

COMMANDING HEIGHTS & DEPTHS

THE LABOUR PARTY has again involved itself in an internal wrangle about Clause Four. Really the whole argument about whether 25 companies should be nationalised or some unspecified number should be included in their "Programme for Britain 1973" does seem pointless. However, the real argument revolves round who actually decides policy. Mr. Wilson obviously objected to being tied by the vote of a minority on the National Executive Committee. He found this inhibiting and electorally embarrassing. Mr. Wilson and his shadow cabinet will prevent the inclusion of any commitment to nationalise 25 companies.

The N.E.C. has the responsibility of drawing up policy and an election manifesto in line with the will of the annual conference. In theory the annual conference is a policy-making body of the Labour Party. In practice it is the leader and his close colleagues who really decide. Mr. Wilson seems to have a knack of appearing insincere. His recent promulgations about industrial democracy and participation will certainly be suspect since he is unwilling to accept these things within his own party.

However, the sad thing is not that this has happened to the Labour Party, but that many idealistic socialists remain in the Labour Party working for its re-election. Many of these will be well satisfied with the party's commitment to an extension of nationalisation. While certain industries, such as the docks, are listed for nationalisation, there will be state intervention into other companies by a system of planning agreements. This system has already been used in France, Belgium, Italy and other countries as "discretionary grants to encourage investment - if substantial - in return for a Government stake in the company". This state intervention could hardly be mistaken for socialism by those who believe that nationalisation is a basic tenet of their principles. Fiscal policies, similar to those that the Labour Government used for encouraging industry to expand to areas of high unemployment, could be used to achieve the same ends.

Mr. Wilson has spoken of making the multi-national companies accountable to the national interest. He has spoken of the right to make decisions within these companies. But even the full

nationalisation of an industry holds little for the workers working in it. In fact during its last term of office the Labour Party helped bring about mergers and take overs to ensure rationalisation of industry. Such industrial empires are growing every year and Mr. Wilson is a little late now in trying to make them accountable to the interests of the Government, but this has nothing to do with the people of this country. Workers under capitalism will never enjoy the full product of their labour. These companies will not consult their employees on what to produce and how to produce it. Nationalisation does not transfer power to the workers in the industry. It can by its centralisation make control that much more remote.

There is enough evidence to prove that workers' control will not be achieved through a political party taking power. Workers' control rests on individuals organising their own places of work and not being told what to do by a state appointed managerial class. It places control at the bottom with people, and removes the power from the politicians, the State, and those who at present own and control production.

P.T.

CLASS ALLIANCES - STATE ALLIANCES

ALLIANCES, PACTS or diplomatic relations between regimes of different political flavours are nothing new under the sun and the fact that the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, the oldest pact between two countries, has survived six centuries of political somersaults in Portugal and in Britain, is an indication of how far opposing rulers can go in order to exercise the power needed to exploit working people.

Those who propel themselves to power will always make a pact with the "devil" if necessary (Hitler/Stalin, Mao/Chiang etc...) in order to consolidate their strategic positions or further their cause of war. . .and by so doing protect States which, in time of peace, have the phenomenal ability to carry on lucrative and political relationships with friends and foes alike, to the limits of absurdity (i.e. Portugal/Gt. Britain, Russia/India, China/Pakistan, Albania/Greece, USA/China, East Germany/Spain, Jordan/Israel, Cuba/Britain, West Germany/Poland, Brazil/Russia, China/France, South Africa/Malawi, Britain/Iceland, &c)

Political theories are cleverly tailored to suit the requirements

of the State (China/Russia/Yugoslavia ideological splits, for instance) and not surprisingly every regime on earth claims to represent us, common mortals, and govern on behalf of the people. But as soon as these regimes are questioned on the streets by the people itself, they retaliate uniformly against "hooligans and subversives, enemies of the Nation, State, etc..." ; most brutally, stating that law and the established order must prevail at any price, in the name of freedom, democracy, christianity, socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat or whatever slogan is officially adopted for the occasion.

In the light of these "experiences", to ask the end of alliances, the rupture of diplomatic relations or the cancellation of economic flirtations between states like Portugal and Britain or, alternatively, to speak about the Portuguese/British working class common struggles against capitalist regimes, without questioning, in both cases, the "utility" of the State itself, is in the first instance politically naive and in the second counter-revolutionary.

The present campaign against

CREATIVE SABOTAGE

LAST WEEK the management of the Chrysler car plant at Ryton in Coventry alleged that workers had deliberately sabotaged production. Predictably, a leading Communist shop steward at the plant appeared on T.V. to deny the allegations and to state that he would demand the instant dismissal of any worker who sabotaged production and harmed the prosperity of the Company "from which we all benefit"! Whether there was any planned sabotage at Ryton is doubtful, but it is obvious that sabotage of a spontaneous and minor nature is a natural reaction to the boredom and frustration of a mindless work situation. Later in the week the news leaked out that the British Leyland Triumph plant in Liverpool had been sabotaged with spanners, hammers and other tools, and the result was that the production line had been stopped 9 times in 9 hours! Undoubtedly, the attempted cover-up was intended to stop the spread of the idea to other workers in other plants.

The heyday of the great struggles between workers and employers in America early in this century, the cartoon character of the grinning black cat was a symbol for industrial sabotage which struck fear into the hearts of the wealthy and powerful, and yet today industrial militants still concentrate on the conventional strike as the major weapon against employers. For workers in those sectors critically important to the capitalist economy it is still a successful method for wringing a pay increase out of a tight-fisted employer, but for millions of other workers a long strike can

be tolerated - and even used as a convenient money-saver sometimes - by employers.

To the sadomasochists of the loony Left a dose of suffering for workers is considered good revolutionary training for pawns of the Party, but it is madness to starve while the capitalists rub their hands with delight. The black cat can show us a subtler and less painful tactic: we can play the game our way instead of according to the rules of the capitalists and the union bureaucrats. (Solidarity's unusually practical pamphlet "Strategy for Industrial Struggle" by Mark Fore was a valuable contribution in this field.) The legal possibilities include the "work-to-rule" and the "good work" strike. For workers who receive full pay when away from work through sickness, the "sick" strike has great possibilities. It is time we destroyed the idea so common among trade unionists that we should do any job well, however futile or socially harmful it may be. We owe nothing to our slave-masters, but we do have a responsibility to liberate ourselves.

In a society where so many of us spend our time in mindless work which is either non-productive or concerned with the production of useless junk, selective sabotage is a creative and responsible act. Not only is it an effective tactic against employers, but at its most imaginative it strikes at the profit-motivated basis of society. "Good gracious, if bus conductors allowed people to travel for free it would beANARCHY!"

Terry Phillips.

QUIT IRELAND!

LAST SUNDAY (June 10) supporters of the British Withdrawal from Ireland Group hung their statement of aims on the railings outside Parliament. This was meant, not so much as a demonstration, but a symbolic gesture at the start of a campaign to persuade soldiers not to serve in Northern Ireland.

The police within a few seconds removed it. The statement was signed by 124 people and had been published in the New Statesman as a paid advertisement. However, that weekly had omitted to include a sentence which referred to desertion and to staging demonstrations against postings to Northern Ireland. The full statement appeared in Peace News. (See also FREEDOM 9.6.73)

At a press conference an outline of the campaign was given. Working groups will be convened to tackle the different aspects of the campaign: anti-recruitment, counselling service informing servicemen of their rights and ways of getting out, and a counter information group who would publish material that the straight press will not print.

The demonstration and statement were given full front-page treatment in only one paper as far as we can discover - The East Anglian Daily Times. This is because it circulates in Colchester which is a garrison town for the Anglia Regiment serving in Northern Ireland.

Remembering that only the people of Northern Ireland can solve the problems there, we can at least assist by helping to get the army out.

M.H.



the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance is sadly tainted by such naivety and lacks political maturity.

Some quarters of this campaign deliberately fail to denounce the capitalistic and fascist nature of the Portuguese and British regimes (concentrating solely on colonialism) in order to appease and get the support of middle-class liberals and political do-gooders (Lord Gifford & co.). Those who alternatively work to give this campaign a working class appeal (Portuguese Workers Coordinating Committee, sponsored by the International Workers Branch), involving a handful of British shop stewards and some Portuguese workers (thus speaking prematurely on behalf of both working classes!) have decided to protect themselves under the "patronage" of infamous Trade Union bureaucrats and class traitors - e.g. Mr. Briginshaw, who plotted with NATSOPA and Fleet Street employers in order to get the anarchist militant shop steward John Lawrence (a former editor of FREEDOM) sacked from his job.

Continued on page 4

Around The Galleries

IT IS SURELY the mark and measure of our times that we are searched for explosives before entering the British Museum when our purpose is no more than the pursuit of knowledge and beauty. Beauty in the display of books and paintings relating to Manzoni, a minor hack for whom Verdi composed his Requiem and whose one small shield against the long dark night of oblivion was his "Ode on the death of Napoleon" that earned a translation by Gladstone and Goethe, and knowledge in the display for the Golden Jubilee of the Research laboratory. The laboratory came into being on the 17th March 1922 within that Georgian brick forest wherein the Bloomsbury set examined each others' souls and manuscripts, and the house at 39 Russell Square became the womb of what is now the oldest museum laboratory in existence. One envies the men and women working in this field for each day offers a new and interesting problem as, with the use of radio-graphy, metallography, atomic absorption analysis and X-ray diffraction analysis, they seek to date and restore the fragile pieces of cloth and metal that the turning earth rejects.

For them the broken and corroded sword, the clay pot thrown and fired when Troy still stood, the ancient mysticisms once lost in the matted grain of a fragment of papyrus, are now the scholar's gain and the heart's loss as their ancient banalities stand revealed upon the X-ray camera's plate. If this is work my masters, and the paymaster regulates the hour and the wage, then our daily task is drudgery within the factory tied to that conveyor or within the regimented offices trapped in a mindless manipulation of self-generating forms, for the mind and the hand seek work as the stomach seeks bread and we are forced to conform to the drudgeries of your society so that a favoured few shall have the paid leisure to find pleasure in a full and happy working day. I envy those who work within this and other such situations. And if you ask what is it that we the working class are always seeking to share, too often without knowing why or for what we protest, it is to share in this rich full life that the Golden Jubilee of the Research Laboratory offers as one small microcosm of its wealth.

Marks of other times

And there was and always is a need for a social conscience, and the exhibition of paintings by GLUCK at the Fine Art Society at 148 New Bond Street, W.1. recalls the savage persecution of Radclyffe Hall. For those who do not know their Eng. Lit., such as the librarians of too many of our public libraries, Radclyffe Hall was the author of the novel *The Well of Loneliness*. It was a third rate novel, overwritten in schoolgirl prose, but it was a brave and gallant gesture by a lesbian about a lesbian. It was published in 1928, when most of the leaders of Gay Lib. had not yet been called upon to choose between pink and blue bootees, and Radclyffe Hall was hounded into court and across the pages of the sewer press of the day. And now here sits GLUCK within the Fine Art Gallery among her paintings that recall those harsh years. The years have treated GLUCK well and she sat, with her friend, within that gallery, a trifle mannishly attired, with the beauty that age gives to those who have survived with grace. I think she was fortunate in that she belonged to a cosmopolitan and sophisticated middle class stratum of society, and her paintings reflect this with their subject matter from a popular murder trial to the boxing ring and the theatre. And she is there collar-and-tied, male trilbied and the cigarette held with that air of schoolboy defiance in her photographs and her paintings, and in themselves two gentle and conservative women ready to talk to the passing stranger about the work on display. It is work that echoes the style of the 1930's when English painting was a matter of private viewing and not public approval and all in all rather bad but.

And for the Town and his frau there there are the vulgarities

BOMBS AWAY

of Vienna of 1900 to 1931 on display within the Piccadilly Gallery at 16a Cork Street W.1. Humourless and vulgar, overworked and with that teutonic soul-searching that made European art of that period so demanding of attention yet in the end, like their politics, so shallow. But there is Hans Bellmer on display at the Editions Graphiques at 3 Clifford Street, W.1. A magnificent graphic artist using a razor thin line, Bellmer does not offer the eroticism of Beardsley but the sadistic pornography of de Sade, and his beautiful use of line justifies Wilde's claim that art is above moral laws in that it is only good or bad art. And there within this crowded and exotic gallery Bellmer, who had to flee Germany in 1936 and was imprisoned with Max Ernst, displays his talent as one of the great graphic artists of our time.

Honours in their own time

Tate

And speaking of greatness, little comrade, Britain has finally and tardily decided to honour one of the two finest painters of our age. When the academics draw up their report at the end of our century two men will be marked out to head the column of English painting. It will not be Augustus John despite the magnificent bravura of his art, or the childlike innocence of Stanley Spencer, or the intense and tragic work of a minor painter such as Bacon, but Tristram Hillier and Edward Burra. Both men lack the talent to give life and meaning to the human figure and they have channelled their talents into an examination and a reinterpretation of their age and their world.

Burra's early work of his pre-war period was of the mode and his pen line was of that fashionable affectation used by the literati such as Waugh and others to illustrate their own writings. It had a crude air of sophistication and finally died the death when James Thurber used it to illustrate his humour, but from that beginning Burra found a meaning for his talent and in huge, door high door wide great water colours his work acquired a mystical and a metaphysical greatness that for too many years the British art establishment chose to ignore. His still life objects have the grand design of fallen cities and his English landscapes the air of great and ignoble tragedy. For he creates visions and he portrays dreams, and among the broken columns and from the wounded windows of the great stone houses the cloaked and armoured figures prepare to gorge upon each other. In huge washes of colour in mannered line upon line he cloaks the charnel house figures of his fantasies, for like the Elizabethan poets he goes beyond God and with Marlowe into that School of Night. For many a day and many a year I would make my journey to the Tate Gallery to stand before Burra's great painting of the interior of a Mexican church, that he finished in 1938, and now the Tate's solitary work from this great master craftsman hangs with his other paintings within this current exhibition there.

And to George Melly congratulations on owning Burra's water-colour "The Tunnel", and for his and J. R. Graves-Smith's exhibition, within the Tate, of cartoons about Modern Art. Someone did his homework to dig out these 115 reproductions of cartoons from, mostly, *Punch* and the *New Yorker*, and for this and both catalogues the Tate can be thanked.

Hillier

Burra is a sick man but Tristram Hillier is tough and tall with the air of a James Bond daddy. His colours are flat and his skies a single sheet of deadly blue. In that he would be worth no more than a dozen good contemporary American landscape painters, but Hillier took his canvases to Spain and washed away the bloody romanticism of Goya, Greco and the court paintings of Velasquez that had clouded our image of Spain. Carefully and meticulously he paints the empty squares and, like the American regional painters, by his very craft he gives us Spain back, not as shown by the engravings of Gustave Dore for the illustrated Don Quixote as a dark and apocalyptic world peopled by posing models, but as a land of

hot and airless towns dying in their own brightness, and as with Spain his work will survive.

Dandy and Beezer

But for the Town and his hot and flustered frau there is always the rich discoveries that come from the Portal Gallery at 16a Grafton Street W.1. and it is pleasing to note and give them the credit that one of their fledgling artists is now part of the fashionable art stream of the ton. It was at the Portal Gallery that Patrick Hughes first showed his proletarian Pop Art with his sub-culture figures from the Dandy and Beezer comics, and now he is displaying his latest work at Angela Flowers' gallery at 3 Portland Mews, W.1. deep in darkest Soho among the fruit and the porn. His paintings are still of that literary illustrations that appeals to the English collectors, and without foreground or background he draws and colours his Magritte type double-take jokes. Now they are more erotic but maybe that is the time and the background. But one finds pleasure in them.

The artist and his wife, both in virginal white, were among us at the midday private view as with half the Soho free loaders we drank of the free and free-flowing champagne, and in the crowded gallery we blew drunken kisses to the beautiful Angela Flowers in her arabian nightie and tried to recognise face after face, from the political past, that floated before our fading vision demanding affectionate greetings. This is what art galleries should be about; places of drunken meetings, wild talk, sad eyed artists, beautiful gallery dealers handing out pate made by the same gentle hands that sign the cheques, and paintings.

Arthur Moyses.

ANARCHISM GOES TO THE FAIR

ON SATURDAY (June 2) there was a festival for the people who live and work in Fitzrovia (a rather pretentious name! but much of the area was owned by the Fitzroy family). The area is North of Oxford Street to Fitzroy Square: East to Tottenham Court Road and West to Great Portland Street. The Curwen Gallery in Colville Place organized an exhibition of prints illustrating the area's past: one point of interest was an Anarchist meeting place (at the turn of the century) in Whitfield Street called the "Club Autonomie" which the police raided in connection with bombs.

It was good to see events organized by the people who live and work here. There was Greek dancing (there are many Greek restaurants around Charlotte Street), side shows, clowns, a street theatre, pony rides and a very skilled pavement artist during the afternoon. The dubious factors were the highly commercial bias of many of the displays and the Commemoration of the Queen's Coronation Anniversary - but the festival was not meant to be revolutionary in any way: it being part of a campaign to make the area into some sort of cohesive community. The area has quite a revolutionary past however in that many exiled anarchists and political emigres settled in and around Charlotte Street.

Teresa Ekins

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PRISONS OF THE MIND

WHEN ANARCHISTS are cornered, as they frequently are, they are asked what they would do about criminals (or anti-socials) in a free society. The easy answer used to be that 'crime' was a form of sickness and would, in a free society, be treated as such. Life has a very nasty habit of catching up with utopias and turning them into nightmares, and for some time news has been filtering in that anti-social behaviour is increasingly being treated in prisons with all the dire and drastic apparatus of modern medicine in order to produce model citizens. With the growth of protest direct action politics any deviant lifestyle can be regarded as anti-social and treated accordingly.

We have gone way beyond the stage when model prisons with their evangelical piety and monastic regime were calculated to produce model prisoners. (Dickens perceptively made a reformed Uriah Heep a model prisoner in a not-wholly-imaginary Millbank.) The smaller social-democratic welfare states have developed therapeutic welfare prisons with almost voluntary facilities for castration and sterilization; they have stopped short of voluntary euthanasia but but doubtless that will come.

The totalitarian states, which are merely those who extend the definition of 'criminality' or 'anti-social behaviour' - swiftly incorporated into their penal systems the findings of psychology - for example, Pavlov. Aided by this and modern pharmacy they produced show trials which were not only propaganda for reform among anti-social elements but manufactured, for the occasion, their own criminals. These techniques blossomed in public as the Russian show-trials of the thirties; Hitler, never slow to copy and improve technical advances, used them in his show trials. The Chinese, profiting by the bloody instruction of the West, let the technique bloom into full flower as brain-washing. Now the wheel has turned again and Western penal establishments as well as Eastern use such techniques to, as they put it, 'modify behaviour'.

Sick remedies

Techniques used include psychological therapies of various kinds; various psychological gimmicks including encounter groups, sensitivity sessions, psycho-dramas, transactional analysis, electric and insulin shock-treatment, electrode brain implants, drug sedation, psycho-surgery including variants of the old pre-frontal lobotomy, cingulotomy to make you docile, thalamotomy to make you more manageable, amygdalotomy to alter behaviour; drug-therapy (including aversion therapy); use of sodium pentothal, anecterne; anti-testosterone injections to neutralise the sex-drive (more scientific than cocoa); sensory deprivation, interrogations, overcrowding and tranquillisers - all these are part of the new reformed progressive prison systems of the United States. Minor psychological techniques are in constant use in British prisons, whilst more advanced techniques are in use in Belfast's Long Kesh prison.

BRAIN WASHING - AMERICAN STYLE

The American peace journal *The Peacemaker* (10208 Sylvan Avenue, (Gano) Cincinnati, Ohio 45241) had in its issue of April 7th an account by two conscientious objectors (presumably ex-prisoners or prisoners) of the growth of prison psychiatry under the chilling title "Behaviour Modification Planned for Prisoners". They report that, as long ago as 1962, James V. Bennett, director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons, sponsored a meeting for federal prison administrators where Dr. Edgar H. Schein presented a paper entitled "Man Against Man: Brainwashing". Dr. Schein noted, speaking of the means used in North Korea, "In order to produce marked changes of behaviour and/or attitudes, it is necessary to weaken, undermine or remove the supports of the old patterns of behaviour and the old attitudes. Because most of these supports are the face-to-face confirmation of present behaviour and attitudes which are provided by those with whom close emotional ties exist. It is often necessary to break those emotional ties.

This can be done by removing the individual physically and preventing any communication with those he cares about."

Other methods mentioned by Dr. Schein, the article says, "include segregating natural leaders, spying on prisoners, being lenient with collaborators, punishing non-co-operators severely, convincing prisoners that they are isolated and that society in general has abandoned them, making available only material which supports the attitudes of the jailers, using co-operative cellmates to point out the prisoner's inconsistencies, rewarding of submission with the removal of pressure, providing supports to reinforce new attitudes, and using techniques for breaking down character such as humiliation and revilement, along with sleeplessness, sensory deprivation and periodic interrogation." Mr. Bennett, it is reported, said at the conclusion of the meeting, "I'd like to take a little text out of what was said, namely that one of the keys - one of the things we have to do, is more research. . . We can perhaps undertake some of the techniques that Dr. Schein discusses. What I'm hoping is that the audience here will believe that we here in Washington are anxious to have you undertake some of these things. Do things on your own - undertake a little experiment with what you can do with the Muslims 'propaganda of Black Power'; undertake a little experiment with what you can do with some of the sociopathic individuals."

Since then, say the authors, "the techniques of behaviour modification have been increasingly practised in the federal and state prison systems". They go on to give details of 'treatments' as listed above.

BRITISH-MADE LUNACY

It is usual to feel that in Britain things are different. We may make exceptions for Northern Ireland making the excuse that this is an emergency situation. In fact, *The Sunday Times*, June 10th headlines a rather cautious story "Soviet 'jail treatment' may spread to Britain" (it is not only 'Soviet'). The story is that Dr. Norman Crompton told the B.M.A. that he had been involved in a case where an "international, benign, autocratic organization" tried to have an employee detained in a psychiatric hospital against his will. "The employee," said Dr. Crompton, "suffered from time to time from mild hypermania" (an excitable, loquacious state) "during which he spoke his mind clearly in loud, ringing tones". Although the employee did not diverge from the organization's policy, he overstated his views, which embarrassed the autocrats. Since the man had a psychiatric case-history they tried to get him detained in hospital against his will. Fortunately the man's G.P. called in Dr. Crompton who agreed with the G.P. "that this man is not ill but simply outspoken." Dr. Crompton was speaking in support of a B.M.A. resolution (which was passed by an enormous majority) "condemning the practice of using medical men to certify political and religious dissenters as insane, and to submit them to an unnecessary investigation and treatment".

In *Black Flag* (May issue) there is a remark by Kenneth Robinson of the British Steel Corporation that "behind the tendency to strike lies a severe mental illness, to be treated by psychological techniques" and he recommends psychiatric units in every major corporation where the workers could be screened for mental illness. These straws in the wind indicate to which direction the winds of opinion are veering.

Does Your Psychiatrist Come from Ireland?

Humpty Dumpty, a bright magazine concerned with the implications of psychiatry and mental illness (35 Margrave Road, London, N.19 10p a copy (post 3p)) from Freedom Books or direct) has in No. 2 an article on "Inside Bel-fast (Sen)", being an account by an assistant professor of psychology describing the work carried out in 'internment centres' such as Long Kesh where

sensory deprivation is used to produce results in interrogation. Many of the internees appear, as a result of their experiences, to show brain-damage syndromes. The psychologist says that the techniques are written up in *Psychology Abstracts* and a handbook of such techniques is available for police chiefs. Many of the psychiatrists employed at Long Kesh pass on information obtained to the military. He alleges that unnecessary overcrowding is deliberately used as a technique (parallel to that used on rats and monkeys) to stimulate aggressive behaviour.

Such perversion of the healing functions of medicine and its deliberate usage for adjustment to the demands of the State for docility and obedience is as far removed from the anarchist concept of anti-social behaviour as a sickness to be cured, as Harley Street medicine is from nature-cure and homeopathy. Since the State itself is a disease, adjustment to its illness is no cure. If Society is sick it will not be cured by universally-induced sickness.

It is well-known that the suicide rate in prisons is extremely high. It would be surprising if it were not. Many sentences are virtually death-sentences, and given this psychiatric pressure, and, as in Northern Ireland and other totalitarian regimes, political pressures with all the temptations to betray and co-operate, suicides are obviously more common.

We were particularly moved by this from the *Guardian* for June 4th, since it is possible that we had some contact with the 'detainee'. "A young detainee was found hanged in the Maze Prison, formerly Long Kesh, near Belfast, last night. It is believed that Mr. Patrick Crawford, aged 22, hanged himself."

* * *

The writer in *Humpty Dumpty* writes of a pair of psychiatrists, Klein and Doop, who were traced as working with community groups, as they did in Belfast, and then turning round and working with the police on means for controlling the groups. "Klein and Doop went back to the States leaving everyone with a questionnaire to be returned to the team from Queens University. But by that time, the people from Queens /Belfast/ were disgusted and angered by the deception practiced on them /by Klein and Doop/ that instead of 'turning the questionnaires over to Klein and Doop, they returned each paper to the person who had filled it in. So now Klein and Doop are trying to find some way of suing them for absconding with the data'."

We hope that such sabotage is not uncommon and the B.M.A. will realize that such things that a mere resolution condemns do not only happen in the Soviet Union, and that equal deeds will follow brave words.

Jack Robinson.

LETTER

Living Wage for Students

Dear Editors,

I was disappointed to see that the article 'Living Wage for Students' (26th May) perpetuated some of the liberal myths about 'higher education' which I had hoped had disappeared from *Freedom* for ever. Where was the recognition of the role universities play in selecting and grading people for their roles in a hierarchical society? Where was the recognition of the fact that the majority of students are only too happy to take advantage of this elitism? The idea that a free and egalitarian society simply requires access to the ladder of power and privilege for the more ambitious and obedient working-class kids is one of the worst liberal myths. Intellectual development should be a lifetime process freely available to all - not just 'students' - as an integral part of the work and recreation of a free society.

My anarchism springs from my own desires and experiences, not from the words of dead men or the discourse of parasitical academics. Indeed, I find it offensive to the 'uneducated' men and women who have given their lives for anarchism to suggest that the Revolution must wait until we all enjoy the benefit of a tutorial at the feet of some liberal hack.

Terry Phillips

Milan Bombing

Dear Comrades,

We send you this letter in order to explain our evaluation of the bomb-attempt in front of Milan's Police Headquarters on 17th May.

As soon as we knew the first news of the bomb-attempt, we prepared and published a national press-communique, which was signed by the three organized federations of the Italian anarchist movement: *Federazione Anarchica Italiana* (F.A.I.), *Gruppi d'Iniziativa Anarchica* (G.I.A.), *Gruppi Anarchici Federati* (G.A.F.). In this communique we declared:

- 1) Gianfranco Bertoli (the attempter) has never been a militant of the organized anarchist movement.
- 2) We condemn the attempt, because it has killed innocent people and because it can only be used by our enemies against anarchism.
- 3) This bomb-attempt can be understood only if we think to the generalized violence and terrorism made by the fascists and the state.

A few hours after the attempt, all the mass-media (broadcasting, television, right- "independent"-left and communist-press) started talking of Gianfranco Bertoli as a bloody criminal, paid by a foreign country (...the Communists and the Maoists are sure he is paid by the American C.I.A.). So have done many Italian anarchist groups, which have published leaflets in which Bertoli is called "fascist", "C.I.A. agent" etc.

WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE LIES OF STATE AND COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA!

Gianfranco Bertoli has always declared himself an individualist anarchist, and we think that his behaviour during and after the bomb-attempt may confirm his self-definition:

- 1) G. Bertoli did not escape (nor try to) after having thrown the bomb.
- 2) He has always declared to the police he wanted to avenge Giuseppe Pinelli, our comrade who was killed on 16th December, 1969, in the same Milan Police Headquarters, by Luigi Calabresi (the political squad police-officer, who was killed on 17 May 1972, by a still unknown man.) The attempt was a protest against the official inauguration of a monument dedicated to the murderer Calabresi.
- 3) G. Bertoli has always declared he is sorry having killed innocent people, because he wanted to kill the police-chiefs, responsible for Pinelli's death.

We think that G. Bertoli is not a fascist or a C.I.A. agent, and he may declare himself individualist anarchist - as he has always done.

CIRCOLO ANARCHICO "PONTE DELLA GHISOLFA" Milan 6.6.73.

[This is the first information we have had about the identity of G. Bertoli, and we receive this only as we go to press.]

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LETTERS

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

Dear Editors,

I bought yesterday's copy of 'Freedom' and read Peter Neville's letter on revolutionary and philosophical anarchists and read the rest of the paper. My conclusion was that he was quite right that you are unable to say what is to be done and how it is to be done, the reason being that anarchism does not offer these answers. I do not base this of course on reading one issue of 'Freedom' but also on my experience in this country, and with the various forms of anarchism in Geneva.

The aims put forward by Peter Newell of 'Destroy the State, overthrow capitalism, establish a free society', are a very worthy ideal, but how is this to be achieved? The method chosen by a group in Geneva was to go completely outside the capitalist system of production. They occupied an old building in which they lived in a form of commune, got their food directly from the countryside by going irregularly to work on 'health food farms' (if this is a correct translation) and trying with limited success to be totally independent of the system as well as eating only 'natural' foods (no chemicals). This lasted less than a year. The people in the commune became unwilling to work on the farms, some tried to get jobs in town, several hooligans came to live in the old house, attempts at collective management of the commune failed, and after various incidents, the Geneva police arrested everyone and very ruthlessly burned down the house.

This attempt failed. Partly it was because it is extremely difficult to live outside the system, in fact impossible even if one grows one's own food. Partly it was because this method provided no means of combatting the government or any prospect of overthrowing capitalism, thus the state could move in and put a stop to it. But mainly, this whole exercise cut off the anarchists from the mass, did not offer a way for the worker with his (her) family also to take part, only created hostility to such a group of young people who did not work but tried to sponge off the work of others. The same attitude often exists amongst people in England towards squatters.

Of course other anarchists would perhaps do different things. The Angry Brigade and Bader-Meinhof groups used very different but equally unsuccessful methods, but I have often been told that these are not really anarchists. Another anarchist I knew in Geneva lived his own life in an anarchist manner but this again was no solution to the problem of overthrowing capitalism. He had managed to get his employer to accept him only going to work when he felt like it, in his spare time he practised free love and otherwise had very little concern for his fellow men - it was for each to do the best he can for himself.

All in all anarchism fails because it cannot solve the problem of the overthrow of state power. It rejects all leadership saying that all leadership is necessarily bureaucratic and rejects the necessity to build a revolutionary Party in the belief that we can as individuals take on the state. I fully commend the notion of self-reliance, indeed advocate it myself, but this must be an organized struggle of workers based on reliance on their own strength and on their own leaders. No successful action has ever taken place without leadership; nowhere has capitalism ever been overthrown without a revolutionary Party to lead the struggle. Capitalism has been overthrown with the leadership of a revolutionary Party, and this is our task here.

Yours,
Cori Hara

Peter Newell replies: Cori's letter is most welcome, because it asks the all-important question: how is a free society to be achieved? Unfortunately, like Peter Neville, she did not read the series, 'Revolutionary Anarchism: Its aims and principles' in full. Had she done so, she may have, at least, had some idea of how revolutionary anarchists hope - and intend - to achieve a stateless, governmentless and classless society. I will, however, attempt to answer, albeit briefly, the main points of her letter.

Anarchists and other libertarians have, for more than a century, formed and established small communes or var-

ious communities in an attempt to escape from the sordid realities of capitalist existence. Some of these communities have, in a limited sense, flourished and prospered; others have collapsed and died, sometimes through external persecution and pressure, sometimes through internal dissension or from both, within a short time. I do not, of course, decry these attempts at 'free' living; but it is a fact that none of these communes or communities have ever really existed 'completely outside of the capitalist system of production', as our correspondent quite rightly observes. All are dependent on capitalism to some extent. They are little more than experiments at best; at worst, they are excuses for 'dropping out', or for individualistic irresponsibility. Such experiments and communities can never solve the basic problems, and contradictions, of the world's workers and of capitalism itself.

What, then, should we do? Engage in terrorism or mindless violence against the state and its lackeys? I think not. Join such groups as the Bader-Meinhof gang, the Red Army Faction or the Angry Brigade? Our correspondent rightly observes that such groups have used equally unsuccessful methods. They are not anarchists; nor are they libertarian socialists. Their methods are, in fact, elitist, authoritarian and have been harmful, in the extreme, to the anarchist movement. In the struggle for a free society, their activities are, and have been, counter-productive.

Should we build a workers' 'Party', or put our trust in leaders? We think not. We cannot agree with our correspondent when she writes: 'No successful action has ever taken place without leadership; nowhere has capitalism ever been overthrown without a revolutionary Party to lead the struggle. Capitalism has been overthrown with the leadership of a revolutionary Party, and this is our task here.' Our correspondent is wrong!

Reliance on leaders is not self-reliance. It is the antithesis of self-reliance. People who need leaders obviously do not know where they are going. They can be 'led up the garden' - and then back down again. However 'revolutionary' a leader may be, he will inevitably become a power-seeker and an order-giver. He should not be confused with a delegate, who may be subject to immediate recall by those who mandated him. And where, or when, have 'revolutionary' political parties ever overthrown capitalism and achieved, or attempted to achieve, a free society? In Russia? China? Cuba? Yugoslavia? We would like to see the evidence! So-called revolutionary parties, where they have achieved power, have merely replaced feudalism with capitalism, or one form of capitalism by another form - usually State Capitalism. They have replaced one form of authority with another.

The achievement of a free society can only be brought about, in the view of revolutionary anarchists, by the mass of the workers themselves, through their own self-activity, and through their own organisations, industrial and otherwise. They should have an objective - which we generally call libertarian communism - and work, in a responsible, non-bureaucratic organised manner towards that objective. This was the main argument of my series. In this reply I can only refer our correspondent(s) to the whole series; and suggest that they, if they wish, make specific observations as to whether we anarchists make practical proposals as to what must be done, and 'how it should be done'. I would also suggest, without necessarily agreeing with all that they have written, that a reading of Alexander Berkman's ABC of Anarchism (from Freedom Press), Archinov and Makhno's Organisational Platform of Libertarian Communists (from ORA) and Jo Freeman's The Tyranny of Structurelessness (also from ORA) may help our correspondents to understand our viewpoints. They are, of course, not the last (or first) words on the subject!

Education, organisation and emancipation are our watchwords.

We welcome news, articles, letters. We go to press Monday so last date for receipt of MSS and notices etc. is Monday of the week of publication. Earlier receipt is helpful.

PROFESSOR EYSENCK'S NOSE

Dear Friends,

Jerry Westall makes a fundamental mistake in his letter on Eysenck, although many anarchists (notably Bakunin) have not suitably resolved this question. By attacking Eysenck's theories that Blacks and Irish are less intelligent than Whites not only is he perhaps disregarding a truth but he is also admitting that judgement by intelligence is desirable and valid. The western world has deified intelligence and reason to the detriment of the emotional and imaginative aspects of man. It does not matter at all if Blacks and Irish are genetically ignorant because intelligence is neither an important goal to aim at nor a justifiable point of judgement to either reinforce or attack the status quo. It is not a glorified position to be intelligent, but to be liberated - is!

Andrew Williams.

ANARCHISM IN NORTH AMERICA

Dear Comrades,

I rarely see letters in your columns from North America, except as I saw recently, to criticise the movement here. Anarchism however, is alive and well this side of the Atlantic. We have a very together Federation here called S.R.A.F. (Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation). We have a monthly bulletin of correspondence which is circulated throughout the U.S.A. and Canada.

The I.W.W. is still going strong with new members rolling in all the time. We just recently lined up the 'Living Theatre' in the Wobs. I.W.W. has trebled its membership here in Canada in the last year.

Our comrades in Toronto and New York recently organised two conferences which not only covered a number of interesting topics, but movies like 'Sacco and Vanzetti', and Jean Vigo's 'Zero de Conduite' were also presented.

All in all a very productive last year or so.

Yours fraternally

Pete Ridley
(Halifax S.R.A.F.)

Class Alliances... contd. from p.1

Obviously, as a result of this campaign around working class solidarity against exploitation in Britain, Portugal, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea/Bissau, the British and Portuguese workers involved in this aspect of the End the Alliance Campaign are being led into a political struggle which never questions the repressive role of the State (capitalist or socialist State) but instead because of the political philosophy applied in the analysis of the capitalist system alone (Marxism-Leninism) prepares, ideologically, workers to accept the concept of another state (socialist) which would, we suspect, by need of international recognition and respectability as a 'workers' state', join the orchestra of state relationships, including if necessary a socialist/fascist state relationship (e.g. China/USA, East Germany/Spain, etc., etc.).

To struggle singly to replace one State by another is to lead the working class into a different type of servility. As anarchists, we say to those involved in any struggle at any level that our freedom, justice and brotherhood will only be achieved when the artificial and demagogic barriers (THE STATE, ANY STATE) erected between workers of different lands are forever removed by the workers themselves.

To remember that LEADERSHIP IS OPEN TO ABUSE AND TREACHERY WHICH INVARIABLY ENDS WITH THE SETTING UP OF A NEW STATE, THAT QUICKLY TRANSFORMS ITSELF INTO A NEW PRIVILEGED AND REPRESSIVE CLASS, is to apply, at an initial stage, a revolutionary approach to working class struggle.

This is why anarchism is today slowly gaining a new relevance in the spirit of workers' emancipation all over the world, because of its universal and communal concept of leaderless, egalitarian and free societies.

Claude.



THURSDAY 2 p.m. onwards. Help fold and despatch FREEDOM at Freedom Press

JUMBLE SALE Saturday 16th June, 2.30 p.m. Brotherhood Church Hall, Chingford Mount, London, E. 4. Jumble and helpers needed. (Douglas Kepper, Walnut Cottage, Moorland, Bridgwater, Somerset).

EVERY SATURDAY 2 - 4 p.m. Picket outside Brixton Prison. BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE (88 Roslyn Road, London, N.15. tel.

NOTTINGHAM FREE SCHOOL urgently needs full-time and part-time staff (esp. full-time) for September start. Please contact thro' 10 Milner Road, Sherwood, Nottingham, or Trent Poly. Anarchist Group, Pine Art Dept., Dryden St., Money also required - crossed cheques & P.O.s to Nottingham Free School and Community Trust.

Young man, going crazy through unemployment, willing to do almost anything, money, virtually unimportant. Am a trained & qualified projectionist, have worked in peace movement, PPU, WRI, CND, C'tee of 100 etc. If you have anything contact Colin Clarke, 32 Huxley Road, Welling, Kent,

ANARCHO-FEMINISM: any women interested in forming a group in London area please ring Jan at 229 0784.

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone, C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA meetings - for details 'phone 226-0817. Black & Red Outlook always available; by post 5p + 2p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, London, N.5.

S.E. LONDON MENTAL PATIENTS UNION meets every Tuesday 8 p.m. at The Albany Community Centre, Creek Road, Deptford, S. E. 8.

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE, 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent. (Michael Tobin's writings, published as pamphlets, etc. by the Defence Committee can be obtained from Freedom Bookshop.)

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N. 16.

BLACK RAT, paper of Norwich Anarchist Group, by post (2p + 2p) from Rupert Williams, 141 Earls Road, Norwich, Norfolk. Details of regular meetings from same address.

BLACK & RED OUTLOOK, monthly paper of th ASA, No. 13 current issue produced by Sheffield Group. Available (pay what you like) from 4 Havelock Square, Sheffield 10.

INSIDE STORY no. 9 May/June. What the papers don't say about Vietnam, more about Spies for Peace, etc. 20p + 3p from 3 Belmont Road, SW4 (or Freedom Bookshop)

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE, monthly paper of ORA, 5p + 2p post from 29 Cardigan Road, Leeds (or from Freedom Bookshop)

SOUTH LONDON Teachers and School Students groups - join Dulwich College NUSS in MARCH ON DULWICH COLLEGE: SATURDAY 7th JULY, assemble 2 p.m. Brockwell Park, near Herne Hill Station. Aims: Recognise NUSS's right to organise within Dulwich College: Close down Dulwich College as a Public School, and all other schools which are just for the rich.

GEORGE FOULSER expects to have left hospital before this issue comes out.

SUBSCRIBERS change of address. Please notify us if you can at least a week before operative date

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.