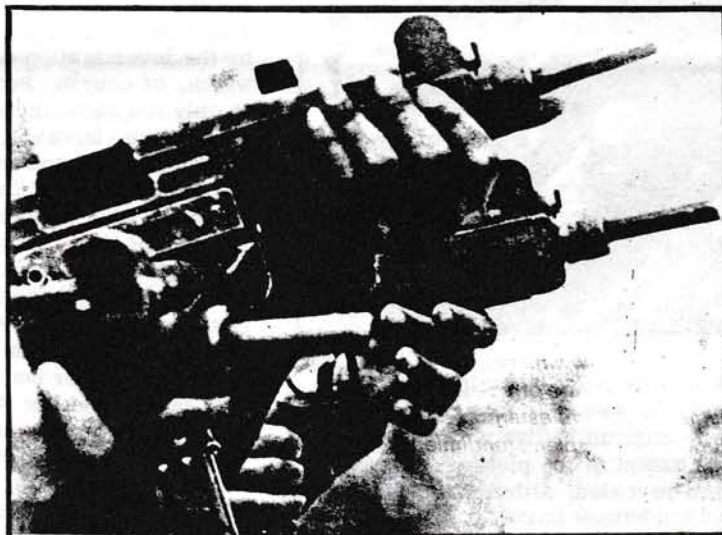


Disband la Guardia Civile



JUST as we were putting the finishing touches - on the evening of Monday 23rd February - to our last issue, the news started coming through the radio of the attempted coup in Spain by a Colonel of the Civil Guard.

We held our breath and the front page until the Tuesday morning, by which time it was clear that the coup had been abortive. Appeals by King Juan Carlos to the Army and the police to remain 'loyal' to the infant Spanish democratic constitution had found the likely response and 'reason' had prevailed.

It would be extraordinary if there were not a lot of hatred among the upper ranks of the Spanish army for the political 'democracy' which has followed, along with the establishment of the King as the Head of State, the death of Generalissimo Franco.

Under Franco's merciless Falangist rule, the Army was the elite of Spain. With no external wars to fight, the Army was the effective government, subject only to its leader. Delegating most of the dirty work to the Civil Guard, the Army bathed in its power and privilege, the prize for its triumph over the Spanish people in the Civil War.

With the coming of this democracy, however, the Army has been demoted, since one of the tenets of

democracy is that the armed forces must be subservient to the civil authority: Parliament. And with the changes that have followed the death of the Caudillo, new attitudes and codes of behaviour have emerged which must have annoyed the authoritarians in the Army more than somewhat. Even a Communist Party has been permitted!

There might even be a feeling that they have been betrayed by the old dictator. He chose no successor from their ranks to follow him as Head of State. Instead he ordered the return of the monarchy - nominating Juan Carlos. Now this might well be thought to be acceptable to any army with a history of working within a democracy - but not the Spanish Army, with no such history, for right away King Juan Carlos declared his intention of leading the country back (back?) to democratic forms of government.

The Army therefore had to stand and see its old enemies from the bitter struggle of the Civil War re-emerge and re-form. Not only political parties of the centre and the left, but trades unions; even the CNT re-emerged with, no doubt in the military mind, the spectre of an anarchist movement in its background.

Nor has the political democracy been an unqualified success in est-

ablishing the more relaxed stability it hoped for, with Christian democrats and Social democrats fighting for the middle ground - much as we might see them doing here in the not too distant future. While outside of Parliament, extremist groups felt free to emerge and start bombing and shooting each other up.

The most determined and militant of these, of course, had already been going before the death of Franco: the Basque separatists, whose militarist wing, ETA-Militar, has realised that the coming of 'democracy' in Madrid made no difference to their struggle, since all governments are centrist in concept and determined to hang on to every bit of territory under their control.

It was the Guardia Civile which had taken the brunt of ETA's violence. As is so often the case, civil guards were sent to the area from other regions of Spain, having no sympathy for the local struggle and not even speaking the local language. But the ease with which they were picked off aroused burning resentment back in the elite squad's headquarters in Madrid.

It was not surprising, therefore, that it was a Colonel of the Guardia Civile who was prepared to lead the coup last week. Lt-Col Antonio Tejero Molina had only recently gone back to his post after serving a term



of detention for indiscipline in the past. He was very clearly finding it very difficult to live with democracy! The extent of the plotting has not yet been revealed, although what is already obvious is that it is more widespread than the event of 23rd Feb might have indicated.

Only one high-ranking army officer acted on that same evening: Major-General Jaime Milans del Bosch, stationed in Valencia, sent his tanks into the streets and declared a state of emergency. From the rest, whoever and wherever they were: nothing.

But Colonel Tejero's antic was spectacular enough. Choosing a moment when the Spanish Cortes (the Parliament) was in a state of flux - for they were in the middle of electing a new prime minister - he led a squad of 200 civil guards into the chamber, scared the daylight out of the deputies by ordering his men to shoot up the ceiling and herded the deputies out, covered in plaster and confusion.

One of the press photographers still in the building had managed to get a photograph of Tejero waving his arm and brandishing a hand-gun. The photo went round the world and must have made the lucky pressman a pretty peseta.

But from then on, the intrepid Colonel didn't know what to do. He must have been getting reports from other regions and must have known that, with the exception of Valencia, he was on his own. Whatever promises he had been given of support, none came. Outside and throughout the night, units of the Army and the police quietly surrounded the Parliament building. Outside them, some right-wing

demonstrators shouted fascist slogans of support for the stranded Colonel.

Some odd facts have emerged. Like, the rank-and-file civil guards who followed Tejero into the chamber were simply rounded up outside and ordered to follow him in without knowing why. 'We were just obeying orders' was their story - and it seems to have been accepted by the investigation committee, for whom, of course, such behaviour is only too right and proper. There were some, however, who deserted the Colonel and walked back out of the building again as soon as they found out what he had led them into. (Will they be rewarded or punished for disobeying orders?)

All in all, it wasn't the Colonel's day, a fact which seems to have dawned on him quite early in the proceedings, for one report had him saying - as the deputies were being led out of the chamber - 'You are leaving all right. Nothing will happen. The only thing I know is that I'm going to have to spend 30 or 40 years in prison.' And so he well may.

Mopping-up operations have followed. High-ranking army and civil guard officers have been arrested, including Major-General del Bosch of Valencia. It is being hailed by the deputies, safely back in their seats as a 'triumph' for democracy, when really it was either a bungled farce, or a deliberate plot to flush out potential military conspirators.

On a great wave of relief, the Spanish people, spectators at the games, filled the streets four days after the events. 1,400,000 came out in Madrid, 350,000 in Valencia, while in Barcelona, Spain's second largest city, only about 200,000 marched. Could it be that the people of Barcelona were not so impressed after all with the democratic triumph?

Whatever the truth of this extraordinary affair, we must remember that in terms of Spanish political history, it's not so extraordinary. For the reasons we outlined at the beginning, a great deal of resentment and bitterness is simmering among the state's forces in Spain. The lid has just been lifted a little and we have been allowed a glimpse.

There can be no doubt that the military and the para-military Civil Guard have both been disappointed at the role played by the King, whom no doubt they expected to carry on the same authoritarian structure

bequeathed by Franco. But Juan Carlos knows that this is 1981, not 1936. The whole of Europe is different; there is no Nazi Germany, no fascist Italy, but there is the EEC, which Spain desperately wants to join, and which her economy needs, and there is NATO.

The authoritarian European states which were thought right and proper in the 30s and to the extent that Spain still maintains the outward trappings of fascism, like in the maintenance of the Guardia Civil, her presence among the 'democracies' could be an embarrassment. Old-fashioned brutality might be all right in Sal Salvador but not in Europe.

Now then, is the appropriate time to demand that the hated Civil Guard be disbanded. Whatever governmental structures remain which we, as anarchists, would reject, the retention of this outward relic of Franco's 30 years of tyranny can surely not be justified by anybody. If the activities of the Basque guerillas seem to justify its continuance - then let the democratic Spanish King tell the Spanish Parliament to let those people go. Give the Basques their independence; remove the excuse for para-military police.

Disband La Guardia Civil!

(Illustrations taken from *Bicicleta*)



A touch of anarchism

WHY has there been so much mention of anarchism in the press recently (by which I mean an increase in references thereto by 100 to 1)? What can it possibly have to do with any of the political parties, let alone with the 'Gang of Four' and the newly-fledged Council for Social Democracy?

Before such questions are dismissed as meaningless we might give them a small thought. For the strange, the distasteful, the rather improbable and the mildly amusing fact is that over the last few months of upheaval within the Labour Party an ideological battle of sorts has been waged on the basis of anarchist ideas.

This odd business can be traced back at least to the day Dr David Owen (Plymouth) became Foreign Secretary in the Callaghan government and when, as this writer remembers, he appeared on television to reveal that there were actually two main schools of socialism - one which followed Marx, but - wait for it! - another which followed Proudhon. He thereupon announced that he was Proudhon's man, a champion of decentralisation as opposed to Marxist centralism. But, of course, he was careful not to mention the word 'anarchism'.

It was later the turn of Shirley Williams. In her reply to an earlier *Times* article by Eric Heffer (Liverpool, Walton) this second Gang member defended her socialist ideals. She reminded Mr Heffer that she too wanted equality, full employment and a united Europe, and said that Marx was not a bad sort of a fellow, but after all he was still fallible. After quoting from Anthony Crosland on the virtues of political democracy she then administered her coup de grâce.

"The doctrine that, I believe, distorted and eventually defiled Marxism was the dictatorship of the proletariat, a dictatorship that has nowhere been superseded by a classless communist state. Bakunin explained why: 'These previous workers having just become rulers or representatives of the people will cease being workers; they will look at the workers from their heights, they will represent not the people but themselves - he who doubts it does not know human nature'". And she went on to show how party bureaucracies put themselves before the people. But again, she was careful not to mention the word 'anarchism'.

Then, suddenly, in January, here is Eric Heffer, regular writer in *The Times*, devoting two of its august columns to President Reagan under the heading, 'A touch of anarchism but is it real?'

From George Woodcock's *The Anarchist Reader*, Heffer quotes: "By derivation (sic), anarchism is the doctrine which contends that government is the source of most of our social troubles and that there are viable forms of voluntary organisations. And by further definition, the anarchist is the man who sets out to create a society without government." He then compares this definition with Reagan's inaugural speech, concluding that one could be forgiven for believing that parts of it "were from an introduction to a treatise on anarchism."

Heffer goes magnanimously on to point out that Reagan is "clearly an implacable enemy of anarchism, which with all its faults is a form of non-state socialism". However, "like other devotees of the private enterprise system he unwittingly goes part of the way with the anarchists".

Heffer continues with an attack on the anarchist concept of government as the root of evil. He does not, with Reagan or Thatcher, want less government, nor, with the 'true anarchist', no government, but competent and not-excessively-bureaucratic government. For, "Is government wrong to create a health service which ensures that everyone has a right to proper health care? Is government wrong to create a social security system with unemployment benefits, among others? Should government not be concerned to ensure that there is a good system of education for all and decent houses for people to live in?"

This is less the place to enter into a refutation of Heffer's idea of government - which any study of anarchist theory should not make too difficult (and Heffer, besides, is here missing the point about anarchist criticism) - than to remark on the strangely convoluted way in which he expresses his apprehensions about the Reagan administration. Why go to such lengths to equate Reagan's with anarchist concepts in the first place if at the same time he must cover himself by stating that he knows full well that Reagan is really anarchism's implacable enemy? Does this not seem an unnecessarily clumsy approach?

If, however, one remembers that the article is being written at a time when the Labour Party is under threat from a centrist alliance between Liberals and social democrats, and if one recalls not only Owen's remarks about Proudhon and Williams' about Bakunin but the last Liberal conference chairman, Michael Meadowcroft's, about the anarchist strand in Liberal tradition and the need for open and decentralised economic

(Continued on page 6)



REPORTS

TO HELL WITH ANARCHISTS:

OFFICIAL

VATICAN CITY. It should come as neither a surprise nor a disappointment to note that on 2 March the Roman Catholic Church's Congregation for the doctrine of the faith confirmed, in an official declaration, that freemasons, nihilists, charcoal-burners+ and anarchists are to be considered as automatically excommunicated from the Church. Such evil-doers are thus deprived of burial according to the Catholic rites and will, of course, be consigned to the innermost circles of hell.

The declaration was made following an attempt by clerical 'progressives' to do away with the order of excommunication. The main protagonist of this line, a certain don Rosario, who wrote a book entitled La riconciliazione tra la Chiesa e la massoneria (The reconciliation between the Church and the freemasonry) has been denounced as a heretic and a traitor to the Christian faith.

+ The charcoal burners, or Carbonari, were an underground radical sect of the last century, dedicated to the unification of Italy and establishment of a republic!

POLICE PROTECTION - YES PLEASE

WEST GERMANY. According to a Reuter report, the authorities in northern West Germany are "locked in almost weekly battles with well-organised anarchist groups and police have started to imitate their tactics at mass demonstrations".

A police intelligence chief inside the besieged nuclear compound at Brokdorf is quoted as saying that there are 4000 "such extremists" in the north German area and that they are recognisable by the fact that they group around flags, hang behind peaceful demonstrators, lobbying Molotov cocktails, and wear crash helmets, masks and nondescript clothing.

Reuter goes on to remark that, in response to the barrage of stones and home-made fire bombs, the police seem "almost as clandestine and conspiratorial as the anarchists themselves. Dozens of plainclothes police photographers mingled with the Brokdorf crowds and every second of the demonstration was filmed on the

ground and from helicopters. Police intelligence agents, in vehicles whose licence plates, like those of their opponents' cars, were blacked out, observed events from inside Brokdorf compound through binoculars and telephoto lens cameras.

"The intelligence is then stored on microfilm or fed into a computerised data bank. It enables security agents to keep 'troublemakers' under almost constant surveillance-

"On the propaganda front, police responded to anarchist leaflets calling for mass action against 'the fascist pigs' at Brokdorf with leaflets of their own.

"Imitating the internationally-known anti-nuclear badge with a smiling sun and the slogan 'Nuclear Energy . No Thanks', the leaflets carried a smiling police badge and the motto 'Police Protection - Yes, Please'.

"But senior police officers acknowledged that the hard-core anarchists were unlikely to be convinced by such 'hearts and minds' campaigns.

"Some 15,000 policemen and elite units of the paramilitary federal guard were called in from all over the country for the giant Brokdorf operation (earlier this month) which was described by officials as the biggest police exercise in West German history.

"With crash helmets and gas masks, they presented a fearsome spectacle, marching beside the giant water cannons and banging their truncheons on perspex shields to raise morale.

"Brokdorf was defended like a strategic fortress - 'Fort Apache' as one official called it.

Those helicopters that were not filming the troublemakers dipped in and out of the compound, scooping up fresh border guards to chase the protestors into the icy marshlands around.

"The anarchists did their best to confuse the police, for example by flying aluminium kites to disrupt communications between the helicopters and ground forces.

"A clandestine transmitter identifying itself as 'Radio Free Brokdorf' beamed tips to demonstrators trying to avoid police roadblocks and searches on the way to the nuclear site.

"Some anarchists managed to smuggle Molotov cocktails, slings and a couple of air rifles past the barriers.

"Police said they seized dozens of dangerous weapons, including iron bars, knives, incendiary devices and even a crossbow and arrows at the checkpoints".

RAF HUNGER STRIKE

WEST GERMANY/BERLIN. Prisoners of the Red Army Fraction and 2 June Movement groups have been on hunger strike since early February. They are demanding greater interaction with each other outside the control units or high security wings that have been established in several of the prisons, control of their prison

conditions by an International Commission for the Protection of Prisoners and Against Conditions of Isolation, the observance of the minimal guarantees of the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war, and the release of the RAF prisoner, Gunther Sonnenberg, who is still seriously ill from a head wound he received during his capture some years ago.

Since the publication of Amnesty International's report on isolation and solitary confinement in West Germany, which urged the abolition of these as "regular forms of imprisonment", conditions are reported to be as least as bad, if not worse, than before. Many people are still kept for several years at a time in solitary confinement or isolated in tiny groups.

FOR ANOTHER PLOGOFF

TORNNESS. The last of the Torness trials, following the arrest of 27 people during an action in May 1980 at the proposed nuclear site of Torness, was held in Haddington, East Lothian (Scotland) last month.

From Aberdeen, the Torness Public Parks Department report that the fines from the nine trials total £625 (excluding high travel costs) and that it was on the police evidence that the magistrates' courts relied.

Picketing and leafletting, sit-downs and other demonstrations have been taking place during the trials.

"On the day of the last trial", they report, "two of the November 20th defendants presented the Haddington Sheriff Clerks Office with a £300 cheque covering earlier fines - the court officials were somewhat perturbed that the cheque was written on a six foot long coffin, but their frantic phone calls to the bank confirmed that the cheque was perfectly legal and would have to be accepted.

"Following the February 12th trial a sit-in was held in the SSEB showrooms in nearby Dalkeith. Lack of numbers prevented this being fully effective but the management were disturbed enough to summon the local forces of Law and Disorder to evict the protestors. Solidarity action was taken in London the same day, in the form of a picket of SIR Robert McAlpines offices - McAlpines being major contractors at Torness.

"The resistance to the trials was worthwhile. But to develop from being a nuisance and embarrassment to the state to being a real threat we needed much greater numbers prepared to act. The only real answer to state repression is the Plogoff-style response of thousands besieging the court whenever anti-nuclear people go on trial. As one of our placards read ... BURN ALL COURT HOUSES TO THE GROUND!

"Torness nuclear power station is still under construction. It couldn't be stopped in 1980. SCRAM in Edinburgh called a meeting in January and various groups throughout the country attended to plan activities for Torness 1981. Who else is going to stop the

insanity if it is not us? The only defeat for those who stood trial for Torness 1980 is no Torness 1981. Every anti-nuclear group is asked to contribute to the actions this year. Regular planning meetings are now being held for an anti-nuclear week of action in the Edinburgh/East Lothian area from May 9-17th. Minutes of meetings so far and details of future meetings from SCRAM, 2a Ainslie Place, Edinburgh."

Donations have now covered the £625 worth fines imposed in the Torness trials. TPPD thank all who have given to the Torness Charges Fund. They can be contacted c/o Box 23, APP, 163 King St, Aberdeen, Scotland.

ON THE LEVEL

SATURDAY March 7th., saw a 'Teach-in on the State' held by the Leveller Collective at the Polytechnic of Central London. Lasting for eight hours subjects ranged from, the security forces: their aims and methods, to the use of laws such as the Drug and Immigration Acts to harass minority groups. The presentation was somewhat hampered by a breakdown of the film projector which meant that the event was reduced to a long 'talk-in'. Still, it was an interesting day and perhaps further efforts like this will be more successful.

WHAT THE PAPERS DIDN'T SAY: SAT. 21st FEB. UNEMPLOYMENT MARCH: GLASGOW

MICHAEL FOOT spoke three times after a ludicrous platform led chant of 'We want Michael'. After his third speech the meeting was wound up, despite hundreds of people shouting and indicating that hundreds, if not thousands, of marchers were only just arriving and many more were still on route. They were ignored. Someone jumped onto the stage and said that these people - the marchers, the workers - were the ones that mattered that they had marched four miles in the freezing cold and snow, for what? The plug was pulled out of the microphone as MPs indicated that they were the ones that mattered.

Amazing scenes followed as hundreds of angry demonstrators swarmed down to the front of the stage and the cries of 'Right to work' were replaced by 'Right to speak'. Police arrived and the remnants of the vanguard party still on stage were ushered through the back. However, the demonstrators reassembled at the exit of the stage where Jimmy Milne and other well known revolutionaries were trying to defend their party line. A police cordon was formed which left no doubt in most peoples minds which side the Labour

Party leadership were on. A large number of Labour Party members voiced their disgust with their leaders total disregard for their members, their voters and for the workers cause and socialism in general.

It was the disgusting attitude of Foot and the Labour leadership which was the main topic of conversations in pubs and on the weary road home, no the success of the march, the turnout or how we've got to get the Tories out.....

MICHAEL FOOT spoke again a week later, at the meeting to celebrate the centenary of the Leicester Secular Hall on Sunday afternoon, 1st March. Leicester was one of the most active centres of the freethought movement outside London during the nineteenth century, and in 1881 the Leicester Secular Society opened its own hall. The society is still the only independent secular society outside London, and the hall is now the only secular hall in Britain.

Michael Foot accepted the invitation to speak at the meeting last year, before he became leader of the Labour Party, and it was quite a surprise that he kept the engagement. As a result, the occasion became almost a Labour Party celebration, with a packed hall and two local MPs on the platform (the third was just joining the Social Democrats).

But this is not what was interesting about the meeting. That was the unexpected anarchist element. The president of the Leicester Secular Society, who took the chair, is Peter Miller, who is an anarchist. Fraternal greetings from the national freethought organisations were brought by Barbara Smoker of the National Secular Society and by Nicolas Walter of the Rationalist Press Association, who are both anarchists. The local Labour MPs didn't say a word from beginning to end. And Michael Foot, who was meant to be giving a lecture on Socialism and Freethought, made only very general remarks and went out of his way to include favourable references to anarchism.

One of these was almost incredible. Among the many well-known people who have spoken at the hall during the past century and whose names were listed in the chairman's introductory speech was Peter Kropotkin. Foot actually said towards the end of his own speech that, while anarchism may not be entirely a good thing, it would be a good thing if the ideas of Kropotkin were preached far and wide.

Well, Comrades, we do our best...

MH

BOMMI BAUMANN

WEST German urban guerrilla Bommi Baumann was arrested recently in Hackney, east London. He had been living underground for about eight years after leaving urban guerrilla activity in the early 70s. He was a founder member of the June 2nd movement which grew out of the West Berlin counter-culture in the late 60s. Contrary to popular belief they were never in any way connected to the Baader Meinhof RAF. They were in fact formed long before RAF and were always severely critical of RAFs politics (Marxist-Leninist) and their methods (separatist). June 2nd always insisted on maintaining contact with the counterculture that gave them birth and one of the reasons for Bommi giving up such activity was that he felt they had lost contact with the people they were supposedly fighting for.

According to the press Bommi 'agreed' to return to Germany to face charges - hardly likely considering the nature of the likely charges. Clearly the West German state has learned its lessons from the difficulties it had extraditing Astrid Proll a couple of years ago and they quickly got Bommi on the next plane home and safely behind bars before a whisper of protest could be voiced.

Clearly an arrest of this sort must come as something of a shock especially for anyone engaged in any sort of serious opposition. Bommi had been living underground for close on ten years including part of the time he was active in Germany. He had only been heard of since about 1973 through the publication of his book Wie Alles Anfang (How It all Began). He was also known to be a master of disguise and at adopting false identities.

This means that for him to be arrested, either he was given away by an ex-comrade or that the police are far cleverer than we thought. Rumour has it that the police had a tip-off from Germany, but it would be a good idea to keep a lookout over your shoulder anyway.

DS

PART OF THE SERVICE

UNDER Statutory Instrument No. 405 (Amendment, Police Regulations 1980) Police officers may claim an allowance for emptying cess pits... So next time your cess pit fills up, ask a policeman!

SHOCK HORROR!

Dateline 27:2:81

THAT staunch defender of liberty, Ken Weetch (Lab. Ipswich) revealed to a commons committee that 'certain political groups' are having their mail intercepted (and read presumably) by the special branch and MI5. He mentioned the case of the receipt for six intercepted letters that was 'accidentally' delivered to Freedom Bookshop. 'There is a touch of Inspector Clouseau in this type of investigation' said our Ken and went on to call for 'a ban on all interceptions, except for detecting serious crime, terrorism and espionage.' (That should just about cover all eventualities, shouldn't it?)

He didn't seem to be very worried about the rights and wrongs of checking peoples mail, just that it should be done properly.

Courageous Ken's comments were described by Industry Minister Kenneth Baker as 'rather exaggerated' though whether this refers to the amount of mistakes made or the amount of mail checking that is done was not made clear. Verily, the art of 'humbug' is alive and well and living in Westminster.

MAK

TAKING ON THE UNION

LONDON. Anarchists at the Polytechnic of North London report:

As a result of our activities during last year's elections for the student union, PNL Anarchist Society was warned by the union that our money would be cut off and that we would lose the use of union facilities. This means that in effect we are banned from printing leaflets/posters, etc. and that we can no longer use projectors for film shows or book rooms for meetings. Refusing to bow to this attempted censorship we again issued for this year's election a leaflet which pointed out some stark realities about the union (i.e. it's a nest of corruption and inefficiency) and some possible remedies.

We have now been informed by the president, C. Crowley, that he intends to carry out the threat of effectively banning the Anarchist Society at PNL. PNL Students' Union has come a long way since the so-called radicality of 1972-73; so much for Student Unionism.

In their leaflet the PNL Anarchist Society suggest ways of "changing the Union - or rather making it obsolete." They suggest:

"Firstly, ignore the elections, spoil your vote or do not vote at all!

After all, some hack is bound to get in and it does not matter which.

"Secondly, talk to your friends and other people about the problems you share on your course, in the poly and in the rest of your lives.

"Above all, take part in the Union between Students. Work out with people on your precinct what you want, not what the hacks tell you to want. Decide for yourself when and how to achieve what you want!....

"Take part in grassroots events, groups and organisations where you take all the decisions, where you have all the power. Ignore the bureaucrats. If you must, use the Union but never let it use you.

"Finally, if one of these Hacks, all smiles, approaches you, calling you by your first name (when did he/she find that out?) and asking you to vote for him or her tell them to GET LOST."

(Extracts from 1980 leaflet).

FREEDOM has received the following Communique:

R.U.T.B.: 1 - S.A.S.: 0

The RUTB claim responsibility for hitting the Jeanetta Cochrane Theatre recently with paint, superglue and bricks. This was done as a protest at the presentation, in the form of entertainment, of the training and direct action of the SAS Regiment killers. The hopes are 1) that the SAS is disbanded and 2) that RADA state their purpose in becoming involved as a publicity organ for these thugs.

Further action will follow.



"It's alright, they say they're monetarists!"

A TOUCH OF ANARCHISM

(Continued from page 3)

structures (thereby taking up the Kropotkin-quoting element of the Young Liberals) it all begins to make more sense.

Anarchism, as we know, is the only ideology which offers a coherent critique of the centralised state socialism which Labour represents - or at least, to which many of its members aspire - and from a socialist position. Because a number of social democrats and Liberals wish, from a more or less left wing perspective, to justify their dissent, they have begun to grasp (albeit in a furtive and highly selective sort of way) at anarchist ideas. It is only to be expected that Labour's faithful will retaliate by trying to show how dangerously anarchism lends itself to right wing and reactionary forces.

The irritating thing about all this, of course, is that it gets us nowhere. It is hardly necessary to stress that, for all their references to Proudhon, Bakunin, or that gentle market-gardening Prince, Council for Social Democracy members and Liberals are as 'implacably opposed' to anarchism as President Reagan, who has never heard of any of these people.

The Limehouse Declaration, with which the Council introduced itself, reveals a ragbag of contradictory aims - paying tribute to the principles of equality, classlessness, decentralisation and elimination of poverty while swearing firm allegiance to NATO, the EEC and a thriving and competitive capitalism. Truly, there is nothing in their outlook to distinguish them from the dreary David Steels of this world, and it is to Roy Jenkin's credit that he made no bones this week about the Council's electoral ambitions.

"At that (the next) election", he announced, "working in close and friendly arrangement with the Liberals which is, I believe, our mutual desire and is certainly in our mutual interest, our aim will be no less than complete victory with a majority in the House of Commons and a Social Democratic/Liberal Government of Britain."

The implications of the expansion of such a centrist marshland in British politics, with the endless series of coalition governments that this implies, is matter for a different article. Perhaps, though, the last words in this one could be left to the Leagas Delaney Partnership, the advertising firm who believe that passionate moderation is not enough.

"What a Social Democratic Party needs to establish itself", Leagas suggests, "is an army of salesmen." Really, does any more need to be said - at least in an anarchist paper?

GATA

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTI

Fresh fruit

Dear Comrades at Freedom,

The arrival of FREEDOM every fortnight is always welcome. As a fairly strict vegetarian (no flesh of beast nor fish but milk, cheese, etc.) I was very pleased to read the article on Veganism. I know one vegan and am amazed at that person's resolution to boycott all animal products. Such a decision requires great self discipline and a lot of hard work shopping and cooking. Even as a vegetarian, I find it hard to eat out especially in 'English' restaurants and cafes. Thank you for bringing the subject to the eyes of your readership. I hope a few people look again at their eating habits and start buying beans instead of beefburgers. However, we must beware of the 'fashionable' health food shops with their soya mince and 'Sosmix'. Health food is another section of capitalism and many big food companies exploit us that way as well as with instant mash and pot-meals.

Long may the corner green-grocer survive with his local grown produce. Fresh fruit and vegetables are all we really need.

Yours in solidarity,

FRANK.

Letters of protest

Dear Freedom,

Some people may remember me from my visit a few years ago. I was interested in the theories of Wilhelm Reich and had heard of some of his works that had been reprinted in London (by Rising Free ?)

When Reich died he left a lot of unpublished manuscripts and notes which remain under control of a court-appointed executor, Mary Higgins, who refuses to allow anyone to read them. Recently I obtained copies of some of the papers and while trying to distribute photocopies I was arrested and am now in jail awaiting trial. I could get 5 years in prison if convicted, and many of the American Reichians are so concerned with trying to look 'respectable' that I have not had much support.

American courts are more sensitive to public opinion than British courts, and it would greatly help

my case if I had letters to show the judge that many responsible people approve of my actions. (A petition signed by several people is most effective.) It should be written "To Whom it May Concern" and be sent to me to be read aloud in court by my Attorney.

Please state that you are aware of Reich's work and think his theories have merit, that the world has great need of his discoveries, and that to keep it secret is a crime against humanity. State that you approve any action which furthers access to his papers and that the Trustee, Mary Higgins, is acting contrary to the welfare of the public by bringing charges against me.

If I get enough such letters I should have no trouble.

Please hurry, as the trial is soon and international mail is often slow.

Thank you for your help.

JOEL CARLINSKY

Franklin County
Jail,
1 Park Street,
Farmington, Maine,
U.S.A.

'free market shits'

Dear Freedom,

In your issue of 17 January you quoted an absurd statement ("Libertarianism is not the same as anarchy. Anarchy is chaos. 90% of the present laws promote anarchy") made at a meeting of the Libertarian Alliance.

Since you combined that quote with childish abuse of the LA (calling us "free market shits") many of your readers will infer that the statement represents the views of the LA. I hope you will therefore have the decency to allow us to correct such an impression. The meeting was a public one and the statement you quoted was made by a notorious eccentric who is neither a member of the Alliance nor an exponent of libertarian views.

Perhaps you might also allow me to use your columns to thank your ideological comrades who one night last week hurled a brick through our window, urinated through our letter box (perhaps inspired in this propaganda of the deed by your scintillating scatol-

ogical abuse) and left such a persuasive note hailing the virtues of socialist "anarchy" over capitalism. Such behaviour only confirms the view held by many anarcho-capitalists - that the only gripe so-called socialist anarchists such as yourselves have with the state is that it prevents you from coercing and bullying "free market shits" and anyone else who dares disagree with your ludicrous and inhumane collectivist vision.

Yours sincerely,
CHRIS R. TAME

Libertarian Alliance

Not only do I strongly object to being described as 'ludicrous and inhumane' but also feel that 'free market shits' is too lenient a description of so called 'anarchist capitalists'. Longer reply in next issue.....

Layout artist

Dilemma

Dear FREEDOM

I personally am involved with SANE, CND, Amnesty International, Campaign Against the Arms Trade (CAAT) and War on Want. However, I feel great contradictions are involved. As anarchists we are opposed to parliamentarism - yet all such groups consider, to varying degrees, that letters to MPs and petitions to the government are important and legitimate. Similarly CAAT, for example, advocates writing letters of protest to companies over particular arms deals. But can I as an anarchist legitimately engage in such action, which implies that there can be such a thing as 'good' capitalism (as letters to MPs imply that there could be a 'good' state)?

However, the other side of the coin is what would be legitimate, effective activity over such issues if anarchists shouldn't participate in such organisations. On the positive side they do involve quite large numbers and do have some effect (eg. CAAT pressure sometimes helps to stop an arms deal). On the negative side, I believe that ultimately they are cherishing political and economic illusions in many minds, that are highly reactionary and dangerous.

To sum up, do other comrades think anarchists should take part in such organisations as I've named? If so, to what extent is it either right or useful writing to the MP I despise? But if not, what do we do on such issues as political prisoners, the arms trade and Third World oppression, that will be effective and not subject to the twin evils besetting anarchism - isolation and ineffectiveness?

Love and solidarity
ADRIAN JAMES

Dyfed, Wales

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

ABERDEEN Libertarian Group
c/o 163 King Street, Aberdeen.

ABERYSTWYTH. David Fletcher,
59 Cambrian Street Aberystwyth.

BARRY. Terry Philips, 16 Robert Street, Barry, South Glamorgan.

BELFAST Anarchist Collective,
Just Books, 7 Winetavern Street,
Belfast 1.

BRIGHTON Libertarian Socialist
group, c/o Students Union, Falmer
House, University of Sussex,
Falmer, Brighton.

BRISTOL Bedminster, 110 Grenville Road, Bristol 3.

CAMBRIDGE Anarchists, Box A,
41 Fitzroy Street, Cambridge.

CANTERBURY Alternative Research
Group, Students Union, University
of Kent, Canterbury.

CARDIFF. Write c/o One-O-Eight
Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road.

COVENTRY. John England, Students
Union, University of Warwick,
Coventry.

CUMBRIA 12 Bath Terrace,
Drovers Lane, Penrith, Cumbria.

DUBLIN. Love v Power, Whelan's
Dance Studio, 51 South King Street
Dublin 2.

EAST ANGLIA DAM
Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens,
Saffron Walden, Essex.

ESSEX. Oral Abortions, The Cat-
skills, Maldon Road, Gay Bowers,
Danbury, Essex.

EXETER Anarchist Collective c/o
Community Association, Devonshire
House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

GLASGOW Anarchist Group, John
Cooper, 34 Raithburn Avenue,
Castlemilk, Glasgow G45.

HASTINGS Anarchists, 18a Mark-
wick Terrace, Saint Leonards-on-
Sea, East Sussex. (0424)420 620.

HULL Libertarian Collective
70 Perth Street, HULL,
HU5 3NZ.

KEELE Anarchist Group, c/o
Students Union, The University,
Keele, Staffordshire.

KEIGHLEY anarchists. c/o Simon
Saxton, 1 Selbourne Grove Keighley
W. Yorks BD21 2SL.

LAMPETER Anarchist Group,
c/o Adian James, SDUC, Lampeter,
Dyfed SA48 7ED, Wales.

LIVERPOOL Anarchist Group, c/o
Hywel Ellis, Students Union, Liv-
erpool University, Liverpool.

LEAMINGTON and Warwick, c/o
42 Bath Street, Leamington Spa.

LEEDS anarchist group and DAM
Dave Brown, 2A Seaforth Place
Harehills, Leeds 9.

LEICESTER. Blackthorn Books,
74 Highcross Street (tel 21896), and
Libertarian Education, 6 Beacons-
field Road (tel 552085).

LONDON
Anarchist-Feminists, Box 33,
Rising Free, 182 Upper Street N1.
Anarchy Collective, 37a Grosvenor
Avenue N5(01-359 4794 before 7pm)
Meets each Thursday at Little@
Press, C1 Metropolitan Wharf,
Wapping Wall, Wapping E1.(22a
bus or Wapping tube).
Anarcha United Mystics meet each
Thursday at 8pm, Halfway House
Pub, opposite Camden Town tube.
Freedom Collective, Angel Alley,
84b Whitechapel High Street E1.
(01- 247 9249). Aldgate East tube,
near Whitechapel Art Gallery.
Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark
Street, Kingston upon Thames,
(01-549 2564).
London Workers Group, Box W,
Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, N1.
meets Tuesdays 8pm
at Metropolitan Pub, 75 Farringdon
Road, EC1.
Middlesex Poly Anarchists, Students
Union, Trent Park Site, Cockfosters
Road, Barnet, Herts.
Black Bomber Anarchists, Hackney/
Lambeth/Barnet, Box 29 Rising Free
182 Upper Street N1. Bi-monthly
magazine out in December, 15p.
West London Anarchists, Box WLA
Freedom.
Xtra! Structureless Tyranny, 182
Upper Street N1.
MALVERN and Worcester area,
Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Stor-
ridge, Malvern, Worcestershire.
NORWICH Anarchists, c/o Free-
wheel Community Books, 56 Saint
Benedicts Street, Norwich, Norfolk.
NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom,
10 Heathcote Street (tel 582506) or
15 Scotholme Avenue, Hyson Green
(tel 708 302).
OLDHAM. Nigel Broadbent, 14
Westminster Road, Failsworth.
OXFORD anarchist group. Solidarity
c/o 34 Cowley Rd. Oxford.
PAISLEY Anarchist Group are un-
fortunately contactable through the
Students Union, Hunter Street,
Paisley, Renfrewshire.
PORTSMOUTH area anarchist group
c/o Garry Richardson 25 Beresford
Close Waterlooville Hants or
Duncan Lamb, 'Nirvana', Chichester
Yacht Basin, Bisham, West Sussex
PLYMOUTH Anarchists, 115 Saint
Pancras Avenue, Pennycross, Ply-
mouth.
RHONDDA and MidGlamorgan,
Henning Andersen, 'Smiths Arms'
Treherbert, MidGlamorgan.
SHEFFIELD Anarchists, c/o 4
Havelock Square, Sheffield S10 2FQ
Libertarian Society, Post Office
Box 168, Sheffield S11 8SE.
SUSSEX anarchist group.

c/o Students Union, Falmer House
University of Sussex, Brighton.

SUNDERLAND anarchists/DAM
c/o 183 Durham Rd. Sunderland
SR3 4BX
SWANSEA. Don Williams, 24 Derl-
wyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

SWINDON Area. Mike, Groundswell
Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon.

TAYSIDE Anarchist Group, 3L 188
Strathmartine Road, Dundee.

TORBAY Anarchist Federation, 24
Beverley Rise, Brixham, Devon.

TORNESSE Public Parks Dept.
Contact for the 27 Parkkeepers
c/o Box 23 163 King St. Aberdeen.

NATIONAL
DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT,
c/o Box 20, 164-166 Corn Exchange
Buildings, Hanging Ditch, Man-
chester, M14 3BN.
LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST GROUP
1 Grove Gardens, Leeds LS6 4EG
MIDLANDS Federation. Secretariat
c/o Coventry group.
NORTH EAST Anarchist Federation
as for Hull.
SCOTLAND. Local libertarian
groups may be contacted via:
J. Cowan, 3R 17 Cheviot Crescent,
Fintry, Dundee DD4 9QJ.
SOLIDARITY libertarian communist
organization (Publish Solidarity for
Social Revolution) c/o 123 Lathom
Road, London E6. Groups and
members in many towns.
THAMES VALLEY Anarchist Fed-
eration - contact Oxford group.

Meetings

Welsh Anarchist Conference.
Saturday 21st March 1981.
Towards a Federation/Sexism/
Education/Individualism and Big
Words/Disabilities/Agism/Music/
Peoples Militia etc.

Details, proposals, Map, contact:
A Conference Centre
3 Maes Teg,
Pontardulais, Near Swansea.
Solidarity Conference.

Open discussion on Unemployment,
its causes, organisation of the unem-
ployed and the potential for revol-
ution.

2.30pm Saturday 21st March 1981
West Oxford Community Centre
Helen Road, off Botley Road,
Oxford.

FREEDOM PRESS

in Angel Alley
84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

Distributed in Britain 182 Upper Street, Is-
lington, London N1.
by A Distribution.

CANADA: Illusions of Democracy

CANADIANS generally take great pride in their political system and, in world opinion Canada has been looked upon favourably as a land of fair-minded, tolerant and unabrasive people. But one who probes behind the facade may see a sanctimonious and smug people, too readily 'respectful' of law and order and subjected to a political system which is closer to a benevolent oligarchy than it is to a participant democracy. Two recent books look at the Canadian polity and certainly deflate any idealization of it. Edgar Z. Friedenberg in *Deference to Authority: The Case of Canada* is essentially concerned with demonstrating two points: one, that the Canadian political system is not very much concerned about freedom and, two, that Canadians are especially deferent to authority and have little respect for liberty. In *The State Elite* Dennis Olsen ends up making the point that the Canadian system is not very democratic, but his aim is to show that the upper levels of political power in the country constitute an elite having group qualities of cohesiveness and common purpose. (1) He also seeks to demonstrate that the federal state has been fragmented within the last thirty years so that provinces have greatly enhanced their power and, consequently what now exists is an 'institutional parallelism' and an 'executive federalism'. Friedenberg's is the better book in part because Olsen too often does not make a convincing case. Yet Friedenberg's work would have been enriched by a more thorough analysis of the question of why Canadians are so deferent to authority. As it is he does not adequately explore this important topic.

In the following I propose to review some of the salient features of the Canadian political system as discussed by these two authors and then to note Friedenberg's evidence that Canadians are deferent to authority by way of a preface to observations on why this might be so.

A first principle of the ideal Canadian polity is the supremacy of Parliament. This is the belief that the citizenry freely elect representatives to the supreme legislative-executive body of the federal state. In ordinary Canadian thought this means that one delegates (abdicates may be a better word) one's individual authority, responsibility and decision making to that representative. Consequently it is common in Canada to hear from both citizenry and politicians alike that one has no right to criticize elected officials since authority to govern and make decisions has been delegated to them. Citizens may participate only on election day by voting for one of candidates who happen to appear on the ballot. As a corollary of the supremacy of Parliament principle one also finds strong opposition to such participatory features as referenda or recall. It is held that these interfere with the proper governing function of Parliament - even that they are not democratic! Parliament, as Friedenberg notes, is not limited by any checks to its authority by other institutions as in the United States. Parliament may in fact

freely amend the constitution and even abrogate any rights presumably guaranteed by the Canadian Bill of Rights.

The ideal of the supremacy of Parliament is a highly questionable form of political arrangement which appears to be 'parliamentocracy', a sub-type of oligarchy. In the actual operation of the Canadian system there are other more formidable forces of power aside from Parliament. Most important is the federal cabinet which can enact and so legislate at will what are called 'orders in council' and these have the force of law. It is in fact possible to conceive of a perfectly legal and plausible situation of direct rule through a cabinet in which none of the members except the prime minister is an elected official. While it is normal for cabinet ministers to be members of parliament there is no law that says they have to be and we have several cases of cabinet ministers who were not. All that needs to be done is for the prime minister to appoint and for his party caucus to approve - and God help the member who withholds their assent. This cabinet can in turn proceed to operate with the issuance of orders in council. These orders, incidentally, are by no means always trivial since during World War II Japanese-Canadians were placed in concentration camps through an order in council. 'Peace, order and good government in Canada depend ultimately on the deep acquiescence of the people in the idea that they have no inalienable rights, ultimately the final decision rests with the cabinet' (Friedenberg).

Olsen points to yet another centre of power: the provinces, although more correctly it is the provincial cabinets - and then it is really four or at most five provinces which have any clout. Prince Edward Island, for example, has only turnip power. Olsen recites a familiar litany of how the state has been accumulating power - including gigantic increases in the percentage of GNP devoted to public spending (from 5% in 1867 to 41.5% in 1976) and an incredible one third of the population presently economically dependent upon the state. But he then argues that within the last thirty years or so the central state has lost power as the provinces have gained it. He rightly does not consider this shift in power to be decentralization, but rather it is the 'growth and proliferation of bureaucratic and institutional parallelism in Canada, a fragmentation of the state and state power.' Instead of one state with ten subordinate provincial governments, according to Olsen we now have a state with eleven 'parallel' institutions of power (that is, the ten provinces and the federal government). Provinces are not called to account by the central government and they are able to veto national programmes and some times to refuse to cooperate with the central state. Major pieces of legislation are only enacted as a result of usually behind the scenes conferences between provincial and federal representatives. Some are deals made by the federal government with a provincial

government which are then put to Parliament which has no alternative but to approve. The agreement of the federal government with the Province of Quebec on the Canada Pension Plan is a case in point.

'Along with fragmentation . . . went a complex new method of elite coordination, which one author called "executive federalism" and another referred to as "federal-provincial diplomacy".' Basically a series of committees and sub-committees of cabinet ministers and bureaucrats from the two levels of government wheel and deal in what are invariably secret meetings. They are not exactly a 'government of governments' . . . that is, they are not purely autonomous entities since they depend upon implementation by the federal and provincial governments. But I would add that that is no problem since recommendations by committees are made only when prime minister and provincial premiers have reached an agreement. And these chiefs readily bring their party following within the respective legislatures into line. In this kind of system parliaments tend to take a back seat.

Olsen notes a very high turnover of individuals at upper levels of government but considerable stability of party control. 'What this smacks of is government by a series of cliques'. It is government as well by chieftainship: eleven chiefs each with his small band of followers, analogous to a feudal power arrangement.

Why or how the state in Canada has become 'fragmented' is not made entirely clear to me. Olsen seems to believe that both Prime Ministers King and St. Laurent shared an ideology of minimal federal state power and that they were in office at a crucial period after World War II at the beginning of a long period of peaceful economic expansion and growth which is favourable - he says - to provincial assertion of power. Within this context the provinces began to take advantage of their positions and shift the balance of power before King or St. Laurent knew what was going on. This left the succeeding prime ministers, Pearson and Trudeau, with well entrenched provinces and a weakened federal government. Olsen discounts the constitution as a factor in provincial power claiming, correctly, that that document never prevented the state from doing what it wanted anyway. However, I think the constitution is not so easily dismissed. After all, it has given specific powers to the provinces and they are thereby provided with a key at least to fit into the door of power.

But has this 'fragmentation' really altered the power of government and the state? Olsen suggests that the state elite often appears divided and at odds with itself but this doesn't preclude collective action. '... (T)here is no evidence to suggest that these conflicts lead to any permanent ruptures of relationships among members of the elite, nor do they prevent the elite from uniting very quickly in the face of a threat. The fragmentation of power within the Canadian state system does not preclude in and of itself the possibility of strong state action . . . it normally makes that action much more difficult to achieve but certainly not impossible. We should also recall the role of private negotiations between a few government leaders. In these cases the state elite is very small in operational size. It reduces itself to a few leaders and their advisers from the federal government and the more powerful provinces.' In essence then Olsen's talk of fragmentation of the federal state is misleading; what really happens is a realignment of power - a more 'rational' alignment since it brings together exactly those cliques of political power which really count. Power is concentrated into at most the eleven 'executive' branches of the government. More realistically it is concentrated into the federal cabinet and those of the Provinces of Quebec, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia.

The main thrust of his book - the attempt to show a kind of ruling elite in Canada - is not always convincing. He does not explain what he means by elite but one surmises it is a top level cohesive social group, conscious of its common interests and acting as a group to pursue those interests. Much of what he notes about the boys at the top is not new: that they come from the middle and upper classes, that over half are lawyers and that they are heavily derived from the two major ethnic communities: British and French. The cohesiveness of the elite is based on kinship ties, club

membership and attendance at the same meetings. But Olsen can indicate no real network of kinship, only that a few of his elite are able to establish some kind of kin tie to some other person who has at some time in the recent past held high office. His argument regarding attendance at common meetings has a circular flavor. If one belongs to the top executive and a major mechanism for its operation is the committee then the members will obviously attend common meetings.

One of the characteristics of such a group would seem to me to be continuity of personnel over time. But this is not the case as Olsen himself notes. What we have then is a group of higher officials who by the oligarchic committee nature of the system manipulate power and recruit support and successors from a broad common pool. All this is accompanied by a rather rapid circulation of elites. Continuity and unity in what superficially may appear as a nest of competing and conflicting factions is provided through a commonality of ideology. It makes no difference whether one is Liberal, Conservative, New Democrat or Social Credit all are in the system to play the game according to consensually agreed upon rules with the intention - the supreme intention - of maintaining the continuity of state power. (2) As Olsen says the elite must unite to realize a national policy on major issues. It is then this statist ideology which gives the elite whatever cohesiveness it might have. And Olsen does not bring out this point.

Friedenberg's discussion casts yet further light on the Canadian system. Secrecy, for example, is pervasive. Cabinet and other government meetings are usually held in secret. At least the important issues are thrashed out away from public view. Even with a freedom of information act - only very recently enacted - there are all kinds of materials which may be kept secret. This emphasis upon secrecy percolates down to the lowest levels of government. I know school boards which insist upon meeting in camera even when there is nothing confidential to be discussed. And this is all blandly accepted by Canadians. . . . 'After all we elected them to run the country's business. . . .' To Friedenberg '... the fundamental function of secrecy in Canadian governmental practice is not concealment but the cultivation of docility . . . Governments are somewhat more successful in keeping information from their own citizens, but only from those citizens who would rather not risk knowing.'

Nothing as yet has been said about that other branch of government, the judiciary. And certainly there is little in the Canadian judicial system which should instil confidence . . . unless you do want to get into jail easily. In the Canadian legal system the prosecution can appeal against any acquittal. In effect this means it can hound a victim down until he gives up from sheer exhaustion, despair and financial ruin. This makes the law that one cannot be tried twice for the same crime redundant and a farce.

A judge can deny a jury trial to a defendant who may be subject to less than a five year jail sentence. He can freely admit evidence which has been gained by unlawful means and under some circumstances a person may be tried in secret (as witness the Alexander Peter Treu case). There is no statute of limitations on prosecution and no such thing, as in the United States, of class action suits which permit a group of poor individuals collectively to bring a suit against a large corporation.

One of the most astounding features of the Canadian legal system is the absolute power held by a judge especially regarding so called contempt of court. A judge may order imprisoned any person who makes any criticism of any judge or any decision he might have made. That is, if I were to state in my classroom that Judge Dullbooby made a ridiculous decision in the Falderall case, Judge Dullbooby or any other judge could have me tossed into jail until I retracted the statement and most humbly begged the courts pardon.

I will conclude this catalogue of barbarisms with a mention of the crowning Canadian infamy, the War Measures Act, whose nature is best revealed by a retrospective view of its last implementation in 1970. In what amounted to a 'threat' by a couple of dozen French-Canadian liberationist-revolutionaries to the stability of the state, Trudeau with the collusion of the Premier of Quebec and the Mayor of Montreal invoked the War Measures Act, pushed it through a properly

primed Parliament so that all civil liberties were revoked, people could be arbitrarily arrested and held in jail without right to bail; the federal cabinet could rule entirely by decree and without consulting Parliament until the cabinet decided the 'national emergency' had ended. This law is still on the books awaiting another 'emergency'.

Deference to authority

FRIEDENBURG is quite rightly alarmed by the tolerance of the lack of fundamental guarantees to freedom in Canada and by the stupid and naive faith on the part of most of its inhabitants in the altruism of those in power. 'The problem is that Canadians think the RCMP* is the law... Canadian society is deficient not in respect for law but in respect for liberty.' Friedenburt warns against exaggerating American attitudes and notes, 'what is clearly absent from Canadian political consciousness though salient in the American is the conviction that the state and its apparatus are the natural enemies of freedom.'

Watching American TV Canadians observe the rights available to Americans and, Friedenburt points out, are not disturbed because they find they do not have the same rights; they are disturbed because this is another example of Canadians being exposed to alien (especially American) ideas.

Canadian politicians love to allude to the great 'multicultural' melting pot in Canada as a shining example of tolerance and freedom. Rather than a melting pot Friedenburt suggests it is a septic tank since what 'finally pours into the mainstream of Canadian life is substantially colourless, odorless, non-infectious and inoffensive, though not entirely sterile.' Where else but in Canada would one find the glorification and sanctification of a national police force and when that force, the famous Mounties, is found guilty of all kinds of dirty tricks and criminal acts, 'in pursuit of its duties' the widely acclaimed solution proposed is to change the law to make the tricks and illegal acts legitimate when performed by the RCMP.

As I remarked above Friedenburt's work is deficient in attending to the question of why Canadians are so deferent to authority. Part of the answer to such a query is, I believe, to be found in the social/cultural origins of the countries inhabitants. First the French-Canadians one of the 'founding nations' comprise close to 30% of the population. These more than six million people are almost entirely descended from French immigrants who settled Quebec and Acadia in the seventeenth century. The original immigrants were screened to ensure that they were good and faithful Papists -- no Huguenots need apply. They were rural, essentially serfs. They were well away from France before the Enlightenment and before the Revolution and they certainly spent the centuries until the present in marvellous isolation from the dangerous thoughts and revolutionary activities of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe and United States. Rural Quebec in say 1940 was the closest one might come in contemporary times to a picture of rural seventeenth century France. The combined forces of British Imperial rule and the Roman Catholic church exerted every effort to imbue the French-Canadian population with docile subservience to authority.

Those who are descendents of immigrants from the British Isles constitute a larger segment of the population - about 45%. In the United States a major part of the British settlers were adherents to dissenter sects; more than half the colonies were originally settled and largely populated by Congregationalists, Friends, Baptists, etc. The cultural milieu evolved by such a group is partly responsible for the development of American traditions treasuring individual liberty and instilling suspicion of authority. But the early British settlers in Canada lacked any such ideological proclivities. Indeed, the largest number of British settlers in Canada up to about 1814 were those who came via the American Colonies/the United States. And most of these were the so called United Empire Loyalists, those who were so devoted to the English king that they abandoned their homes when their land was conquered by republican revolutionaries. If the original seed bed of British settlement in Canada can be described in any way it is as a group of rebels against rebellion.

Later British settlers in Canada comprised other elements not particularly noted for any devotion to freedom: rural

Irish immigrants, Catholic Highlanders, and middle class English and Scots. Finally, of the 22% or so of Canadians who have other overseas antecedents the great majority never emigrated for any ideological reasons. The only significant ideological immigrants have been those in the Mennonite-Hutterite tradition and a large number of escapees from Communist tyranny. The first represent a relatively small number and while they have what in essence is an anti-state tradition they at the same time inculcate a tradition of docility and quiet obedience. The Czechs, Hungarians, Poles, Ukrainians and Vietnamese who have fled Communism have not done so out of opposition to authority, but rather it is in opposition to what they deem as the wrong kind of authority. Some of the major bulwarks of a thinly veiled fascist ideology in Canada today are to be found amongst these groups. Thus a major reason why Canadians are deferent to authority is that the country has been settled predominantly by a subservient body of people who are 'born serfs'. (cf., Etienne de la Boetie, The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude.)

Beside being settled by those committed to 'order', Canada was long perpetuated as a colony of the British Empire. Indeed it spent a longer time than most in this status. Like any colony, subordination and subservience are the order of the day, although on the whole it was a benign and paternalistic subordination. Perhaps its benign character is in part explained by the push and pull of major power forces: the French vs. the English, the Catholics vs. the Protestants, the East vs. the West. In any case for a people who in large part occupied the area because they preferred order, this benevolent paternalism was exactly what they wanted. At the same time, as Friedenburt points out, a constant approved theme in Canada is the struggle against nature. People could spend themselves in the battle for survival in an outrageously Arctic and inhumane climate so that any struggle against human oppression, especially if it were a mild form is dwarfed into insignificance. In that struggle against Nature it may be comforting as well to have the big old grandfather State around to lend a helping hand. As Canada began to loosen its colonial ties in the last half of the nineteenth century the state paternalism was seen by business and industry as essential in encounters with the United States. While Canada eventually passed out of direct colonial status under the British Empire it immediately fell into another kind of subordinate status in relation to its giant neighbour to the south. Friedenburt devotes his fifth chapter to this as an 'Economy of Deference'. To anyone in Canada this problem of foreign (especially American) domination of the economy has been discussed so much and so often as to become more than wearisome. Realations and attitudes with and towards Americans are highly ambivalent. Canadians want the American goodies and good life. They are on the whole not sufficiently imaginative or daring themselves and, so, produce bad copies of American efforts or take them over overtly (usually as Friedenburt observes the worst features of American culture). This timidity and lack of inventiveness is clearly implicated with the attitude of deference. (Ballet is the only artistic endeavour which Canadians stand out says Friedenburt - and he might also have mentioned the Russians. Ballet is an art form highly dependent upon strict discipline and adherence to well established traditions.)

Canadians insist that the ever present paternal state must help them out of every problem, Canadian capitalism is a blatant and rather disgusting example of the expectation that the state exists to indulge its every whim. The Canadian capitalist screams and hollers at any attempt at government regulation which might cost him and protect the exploited. At the same time he screams and hollers for government regulations and subsidies which will guarantee him huge profits. No risk taking self reliant or independent capitalists here!

Why is there so much foreign, especially American, domination of the Canadian economy? Certainly one factor insufficiently emphasised is that foreigners dare to tread where Canadians would never venture. It is said euphemistically that Canadians are more 'conservative' investors: perhaps they are just more 'yellow'.

In sum I have mentioned that the timid, deferent, and 'conservative' traits of Canadians are generated and fostered by the interaction of several elements: 1) A basic 'seed bed' of

The Struggle to be Human

The following are two reviews of the book, *The struggle to be human: crime, criminology and anarchism*. By L. Tift & D. Sullivan. Cienfuegos Press 1980, available from Freedom Bookshop.

'Badly written..

THIS is a garrulous, repetitive and badly written book, in which a fascinating and important topic is buried beneath a welter of meaningless Californian-style patter. The inability of the authors to write plain (American) English produces sentences which make the reader wince with pain:

'(Criminologists) must now choose either to be subsumed into an energy force of the impending fascism of the nascent police state or to transform themselves into scientific energies that foster discovery of how persons can balance their human and spiritual needs with the natural rhythms of the universe' (p. 1).

This bastard metalanguage, a melange of ecobabble, psychobabble, sociobabble and plain old Dave Spart, permeates the entire book. We are told that questions of why individuals inflict harm on one another 'are related to the human struggle for a cosmic sense'; urged 'to be in touch with the continuing demands of our own biorhythms'; reminded that 'an organic conception of humanness can reject neither technology-rationality nor poetry-affect' and warned that 'to do so would be to count on suppressive analytical processes to enunciate a fantasy'. Empty verbiage of this kind detracts heavily from the few merits the book possesses. It's all very well for the authors to dismiss 'the tedious arguments of scientific rationalism' and to assert instead the superiority of 'personal statement and presence', but a little more rational argument on their part, or even a more lucidly presented statement, would have better served the attempt to construct a libertarian criminology. What of some of the substantive arguments of the book? 'Modern criminology', Tift and Sullivan claim, 'is on the brink of extinction.... beyond the possibility of further evolution'. As with a number of their assertions, one doubts it. To begin with, you have to decide which criminology is being talked about. Broadly speaking, modern criminology can be divided into two camps, what one might call 'official' criminology (typified in this country by the Cambridge Institute of Criminology and the work of Home Office researchers), and 'radical' criminology (which grew out of the National Deviancy Symposium in the 1960's). Neither camp shows any signs of awareness of their own imminent demise. Official criminology, even in these days of spending cuts, continues to receive state funding in its quest for 'appropriate' strategies for the control of crime and deviance. Secure in its position, it remains relatively unruffled despite over twenty years of theoretical attacks from radical criminologists. Possibly because, as Michel Foucault (1980, p47) says: "One has the impression that it is of such utility, is needed so urgently and rendered so vital for the working of the system, that it does not even need to seek a theoretical justification for itself, or even simply a coherent framework. It is entirely utilitarian".

As for radical criminology, the last few years have been a period of theoretical development and proliferation. Indeed, a recent review of the field (Carlen, 1980) claims to be able to discern at least four strands of radicalism in contemporary criminological discourse, most seeking to develop politicised perspectives on crime informed in varying degrees by Marxism.

This is not meant to imply that there is no need for an anarchist perspective on crime and deviance. Given the current state of both camps in criminology, an approach designed to confront all forms of statist criminology is long overdue. But the essence of this need lies not so much in the academy as in the changing nature of the state and society, in the steady shift towards ever more authoritarian state forms.

This drift into what Stuart Hall has called a 'law and order' society manifests itself in a variety of forms: in the development and refinement of a whole technology of political surveillance and control; in changes in the role of the police and the nature of policing; in the criminalisation of sections of working class youth; in the advocacy (and adoption) of 'get tough' penal policies and methods; in ideological forms through the creation and manipulation of public opinion, and more generally still, in the attempts to impose new forms of social discipline. All of these represent urgent objects of analysis for a libertarian social science. To give them their due, Tift and Sullivan are well aware of this. Unfortunately, those wishing to undertake such analyses will find little to guide them in this book.

Overall, the work suffers from a lack of originality. Many of the issues covered are dealt with better elsewhere. In particular, it suffers from an excessive reliance on quotation. I estimate that if the quotations were removed little over one third of the book would remain. And this is not merely a stylistic quibble, the citation of long passages from say, Bakunin, is no substitute for reasoned argument.

One useful feature of the work, however, is its recognition of the importance for radical criminology of the historical background to the emergence of crime and the penal sanction. This historical context has, with one or two exceptions (the Marxists Rusche and Kirchheimer and, from a Whiggish perspective, Radzinowicz's massive researches), been notably absent from criminology until recent years. It is one thing to argue, from general theoretical premises, that ruling classes produce crime through their classbound definitions of crime in the criminal law, their dominance of judicial institutions, and their control of penal and police functions in the bourgeois state, what is needed are a series of concrete historical investigations that reveal these processes in convincing detail. Pioneering examples of such investigations can be found in the work of Edward Thompson (1975) and his associates (Hay et al 1975) on eighteenth century English criminal law, Michael Ignatieff (1978) on the creation of the penitentiary in nineteenth century England, and Michel Foucault's work on incarceration in France in the same period. Disappointingly Tift and Sullivan show no sign of being aware of this European work.

In the final analysis, then, the work fails completely. The measure of its failure can be seen if it is placed alongside Frank Pearce's attempt to lay the foundations of a Marxist criminology, in his excellent *Crimes of the Powerful: Marxism, Crime and Deviance* (1976), or even the now rather dated contribution to an anarchist criminology of Alex Comfort, *Authority and Delinquency* (1970). These books are everything Tift and Sullivan's book is not - cogent, to the point, well written and well argued. Pity.

ERIC HYDE.

References not included in text.

- Pat Carlen: 'Radical Criminology, Penal Politics and the Rule of Law' in P. Carlen and M. Collison (Eds.) *Radical Issues in Criminology*. (1980)
- Michel Foucault: *Discipline and Punish* (1978)
- Michel Foucault: 'Prison Talk' in *Radical Philosophy* 16 (London 1977)
- D. Hay et al: *Albion's Fatal Tree* (1975)
- Leon Radzinowicz: *History of English Criminal Law*, 4 vols. (1947 - 56)
- George Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer: *Punishment and Social Structure* (1939, repr. 1968)
- E. P. Thompson: *Whigs and Hunters* (1975)

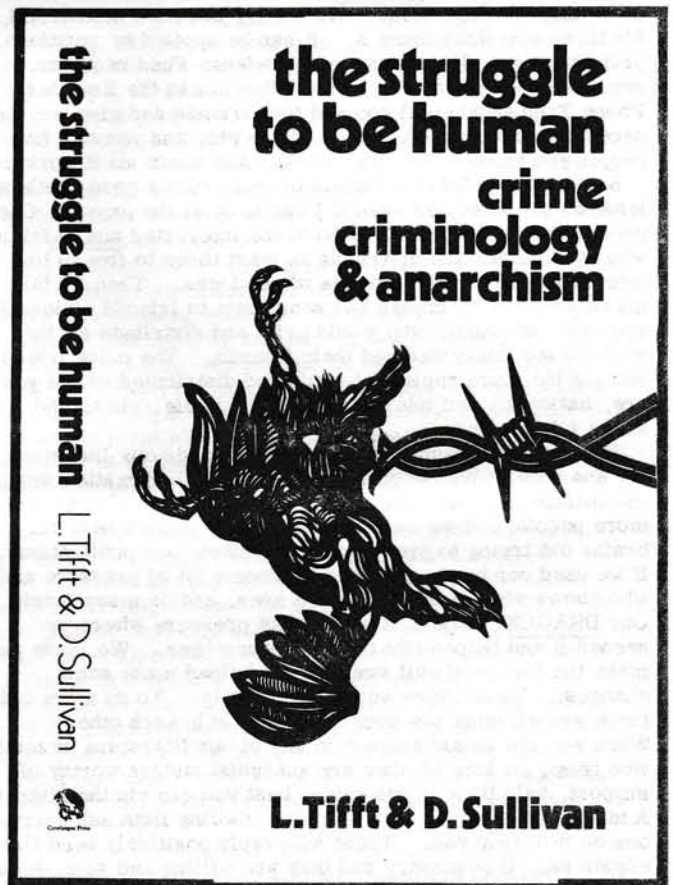
.. relentless invective'

"THE STRUGGLE TO BE HUMAN" by L. Tift and D. Sullivan (Cienfuegos Press, £5.00) is an invective, relentlessly carried through one hundred and fifty pages, against the law, its supports and supporters, the interests it protects, and the arguments that are invoked for its justification. Nothing can be right with the law, and that for the simple reason that it is one with the state, and the state is the wrongest of all wrongs, wrong erected into a system and presenting itself as right. Anarchists need not be told what is wrong with the law or the state, whilst other people think more or less favourably of both according to the degree to which they feel and think themselves injured or protected by them. Yet even anarchists may have something to learn from this book, especially concerning innovations and institutions, conditions and outlooks which are not what they seem or claim to be, but so many ways of doing the very job which the law and its enforcement are meant to do. The book is an impassioned one. Its position is taken right from the start, and it is a battle position. The 'struggle' is felt throughout, whilst 'to be human' is not. Both style and vocabulary are expressive of the struggle, and as for the feel of human warmth which the book does not give we can think of only one explanation, namely that it is written by Americans and for Americans, and that in the U.S.A. today it is far more of a struggle to try to be human than it is in any other country, and that because the instruments of conditioning, manipulation and domination have there reached the highest degree of sophistication, and there the capitalist disregard for culture and all cultural values has found its most favourable conditions and least inhibited supporters. There cannot be much of a society where there is little culture. Culture is first and foremost a matter of tradition, a heritage from the past. Whether we like it or not, our roots are in the past, and as a plant derives its energy from the soil in which it is rooted, and not only from the air and the light of the sun, so in order to be human the present and the future are not enough; our faith needs the assurance of past experiences.

The state is crime organized and turned into an institution. It stifles and exploits society, while pretending to act in its name and clothing itself in society's sanctity. Though set on it, and developing more and more effective means to do it, it has never fully succeeded in desiccating socialness in the hearts of men, in extirpating feelings of social hope and responsibility. Such feelings, and the intelligence which goes with them, do not always lead to dissent and rebellion, and thus it is that within the very fabric of the state, and in the shaping of the law, something genuinely social has found its way. There are Stoic influences, for instance, in Roman law, and though democracy may be turned into a great swindle, much that is social has gone into building it, witness the difference between a democratic and totalitarian state, fully appreciated by any one who has experienced them both. The authors' division of humanity between a power elite and a mass of oppressed is too clear-cut and simple to be true. If it were sufficient to get rid of the power elites in order to put all things aright, it is long since there would be no power elites about any more. Not only are there as many states as there are governments; not only are there states within the state under the form of parties, castes and organized interests, but any criminal who can appreciate the advantages of impunity, organization and intimidation is already a state potentially. Society has to defend itself from crime, and if not actually arisen from this necessity, it is on it that the state rests its justification. The state is there to defend society, as if it were its property, from the criminal intentions of other states, and of any of its members who would like to enjoy the power and impunity of the state. How a society can defend itself against the crimes of its own state or how, having got rid of it, it will prevent the emergence of another, prevent harm done to its members from being rewarding, and thus encouraging more harm to be done, is a question which the authors do not satisfactorily answer, if they answer it at all. It is a crucial question, and the fundamental one when it comes to convincing people of the rightness of anarchism, of its being other than sheer rhetoric and wishful thinking.

We have tried to answer that question in our 'Social Anarchism', but the important point which the authors make, though not in so many words, is that in order to defend society, society must first be there. The tragedy of our times, which points to anarchism as the only salvation, is that the state is not only exploiting society while speaking in its name, but that it is out to destroy it. 'The new mandarins are consciously creating institutions which should guarantee a reliable, uniform, homogenous population', the more like a machine the better. It is not the fact of living side by side, and of doing more or less the same things which makes a society, but it is what people feel about one another, it is above all the feeling of having a destiny in common, and the will to be a positive element in the life of one another. What makes a society is a complex of values, and the living thereof, such things as 'the quality of life in the person, spontaneity, creativeness, initiative, affect the consciousness of life, sympathy, an ethic of shared responsibility, cooperation, equality, and liberty'. By equality the authors mean that 'the rights of every person are as unassailable as those of any other', and concerning liberty they give the warning that 'it cannot emerge through revolutionary violence any more than through statist penal sanctions'. We must be 'from the idea of freedom as an end', they say. Freedom, anarchy, society, all are now, in the present, in us, or they are not. Anarchy is first and foremost a matter of being, and only secondarily a matter of doing. If we are anarchists, that is if we are social beings, and if by being what we are, by our socialness, we encourage others to be themselves, and bring out their socialness too, then we may constitute a society, and sharing the same concern for preserving our integrity and our togetherness, we would know what to do. The more society there is, the less state there will be.

GIOVANNI BALDELLI



A suggestion

OBVIOUSLY we all would like to put out a first class and professional publication whether it be a pamphlet and/or a newspaper. Doing such a publication isn't the problem though, because many of us do a pretty good publication. The problem is copies, distribution and costs of our publication. If we all would think big and work small we could solve the problem. Check the following out

Do a good original, then make at least enough copies to distribute where you are and to friends nationally and internationally who can and will make at least three to five copies if not more, and do the same as you did. Put a request in every issue for people who read the publication to do the same and suggest where and how they might get it copied at no cost to them, i.e. at work when the boss ain't looking, at school when the teacher ain't looking etc. We in the Anarchist Black Dragon Collective of the Washington State Penitentiary got our publication, the Anarchist Black Dragon, printed and distributed nationally and internationally like this. We did the original and sent it out to friends, who made as many copies as they could, and sent the copies to our and their friends who did the same, who did the same, who did the same, plus got copies where they were to interested people. Our last count of issues no. 5 and 6 combined is approximately 1,000 copies - that means altogether at least that many people read it and a few were involved in printing and distributing it. Some of those people also sent donations, wrote protest letters etc. for us specifically and/or for those we mentioned in our publication.

Our cost for each issue was time to put it together and postage to mail it out. Cost to some friends only postage for copies they managed to make and mail. Other friends put out what they could, from \$5.00 total to whatever for printing and postage. Out there you, the originators, could do wonders. In the process we could all come closer to each other and be supporting each other 210 times better and more than we ever have. The theory is called Mutual Aid, for those who don't know it. It can be applied to petitions, protest letters, flyers, posters, Defense Fund requests, demonstration calls, etc., etc. Similar to the Squatter Phone Tree trip (I call you and four friends and give you the necessary information, times, dates etc. and you call five people you know). Simple, cheap, and above all it works.

Say I was out there - I could produce with a good hustle at least 50 to 100 copies even if I had to steal the paper. Once produced I would give 25 or 50 to the interested and to friends who would make and distribute at least three to five to the interested and to their friends where I was. Then I'd take my other 25 or 50 copies and send them to friends nationally and internationally, who would print and distribute all they could to the interested and their friends. The more friends you got the more copies get made and distributed where you are, nationally and internationally. Simple, cheap and above all it works.

This trip gets people involved and spreads our literature far and wide. We become a Collective 'I', no matter what our differences, and our alternative to the bullshit reaches more people. If we used our heads we wouldn't beat our brains out trying to produce and distribute our publications. If we used our heads we could produce a lot of pressure and who knows what else over a wide area, and on many levels. Our DRAGON, believe it or not, put pressure where we needed it and helped others at the same time. We made and make the forces of evil sweat. We helped make some changes. To do more we need your help. To do more out there you all must use your heads and help each other. When you see an aid request in any of our literature no matter who from, so long as they are anarchist and/or worthy of support, help them if you can as best you can via the Mutual Aid Theory herein. You who have mailing lists ask everyone on it to help you. Those who reply positively send first copies and, if necessary and they are willing and able, send two or more names from your mailing list for them to mail a copy to. Why spend \$50.00 on international postage when you can spend only 50 cents? A bit slower, but the rabbit

never beat the turtle remember Many of you get a copy of many publications, so pick priority need, one(s) which interest you the most. If all you can do is one, that's all you can do and is better than nothing at all. Stop reading and shit canning our literature, or putting it down and forgetting it! If you can't make copies put it where some interested person will find it (doctor's office, library, school, work?) or give it to a friend who can make copies.

Subscriptions as we presently know them could be replaced by mailing lists. Every person on the mailing list more than a mere reader. Donations can be requested in every issue, but basically panhandled where we are. Sure you all can come up with some change and some stamps amongst yourselves, and sure you've got friends who can come up with a little more - and sure you and they know how to panhandle plus where to score paper, envelopes and access to copy machines if you can't afford a printer. When the boss, the teacher ain't looking lots can be done, especially if you do it right. We in the A.B.D.C. began with two people, some paper, an envelope, some stamps and a typewriter, so what's your malfunction out there? You out there are wasting precious time, energy and funds farting around, which in turn wastes lives. Want to make revolution let's get down, especially where it counts a very great deal, most especially right now. We don't need a lot of money etc. We need to think and act accordingly. We talk about self-reliance and mutual aid, but how little we practise them. And piss on petitions, except in places like factories and schools. Who's got the time etc. to run all over town and/or the damned country side getting the necessary signatures??? Do good PRE-WRITTEN PROTEST LETTERS. The interested and concerned have got time or will make the minute or two necessary to clip it, sign it and mail it, or just sign it and mail it, but no time and rarely can make it to write the fucking thing and survive, much less even attempt to get ahead personally and/or politically. Think about it brothers and sisters.

Get it together out there!

CARL HARP

Canada

continued from Page 11

settlers who were already well endowed with a 'serf' mentality. 2) A long period of benign paternalistic colonialism coupled with a powerful and influential Roman Catholic Church. 3) A struggle with more over whelming climatic conditions, while the power elite encourage the populace to focus on such a struggle. 4) Paternalistic colonialism is succeeded by an independent political existence in the shadow of the world's wealthiest, most powerful and most vigorous state which is ever driven to expand and spread its culture, investment and power especially into those areas which are seen as most 'stable' friendly and benign, e.g. Canada. 5) A point which I did not discuss but one which has some bearing on this issue is the rather prolonged isolation of Canada from the mainstream of international thought. Even today Canada remains a comparative backwash, always a good environment for cultivating docility.

HAROLD B. BARCLAY
EDMONTON, ALBERTA.

Notes

(1) Edgar Z. Fredenberg: Deference to Authority: The case of Canada, M. E. Sharpe, White plains, NY, 1980

Dennis Olsen: The State Elite, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1980.

Note that Olsen's book put out by Canadian publishers at \$14.95 for 125 pages of text is in line with Canadian publishers overwhelming desire for a fast buck.

(2) The Quebec and Western separatist movements introduces a new dimension. Yet aside from the fact that they, too, share the statist ideology, desiring to establish separate states, they have been unsuccessful in their respective efforts. Furthermore the separatist Premier of Quebec, Rene Levesque, continues to play the game and performs like a typical Canadian provincial premier

* R.C.M.P. Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Anarchist abstractions

WHAT follows are abstracts from three papers presented at the session on Anarchism (spoken in German) at the convention of the Modern Language Association last December in Houston. The session was arranged by Professor Lawrence Stone of the Comparative Literature department, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington.

Toller

Kropotkin, Landauer, Buber and Ernst Toller.

TOLLER research has for some time recognized the fundamentally anti-authoritarian, anti-statist and anarchist orientation of Toller's first play, *Die Wandlung*. To some extent, this critical judgement has been abetted by the ambience of the first, so-called 'anarchist' *Räterepublik*, in which leading German anarchists such as Gustav Landauer and Erich Mühsam were to a greater or a lesser extent involved. However, most Toller scholars have detected a rapid diminution of anarchist elements in his plays, perhaps starting with *Masse-Mensch* and substantially completed with the publication of *Die Maschinenstürmer*.

In fact, it can be shown that anarchism plays a significant role in all of Toller's prison dramas as well as in *Hoppla, wir leben!* and at least a peripheral role in some of the later plays. Moreover, it decisively influenced the lyric work, *Requiem den gemordeten Brüdern* (dedicated to the memory of Landauer) and *Das Schwalbenbuch*. Toller's personal acquaintance with Gustav Landauer dates back to December, 1917, the year of his first anti-war agitation and of the founding of the *Kulturpolitischen Bund der Jugend*. The character of the revolution advocated by Friedrich in *Die Wandlung*, with its rejection of both capitalist exploitation and what Toller perceived as authoritarian Marxism, is largely congruent with Landauer's anti-Marxist polemic, *Aufruf zum Sozialismus*. Moreover, it amounts to a poetic version of the dynamics of some varieties of utopian revolutionary thought described by Martin Buber in his *Pfide in Utopia*.

Similarly, in Toller's next play, *Masse-Mensch*, the ethical demands that the Woman makes on herself amount to an ardent plea for the primacy of the moral strictures of the individual over the exigencies imposed even by class loyalty in the struggle between the classes.

In *Die Maschinenstürmer* the conflict is defined in economic rather than in the ethical terms of *Masse-Mensch*. The economic conflict is seen from the point of view of the clash of two theories of human social behavior - that of social Darwinism and that of Kropotkin's concept of mutual aid. Textual as well as philosophical evidence strongly argues for the influence of Kropotkin's book, *Mutual Aid* on Toller's play, probably through the translation of Gustav Landauer.

In *Hinkemann* Toller deals with the limitations of all economic theories of social progress. He again argues for the importance of the claims and needs of the individual that are beyond the capacity of social engineering to fulfill by fixing on the psychology of one victim of war and social exploitation.

Finally, in *Hoppla, wir leben!* Toller deals with the problem of revolutionary tactics in the so-called stabilization phase of the Weimar Republic. He appears to argue that only hard, day-to-day organizing activity is a rational response to the circumstances, thus picking up the syndicalist theme of *Die Maschinenstürmer*. But at the same time, he concludes with profound pessimism that the Bernsteinian revisionism of those who, like the Majority Socialists, claim to achieve change from within the system will gradually co-

opt and transform their goals. However, the pragmatic Marxism of the Kautskian variety has just as little chance of success in a post-revolutionary age.

MICHAEL OSSAR

Mühsam

Erich Mühsam and the Antifascist Struggle.

MÜHSAM was imprisoned by each of the three regimes under which he lived, but it remained for the Nazis to murder him in a concentration camp. He has been claimed by both communists and 'non-dogmatic' leftists as one of their own, and editions of his works were published in both East and West Germany in 1978. That year, one of his heretofore unpublished plays, *Alle Wetter* (1930), appeared in print for the first time. Based on his biography, his essays, and the play, his role in the antifascist struggle can be recreated.

Mühsam remained within the anarchist tradition concerning forms of struggle, calling for direct action and electoral abstentionism. His critique of parliamentarism is documented in *Alle Wetter* and is partially directed against the KPD. But unlike other anarchists, Mühsam did not downplay the danger of a fascist takeover, and he criticized the petty sectarianism of anarchist groups as strongly as he criticized the apparent reformism of the KPD.

Although he criticized the KPD's thesis that the Great Depression signalled the 'death crisis' of capitalism, Mühsam was remarkably close to the KPD in his definition of fascism, which he interpreted in an instrumentalized way as a political expressionism of monopoly capitalism. Moreover, Mühsam fell victim to a certain determinism he was otherwise quick to criticize in the KPD when he argued that a fascist takeover would lead directly to socialism. Finally, Mühsam adopted most features of the KPD's 'social fascism' thesis first propounded in 1928. In sum, Mühsam agreed with the KPD on most strategic questions.

Mühsam criticized the KPD for opportunism when it aped the *volkisch* sloganeering of the Nazis, but at the same time he himself turned increasingly to the *volkisch* strain of Landauer's ethical socialism. This brought him into close proximity with the views of Otto Strasser's Black Front and the National Bolsheviks, if not the Nazis themselves. By invoking the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* and the *Führer* concept, Mühsam regressed to the same petit-bourgeois utopian ideologemes which the Nazis drew upon.

KPD - German Communist Party

JAMES D. STEAKLEY

Celan

On the Sense of Anarchism in Paul Celan's Late Poetry.

PAUL Celan's remark in the Meridian speech that he grew up with the works of Kropotkin and Landauer has only been given fleeting attention by his interpreters. The apparent discrepancy between an immediate aesthetic fascination and the difficulty of interpretation has led to an early hermeneutic approach, often from an unacknowledged Heideggerian base. Politically oriented interpretations have balanced and widened these attempts somewhat recognising Celan's socio-political

thrust as opposition by aesthetic negation essentially from positions influenced by Adorno. A specific type of anarchism is one of several important thought patterns that affected Celan's poetic labors. The sense of such anarchism points towards a unity of reality and transcendence, towards a concrete and very individualized reality that has essentially absorbed its spiritual yearnings. Its basic roots lie in Chassidic mysticism as it has been brought to life and integrated into social concepts by Martin Buber as well as in the strongly mystical oriented Social Anarchism of Landauer. Kropotkin seems essentially integrated into the horizons of Buber and Landauer. Celan's anarchism while manifestly anti-ideological and individualistic does not make an ideology out of its antipathy towards closed systems. It rather ignores these and instead concerns itself with specific manifestations of direct humaneness that are seen as embedded into their historical context. It also lacks the enthusiasm of Landauer or the faith of Buber and alternates between hope and a deep pessimism sometimes manifested by a desperate sarcasm.

Aside from bitter personal experience he seems influenced by his Rumanian countryman E.M. Cioran, whose work he translated into German. What one may tentatively call anarchist epiphanies, moments, when the individual asserts itself in seemingly absurd and paradox expressions are described in Celan's Meridian speech. The functional metaphor of the Meridian itself serves to facilitate the reader's understanding of the directions in which his anarchism is meant to move. Earlier poems ('Schibboleth', 'In Eins', etc.) have had specific anarchist related incidents as their theme. It is in his later poems, however, that he has more intensely put to the test the hopes he had expressed in the Meridian speech - often with no more than 'rabbit ears'. These attempts as exemplified in the poems 'Fahlstimmig', 'Die Brabbelnden', 'Du liegst im grossen Gelausche', and others serve to gain a better understanding of Celan's sense of anarchism and its implications for the interpretation of his poetry.

WULF H. AHLBRECHT

BOOKSHOP NOTES

Please add postage as in brackets. Titles marked * are published in the USA.

French language titles

We have recently received 12 issues of an interesting series of brochures published by Le Groupe Fresnes - Antony de la Federation Anarchiste under the imprint of Volonte Anarchiste:-

- No. 1. Maurice Fayolle: Reflexions sur l'anarchisme (61pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 No. 2. Crescita Politica: Capitalisme, Restructuration et Lutte de Classe. (65pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 No. 3. Les Anarchistes et les elections (72pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 No. 4. Les Anarchistes et le Probleme Social (49pp. ppr.) £1.00 (16p)
 No. 5. Nuclei Libertari di Fabbrica di Milano: Histoire de L'Anarcho-Syndicalisme Italien (57pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 No. 6. Sebastien Fayre, Federica Montcery et al: L'Anarchisme Iberique: La FAI et la CNT: Realite et Perspectives. (68pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 No. 7. Luigi Fabbri: L'Organisation Anarchiste (44pp. ppr.) £1.00 (16p)
 No. 8. James Guillaume: Idees sur L'Organisation Sociale. (41pp. ppr.) £1.00 (16p)
 No. 9. Maurice Joyeux: Autogestion (47pp. ppr.) £1.00 (16p)
 No. 10 & 11. Double Issue: Jean Barcal: Proudhon et L'A utogestion. (88pp. ppr.) £2.00 (19p)
 No. 12. L'Organisation: Archinoff, Sebastien Faure etc. (52pp. ppr.) £1.00 (19p)
 Daniel Guerin: Ni Dieu ni Maitre. Anthologie de l'anarchisme (4 vols. ppr. 757 pp.) £8.00 (87p) per set

New Penguins

- Andrei Amalrik: Will the Soviet Union survive until 1984? (ppr. 224pp.) £2.50 (30p)
 Crispin Aubrey: Who's watching you? Britain's security services and the Official Secrets Act. (ppr. 204pp.) £1.50 (24p)
 Ronald Fraser: Blood of Spain: The Experience of Civil War. 1936-1939. (ppr. 628pp.) £4.95 (87p)

A Miscellany

- J.R. White: The Meaning of Anarchism. (with an intro. by Albert Meltzer) (ppr. 13pp.) £0.50 (16p)

- Robert Houston: Bisbee 17: A Documentary Fiction. (A Semi-Fictional reconstruction of Wobbly agitation in Bisbee, Arizona in 1917) (287pp. cloth) £5.95 (87p)
 Bernard Crick: Orwell. A Life (473pp. cloth) £10.00 (£1.62)

New this Week

- *Stuart Christie: The Christie File (370pp. ppr.) £8.00 (87p)

North American customers please convert sterling prices and postages at: U.S. £1.00 = \$2.25
 Canada £1.00 = \$2.70

Deficit Fund

Donations Received. February 12th - 25th Incl.

Brooklyn. USA. A.P. £2.00; Sunderland. D.H. £0.50; Sunderland. A.N.D. £0.50; Accrington. G.H. £10.00; D.P. £0.50; Ilford. W.G. £3.50; London. NW4. N.W. £6.00; Colchester. F.P.R. £1.00; J.R. £2.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. £0.50; Bolton. D.P. £1.00; Sutherland. J.A.J. £1.00; London SW2. M.D. £6.00; Canterbury. C.T. £0.20; London NW6. N.I.B. £2.00; Ontario. Canada. P.P. £0.50; Hamburg. W.Germany. J.L. £1.00; Stafford. G.L. £1.00; London SE26. J.A.B. £5.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £1.50; J.K.W. £0.50; Birmingham. T.H. £2.00; Scunthorpe. M.C. £1.00; Bridgewater. Mass. USA. R.P.H. £3.20
 TOTAL = £53.90
 Previously acknowledged = £308.60
 TOTAL TO DATE = £362.50

Premises Fund

Donations Received. February 12th - 25th Incl.

Isaac Fawkes Fund per anon. £2.90; Sunderland. A.N.D. £0.50; Accrington. G.H. £5.00; D.P. £0.50; London N19. N.A. £2.00; Ilford. W.G. £3.50; London NW4. £2.00; Bolton. D.P. £1.00; London SW2. M.D. £6.00; London NW6. N.I.B. £2.00; Stafford. G.L. £1.00; Wolverhampton. J.L. £2.00
 TOTAL = £35.40
 Previously acknowledged = £111.50
 TOTAL TO DATE = £146.90