

anarchist weekly Freedom

Vol. 36 No. 11

15 MARCH, 1975

FIVE PENCE

MURRAY, GO HOME!

EVERY NOW and again a weary band of the stage army of the good tramps before the public footlights, protesting against the visit of some tyrant or other who for some governmental purpose or other is visiting the 'free democratic' world. These protests tend to do no good to anyone save the protesters whose moral indignation gets a well-deserved airing. Sometimes the advance publicity is so intense that the visit is cancelled (either diplomatically or undiplomatically).

Rarely indeed does it happen that the visiting tyrant meets with any physical trouble. Some American representatives have met opposition on their tours and Japanese have been vigorously demonstrated against in the Far East but nothing like the horse-whipping of General Haynau, a Hungarian provincial governor, which took place at London Barclay's brewery in the early years of this century has taken place in England; the general had, in fact, had women flogged.

Alexander Shelepin the Russian Trade Union head is the latest candidate for the 'Go Home' stakes. It is not because he is head of that dismal farce, the Russian Trade Union movement, nor is it that the Russians have been disclosed as the 'bloodthirsty baboons' of yesterday. In fact the T.U.C. have invited Shelepin as a return for hospitality to the T.U.C. in Russia and all this is part of what is diplomatically called, in that nice language for nasty things, French, detente - which means 'easing off'.

Due to world affairs not being what they used to be, Britain is looking round for new allies - and new enemies, which explains why Comrade Shelepin is hob-nobbing with comrade Murray and

comrade Jenkins. It is not that the Soviet Union has become any more democratic or acceptable, but the easing off of pressure and criticism of countries can be manoeuvred like the turning on or off of a tap. Every State knows that the enemy of yesterday may be the ally of tomorrow and vice versa. That the press, trade unions and public (whoever they are) can accept such swift changes of attitude is staggering. It can be understood more readily in totalitarian states (e.g. the Russo-German pact of 1939) but even the 'democratic' peoples are played for suckers in this game. (The latest ploy is a U.S. - Cuba detente - sounds much better in French!)

Alexander Shelepin is probably no better or nor worse than any other apparatchik in the Soviet apparatus. Originally a leader in the Young Komsomols, he graduated to the K.G.B. (the secret police) working under Khrushchev and Bulganin (in this capacity he came to Britain with them). It is said that under Khrushchev's 'liberalism' the K.G.B.'s functions were more restricted than under Stalin and therefore Shelepin was not guilty of the gross excesses of his predecessors, but who's counting victims?

It is a possibility that Shelepin's experience with labour camps - the province of the K.G.B. - may have made him the natural choice for Trade Union leadership. Whatever the reason was, his executive ability and loyalty made him a natural for the role of Soviet Trade Union leader.

The projected protest is not centered on the stooge role of Soviet Trade Unions but even Len Murray and Clive Jenkins do not comment on this. They have contented themselves with defending the ancient history of the K.G.B. connection, a little 'you-too-ism', and a plea for the maintenance through personal contact of peace and friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

'Personal friendly contacts' have very little to do with the relations of states. These are dictated by interests and the current foreign policy. Murray and Jenkins would support a British war against Russia, or China, or America and turn on the hate as required.

As Marie Louise Berneri, in Workers in Stalin's Russia (Freedom Press, 1944), said, 'the Trade Unions as organs of defence of workers' rights no longer exist in Russia. Lenin maintained [in 1920] at the time that indus-

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BOSSES LOCKED OUT

It has taken eighteen months to get production going again at the Meriden motorcycle factory. During this time workers have been in occupation of the plant and have not let the company, Norton Villiers Triumph, remove completed or near-completed machines. Now, as a workers' co-operative, motorcycles will once again be made at Meriden.

Tribute must be paid to the minority of those who carried on the struggle in the face of what seemed overwhelming odds. Mr. Benn, the Industry Secretary, was right when he said 'I claim no credit for the creation of the co-operative'. Nor can Mr. Poore, the chairman of N.V.T., who on behalf of his company has fought the efforts of the Meriden workers in their successful attempt to save their jobs. He and his company feel that Britain's motorcycle industry could have been carried on from only two plants. But even American agents had guaranteed that they would take all the Triumph machines that could be produced.

The company also feel that the creation of a co-operative is not the ideal solution to the industry's problems. Really that's a laugh, since N.V.T. have themselves failed. They completely failed to meet the Japanese challenge. However, anarchists are not interested in the competitiveness of this or that company in relation to those abroad. What we are interested in is just how this competitiveness affects the jobs, the livelihoods, and how people respond to the injustice of what can only be called economic dictatorship.

N.V.T. just did not want the men and women of Meriden to create a co-

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Announcement

FOR THE TIME BEING this is our last weekly issue. Our next issue will be sixteen pages, on 27th March, and we shall be appearing (16 pages) fortnightly. This is owing to increased postal charges.

We have considered all the suggestions made by our readers, for which we thank them, and we can see no workable alternative for the immediate future. This enables us to keep to the present subscription. Please, if you have overlooked it, renew your subscription now. Meanwhile, our Press Fund is as much in need as ever.



"SHELEPIN OUT...OUT...OUT!"

BOSSES LOCKED OUT, from P 1

operative. I think it is as simple as that. Such an attitude is understandable, indeed predictable, because it does challenge the so-called right of management to manage. Certainly N. V. T. had not expected this very close-knit band of workers, who with a long tradition of craftsmanship and pride in their end product, to fight back. Companies like N. V. T. are very quick to blame their troubles on the lack of investment. They are equally quick to grab whatever financial handouts or tax concessions governments are willing to give. It is public money amounting to £12,870,000 that will get this workers' co-operative off the ground. N. V. T. is being paid £4.95 million for Meriden and will also get export credit guarantees. They will be buying the Triumph motorcycles from the co-operative and will be marketing them.

Such an arrangement will still leave the Meriden workers under external control from their old bosses. Having got nearly £5million from the public they could slowly squeeze the co-operative out of business. It would have been far safer for the co-operative to have had the marketing completely un-

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try would collapse if the Trade Unions preserved their independence. The only way to give them wider functions was to assimilate them in the organs of state power". Souvarine in Stalin quotes Lenin as saying, "All the committees of the great majority of the trade unions are composed of communists and merely carry out the Party instructions."

According to Tony Cliff (Stalinist Russia: a Marxist analysis, 1955 edn.) the trade unions "do nothing in defence of the workers' interest". Seventeen years (1932-49) elapsed between the Ninth and the Tenth T. U. C. Congress. In 1934 collective wage agreements ceased. Strikes are (of course) illegal and unpatriotic. Cliff points out the 'productivity piece-work' concentration which led to payment by results. M. L. Berneri points out that this creates "vast inequalities amongst the working class". This led on to the maintenance of differentials. Cliff quotes Franz Neumann's parallel of the Nazi concentration on piecework which he criticises as "completely demoralising for it appeals to the most egotistic instincts and sharply increases industrial accidents".

Such phony Trade Unionism needs exposing even if we forget Shelepin's shady past. But is it not a meeting of minds? For the British Trade Union leadership has no liking for strikes; has ambitions to work in with the State; welcomes productivity deals and strenuously backs the upholding of differentials. Murray and Jenkins could find much in common with Shelepin and the Russian Trade Unions.

Maybe Murray should go home?

Jack Robinson.

der their own control. No doubt NVT would not agree to this, but if they think the country's motorcycle industry can be carried on from the other two plants why do they insist on keeping their grubby hands in the Meriden pie? By acting as the middle man, it seems to me that NVT can't lose.

However, there have been other aspects of this struggle that have reflected badly on workers' solidarity. Workers at the other NVT plants were far from giving their wholehearted support since they thought the co-operative would place their own jobs in jeopardy.

Workers at Imperial Typewriters at Hull and Leicester also have a similar fight on their hands. The Imperial company is part of Litton Industries, a giant multinational combine whose headquarters is in America.

The majority of the workers employed at the two factories are women, and it was their action at the Hull plant on the day their redundancy notices expired that sparked off the occupation there. No such action took place at Leicester, which might be because of bad feeling between between Asian and other workers following last year's discrimination strike.

The occupation is getting both financial help and active support from dockers in Hull who are blacking imported Litton products. M.P.s like Jim Marshall, Labour M.P. for Leicester South, seemed determined to divide workers by a 'leaked' recommendation, in a report on the 'feasibility' of keeping Imperial open, that only one of the plants can remain open. He also said, "The Leicester workers would be surprised if the Secretary of State was to be swayed by the action of a small group of workers in another city. Leicester people decided they were going to win by reason and not action."

Such divisions among workers will be exploited by the likes of Jim Marshall, Litton, and the government. Nothing belonging to the company should move either out or in between the two factories if the workers there want to win their struggle.

Workers expect the intervention of Mr. Benn's department. They look to the government to safeguard their jobs. However, this will not necessarily be forthcoming.

The Institute for Workers' Control in their pamphlet, Why Imperial Typewriters Must Not Close, give financial reasons for the government to consider for keeping the factories open. These include the cost of redundancy payments, unemployment benefits and other benefits families could claim because of their drop in income, the loss of exports and the importing of typewriters and its effect on the balance of payments. No doubt these are all valid points, but the government is unlikely to be swayed by such arguments.

Another point, which is not even

considered by our socialist friends, is whether such work is worthwhile or useful to the community. Work in a capitalist society is only employment to secure a wage and a profit. Products need not serve any useful purpose and indeed are often harmful. Whether both motorcycles and typewriters fall into the useful category is debatable. But at least we should recognise what work is really important and what is not. If people started to consider their work along these lines they might begin to dream of something better, and then start to act in order to create a society in which work would be meaningful and useful for the community.

P. T.

SPANISH Anarchists

WE REPRINT most of a statement by the Comitato Spagna Libertaria (Committee for a Libertarian Spain), who are based in Italy, on the trial of Luis Edo, Luis Burro, David Urbano and Juan Ferran:

"... During the trial the accused acknowledged that they were anarchists but denied that they had participated in 'illicit association' or had distributed illegal literature. In the course of the trial the 'fiscal' (State Prosecutor) presented no evidence to substantiate the charges. The defence lawyers demonstrated that the trial had been influenced by the kidnapping of Suarez, a director of the Banco di Bilbao, in Paris, even though there was no link or contact between the defendants in this trial and those accused of the kidnapping (the existence of this 'subversive conspiracy' is based entirely on the discovery, in an address book belonging to a comrade arrested in connection with the Suarez affair, of a Spanish telephone number, that of a distant relative of Edo!). The 'fiscal' didn't even try to prove the charges, and for this reason the case should have been dismissed.

The defence lawyers were Antonio Cuenca, Rodolfo Guerra and Francisco Casarez of Barcelona, and Pablo Castellano of Madrid.

The observing lawyers confirmed that their Spanish colleagues were able, in defending the accused, to act freely in the process of the trial, except in not being able to make any reference to the behaviour of the police in their interrogation of their clients, and in the presentation of the defendants' ideology. It was noted that on both these topics the defence lawyers were restrained out of fear of being coerced by the Tribunal."

[There follows the statement of the foreign lawyers present at the trial in the capacity of observers]:

"The lawyers Yves Decheselles of Paris, Francesco Piscopo of Milan,

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THANKS TO information received from Berlin anarchists, we can confirm that the "2nd of June Movement" are not anarchists, but a small tightly-knit group (of not more than ten people) of would-be urban guerillas. About four years ago some members of the movement obtained weapons from the "Red Army Fraction". They were asked to join this group, but refused to do so, saying they wished to engage in political praxis in the streets, rather than taking a short-cut to the building of the Leninist "vanguard party" by armed fighting in the metropolises of Europe, as advocated by the Red Army Fraction in their programme "RAF - building up the Red Army Fraction".

However they soon turned to illegal activities (basically bank robberies and exemplary bombings rather than the shoot-outs with the police that were the hall-mark of the RAF. One of the released members of the "2nd June", Rolf Heissler, robbed a number of banks in 1971 to finance political projects in Munich.), and five of them got caught. Why they asked for the release of Horst Mahler is rather mysterious. He may have been very wise to refuse release, given the 2nd June's way with "traitors". Mahler was expelled from the RAF as a traitor about six months ago, and in November confirmed his membership of the maoist KPD e. V., by publishing a criticism of the "sectarian line of the RAF".

The information we gave last week

SPAIN. . . continued from P. 2

Jeremy Smith of London, attended the trial as observers and declared

1 that the accused, arrested in June 1974, were remanded in custody until their trial, without any serious evidence against them; that members of their families were kept under police surveillance with the aim of putting pressure on the accused;

2 that the state prosecutor, whose duty it was to produce the proofs of their guilt, provided nothing, either in his written accusation or in his speech in court, to justify the charges brought; that the accused found themselves in the position of having to prove their innocence; that their lawyers were prevented from producing documents which would demonstrate the fictitious nature of the charges.

3 that this trial should, normally, have been stopped for lack of evidence, even under Spanish law, with the acquittal of the accused; that, on the contrary, sentences of up to ten years' imprisonment were asked for;

4 that the very existence of the idea that there should be prosecutions for such "crimes" spotlights the fact that the Spanish system of government is based on the total negation of fundamental liberties, particularly the freedoms of expression and association; that the aim of such a system and of such trials is to attempt to deprive workers of any possibility of organising themselves to defend their interests and to create the bases of a just and free society."

Comitato Spagna Libertaria

(Translated from *Umanita Nova*, DLM)

'SECOND OF JUNE MOVEMENT'

that the aim of the "2nd June" was to create a "free zone" in West Berlin, is apparently false, part of a police-fabricated "confession" of a captured member of the group.

There are, however, a couple of large houses in the same part of West Berlin named after two anarchists (Georg von Rauch and Tommy Weissbecker) shot dead by the German police, which have been taken over by young people, mostly anarchists, and which are the first places raided by the Berlin police when they are looking for "anarchistic criminals". The early hours of Wednesday morning, immediately after the release of Lorenz, proved no exception. They were included in the largest police-raid in West Berlin's post-war history, in which police armed with ma-

chine-guns, axes and flame-cutters, searched houses, set up street blockades, and eventually arrested 107 men, 68 women, and 4 children, mostly for not having identity papers. All these people were later released, and at the time of writing the police have not even yet found the cellar in which Lorenz was held, not to mention his kidnappers. They have named eight people as primary suspects, but according to the Berlin anarchists, only three or four of these people are definitely members of the "2nd June Movement", the rest are probably people whom the authorities would like to see kept in prison for a couple of years before their trial (like Stuart Christie in the "Angry Brigade" case).

D. L. M.

BY NOW, we all should know that the Red Army Fraction (RAF), which is identical with the Baader-Meinhof group, and the 2nd June Movement have never claimed to be anarchists. The declared aims of the two groups have been confused to the point of anarchy. And anarchists are what the German and British ruling class and media call them.

Unfortunately, some anarchists seem to get confused too and look jealously towards Germany where young people fight the ruling class not only by means of words but also by using the ruling classes' weapon: violence and terror.

The German working class being manipulated into the belief that the values of life are to be measured by means of materialism, that is generally speaking, by means of money and so-called economic wealth to give "life security", are following willingly the ruling classes' fear of anarchy.

To the German State and ruling class everybody who is against the prescribed value system is sure to be called an anarchist, which to the ruling class means terror, violence, chaos. And anarchy endangers the very existence of the German state, therefore, they want to use the RAF's and the 2nd June Movement's armed struggle as an example of anarchy.

And exactly that trap is open to people who are so frustrated that they cannot hold back their "just" cause against the state. They begin to resist. At first with arguments, later by using force and in the end arms as in the case of the RAF and the 2nd June Movement.

To understand the present armed struggle of certain people in Germany, one has to understand fully Germany's history, especially after the war with all its burden of a Nazi past. The present German rebellion of some people is not only a struggle against state and

ruling class but also a fight against the values of the older generation that has lived and been brought up during the rise and fall of the Third Reich. Nowhere in the world will one find such hate against one's own father or mother. Whole families have broken up because of the parents' non-resistance against Hitler and National Socialism. The young German generation does not accept the "excuse" of an inner immigration or the excuse of orders, or the "voluntary" backing-up of a fascist ideology.

And, therefore, not to repeat their parents' failure of non-resistance against "injustice", authoritarian ruling, exploitation and oppression, the most part of Germany's young generation rebel and stand up for their ideas. They have left the stage of bowing and "Ja-wohl". Most of them resist by following the communist ideology and its tactics, others mix up ideas of anarchism, communism and the guerilla romanticism of the revolutionaries in South America, Africa and Asia.

It is easy to moralise about whether the RAF or the 2nd June Movement is anarchistic or uses ends and means which contradict the anarchist principles, but it seems not very easy for some British anarchists to understand the West German and West Berlin social and economic situation. An anarchist blue-print of morality is not only a matter of elitism but also contradictory to the aims of anarchy.

He who has experienced the German ruling classes' brutality, police terrorism will easily understand the armed resistance in West Berlin and Germany. He who wants to judge the RAF and the 2nd June Movement has not left the bourgeois trap of justice. He who wants to judge wants to be right, and he who wants to be right objects freedom and, i.e., the right to be wrong.

(A German comrade in exile)

LETTERS

REFERENDUM

Dear Editors,

Jack Robinson (FREEDOM 8.3.75) quotes a report in a bourgeois pro-Market paper that the result of the referendum, whatever it is, will make little or no difference to the independence of the UK, and concludes that voting 'No' will be as ineffective as scrawling 'No' on a wall. I must say I am surprised.

Surely, whatever control over us the EEC might have (or claim to have) after we had left it, the outlook would be less bleak, from an anarchist decentralist viewpoint, than if we had completely merged into it. Let us not forget that complete economic and monetary, and hence inevitably political union is still an official aim of the EEC, despite all the recent "renegotiation".

The EEC is meant to become a vast centralized super-state, in which the UK would be merely a province. The question is, will that be good or bad for individual freedom? I say, bad. What does Jack Robinson say? He has not yet faced the question at all.

His other arguments for abstaining are extremely weak and inconclusive. If some American anarchists put themselves on the electoral register to vote against Goldwater and ended up with Johnson, that is sad but hardly relevant. I have already explained (FREEDOM 1.3.75) the difference between an election and a referendum.

I agree that all voting is a gamble, and I dislike referenda, in principle, as much as Jack Robinson does. But the deficiencies of referenda are not a conclusive argument for abstaining in all circumstances, and, in view of the issue at stake, a rigid adherence to the principle "anarchists never vote" would strike me as narrow sectarianism gone mad.

Evidently Jack Robinson fails to see that there is an important issue at stake. But suppose the question were: "Do you think that the UK should be annexed to the USSR? Surely, on that issue, he would vote 'No'? His attitude to the referendum is only explicable if he does not care about the result.

Yours sincerely,
Francis Ellingham,

Bristol.

MINUS ONE !

Some time ago someone living near London wrote to me apropos of Minus One. Unfortunately, I have lost his letter and cannot remember either his name or address. If he sees this note I would be glad to hear from him again

S. E. Parker,
186 Gloucester Tce.,
London, W. 2.

THIS IRELAND . . .

Dear Friends,

Exactly what function does your Northern Ireland correspondent, H.B., think he's performing? He tells us nothing that isn't available in more detail in the straight press. Often, Fleet Street is more accurate too.

Last week, for example, he said "The Shankill Road... is being taken over by gangsters and traders are being forced to pay out to protection racketeers." In fact, traders and publicans everywhere have been paying protection for more than five years, often to both sides, and thieves and conmen have been cashing in on people's fears for just as long. What's new is that it's become organised - or the public are beginning to see that it has - although clandestine pressure on local communities from extremists has been more or less endemic in Ireland for a very long time.

I wish H.B. would try to look below the surface of events here. It seems to me that anyone calling himself a thinking anarchist must answer the questions raised even in this isolated case about the real practical effects of communities without government and policing. I believe that anarchism is the only acceptable political theory, but H.B.'s bland neglect of problems which strike at its basic assumptions is disturbing to say the least.

By the way, the U.V.F. spokesman is spelt Ken Gibson.*

Best wishes,
Robert Johnstone
Belfast.

*The misspelling was most likely our typist's misreading and ignorance of this name in H.B.'s manuscript. EDS.

NEW ORLEANS City Council have banned impromptu jazz 'jam' sessions from streets in the old French quarter. Shopkeepers complained that the crowds assembled prevented people from reaching their stores.

PRESS FUND

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TOTAL: £15.46
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LISTEN, SOLDIER

THEY TOLD YOU it was a man's life. Some of you, when you were dropped into the hell of hate and stupid bigotry that Irishmen are darning each other and their wives and children into, began to wonder whether adding your bit of the killing was lessening the carnage. And some of you wanted out. But you hadn't thought of it before, so how were you to go about it?

Some people, who correctly or incorrectly thought that removing the "colonial" armed force would improve the situation, set about making known the possibilities open to you. They had formed the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign and later took a leaflet containing 'Some Information for Discontented Soldiers' to your barracks and married quarters.

Fourteen of those people, not one of them a supporter or helper in any way of the IRA or the Protestant private armies, are on trial charged with inciting you to disaffection from your duty. Are you so easily seduced? The state prosecutor has no confidence in your loyalty. He is afraid that you may be thinking that in signing up for this man's life, with security as long as you stay alive and a pension for your dependents if you don't, you have sold your soul. Because he knows that if you decide one day to be somewhere other than your boss has told you to be, you are picked up bodily and chucked into gaol. You may not question the rightness or wrongness of the politics that put you where you are. You are not trusted to read what you like and argue the issue with people like those fourteen; instead they must be silenced for fear that you cannot defend your convictions against a leaflet handed to you openly and which you need not even accept. What crime could these fourteen have committed?

Why should this petty and shameful trial continue, and perhaps end in long periods of useless imprisonment. That will not change their minds, as their leaflet could not change the mind of any soldier who believed in his calling.

M. C.

See news story Page 2. The BWNIC Defence Group welcomes support in the campaign for the 14. For information on the trial and support activities contact BWNIC Defence Group at Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1 (tel. 01-837 9794).

The leaflet 'Some Information...' is still being printed and distributed & obtainable from BWNIC c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N. 1.

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AN ACQUIRED TASTE

STRATEGY FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION, by George Lakey (Freeman, £2.95)

POST-SCARCITY ANARCHISM, by Murray Bookchin (Wildwood House, £2.95)

NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE has been tried on a number of occasions in the twentieth century. The results are ambiguous. Gandhi's campaigns in India were ultimately successful, but it is difficult not to feel the success of the violent Japanese, even though they were defeated in the end, also had a part to play in Britain's ultimate evacuation of the sub-continent. Britain had been shown to be too weak to hold an empire in the East. What followed independence was terrible, a series of massacres and wars, and now India has a nuclear "device", we must not call it a "bomb".

In South Africa non-violent methods have not been successful up till now. The Committee of 100 in Britain was defeated, and at the present time radicals have turned back to violent methods, which do not appear to have been particularly successful either, from the point of view of bringing in a juster, humaner world. Although examples of non-violent action go back to ancient times this form of resistance may be regarded as still being in its infancy. Our century has experimented with it, but it is still in an early stage of development.

In *Strategy for a Living Revolution* George Lakey, a Quaker who has participated in a number of non-violent actions, describes some - temporarily - successful campaigns in Central America, which have tended to be forgotten by historians, and discusses the French uprising of 1968, which I should have thought was not non-violent at all, but rather a sort of ritual duel (like some kind of medieval tournament or mock war) in which both sides restricted their weaponry so that not many were killed. It was still a violent affair, with petrol bombs, clubs, stones, catapults, knives, the occasional revolver and tear gas, while for defence the combatants used shields, helmets, various forms of armour and of course barricades.

George Lakey says that if the uprising has been successful France would have had to face NATO and, ultimately, the U.S. No sane man wants the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars over again, which is what this confrontation would have led to. It is Mr. Lakey's theme that non-violent struggle in the Third World (and even in France) to be successful must be accompanied by similar struggles in the U.S. itself, for obvious reasons. When he wrote this the U.S. was at the height of its power, now there are signs of decline.

It is the opinion of the present writer that a successful non-violent revolution can only be brought about if the majority of the population in the large countries of the world genuinely feel non-violent.

Such a change in attitude can only be brought about by education. Unfortunately people have been educated for violence since the dawn of civilisation. There was a revulsion against war after the First World War, which was swept away by the military enthusiasms of the Fascists and their opponents. After the Second World War there was no revolution. The attitude was, "There you are. That's what happens when you appease violent men. The only answer to violence is counter-violence." This was the James Bond era. It was followed by a brief period of non-violence, flower-power and hippy love in the 1960s, perhaps this was the response to prosperity and economic security.

Theories about "man, the killer ape", novels about schoolboys on islands eating each other, endless tales of "adventures", slaughter and revenge and even songs ("I did what I did for Maria") are not likely to encourage non-violence. This is education for violence and domination, and surely has something to do with the much deplored vandalism and mugging. It is difficult, if you believe that violence is manly, to know where to draw the line, and some people decide to use violence for private ends instead of public ones. (And our society has never worked out to what extent an individual is entitled to protect himself.)

Murray Bookchin's writings are brought together in *Post Scarcity Anarchism*, which includes, in addition to the article of that title, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought*, *Towards a Liberatory Technology*, *Listen, Marxist!* and other pieces. His belief is that modern technology makes it possible for mankind to have abundance of goods without having to toil for them. He wrote the essays in this book before the current energy crisis, and it now seems likely that the world is going to be short of oil, so one wonders how his arguments are affected by this. Nuclear power is too dangerous to be used on a large scale.

This writer's disagreement with Murray Bookchin is not concerned with this however. While authoritarians tend to believe that a society such as we have has its roots in "instinctual aggression", Murray Bookchin, like the Marxists, believes that the cause is "scarcity". The probability is though that man has no instincts, all his behaviour is learned, while among many human groups, even in our society, the response to scarcity conditions is not for a few to grab almost everything but for people to share out what they have as equally as possible.

The origins of human domination, violence and cruelty still seem to me mysterious. We do not as yet know enough about the past. If violent and dominating human behaviour is learned behaviour, passed down from generation to generation, how was it learned in the first place? I am inclined to believe that the taste for domination is something that humanity has acquired and could lose again.

John Brent.

THIS IRELAND

"I WOULD cut off all supplies including water and electricity to Catholic areas. And I would stop Catholics from getting social service benefits. It is the only way to deal with enemies of the state and to stamp out the present trouble." This, together with stoppage of government hand-outs to dependents of men, loyalist or republican, held in Long Kesh for political offences is the set of remedies suggested by Charles Poots, a member of Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party. Drastic remedies they may appear to be but they are very mild stuff compared with what some other loyalist politicians have publicly uttered. The use of flamethrowers to burn down Catholic ghettos in Belfast was one of them and another was that batteries of artillery, supported by tanks, should start operations on the Falls Road (the tanks to serve a dual purpose as bulldozers) and cease firing only when they arrived in Dublin.

Bill Craig, leader of the Vanguard party, hasn't made any of his routine "shoot to kill" speeches lately but with potential rivals like Poots thrusting themselves forward he may put on a spurt within the coming weeks. "Hang on to your guns" is the advice of John Taylor of the Official Unionist Party, indignant at the government threat to recall some of the 73,000 licensed firearms and 65,000 licensed shotguns in Ulster. Just imagine the insult - English politicians implying that Ulstermen can't be trusted with guns.

There are times when the conviction grows stronger that only the pen of Lewis Carroll can do justice to the scene, so constant is the Alice-in-Wonderland quality of it all. "Is Cardinal Conway a Catholic?" enquired a headline in the Provisional paper *Republican News* some weeks ago when a stream of abuse from the pulpits was being directed at the Provos. But when the Officials launched a mildly critical attack on the church last week the Provos publicly dissociated themselves from the criticisms. Then there is the Reverend John Williamson, an United Ulster Unionist Council candidate in the forthcoming elections who has declared that he would be glad to get rid of the British because Britain is "decadent and immoral", and in the same breath says he is completely dedicated to maintaining the link with Britain. And don't forget the Reverend Bradford, one of Ulster's Westminster representatives, who is a British Israelite and believes that the Ulstermen are one of the lost tribes of Israel.

Turning to something different for relief I turned to Stanley Weintraub's *The Last Great Cause*, only to be impressed with the idea of how remarkably well Roy Campbell, the right-wing poet, would have fitted into the

local scene. This self styled "Catholic soldier of Spain" who carried his "flaming rifle" in the Falangist cause was an obvious candidate for the Provisionals. A versatile warrior who took part in a cavalry charge which succeeded in disabling four Russian-manned tanks and forcing the other sixteen to flee, he also fought in the trenches where on one occasion his only neighbour was a bloody, unburied arm, a Communist arm, with the fist symbolically clenched. The fact that

he often indulged in fantasies would not be considered a hindrance in Ulster and if we accept as true his reaction to a claim made in a newspaper, that war brings good times for poets, we cannot imagine him being involved in any of the protection rackets in Belfast: *Lies! Let the Leftwing Muse on carrion prey/To glut her sleek poltroons, the vulture's den./My only pickings were a ranker's pay,/With chevrons on my sleeve, and on my skin.*

I wonder if Campbell is still alive? If so, the poet who had carried his flaming rifle and "Grown wiser in the company of mules" in his beloved Spain might yet find another great cause, in the company of mules, in Ulster. H. B.

Rights for Soldiers?

AFTER A tumultuous welcome by over 100 supporters outside Lambeth Magistrates' court on Monday, 3 March, the committal hearing against the 14 members of the British Withdrawal from N. Ireland Campaign has continued all week. The 14 pacifists are all charged with conspiring to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934. Also, most of them are charged with substantive offences under the Act itself, that is with possession of documents contrary to the Act. Two are also charged with aiding soldiers absent without leave, contrary to the Army Act of 1955. There is no limit to the sentence that can be imposed for conspiracy.

An international delegation from the War Resisters International came - both to bring messages of support on behalf of their national sections in many parts of the world, and to make representations to British MPs. The WRI officially supports the demands of the BWNIC itself (withdrawal of troops and ending of the union with Gt. Britain), and also the demands of the BWNIC Defence Group for the dropping of the charges against Campaign supporters. Most of the 14 are members of one of the WRI's British sections.

THE EVIDENCE

The first prosecution witness was George Exelby, who stated that Gwyn Williams, one of the defendants, had on a number of occasions supplied him with small sums of money whilst he was absent without leave from his REME unit. He agreed, however, that he went AWOL of his own initiative, and that when he later went to Sweden that was his own decision, in which he was unaided by any of the defendants. He admitted telling Gwyn Williams that he was due to go to N. Ireland, when in fact he did not know if that was the case. In cross-examination by the defendant Bill Hetherington, he stated that although he was sentenced by court martial to be reduced from the rank of lance corporal, less than a year later this rank was restored. Gwyn Williams was not allowed, in cross examination, to ask questions regarding his conditions during his 57 days of "close arrest"

prior to the court martial.

There was a considerable amount of evidence given about a stall in Devizes (Wiltshire) market. Corporal Udall among others agreed in cross examination that stall holders left it to soldiers to approach the stall rather than being actively solicited by Campaign supporters at the stall. Also in connection with the stall, Major Marsden agreed that it was not illegal for soldiers to seek civilian help with personal problems. He described one of the documents produced in evidence "You Have Rights", detailing a military counselling service called "At Ease") as an "offer of help to soldiers". Gunnar Morgan, who was only 17 at the time he visited the stall, referred in his evidence to the fact that as he had, as a junior, signed on for three years, he was not interested in "cutting his sentence [sic] down".

In the first few days, evidence was given relating to the raids on four addresses in the London area that were searched by police early in the morning of 10 September, 1974, and evidence of the arrest of various of the 14 in different parts of the country.

Det. Insp. Haslett of the Special Branch gave evidence of the arrest of Bill Hetherington in Cardiff. He lied on oath about the circumstances of the arrest and search of Bill Hetherington's home. Also, he admitted in cross examination that he did not know the authority by which he conducted the search and removed certain papers. Inspector Haslett also could not explain why so few of the signatories of the Campaign's original statement, published in three journals in June 1973 [see also reports in *FREEDOM* Vol. 34 nos. 23 & 24, 9 & 16 June] had been questioned and searched, although the declaration made by all of them about what they intended to do in furtherance of the Campaign was being used in evidence. Six of the 14 are amongst the 124 signatories to the original statement.

--Taken from BWNIC Defence Group statement.

POLITICAL CAPTIVES

EDITORIAL NOTE: The following is from a speech made in Amsterdam on 6 February by Michael Tobin to a meeting in protest over maltreatment of West German and Irish prisoners. We do not commit FREEDOM to the support of campaigns for separate prisons, categories or treatment for political prisoners; our anarchist position on prisons and crime and punishment will be well enough known to our readers (see also the article by another contributor, Arthur Moysé, "50th Anniversary of Kafka's Death" in our issue of 18 January); we do support Michael Tobin in his work on behalf of political prisoners - in many cases in the 'special category' of receiving worse treatment than 'common criminals' - and in making uninvolved people aware of the danger.

THE IRISH and the West German authorities have in common their cold, callous and inhuman attitude to the political prisoners in their hands. And this attitude is shared by the authorities in England, Spain, France, Italy, and almost all other countries in the world. These diverse authorities do not look upon their political captives as political prisoners. On the contrary, they say that they are criminals. But while they call them criminals they do not treat them like ordinary criminal prisoners. Instead, they treat them in a far more harsh way.

The case of the Red Army Fraction prisoners in West Germany is a very good example of this point. These prisoners were arrested in the first place for trying to set in motion an urban guerrilla movement against neo-fascism in West Germany. What they did or are accused of doing was done for political reasons and not for personal criminal ends. For instance, the attack on an American Army computer at Heidelberg was carried out with very clear political objectives in mind. The aim of the Red Army Fraction was to blow up this computer installation not for criminal ends but for political reasons. They sought to blow it up because it was being used by the

A WHITE PAPER on the 1976 census states that public protest has led to the 'ditching' of sensitive questions and a renewal of promises of confidentiality. The question of the 'origin of parents' is still retained. Each household will have questions on 16-19 subjects instead of the previous 29.

The film "The Exorcist" has been banned by the Tunisian censor on the grounds that it presented "unjustified" propaganda in favour of Christianity.

BIRMINGHAM City Education Committee is to consider the application of a new syllabus of Religious Instruction next month. This is to include teaching Communism and Humanism as a part of RE lessons.

AFTER five consecutive home defeats, fans of Borussia Dortmund, an Italian football club, got the parish priest to exorcise evil spirits from the pitch. After the exorcism the team was defeated for the sixth time.

American Imperialists to work out more effective ways of fighting the Vietcong in Vietnam. And all those of you who support the Vietcong must also support the Red Army Fraction in this particular operation of theirs.

Everything that the Red Army Fraction has so far done has been for clearly stated political reasons. But in spite of this the West German authorities will not admit that they have political prisoners in their jails. They will not even admit that they have been torturing these prisoners of conscience in their isolation cells.

This attitude of the West German authorities has become a very important aspect of the modern centralised state. The modern centralised state has, in fact, declared war on all those whom it considers to be a threat to its domination and control. And what is happening in West Germany today is also happening in most other countries. As states become more centralised and more powerful, their social systems are becoming more machine-like, while their citizens are being more and more regimented like soldiers. This very dangerous development might well be called "creeping fascism". I personally have got good reason to use such an expression. For I spent many years in England struggling against "creeping fascism". And eventually I myself became its victim when I ended up serving a 2-year prison sentence just for possessing pamphlets calling on British soldiers stationed in Northern Ireland to desert.

HOMES INTO GAOLS

One aspect of creeping fascism can be seen in the way that as time goes on only ineffective forms of protest are permitted. While the permitted protests are becoming mere formal rituals without substance. Permitted protests have, in fact, already become mostly empty gestures. We do not have to go any further than Amsterdam here to find examples of this. Take the case of the Metro or the Bijlmer Bajes (new prison with isolation cells). In each of these cases a decision was made by bureaucrats working for the Dutch state. And having decided on the building of the Metro and the Bijlmer Bajes these bureaucrats with the backing of the Dutch State Machine then proceeded to carry out those plans, irrespective of how the mass of the ordinary people who are affected by these plans feel about them. In the case of the Amsterdam Metro, many people have had their homes pulled down and they have been forced to live in horrible SS-like barracks in the Bijlmer area on the outskirts of this city.

Of course, these people have protested and continue to protest by demonstrating on the streets and by writing letters to Government Ministers. And, of course, all this has been allowed for by the bureaucrats in their plans. And the bureaucrats do not worry about them because they know beforehand that such protests - unless they involve enormous numbers of people - are usually totally ineffective.

The situation in Ireland and West Germany is much worse in this respect. And it is partly because of the sense of mass frustration felt by radical young people in those countries that the Red Army Fraction and the IRA have come into existence.

It has often been said that the one great lesson of history is that people never learn anything from history. If that is true it is time that we changed things because mankind has never lived in more dangerous times. I am saying this for two reasons. Firstly because the modern state possesses such unimaginably destructive power. And, secondly, because the modern state possesses such awesome means for controlling and regimenting its citizens. Worse still is the fact that the grip which the modern centralised state has on its citizens is constantly becoming stronger. All the signs are that if this creeping fascism is not checked the time will surely come when the state will determine everything that we do, everything that we say, and even everything that we think. It will have the power of life and death over us. In many ways it has such power already.

Let us have no doubt about this. If we, the ordinary people, do not organise ourselves and struggle against creeping fascism now we shall never be able to do so. Because the growing monster of creeping fascism will have swallowed us. But, on the other hand, if we do organise and fight creeping fascism we are certain to crush it. Because the very existence of this monster is possibly only because too many people, not realising the danger, are prepared to tolerate it.

The principal victims of creeping fascism in Europe at the moment are the political prisoners, the men and women of conscience now behind bars.

...Here...we are primarily concerned with the prisoners of conscience in West Germany and Ireland. We can begin to fight creeping fascism by giving these courageous prisoners our wholehearted and active support in their present struggle.

The present struggle of the German and Irish prisoners is also our struggle. Their enemy is also our enemy. Their victory would also be our victory. But defeat for them would also mean defeat for us.

The time for reflection on abstract theories is over. The time for action is here. Let us then roll up our sleeves and start fighting for a socialist cause which we know in our hearts to be right.

Otherwise...otherwise...some day soon we will be saying:

When they interned and tortured Irish Republicans I didn't protest. When they tortured the Red Army Fraction prisoners I didn't protest. When they began building the Amsterdam Metro I didn't protest. When they made plans for the Bijlmer Bajes I didn't protest. And now I cannot protest because the whole of Europe is one big prison. And if I oppose the state in any way the state doctors will certify that I am insane and will send me to a mental hospital to be fitted-out with a freshly-brainwashed mind specially patterned for political dissidents by Big Brother.

There is a moral for all of us in that little anecdote.

Let us not forget it!

Michael Tobin.

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FREEDOM PRESS
84B Whitechapel High Street,
London, E. 1.

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