessarily fail to account for the whole set of forces acting upon the political phenomenon, forces originated by the offstage power-holders, and displayed in non-situations or aborted actions which never come in to being. In other words, by enforcing inaction, participants in local policy-making can make the political system impenetrable.

"There seems to be a conspiracy of silence at a high level" (5).

In short, this is the hypothesis that Crenson is trying to establish.

With this standpoint Crenson set himself to study political inaction using a survey of formal leaders in 51 american cities (population between 50,000 and 750,000) concerning the air pollution issue. The survey was conducted by the National Opinion Research Center during late 1966 and early 67.

Crenson does not assume, as the pluralists do, "that when a community neglects some topic, it is because no-one cares about it", nor that we can call this neglect "natural or unatural". His research method is to seek for patterns of political neglect/attentiveness (rather than for facts) to relate these variations in patterns with the political characterisitics of the community, such as those of local leaders or institutions.

The method consists of, first, measuring the extent to which air pollution has become a political issue in each city, and second, trying to relate these differences with inter-city political characteristics in order to find out if there is a political explanation of the degree of neglect of the air pollution issue. To account for the non-political factors - the citizens' degree of concern about the air they breathe - Crenson relies on a survey from St. Louis which shows that citizen concern is related to age, education, income and race. This is a very disputable aspect of the method and though I recognise how difficult it would have been to make a public opinion survey in each city, I think that Crenson's own previously mentioned concerns require such a survey.

Nevertheless, to account for the subjective aspects of power relationships, the book does offer a detailed comparative study of two cities on the development of the air pollution issue: Gary and East Chicago, similar in size, type of industry and degree of air pollution. This chapter is, in my opinion, the most significant: it deals with the role played by local leaders as well as the industrial element. The fact that pollution activists in East Chicago were less apprehensive about industrial power than those in Gary seems to have played an essential role in producing an Air Pollution Act for East Chicago 7 years before Gary's. The reason for this apprehension could be that Gary, unlike East Chicago, was the creation of a single giant corporation; and in addition, East Chicago had reached a point of economical saturation.

Another very important factor was the role played by the U.S. Steel Co. in the case of Gary: its position of not taking a position worked very well by increasing the apprehension of local leaders.

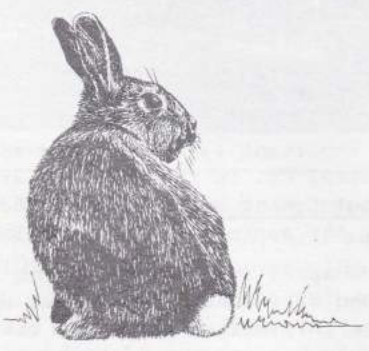
I think this shapter succeeds in giving a clear idea of how the different elements act upon each other but more information about the citizens themselves would have thrown light on some points.

One criticism that comes to mind vis-a-vis this type of study is the implicit assumption that air pollution is important and requires more

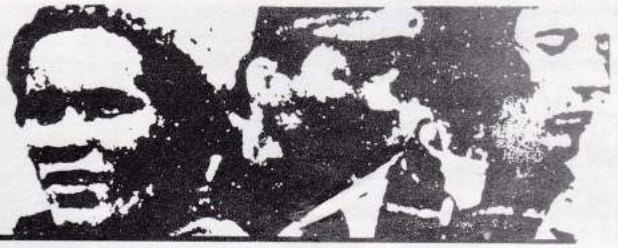
attention. Crenson is very aware of this and though he recognises that this questionable moral concern originated the whole study, his research remains valid because it deals not with quantities of concern but with variations in the patterns of inter-relating factors, political and non-political, and because it enlightens our understanding of political "sciences".

Notes:
(1) Published by The University of Chicago Press, 1970, USA. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Vol. 2 No. 2.
(2) Polsby; Community Power & Political Theory. New Haven: Yale Uni. Press, 1963.
(3) Dahl; Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale Uni Press. 1961.
(4) E.E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960.
(5) Miss Saffron Summerfield, Chairman, New City Resistance Asso. Time-out No. 102, january. "Milton Keynes resistance".
All other quotes belongs to the author of the book reviewed. Underlinging means my own emphasis.

Josefina Mena



REVIEW



Until now there have been only three book-length accounts of Nestor Makhno, his life and achievements. All have been written by avowed anarchists and all by men closely involved in the Makhnovist movement - Makhno himself, Peter Arshinov, and V. M. Eichenbaum, called Voline. Only Voline's account, forming the greater part of The Unknown Revolution, has appeared in English.

There have been references to Makhno in recent English books on anarchism and on the Russian revolution, but no more than a chapter has been devoted to him in any of these books, which includ include David Footman's Civil War in Russia, Max Nomad's Apostles of Revolution and Paul Avrich's The Russian Anarchists - and at times, as in Nomad's case, the treatment has been offensively sensational.

One therefore welcomes the first book on Makhno actually to be written in English - Nestor Makhno: The Life of an Anarchist, by Victor Peters. Peters is not an anarchist. At the same time he is not a man seeking sensation for its own sake, and his approach is admirably objective; he keeps faithfully to his material and does not attempt to distort it in the arrangement or interpretation of his narrative.

In collecting and assessing this material, Peters has had one advantage over all who have written on Makhnovism with the exception of the actual participants in the movement. He is the son of a Mennonite peasant from the region of Gulyai Polye, the heart of Makhno country, and he himself was born in that locality. Living in Canada, where many Ukrainians and Mennonites emigrated after the Russian civil war, he has had unique opportunities to meet and correspond with survivors of the Makhnovite insurrection - one of them a former member of Makhno's insurrectionary army, others former Ukrainian nationalists and supporters of Petlura, yet others local peasants whose lives were shaped by the happenings of the time. Naturally, each account is coloured by the teller's own views of events, but there is an advantage in this, since the variety of impressions balances the distortions that inevitably appeared in the narratives of Arshinov, Voline and Makhno himself, all of them seeking to justify themselves before history. In balancing these viewpoints, Peters strives to achieve a fair picture, reproducing the evidence of Makhnovist brutalities (which even Voline admitted) but also defending Makhno strongly from the accusations of anti-Semitism which his enemies brought against him.

Inevitably, this book will stir again the doubts which any account of Makhno is bound to arouse in those who take anarchism to be a doctrine of freedom based on the assumption that man is a naturally social creature whose inclinations to mutual aid have been perverted by authoritarian structures.

Makhno, of course, acknowledged such beliefs. He simplified Kropotkin's anarchist-communism into a kind of pastoral radicalism, which held that urban existence defied the natural law of mutuality and freedom, and that only in the villages of the steppes and the forests could men live as truly social beings. But these naive and benevolent tenets were combined in practice with a violence and a capricious authoritarianism that denied both the rights and the redeemability of any man who did not accept Makhno's doctrine or who might merely belong to the wrong class or follow the wrong occupation.

Reading the sickeningly frequent accounts of summary executions, one realises that Makhno, a Ukrainian peasant to the depths of his being (Peters disposes convincingly of the legend that he was a teacher), combined with his libertarian creed the disposition and the habits of the free-booting Cossack leaders who ruled this region in the past; rather than a rural Bakunin, he was a latter-day Stenka Razin. He was a brilliant guerrilla tactician. He understood the peasant mentality (which is why - as Peters suggests - he often gives the best account of the background to events at Gulyai Polye) and he drew the support of the poor and the young. Yet there is no denying that he was a leader, and often a ruthless if rather sporadic disciplinarian; he was also a hero. And heroes and leaders are myth-inflated figures, appealing to false emotions, whom anarchists should distrust as much as the village priests and smalltown merchants whom the Makhnovists killed as class enemies. (A recent Freedom supplement unconsciously admitted the equivocal nature of the appeal of men like Makhno and Durruti by billing them as "unsung heroes";

heroism is a false criterion, since one can be a hero - or a martyr - in the most despicable of causes; men must be judged outside the Homeric context, as men.)

Like the record of Durruti (adored like Makhno by peasants to whom he was a distant legend more fervently than by those through whose country his columns marched) that of Makhno is filled with ambivalences, and some of them have appalling resonances.

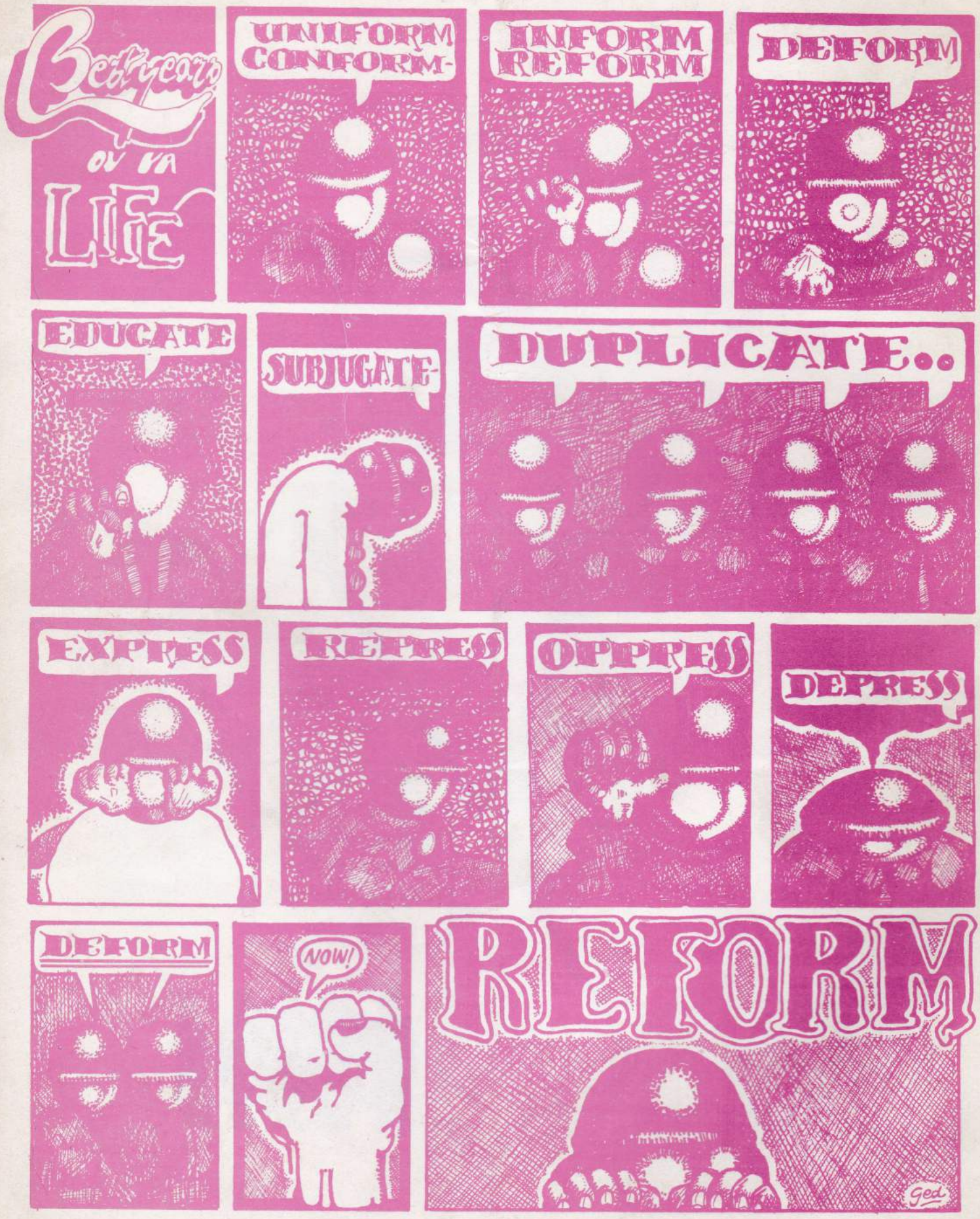
There is the problem, which neither Makhno nor the Spanish anarchists ever solved, of creating by libertarian means an army that would stand against more ruthlessly disciplined aggressors. Makhno mingled liberty with terror in organising his levies, some of whom were virtually conscripts, and the outcome was an army that had fantastic mobility, that could inflict considerable and even decisive defeats on armies like those of Denikin and Wrangel whose logistics were primitive, but that could not stand against the sustained pressure of the Red Army combined with Trotsky's treachery, which merely hastened an inevitable hour of defeat. War is a totalitarian affair, the prototype of a totalitarian society. That is why the involvement of anarchists in organised long-term conflicts has always ended in catastrophe. The citizen army that wins victories out of idealist enthusiasm is an old revolutionary myth, but it has never been any more than a myth; the victorious armies of the French revolution were filled with terror-stricken conscripts.

And then there is the general question of violence, by which I mean in this case the willingness to kill others in the pursuit of political goals. Here there is a point of fundamental anarchist logic which Godwin, Proudhon, Tolstoy, Read and Ghandi all understood, and which Kropotkin at least sensed but did not directly admit out of loyalty to his youthful mythology. There is no way of destroying a man's liberty more thoroughly than by killing him; in that act we usurp all power over his destiny, and so become the ultimate tyrants. There may be justification for killing in self-defence; there can be excuse for killing in passion. But the kind of coldly conceived 'executions' which the Makhnovists and later many of the Spanish anarchists perpetrated, the slaughter of defenceless men who happened to be in their power just because of their social backgrounds, their beliefs or even their sexual predilections (for it is established that Barcelona anarchists at one time rounded up male prostitutes and liquidated them), are in effect demonstrations of the illusory nature of anarchist beliefs. For if we cannot accept the possibility that our enemies may change and redeem their errors, then we are denying our belief that men are naturally inclined to freedom and mutual aid and are merely perverted by authority. I can see no way out of this dilemma, no way in which a man can deliberately encompass the death of another without in effect denying his anarchism.

I accept Makhno's sincerity, I acknowledge his heroism but reject it as irrelevant, I believe he genuinely desired to liberate the poor peasants and as genuinely detested Bolshevik authoritarianism, I credit him with being a tactician probably unrivalled in the history of guerrilla warfare, I find him a fascinating personality, but I do not think that his pretensions to being an anarchist can be accepted. He was a peasant insurrectionary whose vaguely libertarian ideals were overwhelmed by the Wagnerian resonances of Cossack legends; he was the last of the bandit leaders in the Ukrainian tradition. One can grant that the Ukraine would have been better off if he had not been defeated by the Bolsheviks. But that, like everything else connected with Makhno, was part of the local history in which he was imprisoned. To reinflate and universalise the epic of his heroism, as some modern libertarians have done (particularly the more suspect ones like Cohn-Bendit) is not merely to perform an act of absurd antiquarian piety; it is to fail to observe that Makhno left unsolved, because he did not understand it, the dilemma of freedom and violence that has bedevilled anarchism for a century.

George Woodcock


Actually, lads, it's seven months, two weeks, three days, fifteen hours, forty three minutes and eight seconds.


Bedtycars
ov VA
LIFE
UNIFORM
CONFORM-
INFORM
REFORM
DEFORM
EDUCATE
SUBJUGATE-
DUPLICATE..
EXPRESS
REPRESS
OPPRESS
DEPRESS
DEFORM
NOW!
REFORM
Ged