

# FINANCIAL MERRY-GO-ROUND

President Ford's decision to reflate the American economy has been welcomed by the other Western governments with qualified optimism. Many like Mr. Healey, Britain's Chancellor of the Exchequer, have been calling for this reflation to prevent the Western economies from facing a slump on the scale they experienced in the 1930's. Certainly it has taken the American president some time to make this decision, but obviously the false optimism of Nixon did not help the situation.

The decision will also ease the unemployment facing American workers, seven million of whom now find themselves without jobs. In this country the public has already been prepared for a re-writing of the social contract to bring down wage increases, an emergency credit squeeze and cuts in public spending.

The reflation, plus the agreement to rechannel the huge surpluses now being made by the oil producing countries, may prevent these measures from being taken. With this money being reinvested, oil-hungry countries will once again be able to afford the new high prices.

The crazy financial merry-go-round shows once again that the capitalist system faces a financial crisis and not an economic one. The rise in oil prices means that too much money is being spent on energy. This has been good for the profits of the oil companies and the oil producing nations but bad for the industrial nations' balance of payments. Everything has become top heavy, with those who have actually to buy the oil to run the factories and to transport the goods facing extra high costs. Such costs are eating into the employers' profit margins and it is this that the boss does not like.

If an employer cannot make a profit or enough of it, then he can cut back

British Leyland locked out 2,000 workers from its Pamplona, Spain, factory (Authi) for taking part in a general strike. The strike was in support of 116 miners staging a sit-in at the Potasas de Navarra state mine.

A trade union (one of Britain's largest, desiring to remain understandably anonymous) is planning to invest its pension fund, according to the Guardian, in a £3 million private hospital.

on production, with ensuing lay-offs and sackings. While this is happening, those left working are called upon to work harder. Speeches like that of the Paymaster General, Mr. Dell, are full of such calls whereby "of we can put up our national product by raising efficiency and productivity, it should not be long before we cancel the fall in real income". That is, if oil prices don't go up again (or some other raw material).

It's the same story we have heard so many times before, that workers are lazy, they earn too much money, they are always on strike, etc. But it

## BLEEDING IN THE GUTTER

In early days it was regarded by the romantic (Sir Phillip Gibbs, for example) as the Street of Adventure, and the more practical penny-a-liner described it as the Street of Ink; now, with a more cynical view prevailing we can well regard Fleet Street, the quondam home of the British National Press, as the street which is all gutter.

It used to be the concept that only the American press was corrupt and sleazy. In the 1930's, Five-star Final, Hot News, Miss Lonelyhearts and The Front Page reflected the awful truth about journalism. Now The Front Page has been revived and the nostalgic mist of the 'thirties further obscures what had been the truth about journalism all along.

If further substance were needed to prove that the British press is also corrupt, sleazy and trivial, one has only to read today's helping of the statements of the poor trapped deluding and deluded Stonehouse, the awful Express's exploitation of the Lucan tragedy and the farcical speculations on whatever happened to Mr. Breshnev to get a complete picture.

In spite of all the 'giving the public what it wants', it is an undoubted fact that all newspapers are losing money. Circulations are declining, advertising is falling-off (much of this before the current 'recession') and the pressure of the Unions, both in creating and urging a closed shop, maintaining

does point to the fact that without the labour and the skills of the worker, money as such is of no use. Money planted in the ground will not grow what and will not produce goods.

In the past, inflation has been manageable. It has in fact kept the profit system expanding. The policies of stop-go and wage and price restrictions have primed the capitalist pump enough to keep the profits flowing. But now these profits are drying up.

The situation on profit margins has become so serious that the most advanced capitalist country has to act. But the capitalist system is built on the exploitation of man by man. Those who produce the wealth by hand and brain will be expected to help in the continuation of their own exploitation.

It is this exploitation which anarchists wish to end. Working for a wage means that workers have little or no say in what is produced. As such, our lives are controlled by the ups and downs which are part and parcel of the system. In a world where many suffer shortages of food and other necessities of life the financial crisis dictates a cutback in these essentials. This is the crazy world of capitalism in which profits come before the needs of people, while the means to satisfy the needs lie idle.

differentials, fighting for an already highly rated wage packet and resisting technological innovations with their consequent redundancies.

Additionally, between the Fleet St. unions there is no love lost; not only are there craft unions within the complex structure but one of them, the NGA, has been expelled from the TUC so there is no compunction for them in the separate wage-deals. At the other end of the scale the Newspaper Proprietors Association no longer includes the Mirror in its august company, so the Mirror has to make its own deals with the unions.

Such is the economic distortion of today, much of Fleet Street is no longer occupied by newspapers; in fact the land and buildings of Fleet Street are of more value than the newspapers occupying the site. But the Press lords do not worry - long ago they diversified their investments (many into television) and bricks and mortar are still a useful 'portfolio'.

In fact, such is the cost and nature of the newspaper game that only millionaires need apply to become newspaper proprietors. To some of them it is a toy, a power game, a little hobby that may be useful politically or that one can fall back on for moral support (or morale creation) in hard times.

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## IN THE GUTTER... from P. 1

They may be down to their last two yachts but the paper is still there - if technological changes can be forced through, the death pangs of Fleet St. may be postponed.

The battles now taking place, centring on the National Graphic Association, signal the possible going down to defeat of yet another craft union, with a probable lack of support from the other unions in the trade. Not only is this due to the expulsion of the NGA from the TUC (for registering under the Industrial Relations Act) but also due to the union structure's idea of survival of the fittest. It will be a long cold winter in Fleet Street and not all newspapers will survive.

What is the way out? The collapse of the Scottish daily newspaper was followed by the usual half-hearted workers' take-over, whose first concern was for cash to subsidise the purchase from the previous owners; the ubiquitous Robert Maxwell hovered in the background. Now the quest is for a manager to put the paper on a sound footing. Might one question as to whether they have their priorities right? Every take-over so far has seemed content with 'business as usual' and a proof that the workers (with help and subsidies) can run capitalist profit enterprises just as well as the next capitalist. Even the velvet glove on the helping hand of the state may conceal the iron fist of totalitarian control. The oh-so-benevolent Swedes have subsidized paper - but then, that's their business!

We do not hope for immediate syndicalism but what is lacking is the spirit which launched the Daily Herald, The Worker's Dreadnought (not to mention The Daily Worker) or even Freedom!

.....

The newspaper has entered a different world. The majority of people depend upon TV for the immediate news, many advertisers patronise TV (the success of Time Out, for example, is in its small ads and its primary local appeal).

The real end of Fleet Street comes when groups seriously take over the production of their own local or specialist papers. 'Every man his own Beaverbrook'.

Fleet Street is a dead-end. There is no hope in the take-overs of a corrupt, rotting and unwieldy structure.

Let Fleet Street bleed to the gutter!

Jack Robinson.

READ the US anarchist monthly: The Match! News, reviews, theory, history, polemic. \$3.00 per year from The Match I, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, Arizona 85722, U.S.A.

## POLITICAL MEANS

Dear Comrades,

An explanation as requested of the phrase 'political means' contained in our statement (Freedom 30.11.74) on the Birmingham bombings - sorry it is so belated.

The demands of the I.R.A. as representatives of Irish nationalism are political demands of a petty-bourgeois nature, belonging to a revolution that should have been completed in the 19th century, and not even extending to the demand for social revolution in any but the most abstract fashion - hence anachronistic, "Irish", and from the point of view of those caught up in the conflict, highly tragic nature of the present situation. As anarchists we feel it is necessary to support the I.R.A. (Provos and Stickies) in their demands, if only so that nationalist illusions may finally be overcome through the removal of what is a legitimate national grievance; but that the correct strategy must be to pursue those demands on the level appropriate to them, which is not armed struggle at all, but political struggle including the use of the political institutions that we as anarchists all (rightly) deplore.

Of course, if the Irish masses themselves, Catholic and Protestant, were to rise, permitting the emergence of new revolutionary goals, or even if there existed in Ireland a strong revolutionary movement, those would be facts of a transcendent order

## BOOK REVIEW

## The Whole Truth &amp; Nothing But...

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY, by T. Dan Smith. Published in 1970 by Oriel Press Limited at £1.75. Remaindered for 30p (not in Freedom Bookshop)

I THOUGHT this book was going to be interesting. After all, we now know that Smith was fiddling it, along with Poulson and all the rest: reading his autobiography (written before he was caught) with the advantage of hindsight should be very revealing. That's what I thought before I bought the book, but in fact very little is revealed.

The trouble is that Smith is too good a politician to let anything slip. He writes, "During my career I have always been exposed to accusations of dictatorship and ruthlessness", but reading his side of the story you fail to see why anyone would have accused him of these things. Similarly, "...I have found myself exposed to accusations of graft and corruption in my public life..."! Of course he's hardly going to say, 'In early 1971 Poulson slipped me £2000 under the counter in return for...' but I expected some indication of why people accused him of graft.

This is the whole problem of the book. Smith just leaves out all the important things. He can write that he

and all the above considerations would become redundant - this I say in order to avoid misunderstanding - but it is unlikely at the present time.

As to the old man, well there are always old men who know better, and it is always awkward to disown actions that may or may not have been committed by people who believed they were doing something progressive when they did it, but the alternative would seem to be to lay our movement open to any sort of provocation in order to smear it in the minds of ordinary people (an example is the fascist bombings in Milan, 1969).

As far as we can see the only part of our statement that can in any way be interpreted as opportunist (a word incidentally that seems to us more part of the Marxist-Leninist political vocabulary than of ours) is the phrase "democratic institutions" which we accept as hasty and ill-formulated - what we had in mind was direct and personal participation in workers councils, street councils and just possibly consumers councils.

Let us find ways of struggling together for the dawning of the libertarian revolution. Venceremos.

J.

Northwest London Anarchists.

was and is a pacifist; that he saw through the C.P.'s line over Spain; that he was expelled from the I.L.P. and an unspecified Trotskyist organization (yet again no reasons are given); that he walked out of a party because they showed a pornographic film (very commendable too). By suppressing just a few facts Smith has written an account of himself that is entertaining and appears to be complete. The moral must be that it's only too easy to present a totally distorted picture simply by choosing your facts carefully. What matters is what's left out, not what's left in.

There is a certain irony in reading some of the book. For example, "I never understood why people felt badly disposed to me. Perhaps they could not reconcile my rumoured 'millionaire' status with my socialist beliefs. There was no need for them to do so. Not only am I not a millionaire; I am a man of modest means." One thing Smith did manage to reconcile with his "socialist beliefs" was sending his children to private schools. It seems to be a common failing amongst those who believe in comprehensive education but can afford to opt out. Perhaps that's why Smith wanted the money.

B. H. M.



**EDITORS NOTE:** We still find it strange for anarchists to "support the I.R.A." even if only in their demands, which are admitted to be 'nationalist illusions', under the dialectical illusion that these "illusions will be overcome through removal of grievances". We do not accept that it is necessary for anarchists to use political institutions. We agree with what you seem to say (in reply to John Malone's assumed position) that direct action and attentats "lay the movement open to any sort of provocation in order to smear it". Surely if methods of direct action are accepted, risks are taken and surely such advocates must be responsible for carrying out some actions. Not all attentats are police or provocateur plots. We do not recollect either our comment or John Malone's letter containing the word "opportunist" and we should be the last to use such a jaded epithet.

May we ask if there is any significance in the use of green ink in your manuscript? Furthermore we find the hackneyed use of Che Guevara's slogan 'Venceremos' highly significant and old-world.

#### Apologies from our typist

Dear eds,

re: what is... free?

Objection! 'pickeling' for picketing, 'freinds' for friends, and that horrible 'continued on Page 6' - and then why a question mark after 'Englishman'??

ai ai ai... oh dear.

shame etc.

D. M.

--Shame indeed. Editors. we hope that despite the shortcomings of our report on the vigil in support of soviet dissenter Vladimir Bukovsky, our readers will support the campaign for the freeing of Bukovsky and others deprived of their freedom for demand-it in the soviet Union. Information from the committee secretary David Markham, Lear Cottage, Coleman's Hatch, Hartfield, Sussex.

#### Possible and Practical...

we print below extracts from a letter recently sent by a new reader. while we know that opting out of the system is not a solution available to millions of workers in the mass society, we think our readers will be interested in this account of one man's road to independence.

"...After spending five years on the Australian waterfront I returned home to live in the way I have always wanted. About six miles from Peterhead I bought five acres of land and am improving the fertility of the land, to be as self supporting as possible. when the need arises I go to

sea as mate on American tug boats in the Forties Field (British companies pay lousy wages on which tax has to be paid). I hope to build a cottage here myself and have bulldozed some land, laid on mains, etc., put in my own septic system and sunk a well. I bought a residential caravan to live in whilst I; build a more permanent habitation. As I pay no rent, rates or taxes I seldom have to prostitute my labour to fill the pockets of others and will never face eviction or be starved into submission if I go on strike. Those I think are the two worst alternatives facing anyone who withdraws his labour from an employer.

On reading About Anarchism I was amazed at the similarities between the views put forward by Nicolas walter and the lives led by the Eskimo people with specific regard to housing, property, leaders, etc. They differ greatly on many subjects, especially women, but I think that it would prove that anarchism is not only possible but practical. This of course was before those savages (?) were civilized (?) by the Russian and the European. . ."

Geo. H. whyte.

## In Brief

One of Portugal's Three Marias (authors tried on pornography charges under Portugal's old regime) claimed, according to the Guardian that a mob of two thousand men "beat, kicked and threatened to rape her" during a Lisbon Women's Liberation rally.

Damages of £5.2 million have been awarded by a U.S. Federal Court to 1,200 people who were arrested on the steps of the Capitol in May 1971 while demonstrating peacefully against the Vietnam war. The case was presented by the American Civil Liberties Union and the U.S. Government is appealing. French troops in the German town of Karlsruhe agitated for equal pay with German soldiers, shouting, "Money not munitions." They are paid £1.70 per week with a bonus for serving in Germany. They seek a minimum of £25.

Police in New Delhi have arrested seven people suspected of involvement in the assassination of the Indian Railway Minister, Lalit Narayan-Mishra. The circumstances surrounding the assassination of the minister (suspected of corruption and famed for his strike-breaking tactics) were highly suspicious. Mrs. Gandhi has accused Jayaprakash Narayan (a Gandhian exponent of non-violence and a political rival) of inciting the assassination, and has hinted that it was a rehearsal for her own elimination. Other sources point out the peculiar bungling and lack of security and medical care that led to Mishra's unlamented (by even Mrs. Gandhi) death.

Sancho Panza

# MALATESTA

ANARCHISTS must recognize the importance of the workers' movement, must favour its development and make it a lever for their action, doing all they can so that, in conjunction with all existing progressive forces, it will culminate in a social revolution leading to the suppression of classes and to complete freedom, equality, peace, and solidarity among all human beings. But it would be a great and fatal illusion to believe, as many do, that the workers' movement can and must on its own, by its very nature, lead to such a revolution. On the contrary, all movements founded on material and immediate interests (and a mass working-class movement cannot be founded on anything else), lacking the ferment, the drive, and the unremitting efforts of men of ideas struggling and making sacrifices for an ideal future, tend to adapt themselves to circumstances, to foster a conservative spirit and the fear of change in those who manage to improve their conditions, and often end by creating new privileged classes and serving to support and consolidate the system that one would want to destroy.

Hence the impelling need for strictly anarchist organisations which struggle both inside and outside the trade unions for the achievement of anarchism and which seek to sterilize all the germs of degeneration and reaction.<sup>1</sup>

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...Capitalist society is so constituted that, generally speaking, the interests of each class, of each category, of each individual are in conflict with those of all other classes, categories and individuals. And in daily life one sees the most complicated alignments of harmony and clashes of interests between classes and between individuals who, from the point of view of social justice, should always be friends or always enemies. And it often happens, in spite of the much vaunted solidarity of the proletariat, that the interests of one category of workers are antagonistic to those of others and favourable to those of a category of employers... The list is unending - antagonism between employed and unemployed, between men and women, between native workers and foreign workers in their midst, between workers who use a public service and those who work in that service... And what should be said of those who work in industries harmful to society and to individuals, when they have no other way of earning a living? In normal times, when there is no faith in an imminent revolution, just go and try to persuade workers at the Arsenals who are threatened with unemployment not to demand that the government should build new battle-ships.<sup>2</sup>

--or supersonic airliners or motor-cars.

<sup>1</sup>Il Risveglio, October 1-15, 1927

<sup>2</sup>Umanita Nova, April 6, 1922





Before all else I ought to say that governments are repugnant to me. I am firmly convinced that there is not, and cannot be, a good government. They are all bad, whether they call themselves absolute monarchies or constitutional republics. Government is tyranny because it curtails the individual's free initiative, and the sole purpose it serves is to uphold a social system which is unsuitable for the true development of the human being. Governments are the guardians of the interests of the rich and educated classes, and the destroyer of the sacred rights of the proletariat.

#### Authority

What, then, is the use of authority? It serves to inculcate respect for the law which, written by the rich and by educated men in the service of the rich, has for its object the guaranteeing them tranquil possession of their riches and the exploitation of human labour. In other words, authority is the gendarme of capital, and this gendarme is not paid by capital but by the poor.

To have done with authority, we must first have done with capital. Let us take possession of the land, of the machinery of production, and the means of transportation. Let us organize production and consumption communally, bringing it about that all shall be the property of all, and thus it will not be necessary to pay officials to guard capital kept in a few hands, for every man and every woman will be at once a producer and a guardian of the social wealth.

#### The masses

We should not be a mass; that is to say, we should not share the prejudices, the preoccupations, the errors, the customs of the unthinking multitude. The mass has a firm belief in the necessity of a chief or a leader who must conduct them to their goal, bring them to tyranny or freedom, guide them by caresses, or by spitting in their faces, for good or for ill. This habit, so rooted in the human being, is the fount of inexhaustible evils for the redemption of the race. Life, honour, welfare, the future, liberty - all are placed at the disposition of him who has been made chief. It is the chief who must think for all: it is the chief who

is charged with the duty of watching for the wellbeing and liberty of the masses in general and the individual in particular; the result being that there are millions of brains among the mass that never think, because the chief has to think for all. Thus it comes about that the masses remain passive, that they have no initiative, and that they drag out a sheep's existence; wheedled at election times, by the politicians and place hunters, who beat them when the elections are over; deceived, during the times of revolutionary action, by the promises of the ambitious, who reward them with kicks for their self-sacrifice when the victory has been won. There should be no mass; there should be a league of thinking individualities, united among themselves for the attainment of certain ends; each whether man or woman, thinking with his or her own head; each exerting himself or herself to give an opinion as to what must be done to realise our aspirations, which are none other than the liberty of all based on the liberty of each; the welfare of all based on the welfare of each.

#### Property

... To abolish that principle [of private property] means to annihilate all the political, economic, social, religious and moral institutions that form the environment wherein which

promising a heaven located in the infinite, beyond the farthest stars the eye can reach.

#### Authority & The Church

Capital, Authority, the Church - there you have the sombre trinity that makes this beautiful earth a paradise for those who, by cunning, violence and crime have been successful in gathering into their clutches the product of the toiler's sweat, of the blood, of the tears and sacrifices of thousands of generations of workers; but a hell for those who, with muscle and intelligence till the soil, set the machinery in motion, build the houses and transport the products. Thus humanity remains divided into two classes whose interests are diametrically opposed - the capitalist class and the working class; the class that has possession of the land, the machinery of production and the means of transporting wealth, and the class that must rely on its muscle and intelligence to support itself.

Between these two social classes there cannot exist any bond of friendship or fraternity, for the possessing class always seeks to perpetuate the existing economic, political and social system which guarantees it tranquil enjoyment of the fruits of its robberies, while the working class exerts itself to destroy the iniquitous system and insti-

# MAGON

# ON ANARCHISM

are asphyxiated the free initiative and the free association of human beings who, that they may not perish, find themselves obliged to carry on among themselves a frenzied competition from which there triumphs not the best, not the most self-sacrificing, not the most richly endowed, physically, morally or intellectually, but the most crafty, the most egotistic, the least scrupulous, the hardest-hearted, those who place their own well-being above all considerations of human solidarity and human justice.

But for the principle of private property, there would be no reason of government, which is needed solely to keep the disinherited from going to extremes in their complaints or rebellions against those who have got into their possession the social wealth. Nor would there be any reason for the church, whose exclusive object is to strangle in the human being the innate spirit of revolt against oppression and exploitation, by the preaching of patience, of resignation and of humility; silencing the cries of the most powerful and fruitful instincts by the practice of immoral penances, cruel and injurious to the personal health, and - that the poor may not aspire to the enjoyment of this earth and become a danger to the privileges of the rich - by

tute one in which the land, the houses, the machinery of production and the means of transportation shall be for common use. ...

#### After the Revolution

... expropriation must not be limited to taking possession of the land and the implements of agriculture alone. There must be a resolute taking possession of all the industries by those working in them, who should bring it about similarly that the lands, the mines, the factories, the workshops, the foundries, the railroads, the shipping, the stores of all kinds and the houses shall be in the power of each and every one of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex.

The inhabitants of each region in which such an act of supreme justice has been effected will only have to agree that all that is found in the stores, warehouses, granaries, etc., shall be brought to a place easy of access by all, where men and women of reliability can make an exact inventory of what has been collected and can calculate the time it will last - the necessities and the number of inhabitants that will have to use it being taken into account - from the moment of expropriation until the first crops shall have been raised and the other industries shall have turned out their first products.

When such an inventory has been made the workers in the different in-



dustries will understand, fraternally and among themselves, how to regulate production that none shall want while this movement is going on, and that only those who are not willing to work shall die of hunger - the aged, the incapacitated, and the children, who have a right to enjoy all, being excepted.

Everything produced will be sent from the community's general store, from which all will have the right to take what their necessities require on the exhibition of proof that they are working at such and such an industry.

The human being aspires to satisfy wants with the least possible expenditure of effort, and the best way to obtain that result is to work the land and other industries in common. If the land is divided up and each family takes a piece there will be grave danger of falling anew into the capitalist system, since there will not be wanting men of cunning or grasping habits who may get more than others and in the long run exploit their fellows. Apart from that danger is the fact that if each family works its little patch of land it will have to toil as much or more than it does today under the system of individual property to obtain the miserable result now achieved; but, if there is joint ownership of the land and the peasants work it in common, they will toil less and produce more. Of course there will be enough for each of have his own house and a ground plot for his own pleasure. What has been said as to working the land in common applies to working the factories, workshops, etc. in common. Let each, according to his temperament, tastes, and inclinations choose the kind of work that suits him best, provided he produces sufficient to cover his necessary wants and does not become a charge on the community.

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Now then, the doctrines I assert and practice are the Anarchist doctrines, and I challenge all fair-minded men and women the world over to prove to me that the Anarchist doctrines are detrimental to the human race. Anarchism strives for the establishment of a social order based on brotherhood and love, as against the actual form of society, founded on violence, hatred, and rivalry of one class against the other, and of members of one class among themselves. Anarchism aims at establishing peace for ever among all races of the earth by the suppression of this fountain of all evils, the right of private property. If this is not a beautiful ideal, what is it? No one thinks that the peoples of the civilised world are living under ideal conditions. Every conscientious person feels himself shocked at the sight of this continual strife of man against man, of this unending deceiving of one another. Material success is the goal that lures men and women the world over, and to achieve it, no violence is too vile, no baseness is too base as to deter its worshippers from coveting it. The results of this universal madness are appalling; virtue is trampled upon by crime, and artfulness takes the place of honesty. Sincerity is only

# SPAIN The Political Situation

The prospect of a more or less rapid breakdown of the Francoist regime, has caused a flurry of activity in the headquarters, and amongst the staffs, of political organizations and "democratic" parties in Spain. A junta here, a National Committee there. Claims and promises fill the air. It can all be put down to what we might call opportunist anti-Francoism. In this atmosphere of manoeuvres and pacts, Frente Libertario, the monthly paper of the FIJL in exile, interviewed two young anarcho-syndicalists in Spain. We publish extracts from the conversation below:

Frente Libertario: How do you see the present-day political situation in Spain?

Martin F.G.: You could say the situation is rather confused. Since June, we have been presented with an increasing number of pipe-dreams, mainly produced by what we may call the "reformist opposition", headed by the Spanish Communist Party (P.C.E.). The dreams consist of making believe that Francoism is on the verge of disappearing, and that a union of democratic elements, leaving out "leftist agitators" but not excluding - in Carillo's words - the "civilised Right", could ease political change. This strategy, which has taken a concrete shape in the "Junta Democratica", represents a great danger to us, because it raises groundless hopes when, in reality, the pillars of Power have not as yet been sufficiently undermined. Many other enemies of the Regime recognise the same danger as may be seen by the failure of the Carillistas to get the so-called Asamblea de Cataluña (Assembly of Catalonia) to join their new variety of Union Nacional.

Miguel B.: We ought to add that the constitution of the Carillo-Calvo Serer junta came as a great shock to many of the P.C.E.'s rank and file militants, even though the "leadership's" strategy in recent years has left no doubt that their policy is one of making pacts wherever it suits them to. The militants have found this new junta hard to explain away to members of the really active opposition.

There is a fight to be fought, and libertarians can be relied on to struggle in their workplaces against every kind of bourgeois-democratic strategy of class-collaboration, and above all, not to forget that Francoism is nothing but a political form adopted by Spanish capitalism, which can be changed for something else when-

a word, or at the most, a mask under which fraud grins. There is no courage to uphold the convictions. Frankness has disappeared, and deceit forms the slippery plane on which man meets man in his social and political intercourse. 'Everything for success' is the motto, and the noble face of the earth is desecrated with the blood of the contending beasts. Such are the conditions under which we civilised men live, conditions which breed all sorts of moral and material torture, alas! And all sorts of moral and material degradation. At the correction of all these unwholesome influences the Anarchist doctrines aim, and a man who sustains these doctrines of brotherhood and love can never be called dangerous by any sensible, decent person.

ever the capitalists want. It's clear that some sections of the bourgeoisie want to liquidate Francoism, but we want to see not just the disappearance of Francoism, but also the end of the domination of capitalism. If Carillo can come to terms with Serer, good for him! We shall remain faithful to the class struggle.

F.L.: You haven't completely answered the question we asked you about the political situation in the country.

Martin: The impreciseness of the answer can be explained by the confusionism in the political situation. I am not answerable to any Political Bureau...or Executive Committee, so I don't propose to give a complete analysis of the situation. When I talk of confusion, I'm referring for instance, to the oscillation between a sort of obligatory liberalization in the matter of publishing books or magazines (satirical magazines like "Triunfo" or "Cambio 16"), and ferocious repression directed against the workers' movement. The same situation occurs in the political field between the liberaloid perorations of those who want to "open up" Spain, and the blusterings of the Ultra Right. Well, there's no sign of liberalization in the areas where it would be most effective: strikes, the struggle against the cost of living increases, demands for the application of formal freedoms, etc. If you try to operate in this area, you get beaten down.

Miguel: Repression is increasing, not getting less. It's directed against various people at various times, but these days, it's mainly against the workers' movement and the revolutionary sectors of the opposition. The police provocation in the Puerta del Sol [the bombing of the Café Roland in Madrid] is sufficient proof of the Machiavellian nature of a Power which pulls none of its punches, and will use all means to defend itself....

F.L.: Let's change our focus slightly. How do you see the situation of the Libertarian Movement at present?

Martin: I'd have thought it strange if you hadn't asked that question! Firstly I'd like to say that as a Catalan, I know what is happening in Catalonia better than what is happening in the rest of the country; secondly, that I am a militant in a group, no more and no less than that, and you shouldn't take my words as the expression of any particular organization.

Well then, I think the Libertarian Movement is not doing too badly. There are various reasons for saying this: after what happened to the M.I.L. (Iberian Liberation Movement) and the ferocious repression unleashed by this kind of activism, we were afraid of seeing ourselves annihilated little by little. This doesn't mean that we agreed with a declaration made public by certain groups to avoid trouble. The repression was certainly widespread and hard. The criminal execution of Salvador Puig is proof of this. Things weren't left there, however. Later there came the OLLA (Organisation of Armed Struggle) arrests, and a little later the kidnapping carried out by the G.A.R.I. (International Revolutionary Action Groups) and claimed in Catalonia by the C.L.A. (Anti-Repressive Libertarian Committee). Otherwise the police would have got on top, and more comrades would have fallen. We can say, without doubt, that the Police failed in their plans for the "total" destruction of the Libertarian Movement in Catalonia.

Miguel: I'm generally in agreement with what Martin said. We had some anxious moments,

Continued on Page 6



# SCIENCE AND SORCERY

To Ride Pegasus, by Anne McCaffrey.  
Dent. £2.95

Parts of this book were originally published as short stories in the science fiction magazine *Analog* and in *Crime Prevention in the 30th Century*. The author takes us into familiar territory. We are in the hypothetical megapolitan cities of tomorrow, over-crowded, torn by racial strife, policed by helicopters, etc., etc. As in many science fiction stories the heroes (and some of the villains) are telepaths, or people possessing similar powers, able to pass through solid objects or lift things about by mental effort alone, or foresee the future.

We live in an age of science but not in a scientific age. Just as the Babylonians mixed astrology with their astronomy we mix our science with what is really fantasy. One of the commonest modern beliefs in some circles is that "telepathy is a proven

## SPAIN...continued from Page 5

but things finally quietened down. The authorities tried to implicate the people detained in June (Urbano, Edo, and the others) in the Suarez kidnapping, but in fact they were accused of trying to rebuild the CNT.

Martin: The Politico-Social Brigade (B.P.S.) have been trying to smash us for over a year, with all the means at their disposal. The operations against the M.I.L., the OLLA and the G.A.R.I. were in fact generalized against the whole Libertarian Movement.

F.L.: In your last sentence you differentiate between, on the one hand, the groups which could be described as "activist" and on the other, the Libertarian Movement. Could you develop this distinction?

Martin: Certainly. The line followed by what we may call the "activist" sector, is by no means that of the Libertarian Movement as a whole. Militants whom we call anarcho-sindicalists have nothing to do with this kind of "activism". It's not a question of condemning anybody in the name of such-and-such an orthodoxy, but of analysing methods of struggle, and taking a stand. We feel that the myth of minority violence has been furthered by these actions. The most serious thing of all about them is that in practice these groups show themselves time and again to be more Leninist than Libertarian, since the "theory" with which they justify their form of action is essentially "substitutionist": the masses, they say, need us to attain their goals...

Miguel: Without going that far, I would say that there is a high degree of incoherence among these groups. They persist in ignoring all types of ideology, up to the point where some of them define themselves as "anti-ideological". The M.I.L., for example, formulated some very vague concepts related to councilism and situationism, linked to an abstract theory of "anarchy"...

F.L.: Nevertheless, it mustn't be forgotten that the activity of these groups aroused some sympathy for militant libertarians in general?

The young Spanish anarcho-sindicalists' reply to this point, and the rest of the conversation will appear in next week's *FREEDOM*.

fact by now", when it is nothing of the kind. Some even think, it is the basis of this book, that it represents the next development in man. Man's mind is about to evolve new powers, as his body in the past evolved from that of an ape-like being.

Many people, perhaps most, have at one time or another had experience of what seemed at the time to be telepathy or precognition, and it would be mere bigotry to say that such things are nothing but illusions. But there is much less hard evidence on the subject than people are apt to think. By various, sometimes quite simple, devices professional conjurers are able to produce examples of what appear to be telepathic communication, even when the communicators are blindfolded, in separate rooms and even separate buildings or cities.

J. B. Priestly has shown a great deal of interest in these matters, and has had many people write to him, expressing relief at being at last able to discuss their experiences with someone. They were afraid to talk to their friends for fear of being laughed at, they said. I find this strange, because my experience is that in any gathering "psychic" phenomena always command respectful attention. It is the unbeliever who finds himself in the minority and has to defend himself.

Anne McCaffrey writes of a world where there is no doubt at all that "psychic" or "psionic" powers exist. There are doubters, but the reader

is made to realise from the first that they are in the wrong. As in the worlds described by Tolkien and the "swords and sorcery" writers this is a place where magic really does work. And in the long run it works for good, through there is conflict between the people whose "Talent", as it is called, is developing and the ordinary non-telepathic folk. Some of the "Talented" turn their powers to crime or to politics, instead of accident prevention and the spiritual welfare of their fellows, and there is a fair amount of rushing about and bang! bang! though the guns mostly fire tranquilliser darts or pellets.

Although the earliest parts of this book were published as recently as 1969, and the later parts in 1973, the book is (fortunately) already dated by events. It now looks as if the world is going to be short of oil, and without this easily handled fuel it may well be that there will be no helicopter police, no megapolitan cities with their motorways, no onward march of unstoppable "progress" and perhaps no "1984" or "Brave New World".

John Brent.

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SCREAM QUIETLY OR THE NEIGHBOURS WILL HEAR, by Erin Pizzey (Penguin Special 45p)

A THIRTY-SIX YEAR old woman was recently convicted of manslaughter and jailed for one year for setting fire to her husband with turpentine and a cigarette lighter. He died of the burns. At her trial it was revealed that she had been persistently and violently beaten over 18 years of married life. Her defence Q.C. produced a plastic surgeon's report which described how one of her ears had been almost torn off by her husband.

This case is unusual in that the woman who had suffered so greatly was finally provoked into murderous retaliation. There are few such examples in Erin Pizzey's book. Battered wives are usually broken, emotionally and physically, by repeated acts of violence against them. They lose their self-respect, and become apathetic, often suicidal. You quickly understand why:

--"Just after Christmas he hit me and split my head open so I had to have four stitches... a month ago he threw scalding water over me, leaving a scar on my right arm, all because I gave him a pie with potatoes and vegetables for his dinner instead of fresh meat. When I tried to go to the doctor's surgery for treatment, he hit me until I couldn't go. Two weeks ago he hit me full in the face because I went to my home town for the day. My lip was badly cut."

#### BAD SAMARITANS \*

This book tells how Mrs. Pizzey set up the first Womens Aid Centre in Chiswick three years ago. It includes dozens of horrific narratives as told by the women who turned up at Chiswick. They came there because of the inadequacy of existing welfare organisations: "I tried to leave my husband. I contacted the Catholic Housing Aid Society, the Samaritans, the NSPCC, the housing department of the local authority. No one wanted to know. It was always the same. 'We can't give you somewhere to live because your husband can come back on us.' 'Obtain a separation order and then we will help you.'--. There's only one problem here. The courts will not grant separation orders if the woman doesn't get out. They say 'If the situation is intolerable as you describe, how have you managed to stick it for this length of time?' It's one vicious circle of very large perimeter, with the woman in the middle and the husband and bureaucracy hitting out from all points."--

This catch-22 situation occurs over and over again. It largely explains how the myth has arisen that if a woman puts up with violence, it's because she likes it, plays the part of a victim who can only exist in that role. (Just like all those women who are supposed to enjoy being raped.) Mrs. Pizzey dismisses this line of argument contemptuously.

#### A MUCH-RESPECTED PUBLIC CITIZEN

She also draws attention to the fact that wife-battering cuts across all classes. For example, a lot of doctors' wives have taken refuge in womens aid centres. One woman who had just left her husband after years of beating and cruelty, wrote:

"He is an excellent doctor and a much-respected public citizen. He was however on his own insistence my own doctor and treated me with utter contempt even when I threatened to miscarry at 12 weeks of pregnancy, and also during and after my baby's delivery."

An excellent doctor indeed! This is a particularly spine-chilling and baffling example of wife-battering for which there is no obvious explanation.

# PRISONERS IN THE CASTLE

This is an emotional book full of anger and passionate denunciation. To say that is to praise and not disparage it. After all, Mrs. Pizzey has alleviated a lot of suffering and helped a lot of women and their children regain some self-respect and confidence, as well as providing a roof over their heads. Yet the surprising thing about this book is that it is so unpolitical. The sweeping reforms which Mrs. Pizzey demands are almost entirely confined to the area of social welfare. She wants to dismantle the existing social services with their town hall bureaucracies, in favour of informal community centres. This idea has radical implications but they are not spelt out.

Above all, Mrs. Pizzey fails to place the problem of battered wives in the general context of how in our society women are generally conditioned to feel inferior and passive, are exploited in many ways long before there is any question of physical violence. The process begins in the cradle and continues at school (even enlightened parents find the pressures to let their children conform to prevailing sexual stereotypes, are very strong), at home and at work. Conversely men are encouraged to feel superior, be tough, wield authority and show initiative. These stereotypes are reinforced by the numerous legal inequalities women still suffer from today. The notion, dating from feudal times, that women and children are items of property, dies hard.

#### HAPPY PRISONERS

Such conditioning of men and women from an early age cannot cause wife-battering, but tragically, provides an ideal background for it. Mrs. Pizzey says that the typical battered wife got married young, probably in her teens, and that marriage was her main goal in life. Mrs. Pizzey does not question the myth of romantic love. She reminds us of the fact that a man's home is his castle, and in a telling phrase says we must find ways to "give protection to the prisoners inside the castle, women and children". This is an astonishing statement. The implication is that all she wants is happy prisoners, but still prisoners. Her outspoken criticisms of public institutions are not matched by any appraisal of the private institutions of

marriage/home/family, or any awareness of the links between violence and authority. The women's liberation movement might never have existed, women such as Juliet Mitchell and Sheila Rowbotham might never have uttered a word on these subjects.

#### HOUSING IS BASIC

Legal matters necessarily take up a large portion of the book. Mrs. Pizzey gives a vivid account of a High Court case which she describes as "a very furtive and irrelevant piece of theatre", adding, "When you leave it's like walking out of a morgue. And you haven't even had a chance to say what you want - you've been processed like a sausage." Having castigated the venerable traditions of British justice, Mrs. Pizzey then proceeds to come down very heavily on law centres, which is an altogether different matter. She takes this attitude because, she says, law centres won't deal with matrimonial cases, preferring to concentrate on housing, social security and criminal work. She fails to see that there might be a connection between these and her own area of concern. That for instance, appalling housing conditions, or no home at all, can put severe strains even on a sound marriage and can break up a shaky one, can cause and prolong bad health and depression, can encourage demoralised, alienated kids towards petty crime and other 'anti-social' behaviour. Add to this the widespread activities of extortionate and bullying landlords and it seems to me that law centres, under-financed and under staffed as they are, have their priorities more or less right.

The quickest and most practical legal recourse for a battered wife is to get an injunction to stop her husband molesting her. Most husbands do in fact obey injunctions. Those who disobey are in contempt of court and can be sent to prison. Mrs. Pizzey points out that injunctions can only be enforced by bailiffs and tipstaffs who are scarce, finish at 5.30 and don't work weekends.

She suggested that the police could be made to enforce injunctions and certainly in the short term this is logical. But we must be able to envisage a time when people in such desperate situations can rely on the support and protection of their friends, neighbours or fellow workers and not on the strong arm of the law. A time when people's horror of 'getting involved' doesn't mean that, as in one case reported in this book, they simply turn up the volume on the TV set to drown the sound of screams and sobbing coming from next door.

J.E.

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# G.A.R.I.

ON WEDNESDAY 15th January, a bomb exploded in the Palais de Justice in Paris, smashing windows and decapitating a statue of "Saint" Louis (a French king) dispensing justice under an oak tree. Nobody was hurt in the blast, which occurred about an hour before M. Lecanuet, Minister of Justice, was due to arrive at the court to open the new law term. A telephone warning had been given to three separate groups of journalists half an hour before the explosion, by a girl with a slight Spanish accent, but it had been treated as a hoax.

The girl claimed the explosion was the work of a group deriving its name from the letter of the surname of a judge (M. Gallut) who had jailed seven presumed members of the G.A.R.I. (International Revolutionary Action Groups). Following the bombing, police carried out raids on the homes of people suspected of being sympathetic to G.A.R.I. Ten people were held for questioning; no weapons or explosives were found.

On that same day (Jan. 15) a fire destroyed the archives of the Surete urbaine in the police headquarters at Clermont Ferrand. Responsibility for this was claimed by G.A.R.I. in a telephone message the next day to the regional television service and a local newspaper.

G.A.R.I. became known last year when it claimed sole responsibility for the kidnapping of the Spanish banker, Balthazar Suarez, in Paris. The French police arrested eleven people in connection with receiving ransom money from the kidnapping, but of these only one, Octavio Alberola, now remains in jail (others having been released on 'provisional liberty' pending trial). G.A.R.I. claims that none of the people arrested were connected with the kidnapping. Since then G.A.R.I. has claimed bomb attacks against support vehicles of the Tour de France cycle race, pilgrims' coaches at Lourdes, the Parc des Princes stadium, and the postal sorting office of the Chambre de Commerce. Nobody has been hurt in these attacks. Two alleged members of G.A.R.I. were arrested on Dec. 3 and another four on Dec. 22. They are charged under a statute introduced in 1963 with "acts connected with an individual or collective attempt to substitute an illegal authority for the authority of the state". Everyone (principally members of the OAS and the Algerian FLN) previously charged with this offence has been treated as a political prisoner with special rights, but these rights are being denied to the G.A.R.I. militants, who are being treated as common criminals. On Dec. 27 they started a hunger strike in support of their claim, but this was denied by M. Lecanuet on 16th January. They are all now in prison hospital and are threatening a "thirst strike" to obtain their special treatment.

# CONTACT

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

## MEETINGS:

Fri. January 24. West London Troops Out public meeting in Hammersmith Town Hall, King St., London W.6. at 7.45 pm. Includes the showing of a new film, Ireland behind the Wires, which looks at events in N. Ireland from 1933-74 from the point of view of the people in the pubs, streets, employment exchanges, and on the receiving end of 'protection' from the 'security' forces. A discussion after the film will be led by two ex-soldiers.

Tues. January 23. N. London AWA (formerly ORA) meeting at Earl Russel pub, Pancras Rd., London N.1. (king's X tube) at 8 pm. about Ireland - a Revolutionary Anarchist Perspective.

Feb. 8-9. Librarians for Social Change Weekend Conference, at North London Poly, for caring librarians, users and info-freaks. Discussions will include minority reader groups, shortcomings of libraries' stocks, alternatives in librarianship, etc. Radical bookstalls, social evening, creche, refreshments. More details from, and payment in advance (£1) to, Lesley, 4 Lingards Road, London SE13.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club 1975 Lectures, every second Thursday at 7 pm. (note new time) at Workmen's Circle Center, 369 Eighth Ave. (SW corner 29th St.)

Feb 13. Sam Dalgoff, Anarchism in Cuba.

Feb 27. Frank Brand, Individualist Anarchism.

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

Sundays from 7.30 pm. at Duke of York pub, Rathbone St., W.1. (Tottenham Ct. Road), some London anarchists meet socially.

Every Saturday & Sunday, from 7.30 pm. at International Libertarian Centre/Centro Iberico 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door; tube: Chalk Farm/Belsize Park) discussions, meetings, refreshment.

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## GROUPS:

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.  
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GLASGOW Anarchist Assn., new group formed. Contact Garry at 21 Bute Gardens.  
MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Rd, Manchester 13.  
PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Portsmouth.

## PEOPLE:

Richard Alexander has moved to 18 Byegrove Road, London S.W. 18  
Would Sr. Jose Alvarez Edo, or anyone who knows him, please get in touch with Freedom

## PUBLICATIONS:

Direct Action No. 5 out now, 5p + 3p post. Paper of Syndicalist Workers' Federation, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13 or Freedom Bookshop.

Catonsville Roadrunner No. 56. Enormous Health issue to start the new year. New address for subscriptions: 128 Bethnal Green Rd., London E2, or from Freedom Bookshop, 10p + 3p post.

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

Alex Comfort's Authority & Delinquency in the Modern State - copy sought for a comrade in Sweden. Please offer to Pat Thorne, Garden Flat, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol, BS6 6HL.

Rudolf Rocker's London Years - copy sought by Haia Shpayer, 112 Greencroft Gardens, London NW6. Telephone: 01-627-1333.

Hardy Perennial: Walt Whitman anarchist calendar 1975. 13p incl. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Pubs., c/o Freedom Press.

## PRISONERS:

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089 H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd., London SW18 3HS. Letters and postcards please.

G.A.R.I. (International Revolutionary Action Group). Committee in Support of G.A.R.I. is raising funds for support and legal expenses of 25 anti-Francoists awaiting trial in France on charges of arson & bombing demonstrations claimed by GARI (+ kidnapping of Spanish banker), and has published a folder of 15 drawings by well-known French caricaturists. £2 from Ali Touati, 45D Anerley Park, London SE20; all funds to defence committee.

Names and prison addresses from same address. SPANISH BANKER kidnapping - Jean Weir & Ariane Gransac released on provisional liberty awaiting trial. Postcards still to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, Fresnes France.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS, Bob Cullen (7yrs), Des Keane (5yrs), Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Letters, papers to Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 359, 240 Camden High Street, NW1. Needs donations to supply books for these long-term prisoners.

TRIAL DEFENCE: BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Rd., London WC1 (01-837-9795 afternoons only) needs money to help 14 charged under Incitement to Disaffection Act.

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

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