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FIVE PENCE

A DIFFERENT PRISON

IN 1960 Harold Macmillan spoke of a 'wind of change' in Africa. Since those days we have been subjected to what seem to be mere belches or farts from the decaying body of imperialism or the spasms of the new infant states.

Now, with what seems to be a rapid change, a wind of what some feel to be cyclonic force is sweeping through Africa. South Africa is reported to be moderating her outlook on apartheid; Rhodesia is negotiating (what for is not quite clear) with the imprisoned African national leaders and a hasty truce has been patched up with the guerillas which are operating on the Angola border. All this would seem to spring from the change of regime in Portugal occasioned by her failure in African colonial wars.

All this, and a shift of power in the United Nations general assembly has menaced the South African seat in that body. These events, cataclysmic as they seem, are not as apocalyptic in their intent or origin as an optimistic progressive would suppose. Behind much of the creaking of the machinery getting into reverse lies a general thirsting for oil. The United Nations faction making the running (The Third World) includes the Arab States who have just discovered their African brothers. Incidentally, Nigeria can be classed among the oil-rich states and oil has no colour bar.

Somewhere in the background to all this is the agonising withdrawal of the United States from its role as a world busybody. This aided the Portuguese somersault and left a power vacuum in Mozambique which both South Africa and Rhodesia long to fill. Rhodesia is the weaker party and South Africa

(for other reasons) has to make concessions to the new African powers.

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IN the *Sunday Times* (Nov. 17, 1974) David Holden reports on South Africa (before Rhodesia's volte face). He writes of the growth of illegal strikes and of unrecognised black unionism. An African Trade Union (all white) Congress official told Holden: "Eventually the blacks are going to run this country and we need a black trade union movement to make a peaceful transition possible. You can't have any order without it." On the other side of the coin the general secretary of the biggest black union (the National Clothing Workers) said to Holden: "We don't want to get rid of the white man. He means money to us. What we want is a fair share and a right to live decent lives in our own country." Other people, black and white, told Holden, "A lot of people think the blacks would kick out the whites and set up a socialist dictatorship if they ever got power. ... I doubt it. Most of the blacks I know are natural capitalists. As long as they have a chance to make money and live the way I do, they won't mind if I'm around too."

These attitudes are probably nearer and more typical of the African and his trade unions than the revolutionary hopes of anti-colonialists. The trade unions are seen to fulfil a conservative function (in the literal sense) in the same way that they have done so in the United States and are hoping (against the wishes of the rank and file) to do in this country. Apartheid is not only immoral and evil; it is also highly impractical in a technological society. Economically it is obvious that raising the purchasing power of the blacks will

keep the South African and Rhodesian economies going in the same way that the British and American economies limp along.

The prison of apartheid has failed to keep its prisoners. The blacks are quite capable of making their own governments - and their own mistakes, as the history of Africa in the last thirty years shows. The African ruling classes can be as authoritarian and capitalistic as any white man. The wild revolutionary Kenyattas, the humanitarian christian Kaundas and the good grave Doctor Bandas can be just as ruthless elder statesmen as any produced by Europe or America.

In breaking open the prisons of South Africa, Mozambique and Rhodesia, the Africans should beware that they do not blunder into the greater gilded prison of a capitalist-consumer-welfare-democracy with all the trimmings.

Jack Robinson.

HOUSING

IT'S GETTING WORSE

THE NEW YEAR is a time for predictions but usually most of them are way off beam. But no one needs a crystal ball this year to see that things are going to get worse before they get better.

This is especially true about the housing situation. If things weren't bad enough the present financial crisis will certainly mean that more people will be homeless in the coming year.

Even today the Greater London Council estimates that there are a million homeless. Families are finding it increasingly difficult to pay the high rents landlords are demanding. Councils find themselves paying enormous sums of money to hotels for bed and breakfast accommodation for those made homeless; this can cost as much as £5,000 a year for a family of four. A recent shelter report said that about 2,000 homeless families were known

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"COME OUT, YOU COWARDLY LITTLE SOD AND TAKE OVER."

ON TAXES

THE PROCEEDINGS of those robbers and murderers, who call themselves "the government", are directly the opposite of those of the single highwayman.

In the first place, they do not, like him, make themselves individually known; or, consequently, take upon themselves personally the responsibility of their acts. On the contrary, they secretly (by secret ballot) designate some one of their number to commit the robbery in their behalf, while they keep themselves practically concealed. They say to the person thus designated:

Go to A--- B---, and say to him that "the government" has need of money to meet the expenses of protecting him and his property. If he presumes to say that he has never contracted with us to protect him, and that he wants none of our protection, say to him that that is our business, and not his; that we choose to protect him, whether he desires us to do so or not; and that we demand pay, too, for protecting him. If he dares to inquire who the individuals are, who have thus taken upon themselves the title of "the government", and who assume to protect him and demand payment of him, without his having ever made any contract with them, say to him that that, too, is our business, and not his; that we do not choose to make ourselves individually known to him; that we have secretly (by secret ballot) appointed you our agent to give him notice of our demands; and, if he complies with them, to give him, in our name, a receipt that will protect him against any similar demand for the present year. If he refuses to comply, seize and sell enough of his property to pay not only our demands, but all your own expenses and trouble beside. If he resists the seizure of his property, call upon the bystanders to help you (doubtless some of them will prove to be members of our band). If, in defending his property, he should kill any of our band who are assisting you, capture him at all hazards; charge him (in one of our courts) with murder; convict him, and hang him. If he should call upon his neighbours, or any others who, like him, may be disposed to resist our demands, and they should come in large numbers to his assistance, cry out that they are all rebels and traitors; that "our country" is in danger; call upon the commander of our hired murderers; tell him to quell the rebellion and "save the country", cost what it may. Tell him to kill all who resist though

they should be hundreds of thousands; and thus strike terror into all others similarly disposed. See that the work of murder is thoroughly done; that we may have no further trouble of this kind hereafter. When these traitors shall have thus been taught our strength and our determination, they will be good loyal citizens for many years and pay their taxes without a why or a wherefore.

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IT IS under such compulsion as this that taxes, so called, are paid. And how much proof the payment of taxes affords, that the people consent to support "the government", it needs no further argument. All political power, as it is called, rests practically upon this matter of money. Any number of scoundrels, having money enough to start with, can establish themselves as a "government"; because with money, they can hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort more money; and also compel general obedience to their will. It is with government, as Caesar said it was in war, that money and soldiers mutually supported each other; that with money he could hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort money. So these villains, who call themselves governments, well understand that their power rests primarily upon money. With money they can hire soldiers, and with soldiers extort money. And, when their authority is denied, the first use they always make of money, is to hire soldiers to kill or subdue all who refuse them more

money.

For this reason, whoever desires liberty, should understand these vital facts, viz: 1) That every man who puts money into the hands of a "government" (so called), puts into its hands a sword which will be used against himself, to extort more money from him, and also to keep him in subjection to its arbitrary will. 2) That those who will take his money, without his consent, in the first place, will use it for his further robbery and enslavement, if he presumes to resist their demands in the future. 3) That it is a perfect absurdity to suppose that any body of men would ever take a man's money without his consent, for any such object as they profess to take it for, viz., that of protecting him; for why should they wish to protect him, if he does not wish them to do so? To suppose that they would do so, is just as absurd as it would be to suppose that they would take his money without his consent, for the purpose of buying food or clothing for him, when he did not want it. 4) If a man wants "protection", he is competent to make his own bargains for-it; and nobody has any occasion to rob him, in order to "protect" him against his will. 5) That the only security men can have for their political liberty, consists in their keeping their money in their own pockets, until they have assurances perfectly satisfactory to themselves, that it will be used as they wish it to be used, for their benefit, and not for their injury. 6) That no government, so called, can reasonably be trusted for a moment, or reasonably be supposed to have honest purposes in view, any longer than it depends wholly upon voluntary support.

LYSANDER SPENCER (1808-1888)

LETTER

On June 29 you printed Larry's review of the late Jason Gurney's *Crusade in Spain* (Faber). No mention was made of the (to me, anyway) calumny that "Dave Springhall... was later imprisoned in England for spying on behalf of the Nazis". (p. 61). "Springy" (as he was known to many) was wounded when a commissar with the International Brigade and died some years ago whilst working in Red China. During the Hitler war he was gaoled at the Old Bailey for attempting to get military secrets to pass to the USSR though the judge only said "another Power" since we were then allies. The penalty would have been the rope had it been otherwise.

The dead cannot bring libel actions so the publishers have merely acknowledged my complaint to them. I hope readers who have or see the book will correct it. Some anarchists,

because he was a life-long communist, may say "What's it matter, what's the difference!" Ignoring polemics and personal loyalty to a dead comrade and roommate of long ago, I would reply "Truth is important!"

Barry Duncan.

NEWS FROM AUSTRALIA

POLICE IN New South Wales have recently indicated their role in the 'democratic capitalist' society by: a) bulldozing 2 acres of maryhuana into the ground--after 6 months of preinvestigation. (What sort of benefit is this to 'society'?); b) attacked and imprisoned sixty nude bathers in Watsons Bay (Sydney) in an effort to suppress perverts; c) aided multi-national grocer stores in the suppression of anti-apartheid protests in the food-chain markets. The demonstrators were attempting to highlight the amount of South African tinned and frozen food marketed on the pretext of 'economy imports' primarily for the slave labor rates that are paid for the black people who pack and process the goods.

REPORT FROM U.S.A.

WELL COMRADES, the offyear elections are now over--we get them every 4 years when there isn't a Presidential election--and unsurprisingly there are quite a few new democrats going to Congress, in addition to a few of the old incumbents who managed to hang on to their old positions. Many of our noted commentators are quick to note the increase in the democratic vote as a reaction to Watergate, etc. One would like to believe this is simply erroneous analysis, but unfortunately, many of the people I talk to did indeed vote Democratic as a reaction to Watergate.

As sad as it is to report, few people seem to have seen clear to the basic reality of the situation. What we are faced with is a dual political system of sorts (to borrow from Michael Parenti).

On one hand we have the elections, reassuring speeches, conventions, etc., that are conducted fairly openly and designed to reassure and placate the populace. On the other hand are the fund-raising activities, contract awards, tax write-offs, etc., that are all done more covertly. As it is currently managed, the only way to get elected is to make all these deals and promises to various interests, etc., while pro-

claiming your innocence to the public and chastizing your opponent for doing the same thing.

Both parties must operate in this setting, and it is here that the ultimate foolishness of a strong democratic vote comes through. As long as this system prevails, switching parties will do nothing; as both parties have their special interests to satisfy and the general populace doesn't rank very high on the list of priorities. The only difference here is that of late the democrats haven't been caught doing anything dastardly. But you don't have to catch the thief in the coop to know someone has been stealing your chickens!

Thus it is the height of folly to believe that simply that by changing parties anything more effective will be done. In a system where only a few large scale enterprises and individuals possess the money, time and influence to command the obedience of the legislators, one cannot expect change until they themselves are affected, and then only in a manner they approve of.

The Wall Street Journal has become the first 'establishment' organ to acknowledge what those of us on the fringes have been proclaim-

ing for years--that government regulatory commissions and the groups they regulate are the best of friends.

This is evidenced in many ways. First, little, if any, legislation is passed without the prior approval of the group being regulated. Furthermore, many of the members of these commissions are former members of the companies that are supposedly being controlled. On top of this, most of the members look upon their positions as stepping stones to lucrative prestigious positions with the companies they are controlling.

So there you have it comrades (and especially fellow Americans), a brief look at the men who are there to protect your interests regarding companies with near monopoly powers in their respective fields. Don't you feel more confident now, knowing who is looking after your interests in Washington?

W. C. Humphreys, Jr.

Greetings and congratulations from a comrade living in Sweden. So far our decision to BOYCOTT Ford's 'punishment' proposal has been a great success. The exiles living in Sweden will hold a celebration in Stockholm January 31, 1975, in order to commemorate the amnesty deadline. Continue the struggle for Universal Unconditional Amnesty and for Amerika's complete disengagement from Indochina. Thanx FREEDOM for the breathing room.

George Wuerth

It Could Happen To You

This insolent phrase, insulting and false, can still be read on Fascist fly-posters. It's insulting because it derides democracy and the institutions which came out of the partisan uprising. It's false because, in reality, even when they're indicted for very serious offences (massacres, assassinations) the fascists always find some kind-hearted magistrate who lets them off with a few days inside (witness the release of the presumed bombers of the Florence-Bologna train). On the other hand, Pino Pinelli, without even being charged, "flew" out of a window in Milan Police Headquarters, Pietro Valpreda wasted three years of his life in prison, Marini has been sentenced to 12 years for not getting himself killed by fascists, and an even worse end befell Giovanni Spampinato here in Ragusa.

In fact, it's always our comrades who pay the heaviest penalties, even under democratic regimes. We've just learned about the mind-bending case of the anti-fascist, partisan fighter,

PEDRINI BELGRADO

who's spent 32 years in jail for crimes connected with the Anti-Fascist Resistance and the Partisan struggle. The seriousness of the matter can be understood by reading the words of Pedrini himself in one of his letters:

"Dear comrades, ... here's as much as I can tell you, in a brief summary, about the actions for which I'm still in prison. In February 1942 two comrades from Carrara and I disarmed two "specials" of the fascist militia. This happened in a public bar in Carrara. We disarmed them of regulation-issue daggers, by pointing pistols at them.

"It all happened because they were molesting, in this bar, the landlord's two, very young, sisters. But the real reason, as you'll understand readily, was our "love" for the "specials".

"As a consequence of this, an arrest-warrant was put out for us, so we had to take shelter in Milan. In that town we wrote and duplicated some leaflets against the war and against Mussolini, which we distributed by throwing them out of trains at stations.

"We were on the run for a long time, then one day we ran into five cops in La Spezia, and there was a fight. During the shooting, which lasted several hours because we finally barricaded ourselves in a lodging house, one of them died and we were all wounded.

Because of the war the trial didn't come to court until 1949, but in the meantime we had been liberated by comrade partisans from the prison at Massa, which was under heavy surveillance, and administered by the Germans because they kept their hostages there.

"After eight months the special court for the defence of the Fascist state sent the papers in our case back to the normal Court of Assize, because the crimes were mixed, political and common-law. In fact, during our time on the run, in order to survive when we were being hounded by the cops, the fascists, and eventually the Germans, we'd been forced to expropriate some Fascist fat cats of a little of what they'd robbed from the people.

"The Court of Assize in La Spezia sentenced all three of us to 30 years imprisonment. After we'd been liberated from the prison in Massa we joined up with the comrades who'd freed us: it was June 1944, and we fought in the Partisan Resistance with them right up to the Liberation. On 26th May 1945 we were re-arrested, and I've been in prison since then to now, which makes 31½ years imprisonment, if you include the preventive detention of two years and five months before we were freed.

"In 1953 an amnesty for partisans was proclaimed, which would have reduced my sentence from 30 to 20 years, but however much I struggled to obtain it, it proved impossible to get the reduction through, because of the hostility of the judges.

"One of my comrades escaped and has been abroad for twenty years, the other was released, but he was a broken man.

"There's no more to add; fraternal greetings to you all,
Pedrini Belgrado."

About 14 months ago our comrade submitted a request for parole, but "comrade" Zagari, socialist Minister of Justice, hasn't even deigned to reply.

We appeal to all democrats and anti-fascists to remember that it is precisely their duty to intervene to ensure that Pedrini is released and does not have to undergo any more years in detention.

ANARCHIST GROUP OF RAGUSA.
12/10/74.

In an article which appeared in *Volontà* for September-October 1974, Giovanni Baldelli, while criticising Marxist ideas, waxes eloquent about the role of reformism in the successes achieved by the workers in Anglo-Saxon countries. Giovanni Baldelli's criticism of Marxist ideas is in fact nothing new in anarchist circles, but there is no need, in criticising these ideas, to fall into the opposite error of praising bourgeois reformism. In doing this, our comrade acts in an anti-anarchist manner. Reformism just as much as Marxism has been rejected by anarchists because they have their own way to follow, which is neither reformist nor Marxist. In general, the anarchist way is that of the social revolution for the destruction of power whether it is in the hands of the reformists or of the Marxists.

Let it be said clearly and without equivocation that some of the criticisms made by the Marxists of the Western democracies may

have many points in common with those made by the anarchists, and, at the same time, some of the criticisms made by the anarchists of the Bolshevik dictatorships may have many points in common with the defenders of the so-called Western democracies. The anarchists, who take care to distinguish themselves from both sides, cannot and must not fall into the error of appearing partial to either of the two apparently opposed systems. For these reasons it seems to me out of place for Giovanni Baldelli to praise British reformisms. It's up to him to do it or not but he doesn't have the right to call himself an anarchist. This is what he writes:

"Reformism and trade-unionism

CONTROVERSY

are two of the greatest *bêtes-noires* of Marxism, not because their results, always partial, of course, but real and anything but ephemeral, are not to the advantage of the working class, but precisely because they are; because they give certain satisfactions to the worker, make his conditions more tolerable, and act as an antidote to the exasperation and desperation on which depends the revolution necessary to the Marxists to prove the correctness of their theory.

"In England, which is the country where the working class seems to have behaved as if set on giving the lie to Marxism, a labour party, which has formed a government several times, has frequently had to act under direct pressure from the working class movement and to consolidate its acquisitions with beneficial and effective legislative measures. The English example has been followed elsewhere, even, for tactical reasons, by some Marxist parties.

"With every one of its acquisitions, the working class gets bolder and strikes, the traditional means of applying pressure, become more frequent, lose their tragic quality, and almost become a game. In England, with its long and well-established tradition against the use of violence to resolve social conflicts, the notion of the class struggle is coming to rely more and more, in its vocabulary, on metaphors derived from sporting contests, rather than history or theory. Typically sporting, is to shake hands after the contest. In a struggle conceived in these terms, capitalists and workers are not enemies but only adversaries. Amongst the most intelligent and civilised on both sides, there is a sense of social responsibility. It is recognised that both classes must fight for their own interests, but only up to a certain point because both classes are, and recognise that they are, both necessary for the smooth running of the economic machine and the stability of the social order." (p. 353).

It would be very interesting to carry out a study of the function of the English ruling class, which, in its history, succeeded in making the working class think that their interests were identical with those of the subalterns of capitalism and that mutual co-operation was for the good of the nation and all its members with-

GHOSTS and MONSTERS

"STOCKHAUSEN SERVES IMPERIALISM", by Cornelius Cardew. Latimer New Directions, 1974
126 pp. £ 3.00

This book is a collection of essays (not all by Cardew) and programme-notes, written in the period 1972 to early 1974, with a linking commentary and twenty pages of notes by Cardew. It contains his two articles on Cage and Stockhausen, published in the *Listener* in 1972, in which he rejected those two gurus of contemporary classical music (he has worked with both of them), and espoused Marxism-Leninism.

The book is, in effect, a confession of error, and a profession of new faith, more concerned with the analysis of Cardew's own activities than with the music of others (although there is some of this, anybody expecting a long critique of Stockhausen will be disappointed).

The new guru, who is the fount of Cardew's criticisms and self-criticisms, is Mao Tse Tung, more specifically his "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" (1942). Cardew considers that "...The Talks were an effective weapon in the Cultural Revolution not because of any magical properties but because of their firm proletarian line and their sharp dialectical materialist analysis", but the text he really seems to use is taken from the commentary to a recent edition of the *Talks* which says that "...The Talks are a magic mirror for detecting the ghosts and monsters in our theatres." Cardew extends the metaphor: "...to develop criticism of bourgeois culture: we too need to attack the 'ghosts and monsters' in our cultural environment. We should tie the label GHOST to the tails of those artistic and intellectual trends that promote the ideology of anarchism and reformism, and brand the word MONSTER in the faces of those artistic and intellectual trends that promote the ideology of fascism."

Having seen the light, Cardew has no intellectual qualms about associating anarchism with "bourgeois idealism", "reformism" and "corrupt ideology", or about spouting such twaddle as, "The political activities springing from anarchism are reformism and terrorism..." and, "Anarchism is an ideology that springs from the decaying bourgeoisie." His naive acceptance of the ideological purity of Maoism leads him in the last pages of his book to join in the anti-Confucius campaign by repudiating a piece of music he spent three years (1968-71) writing, which was based on a translation by Ezra Pound (MONSTER) of a text by Confucius (MONSTER).

Cardew has spent most of his life in the world of Western classical music which, as he says, "has no currency in the working class." The book is solely concerned with Western classical music, and its purpose is, as far as one can ascertain, to break the hold of composers such as Cage and Stockhausen over the young intelligentsia (well, over some of them!), but he will have to offer more than the Maoist pieties of the class struggle. Nowhere does he discuss contemporary Chinese music; he does not even mention jazz, one of the strongest musics of our time and one with definite proletarian roots.

The point at issue is whether there is a simple relationship between the formal structure of a piece of music and the political ideology of its creator(s). Cardew seems to think there is, and the failure of the Scratch Orchestra (well documented in the first chapter of the book by Rod Eley) of which he was a founding and leading member, to achieve a decisive political action has led him to denounce what he terms the "bourgeois idealist" and "anarchist" trends in the Orchestra.

The hidden message of the book seems to be: "Look out bourgeois! You'd better jump on the bandwagon of the triumphant ideology before it's too late."

D.L.M.

THE REAL FEARS

out differentiation or break-down by class. With the result that the English proletariat has remained apathetic to modern ideas of social emancipation.

What is obvious in Giovanni Baldelli's words is praise for British eunuch reformism. Since a certain confusion reigns in our movement, praise for reformist systems can do nothing but produce misunderstandings with regard to the Eastern and Western blocs which are at bottom getting closer to each other than we are to them or their satellites. We must fight the misconceptions of right and left, of East and West, if we wish to preserve our own unmistakable character.

We must reaffirm our concept of social revolution in the face of our adversaries and enemies. It is not an insurrectionary episode designed to break down some of the material obstacles in our authoritarian, swindling, mercantilist society, based on legalised violence. It is not merely an act of self-defence. The social revolution must destroy the whole edifice of parasitism, oppression and exploitation. In other words, we must destroy the state, whatever kind it is. Of course, the form of the struggle will change according to the country. Where fascism and bolshevism are well established the struggles to break down authoritarianism will be more bloody. It would be very nice if we could avoid all these struggles, if one morning we could all wake up brothers and begin to live a new era of social peace. Unfortunately the world is the world, and the histories of peoples are full of struggles, wars and revolutions, and we poor mortals cannot avoid them. We live under a social system which divides man from man the better to exploit everyone. If they do not wish, directly or indirectly, to be mere tools, anarchists must be constantly vigilant in the struggles for social transformation to avoid becoming victims of authoritarian ambushes. We must constantly refine ourselves in the study of social problems, not as mere intellectual exercises, but so as to enter the field of battle well-prepared. In revolutionary contingencies anarchist minorities must be well prepared to play a positive and realistic role, so that they can be at the forefront of social transformation in a more or less distant future.

M. Corsentino
transl. by D. L. M.

The Russians took a bold step towards freedom (so it is said) by extending the issue of internal passports to the peasantry. Not only that, but the passport is now more elaborate, containing details of alimony involvement.

"Though there is unspeakable tragedy in the world today, there seems to be an insufficient sense of horror. Perhaps neurosis is why we can permit such atrocities to go on, each of us being in such a mad scramble away from our personal horror. That is why neurotic parents cannot see the horror of what they are doing to their children, why they cannot comprehend that they are slowly killing a human being. They never see that being. The societal result of this mass denial mechanism is similar to what happens within individuals -- behaviour out of keeping with reality.

(Arthur Janov: The Primal Scream.)

ANARCHY seems such a sensible thing, in truth the ultimate 'ideology' of self-interest. It takes care of self-interest (everyone's interest) by removing all authority forces. So why do people still obey in situations detrimental to themselves, against self-interest?

Psychologically, for authority substitute parent. The milieu of drives, to do well, to succeed in the eyes of one's 'peers' is a symbolic need resulting and deriving from a hope of being loved. To perform as one did as a child, by being a good boy or a nice girl, being clean, quiet or 'sensible' -- DOING AS YOU WERE TOLD, was the only way to receive the pat on the head, the treasured wink or the verbal praise... whatever was needed to shore up the illusion of being loved. Because not loved and valued for what you were, you performed and conformed so that you were 'loved' for what your parents wanted you to be.

The well adjusted 'social individual' is the neurotically split soul whose life is an acting-out in the hope of being loved.

But why does parent A or politician B, colonel C, teacher D require people to do what he tells them? A mixture of two things: 1) The status quo of social landmarks, hierarchies and order is the jigsaw into which the neurotic feels secure. His pain of splitness is suppressed by feeling to belong and his reality is carefully constructed to continue his paper-like realness. (He in turn was constructed to fulfil his ancestors' spectacle.) Any change that threatens his security and that might bring him nearer to his true self (buried under years of 'life') that might make him aware of the pain within is quickly altered,

made impotent or stamped out.

This varies from children seen to be cheeky, insolent or unruly... tears, sadness, happiness, anger, joy, fear, love, affection, all expressions of real feelings... to people asking to determine their own life, unwilling to be bent out of humanity by factory machinery, army repression or stereotyped roles, sexuality openly expressed and the numerous 'dirty' aspects of the body. All natural, but since naturalness is a threat to constructed 'reality' then 'reality' must be safeguarded.

Secondly, accumulated wealth. The elites would see the world dissolve in an atomic holocaust rather than relinquish it. When talking in terms of thousands of millions of pounds it seems strange that some at least don't liquidise their capital if security was the prime motivation. £10 million goes a long way even today and would last many generations. Here again their Psychology prevails over simple self-centred things, such as happiness in comfort or even the boat, townhouse, country villa and twenty servants routine. The immense wealth, the greed and probably the haemorrhoids all derive from that child denied of love, made to perform and split into his real-self and his surface facade symbolic-self. He keeps the agony of it buried in his mind, his tension being his safeguard against his feeling it, he over-eats - i.e. negative crying, taking in rather than screaming out, he ulcerates his guts with over secreting acid glands, and he strains having a shit because he is fighting his own tension in order to expel.

If we lived in a society of loving, real people it would be Anarchy. Real love is letting the other person be himself or herself. Self interest would prevail, the organism would be satisfied and the progress of science, industry and the gownless-evening-strap would be an access to the means of existence rather than the purpose of it.

On the other hand Anarchy would result in real people, free them from the bonds of authority, that ever present demanding parent, and eventually they would (with the help and prodding and pushing and suggestion by real people) face the agony buried years ago that they weren't loved for what they were, they would give up the trail called hope and be themselves.

Tears are souvenirs so face your real future.

PRIMAL ANARCHY

MAN and his FREEDOM

--through the eyes of a
spanish comrade

Throughout the ages, the preoccupations of philosophers have been more with the study of "Man" as an ideal entity than with man as a being of flesh and bone, feeling, suffering and struggling for a more human existence. The man of flesh and bone was reduced to a mere beast of burden, to the condition of nothing more than a machine that could be bought and sold. In the buying of a man his labour-power was consigned and through this labour a series of products was bought and crudely seized by the 'lords'. In former times, one bought the man and in this way one acquired his work-capacity, his labour; nowadays one buys his labour-power, and through it the man himself. Both reduce the man to a mere object, two slaveries which though different reduce man to the same condition. We have passed from the bestiality of the ancients to the refinement of the moderns. The moderns, who call themselves "civilised", "democratic", "christian", do not seem to be very worried by the irrational organisation of society; yet it is this society which holds millions in the most complete physical and spiritual misery, the same society which maintains a group of individuals who live on privilege. While there exists the exploitation of man by man, there will be no lack of privileged men who invoke civilisation, democracy and a series of decayed values to maintain their position.

But man is not an object no more than a piece of meat with which to speculate; man is something more; he is a being who cannot dispense with love and freedom. Man has been robbed, or rather, an attempt has been made to rob man of what he truly owns: his individuality, that which makes him who he is and not simply a number in the statistics. To create domestic animals, puppets, being unable to think for themselves: this is the end of a system which day by day is dying. Dogmas strike us from every quarter: this is 'good' and that is 'bad' - we are told by the false preachers of morality: here is the saint we must emulate and there is the sinner we must burn for his impurity. Woe on us should we attempt to seek for ourselves the good and the evil; they send us their armies, their doctors and their priests, so that the army, its doctors will lock us in asylums

for "schizophrenics" and its priests will send us to hell as "sinners". And while we find ourselves corralled and enslaved, they will not cease to be slaves to their dogmas.

Dogmas cancel life, they enclose man within four walls, in this way making each and every one of us beings without will. In the face of the static dogma exists life, a continuous fluency, movement, contrasts. In this way, against all that is static we find in ourselves something which continually defies it: the flowing river of rebellion. Revellion against the apparent, the false, which is in essence nothingness, we find the Revolution which proclaims life and the emergence of the vital values. The revolutionary, who is a rebel, rises up against what is on behalf of what should be. Only in the struggle against the static, against all that potentiality which because it was so possible, has remained in the realm of the possible; the worker himself takes consciousness of his condition as a man, and, as a man, takes consciousness of himself and

what he should be and what many are trying to make him forget. Let's "Be realists, seek the impossible". Seeking the impossible we can be sure of an eternal task to uplift us; our task is to rise up in the name of all the disinherited and to fight against a society which is blind. In this way we shall find our freedom. Our struggle for freedom must aim not only to break the chains of the dispossessed, but also of the bourgeois. Every chain must be broken and reduced to splinters. The struggle for freedom was a struggle of our antecedents, and it is our struggle, for we live in the present, and whether it will be the struggle of the men of tomorrow depends on the fervour and sincerity we put into it today.

We must not cease to breathe pure air. If we want to live, let's throw out from inside us all that is dead and conforming! We must make sure that this pure air we breathe is not monopolised and seized by some men, but that it should be exhaled for all those who have the desire to live. We all desire to live, but some fail to capture the very transcendence of the words "to live". Real living exists, the living of permanent struggle, the life of the man for whom the victory over himself is an end and a means to reach a more complete conception of man and of nature in general; there exists another way of living, that of the bourgeois, the life of hypocrites and passive people, for those who reduce living to the maintenance of a material position, without a scruple for morality or for those around them who beg for crumbs and are dealt blows.

Finally, we must fight for the freedom of all; firstly, given individual consciousness we can liberate ourselves from a series of obstacles which hinder our normal development; secondly, and given a progress towards a collective consciousness based on mutual solidarity and respect, the liberation of all.

transl. by rob

PRESS FUND

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TOTAL £ 93.67

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THANK YOU, FRIENDS!

Keep it up this year

ISRAEL'S Chief Sephardic Rabbi ruled that orthodox Jews can brush their teeth on the Sabbath but only with a special toothbrush (presumably electric). This ruling overturns former doctrine that cleaning teeth was work and not allowed on the Sabbath.

It was reported that the Russians had carried out an underground nuclear test; this was followed a few days later by an earthquake in Northern Pakistan which reportedly killed 5,000 people.

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THE OIL CRISIS

THE U.S. consumes 17 million barrels of oil each day; it produces only 11 million barrels a day. Since early 1973, no new refineries have been built, and existing ones are operating at only 91% capacity. In October 1973 the Federal Power Commission reported to Congress that major oil companies were "capping" wells that they could be pumping oil from. The oil companies are withholding oil, despite increased demand and actual shortage. Our society runs on oil. Virtually everything is manufactured from oil or uses oil in its manufacturing process. Big oil producers created the shortage to increase profits.

Oil profits soar

All corporate profits for the third quarter of 1973 were up 32.6%. Gulf Oil announced a 153% gain in fourth quarter earnings. Occidental Petroleum reported a 417% profit increase in the first nine months of 1973. Exxon announced the largest annual profit ever earned by any industrial corporation: 2.4 billion dollars after taxes. The nine largest U.S. oil companies (Exxon, Mobil, Texaco, Gulf, Chevron, Shell, American, Conoco and Arco) made 5,172 million dollars profits after taxes in the first nine months of 1973.

Oil executives buy the government

Ashland Oil Co. chairman, Orin Atkins, and Gulf's Vice-President for Governmental Affairs, Claude Wild, testified before the Watergate Committee that they illegally contributed a total of \$200,000 to the Nixon campaign. The donations were given to assure the companies a "forum to present our point of view" to the Executive Branch. Considering that Gulf averaged more than \$86,000 profits for each and every hour in 1973, it was not a very bad investment. Wild admitted: "Republicans cost you twice as much as Democrats because they ask for twice as much." The politicians, who are only the servants of the corporate bosses, have neither the ability nor the desire to do anything about the oil shortage. They will never interfere with the bosses' profits until sufficient economic power forces them to act. Instead, the government granted the "poor" oil companies \$872 million for research this year.

We are waiting in gas lines for the privilege of paying two-thirds more for gas (petrol) to drive to work, and hundreds of thousands have lost their jobs because of the contrived oil crisis. Only 4.5%

of our oil goes for heating and lighting: 24.8% goes to transport (only a small portion of this for private vehicles); 37.3% of our oil goes to industry to keep the profit system going. In November 1973 the government estimated that the oil shortage would push unemployment up from 4.5% to 6% or more. The bosses are so rich that they don't have to worry about the price of gas or losing their jobs. As always, the profits are made at the expense of those who actually do the work.

Using the workers' economic power...

We can't rely on either government or the free enterprise system to help us out of this situation. The only weapon we wage workers have is our combined economic strength. Working people need to come together on a well organized and massive front to back each other up. Our unions would be the logical way to go. Unfortunately, most unions prop up private enterprise. The Industrial Workers of the World is one union that looks beyond the present system of production. We are organized to fight the bosses right now, not just for more and cheaper gas, but for the whole works. We could continue to fight these skirmishes forever. Eventually, we are going to have to put an end to the fighting by taking the means of production (drilling rigs, refineries, manufacturing plants) into our own hands and produce for use instead of for profit. We already run the factories without the aid of the do-nothing owners and managers. Why do we continue to give them so much for so little work? If we didn't have to support them and their profit system we could end unemployment, poverty and the tremendous waste of natural resources. Join the IWW and help us build a world in which resources are respected and so are people.

--Report from Tacoma IWW.

U.S. Government sources said that the Central Intelligence Agency illegally kept files on 10,000 members of America's anti-war movement and other dissenting groups.

MORE than a quarter of a million men on both sides have been killed, wounded or reported missing in the two years since the Vietnam 'cease fire', according to Saigon.

HOUSING continued from Page 1

to be living in hotels paid for by the borough councils. This is but another example of public squalor contrasting with private wealth. This country has long been a landlords' paradise, but now the smaller landlords are screaming their heads off over governmental legislation aimed at giving tenants some protection. It is obvious that tenants need such protection, but like all laws, these can be avoided or they are double edged. Many tenants seeking redress over high rents have found themselves either evicted or paying more.

'Property is theft! The fact that ownership of houses gives individuals power and a means of exploiting a basic human need is a crime against humanity. To make profit from another's labour is bad enough, but to exploit the necessity of shelter seems to this writer far worse.

Following the First World War, the slogan "homes fit for heroes" soon took on a hollow ring. Like all governmental promises, it wasn't worth the paper it was printed on. But something had to be done. The widespread building of council flats in the twenties and thirties at least broke the grip that the private landlord had exerted for so long. However, things only change, under a capitalist system, to remain the same. Now these councils exert such a bureaucratic hold that they are incapable of administering their housing stock for the needs of people. Many have empty properties with an increasing housing list. Development plans take so long that places can stand empty for years when with less than is spent on bed-and-breakfast accommodation these same houses could be made fit for habitation. Some councils, like Tower Hamlets (E. London), prefer to destroy homes when they become vacant for redevelopment. This same council has 2,500 young families on its housing waiting list.

While housing lists are getting longer, housing programmes are being cut back. There are now fewer new homes being built than there were in 1970. Councils are just not building enough, but at the same time they are not prepared to use their existing housing for people's needs.

Everyone should have a decent home. It is a basic need, but while the ownership of property forms one of the cornerstones of our society, there will always be some who will suffer the injustice of bad housing. While such needs could easily be solved in a society where all property would be held in common ownership, the need to strengthen and extend the squatting movement is all-important to help those in need. Such

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

Pamphlet wanted: Authors Take sides on the Spanish Civil War. Cash paid. Please contact Freedom Press Box 001.

Public meeting: Ireland - a Revolutionary Anarchist Perspective, arr. by N. London group of the Anarchist Workers Assn. (formerly ORA) Tues. Jan. 28, 8 pm, Earl Russell pub, Pancras Rd. N.1. (tube King's Cross).

Publications

"Anarchism Lancastrium", for anarchists in the North West. Send a stamp to: A L, 16 Kingsmill Ave. Whalley, Lancs.

Libertarian Communist Review No. 1, theoretical jnl. of ORA, still available 15p + post from 13 Colman St. Hull. Also Libertarian Struggle, paper of ORA (Nov-Dec) 10p + postage.

CONTACT

Alternate Sundays Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner 1 pm Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcome.

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry, CV4 7AL.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly mtgs. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Rd. Manchester 13.

self-help groupings like the squatters and tenants associations can not only help today but can be the organisations of the future to administer and organise for the housing needs of people. Squatters and tenants associations have formed co-operatives to do repairs on their estates, pointing out that they can, on a self-help basis, do the job cheaper and without the long delays that most tenants now have to contend with.

These grass roots organisations are what the authorities fear most. They undermine both the mystique of the powers that be and the bureaucratic grip that the borough councils now hold. As such, we as anarchists should play our part to make them successful and explain their full revolutionary potential.

P. T.

PORTSMOUTH group: write Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

Some London anarchists meet socially on Sundays 7.30 p.m. at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone Street, London W.1. (Tottenham Ct. Rd.)

INTERNATIONAL Libertarian Centre/Centro Iberico. Sats. & Suns from 7.30 pm. Disco, refreshments &c. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door) Tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Pk.

HARDY PERENNIAL Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 1975. 13p incl. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Pubs. c/o Freedom Bookshop.

"Marked for Life" - the well-known libertarian critique of college and university exams; featured in Times Higher Ed., Daily Telegraph (!), Children's Rights, etc. 25p from MFL 36A Fairfield Gdns. London N.8.

Prisoners

PAUL PAWLOWSKI 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd. London SW18 3HS. Thanks to comrades who have sent letters/postcards. Keep it up for next 7 months.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs), Des Keane (5 yrs) and Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

THREE held re kidnapping of Spanish banker. Postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fre Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori and Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 Av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS France.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, 54 Harcombe Rd, London N.5. Needs donations to provide study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee. Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

B.W.N.I.C. Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings X Rd London WC1 (phone 01-837 9795 afternoons only). To help the defence of 14 charged under Incitement Disaffection Act.

We welcome news, articles, letters. We go to press on Mondays

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