

FREEDOM

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TEN PENCE

UNION POWER - GAME

BRITISH TRADE UNIONS have over the years been slowly incorporated into our mixed economy of capitalist exploitation. Their commitment to 'socialism' has been one that has given increasing power to the state rather than a new dawn of the 'brotherhood of man'. Each union fights for its own slice of the economic cake, using whatever industrial muscle it has to gain its demands. All these struggles and demands are only for immediate improvements to maintain or increase their members' ability to pay their way in the commodity market.

The same hierarchical structure that operates in our institutions operates in the trade unions. The so-called democracy which is supposed to give people power over their own lives is also reflected in the make up of the unions. Voting for union officials is as much a waste of time as it is at a general election. It makes little difference whether one is ruled by a Tory government or Labour, or whether your union executive has a 'right' or a 'left' majority. But what is most important is the energy wasted if militants take the electoral garden path to achieve 'socialism'.

Socialism has to be about equality and freedom if it is going to mean anything. It means equal access to all things people need to satisfy all their different and complex needs. It is about freedom to make decisions that will affect your own life.

The trade unions, or rather their lead-

ership, are not interested in and indeed are opposed to people and union members making their own decisions. They are controlling agents for the state and the union officials act the policeman for the employers. Sure, differences arise, but these are only about amounts and do not go to the heart of our working lives --who should be in control?

Some revolutionaries say that if we can't get control of our unions we have no chance of taking over the industries we work in. But if such control means the type of legal wrangling that we have seen last week in the Engineering Union, anarchists want no part in it. It is but another distraction, because both the 'left' and the 'right' want power in the unions. In the present case, the 'left' want to return to the method of voting at the branches rather than a postal ballot. The 'right' say the postal vote

is more 'democratic'. Obviously, such a method ensures more votes being cast, but if by being democratic we mean the members are in direct control of the union, then neither postal or branch elections can ensure that.

As with all the institutions of the state, the unions have a top and a bottom. Power rests with elected officials and not with the membership. Even with a 'left wing' leadership, such as the Engineering Union, strikes still remain unofficial and membership takes action not because of their union but in spite of their union.

Last week's court action is just another expression of the power struggle within the unions. The manoeuvrings, the alliances, and all the political infighting (of political as well as religious groupings) over who should be in control. We do not want to join this power game, but point out that the working class has and is capable of creating its own organisations either within the established trade unions or completely outside, to fight for its own demands.

It is from such rank and file organisations created to carry out certain tasks, that the working class has in the past challenged the present system of exploitation.

P. T.

NO ENEMY TO THE LEFT?

IT HAS BEEN reported by IMG (International Marxist Group - Tariq Ali's former outfit) that a disgraceful punch-up took place at a WRP (Workers' Revolutionary Party - Gerry Healy's boys) Common Market meeting at Basingstoke. How different from the political life of our own dear Mr. Wilson.

After the Common Market referendum carve-up a purge of the Left wing of the Government was prophesied by the news papers, who had all done their bit for the Common Market in seeing that the electorate was educated as to the evil machinations of Mr. Benn and his henchmen who were organizing to sabotage the economy by nationalising everything, suppressing private enterprise and voting against staying in the Market.

Unlike Mr. Healy's bully-boys, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Healey (no relation) just don't work that way. After the democratic defeat of the anti-Market forces, the antimarketiers in the Government promised to be good boys and

stand by the old country even though she was consorting with Continental whores. The only casualty of his conscience was Mr. Heffer, who went like a calf to the pre-referendum slaughter. The others - Foot, Benn, Shore and Co. saw nothing anomalous in staying in a Government which was committed to staying in whilst representing a party committed to getting out.

Mr. Wilson, crafty politician as he is, took the measure of his 'Left' early in his career. He should have done - he was once one of them. Once, even he belonged to the Tribune group and signed fiery manifestoes with Bevan and Foot. After the sudden death of Gaitskell he reformed. Like all 'Left' groupings, the antimarketiers had a loyalty to the Labour Party which prevented them splitting it - or was it a loyalty to the apparat, the property, the funds, the votes (block and otherwise) which are the real assets of the Labour Party? Socialism and anti-Market principles are one thing; power and office are another.

Wilson, adroitly balancing (as usual) his left against his right, moved Benn from Industry to Energy, changing places with Varley (another reputed Leftist); Judith Hart (a Leftist) was moved from Overseas Development (a department now subject to the Foreign Office); Mr. Prentice (an embarrassing Right-winger) was moved from Education to Overseas Development (retaining Cabinet rank); and among other minor

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"DAMN IT MAN, UNLESS YOU ROW HARDER I'LL DROWN."

IF THE RAIL STRIKE SUCCEEDS IN PARALYSING THE POSTAL SYSTEM, THE NEXT ISSUE OF FREEDOM WILL APPEAR WHEN THE STRIKE HAS BEEN RESOLVED.

UNITY IN DIVERSITY

"In Sheffield we have several anarchist and libertarian groupings made up of individuals whose views cover a broad spectrum, but which are not mutually incompatible, and have in common the rejection of authoritative coercion as a means of regulation human society. We, as anarchists, do not believe that chaos is a necessary or even the result of universal individual freedom. On the contrary, we believe that only free, co-operative, understanding individuals can begin to form the new society within the decomposing corpse of the old. Our various means may differ widely, our eventual goal is essentially the same. It is in these very differences of approach, that we, as libertarians, find our greatest resource, and indeed they are indicative that we regard freedom and free-thinking not merely as an end, but also as a means. Our greatest danger is that of lack of contact

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changes Miss Joan Lester (formerly SPGB) was moved from the lower reaches of the Foreign Office to the lower reaches of the Education Department. A Mr. Mulley was made Secretary for Education. This was no bloody purge (not even by IMG standards); it even left Mr. Foot, Mrs. Castle and Mr. Shore (all vociferous promarketeters) untouched in office.

The hidden iron hand in the velvet glove points to the subordination of Overseas Development to the Foreign Office, a neglect of education in an economy programme, and the realisation that Energy is a hot potato fit for the eager grasp of Mr. Benn. There is nothing like ministerial responsibility for taming rebels. The Tribune group may rant and rave but Mr. Wilson knows from personal experience that they are a good recruiting ground for critical party loyalists. The loyalty can be used; the criticism will do for window-dressing.

Tribune have got themselves worked up about a coalition. Mr. Prentice's embarrassing statement about how nice it was to work with Tories on the Referendum has been rewarded with demotion but without loss of Cabinet office. As long as Mr. Wilson can work his left against his right he has no need to join a coalition, he's already got one!

An optimistic popular-fronter coined the phrase "No Enemy to the Left". It is manifestly untrue as regards co-operation between political groupings, as witness the fracas between IMG and WRP. It is not unknown for such hassles to take place between libertarian groups - one knows what will happen to the anarchists when certain leftist groups get into power.

But Mr. Wilson in his party debates has no real enemies on the Left. Are they 'Left' anyhow?

Jack Robinson.

with one another leading to misunderstanding, bigotry and schism.

Therefore we, the Sheffield Anarchists, have arranged a venue where groupings and individuals, both locally and nationally, (internationally?), may come together under one roof and engage in a diversity of anarchic expression. We sincerely hope that in this admittedly brief period of time there may be fostered understanding and awareness of what others are striving to attain. Mutual aid is what it's all about! "

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IN RESPONSE to the above invitation I went to the meeting in Sheffield on behalf of Freedom Press. I learnt that there was a group in Sheffield in 1891 and that they published a journal called The Sheffield Anarchist which ran to ten issues. There now appears to be an active, enthusiastic group in Sheffield, who had hired the very well-appointed small hall at the Civic Centre. The hall was obviously designed for dignitaries and audiences and not really really entirely suitable for an anarchist discussion. Remembering times when our talented speakers commanded large audiences, I feel that we have advanced beyond demagoguery and people in the anarchist movement are reluctant to make great platform speakers.

Our diversity was obvious and well understood, our unity lay in the simplicity of basic anarchist concepts of a society without coercive authority. The groups, notably SWF and AWA, who think more in the traditional terms of the class struggle and a well defined working class, put their point of view.

Quite a large proportion of the groups represented think of anarchism as a concept to be practised now and as an attitude to life. The radical pacifist movement has long accepted the logic of the position that only a society without coercive authority can be in tune with pacifist principles; however even the most militant anarchists would concede the limitations of violence and the necessity for a very widespread consciousness as a prerequisite for an anarchist society.

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While some at the meeting may have been disappointed at the lack of tangible results from it, as Ron Marsden succinctly suggested, the forming of another organisation without a purpose would be a diversion of resources. However, a list of groups attending was compiled and will be sent to all of them so that they may use it for contacts.

The meeting was useful as an exchange of views, and one wonders if some sort of analysis of present society could be undertaken at a future meeting, with each group contributing a paper on their particular point of view. For instance, on the impact of modern technology, the effects of which in the nuclear field and on the environment are universal and irrespective of class; The changing economic basis of society from a personal capitalism to the capitalism of institutions might also be discussed and analysed. (Perhaps more use could be made of existing journals towards this end).

The relevance of anarchism is based on its breadth of vision, and I hope that the initiative of our Sheffield comrades will bear fruit.

Alan Albon.

IN BRIEF

THE International Marxist Group complains that its members were beaten up by members of the Workers' Revolutionary Party at a WRP Common Market meeting at Basingstoke. IMG "demands" that the leadership of the WRP take disciplinary measures against those in its ranks /including allegedly one Comrade M. Banda/ "who have indulged in this hooligan behaviour (behaviour similar to that introduced by the Stalinists against the Left Opposition in its early days, and roundly denounced by Trotsky)." We seem to remember Comrade Trotsky threatening to shoot somebody "like partridges".

MILLIONS of 'African' bees are spreading into North America from Brazil where they escaped from a colony developed from 27 bees taken from Africa for breeding purposes to cross aggressiveness with mobility. The Sun states that the bee is a killer, will sting 'continuously' for two hours, only 300 stings will kill a man. The bees, says The Sun, are easily aroused by noise, anything coloured black, 'or by the smell of alcohol'.

NEW YORK unions for public employees, policemen and firemen threatened by lay-offs, issued a pamphlet advising people not to visit New York. Illustrated by a skull, it is called 'Welcome to Fear City'. City officials have obtained temporary court orders stopping distribution.

Telegraph headline on the successful prosecution of "More About the Language of Love": 'PORN FIGHTERS' HAVE EYES ON 30 MORE FILMS

POLICE cleared prostitutes from French churches where they had sat in to protest against vindictive fines and official harassment.

FRENCH stable lads picketed the racecourse at Chantilly so effectively that the races have been cancelled. Anyone for Ascot?

TEN POLICE officers in Suffolk and Essex are practising transcendental meditation, the oriental art of relaxing by concentration, to combat stress and strain. The idea, says the Sunday Telegraph, may be taken up nationally by the Police Federation.

ECOLOGY & SOCIAL REALITY

"Would you like your sons to go down the mines for twenty years, like you have?"
"No, never! Anything but that! It's a slow death down there..."

---(Interview with a coal-miner, Feb
February, 1975)

Workers at a centre for the treatment of radioactive fuels in La Hague (Normandy) have been on strike since the beginning of April. The reason: working conditions at the "Atome" are too dangerous. The unions are supporting their claims.

The disposal of wastes from nuclear power-stations is mortgaging the safety and well-being of humanity for thousands of years.

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THERE YOU HAVE the essence of the problem in those three facts. It's with them in mind that we have to ask the question of the value of ecology in the social context:

Go tell a face-worker that, since nuclear energy is really too dangerous, you envisage using coal as the principal source of energy till well past the year 2000 (there's enough left for several centuries)! To put it simply: several hundred thousand more workers sentenced to a terribly hard existence (you really have to live the life to know how hard it can be) and also, probably, to a slow death from silicosis...

Go tell the thousands of workers who make a living from the chemical industry (which is so destructive of the natural environment with its refineries, paper-mills, cement-works, mineral treatment works, etc.) that to give humanity a chance of survival, the whole gamut of technical processes will have to be reconsidered immediately... and then show them the door!

Go tell a million unemployed, who have been reduced to accepting any kind of a job after months on the dole, that short-term full industrial employment is a mirage of the growth-mongers which led hundreds of thousands of human beings down a blind-alley...

Tell them all that. It's the shortest way of giving credence to slogans like: "Ecologists = Reactionaries", "Revolutionaries = Petit-bourgeois intellectuals".

UNBELIEVABLE

And this is exactly the image that ecologists "pure and simple" have with industrial and agricultural workers. The unconsciousness and naivety of these ex-students when they take their desires for reality! For example: "Nuclear energy is criminal, we must only use non-polluting sources of energy!" Which is to forget that using these sources of energy - which are indeed the best guarantee of a slightly human society - poses problems of practicality. Above all, putting these technologies into use demands, in such an obvious way, a totally different mentality (a reversal of priorities) than that of our present rulers, that it is perfectly useless and immobilising

to hide it from ourselves.

Unconscious, and superficial as well: who hasn't smiled to hear them extolling an immediate zero-growth rate? Well, it's a little more complicated than that. Zero growth in the western, capitalist industrial countries has a very precise meaning: zero growth of the G.N.P. And nothing more! Well, regular growth in unemployment, maintenance of the rhythm of the exhaustion of raw materials, growth of the gap between the industrialised and the so-called underdeveloped countries...

Whilst the zero growth that we wish for can only be understood in a social context where we would only work just enough to live well, where we would systematically recycle all waste products, and where the economy would operate in a federalist manner on a world scale.

In the end, the approach used by the ecologist militants goes contrary to the aim they are pursuing. "Detached" from the present-day socio-political context, they are projecting onto present day reality plans - which are perfectly justified and can only be approved by anarchists - which will only be realisable in the future... or later!

THOSE WHO LOVE US

Whilst still mouthing these words, I can see our adored rulers, our adulated politicians (of right and left, both alike!) coming along to shake my hand and whisper, "Well then, we're agreed!" Because with them it's a deep-rooted habit, a *raison d'être* to promise paradise in... a little while, once the difficult transition period has passed" (sic).

The powers-that-be feed us with pearls like "This period of mutation will pave the way for a society of progress"; and they try to dazzle us with factory-filters (with exhaustion of the sub-soil), purification-stations (almost irremediable pollution of the seas)... we are not taken in. The tactic of the powers-that-be is to play on the threat of unemployment so that they can perpetuate, by means of apparent measures of reform, the ransacking of natural resources for the greatest profit of... a very few! And they do it so well that some of their functionaries who sincerely believe that they are working for the good of mankind, towards an ecological civilisation, are taken in by it.

MARXIST MYSTIFIERS

Why don't I have a great desire to change the subject when I turn now to the leftist politicians, postulants to the throne...? Is it perhaps because in this area their positions are strangely reminiscent of those of their competitors?

And what is to be heard from the left? Principally the refrain that

they use for all crises in any way connected with the economy (and one which has become an end in itself to them): full employment. They always act as if they were unions defending the workers' security. But it's very discouraging to hear full employment elevated to the level of a dogma in the mouths of leaders of parties which claim to incarnate the movement towards, and the promise of, a future which no-one need fear.

AND THE ANARCHISTS...?

I have already spoken of the "union-type position" with reference to the defence of employment. Well this term seems the most appropriate to me to describe the position, the action that could be taken up by anarchists in the area of ecology and health.

In fact, it would be natural for us to claim for a fraternal, federalist, libertarian civilisation the characteristics of an "ecological" society. We cannot conceive of this society without the putting into operation of non-polluting and liberatory technologies, without the rational management of natural resources based on systematic recycling, without an effort at qualitative rather than quantitative progress. That is our zero growth.

But we are not claiming that we can draw present-day society towards ecological behaviour and functioning. Because that would be to decoy the workers, to betray their class interests. And because quite simply, it would be impossible (see what is said above about "zero growth" in the capitalist context).

However, we are conscious that present-day society, not content with its increasing destruction of everything small, is dragging humanity towards ecological disasters. And much more quickly than is apparent! Just think of the projected population figures for the year 2020. Or the very close agog of the oceans! The role of revolutionaries is to howl, to howl as loud as possible to the workers that the fate of our children will be played out in the next few decades!

To scream, but also to act, so that the errors of the present system do not risk making eternally impossible the social revolution which alone will open the doors on the future. It is in this context that we can talk of union-type action: to work in the present to prevent the destruction of the promise of the future.

Emm. de Severac.
(Translated from Le Monde Libertaire,
June 1975 by D. L. M.)

THE CUBANS have returned four American 'skyjackers' who sought political asylum in Cuba.

SPAIN: FRANCO DIES HARD

THE LAST DAYS of Franco are being marked not only by a new phase in the struggle for succession, so widely reported in the British press, not only by the fierce repression unleashed against the Basque separatists, not quite so fully reported, but also by a series of show trials against anarchists, which have not yet been, and probably will not be, reported in the British Press.

To give our readers some idea of the means used by the Spanish police in the Basque provinces, we print here a translation of a report distributed in France by the Committee of Information and Solidarity with Spain, at the end of last month:

*** REPORT on VIZCAYA

FROM 25 APRIL, on which date the State of Exception was declared, to the 13 May, a total of 1,000 persons was arrested. Of this number, about 700 have now been released; their period of arrest in the police stations and barracks of the Civil Guards varied from one night to 17 days. Apart from a few exceptions, conditions of imprisonment until 8 May were normal. Amongst those exceptions were a group of students and workers from Mondragon who were tortured.

After 8 May, the day after the death of a police inspector, bad treatment, blows and tortures became general. On the 12th, three people under arrest were admitted to hospital. Four times people under arrest had to be sent to hospital with haemorrhages of the anus, nose and ears. After the haemorrhages had been stopped, these people were sent back to police headquarters. Certain doctors are suspected of collaborating with the police for they erected a wall of silence concerning these prisoners.

Both police and Civil Guards carried out massive searches in the capital and villages. All those taken to police headquarters were at the least beaten, especially on the arms and legs, there being witnesses of this.

On 8 May, a priest, Anastasio Erquicia, was so badly tortured that on the 9th he had to be transferred to the hospital of Basurto, unconscious and disfigured. X-rays showed that he had a complete internal haemorrhage, his kidneys and spleen had burst and his intestines were seriously injured.

It is noteworthy that of the total of people arrested, only a minority (45 people) had anything to do with the ETA (revolutionary Basque movement). The repression was fundamentally directed against the masses as well as all the political organizations.

Report of Amadao Mugies, member of a district commission, detained for nine days:

"I was tortured twice a day. They

made me undergo the operation table torture. I was laid down on a short, narrow table with my head and legs in the air. I was compelled to maintain a rigid, horizontal position. If I lowered my head or legs, I was hit. I lost consciousness several times."

A member of an anti-repressive committee declares that he was struck with steel balls and iron bars over a period of six days despite the fact that he had already admitted to being a member of the committee on the very first day of his arrest.

State of Exception in the Streets

Permanent controls were frequently in position on the roads. Vehicles were stopped and papers demanded. For these controls, barriers and barbed wire were installed. In the days following 8 May the streets of Bilbao were overrun by special brigades. Houses were searched, customers expelled from bars and dance

PORTUGAL

APOLOGIES FOR DEMOCRACY

NOT ONLY did the Bolsheviks lose the election, they also lost the 'socialist facade' (Cunhal). In April 1974 the military arrested the executioners of the people and promised a public and civil trial. April 1975 found a percentage of the political police still in gaol (a few hundred of the 80,000), together now with civilian 'fascists' and 'maoists'. Why? Because the Portuguese Communist Party, having no real proposals to make for the socialisation of the working class in the country, prevents the completion of investigations into possible links between the arrested groups. How? The P.C.P. agents participating in the Commission (civilians and military) for the dismantling of the political police have been using its files in order to arrest Communist Party dissidents. This Commission has already been formed and dissolved several times (the C.P. agents remaining, however, the same), because the Portuguese servants of the KGB 'demand' (!) the establishment of a new political police, serving neither Salazar nor Caetano but instead the Cunhal dictatorship. All the other political forces oppose the formation of a new political police since the intentions of the P.C.P. are to begin ostracizing the dissidents, the Maoists, then to attack the extreme left, the anarchists, afterwards the extreme-centre, the social-democrats, etc., all the anti-Cunhalists -- this is how an unimportant party submits itself 'democratically' to the will of the people'. Meanwhile, Cunhal, through a coherent political reasoning, has forgotten yesterday's masters, the fascists. Not a word against them. Cunhal, like Salazar, like Caetano, like Spínola, sees nothing but revolutionaries on his left, he himself being the

halls. All those without their identity card were taken to the bull-ring as the police stations and Civil Guard barracks were overflowing. A group of 370 persons spent the night of 8 May in the bull-ring. The fear induced in the citizens of Bilbao was very noticeable for there was considerably less bustle in the streets than usual.

Acts carried out by the police

- Windows of a bookshop destroyed by machine-gun fire, also causing damage to books.
- Damages estimated at 6 million pesetas caused to a books storehouse of the Basque Encyclopaedia. The attackers destroyed typewriters, opened taps after blocking outlets thus causing flooding of the lower floors.
- A bomb placed at a jeweller's, the owners of which are known for their connections with the Basque movement.
- A further bomb placed at a bar and yet another at a boutique.
- Machine-gunning of a lawyer's office and of a dry cleaner's.

In all these cases, and many others, the police paid no attention to the subsequent complaints. In the cases

prestige of legalism after the 'revolution'.

Moreover, the 'democracy' of the Cunhalists continues: they have seized the State machine and its organs of decision; all the official and private mass media (cf. the case of República) the Intersindical (the national union of syndicates). Where PCP-KGB agents infiltrate they elaborate purge lists like the one they made at the Television in Lisbon involving 52 employees at all levels, plus 10 awaiting Brezhnev's decision, all of them possibilities based on vague definitions such as 'So-and-so of fascist tendency', the PCP's favourite phrase, or 'So-and-so of leftist tendency', and within these definitions are included all anarchists, and social-democrat and socialist militants.

And the serious problems of the country, such as the economy, the education of the people (illiterate, 33%), the health service, the workers' conditions, the networks for the distribution of production? Miraculously, these problems have disappeared from the life of the nation since Cunhal placed his gorillas in every ministry. What matters to him is parliamentary legalism, electoralism, 'partidarism' and the secret policies of his political emptiness, his 'Bof' theory in a country where red just as much covers cardinals as it excites bulls (as in Spain in 1936). As anarchists wrote on the walls of Lisbon: WE APOLOGISE FOR THE DEMOCRACY. THE DICTATORSHIP WILL FOLLOW IN A FEW MOMENTS. This is becoming the everyday truth.

F. J. M.

where they were informed of the facts beforehand, they did not even turn up at the places of attack.

Attitude of the Authorities

Religious: Both Bishop and Curia have not made any announcement despite the fact that various priests have been severely tortured.

Administrative: The police have adopted a totally passive and indifferent attitude towards these offences. In several cases they have on the one hand never turned up on the spot and on the other even created difficulties and caused delays when complaints were made.

Judiciary: The Magistracy and the Proctor, both in their declarations and acts, have shown themselves to be totally powerless and overwhelmed by the prefectorial authorities.

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GUERNICA

THE SAVAGE repression has particularly touched the town of Guernica. Houses were searched and several people arrested. The following tragedy was reported:

On the mornings of 13th and 14th May the Civil Guards surrounded a house where militants of the ETA were thought to be hiding. At 6 a.m. they knocked at the door. The owner, 53 years old, came out. The Civil Guards shot him down as well as his wife who followed him out. Two women and two militants of the ETA escaped through a window. One of the men was wounded in the knee by the subsequent fire. Two hours later he arrived at the door of a house in a village near Guernica. Two women bandaged his wounds and gave him a change of clothing. More than a hundred Guards with dogs approached, following his tracks. Unarmed, the young man continued, hardly able to stand up owing to loss of blood. He decided to hide in a little loft near a chicken run, stopping up the entrance with branches. After a while, the Guards arrived shouting, "Where's the Basque murderer? We're going to execute all these Basques." They found traces of blood in the house and fired at a cupboard where they thought the young man might be hiding. A group arrived at the chicken run. One of them heard a noise in the loft and they opened fire. Once they had finished, they opened the entrance and took out the militant's corpse. They stripped him and put him in a plastic bag, first cutting off his legs. They took the corpse to the barracks where they left it in the little garden at the back. It stayed there for several days.

It was there that his father came to see him. "It's better like that," he commented, "for if he had been taken alive, it would have been much worse for my poor son."

The two women who helped the militant as well as the neighbours were severely tortured for twelve consecutive hours. They are at present in prison.

GUIPUZCOA

DAILY AT DUSK the police roam through the streets in combat dress - helmet, pistol, cudgel and machine-gun. Patrols consist of six to eight persons menacing people just with a look and demanding identity papers from the passers-by. There are constant scenes of people being made to stand up against walls to facilitate searching, women's handbags turned out, shoes examined, etc. Women are rudely handled in front of their fiancés or husbands in order to provoke them, insults are uttered.

Several establishments have been searched with, it seems, the sole object of causing fear.

- A young girl is pushed by blows of a butt in the chest, and a blow on the behind makes her vomit.
- Police enter into a sauna.
- Abuses are made to young girls forced to climb into a jeep.

Repression is carried out not only against "terrorism" but also against revolutionary non-nationalist organisations.

(Translation by S. J. R., Switzerland)

OF COURSE, the anti-Basque repression was not limited to the Spanish side of the border. The raids carried out by fascist "parallel police" commandos (notably the Warriors of Christ the King) on the property of Basque sympathisers in S.W. France, has aroused considerable publicity. All doubt as to the complicity of the Spanish secret police with these acts was removed when one of the 'dinamiteos', hoist with his own 'plastique', declared that he was in the pay of the Spanish Secret Service, and gave their Madrid telephone number to French police. Even Paniotowski, arch-exponent of French-Spanish police "cooperation", was driven to protest.

According to Sunday's *Observer*, the "Warriors of Christ the King" have been recalled from the Basque provinces by their Madrid puppet-masters, who also use them for pro-fascist demonstrations in the capital, as part of the continuing battle for the succession. That will be scant recompense to those in the Basque provinces who have suffered considerable injuries.

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FIVE BASQUES have been sentenced to from 6 to 25 years' imprisonment. The anarchists coming up for trial face sentences which will add up to several hundred years.

The first trial has in fact taken place. Juan Jorge Vinyoles Vidal, Ramon Carvia Sanchis and Georgina Nicolace Milla appeared before the Tribunal of Public Order in Madrid on 17 May, accused of "illicit association and illegal propaganda of an anarchist character". The public prosecutor was asking for 4 years' imprisonment and 50,000 pesetas'

fine on each charge. The three have been detained since 7 April 1974, accused of belonging to the O.L.L.A. (Armed Struggle Organisation) and of transporting explosives. At the time of going to press, no information on the result of the first trial was available.

The three will be tried for the O.L.L.A. explosives charges, along with 22 others, before a Council of War, where they risk much heavier sentences. No date has yet been set for this trial, but it will probably be held before the end of the Law term. O.L.L.A. is a somewhat mythical organisation. The name appeared on a couple of communiques, but it is being used by the Spanish police as an umbrella term under which they can place all the victims of their repression of anarchists.

The other trial is against six young people accused of belonging to a so-called "Collective of Libertarian Students of Barcelona". They are also accused of belonging to O.L.L.A., and of having links with the Libertarian Students of Catalonia, Committee of Solidarity with MIL prisoners, and the FAI.

D. L. M.

SWITZERLAND

Swiss Confusion

PAGE 3 of the *Guardian* for May 24 carried a story from Rod Chapman in Geneva headed "Growing Anarchy worries Swizz". The main gist of the article was that Switzerland is being used by European anarchists as a convenient centre for stealing vast quantities of arms and distributing them to clandestine groups in West Germany, Italy and Spain. As the article makes great play of mentioning the Baader-Meinhof group and the Italian "Red Brigades", the implication that the 'anarchists' in Switzerland have been supplying them with arms is obvious, but not explicitly made.

If examined closely, the story falls to shreds. The "anarchists" mentioned - Petra Kruase and Giorgio Bellini - turn out to be leftist militants. Bellini, said to be "an Italian-Swiss librarian", in fact runs the "Libreria Eco", a bookshop specialising in left-wing texts. The simple linguistic error involved here casts doubt on Rod Chapman's grasp of European languages. Bellini, well-known for his cultural and political activity among immigrants, was released at the end of May, having been arrested on 10th May on "suspicion" of drug offences, and kept in secret detention for two weeks (the Swiss police can do this legally if they deem it necessary).

Petra Krause was arrested two months before Bellini, and likewise held secretly for a month before she was allowed to see her son and her

Continued on Page 6

GERMAN WITCH-HUNT

ON 14 APRIL, at four o'clock in the morning, the Cologne police arrested our comrade, Ralf Stein. Since then he has been held in detention in the Ossendorf prison in Cologne. Ralf was a member of the editorial collective of the German anarchist magazine Befreiung, and took on the legal responsibility for its publication. He is accused of having organised arms caches, and of belonging to a "criminal association" (para 129 of the legal code). Both charges rest entirely on police interrogation of two people from Cologne arrested on the 26 November 1974. One of the couple had belonged for a short period to the Cologne Black Cross but had soon left it and founded a "Black Help" group: he was finally arrested as a member of a group accused of belonging to the 2nd of June Movement. He was always considered to be unreliable and irresponsible. Neither was known to be active in any libertarian group at the time of arrest, but they claimed to be part of a clandestine group, and declared that Ralf Stein had shown them a hiding place for arms.

Stein was an active member of the

JUNE 26. ANTI-ANARCHIST WITCH HUNT IN GERMANY. Solidarity with German Prisoners. Public mtg., adm free- Int. Libertarian Centre, 83a Haverstock Hill NW3 (entrance 2nd door Steele's Rd; nearest tube Chalk Farm) 7.30 p.m. JUNE 26.

SWISS' CONFUSION ... from Page 5

lawyer, in the presence of Schlaepfer, the head of the political police in Zurich. In the meantime, the public prosecutor held a press conference in which he stated that Petra Krause was at the centre of an incredible international organisation in possession of gigantic arsenals of weapons intended to supply exponents of the armed struggle in the whole of Europe. He didn't present a scrap of evidence. As Rod Chapman says at the end of his story: "The bulk of the stolen arms have yet to be discovered."

In fact Chapman is amalgamating four separate stories - the story about Petra Krause, the story about Giorgio Bellini, one about members of the Italian Brigade Rosse, and one about a fiancée of an alleged member of the Red Army Fraction, none of whom are anarchists - to paint a picture of Switzerland as a hot-bed of anarchism.

What he fails to tell us is that the country is, in fact, a safe refuge for Italian neo-fascists wanted by the Italian police for bombing attacks. The local Swiss authorities turn two blind eyes to them, the Italian police make only half-hearted efforts to have them extradited, and in the meantime they are free to traffic in arms and explosives over the border and to organise other attacks.

D. L. M.

IG-Metall trade union, and the community action group of Nippes - a working class part of Cologne. He took part in the 1973 Ford strike in Cologne, the biggest and most important strike in post-war Germany, and he was sacked at the end of it. He has been under constant police surveillance ever since, and the witch-hunt against the German anarchist movement being carried out by the authorities under the pretext of preventive measures against the "Red Army Fraction" is a convenient way of de-activating a militant. The arrest of Ralf Stein is an attack not only on the anarchist movement but also on all activists trying to develop an autonomous workers' movement as a real alternative to private and state capitalism.

The Ralf Stein Defence Committee ask all comrades to send letters of protest to their German embassy and also to the judge at: Amtsgericht Köln, abt. 203, Zi 47, Richter Tiepel 5 KÖLN 1, Appellhofplatz 1.

To the Public Prosecutor at Bundes-anwaltschaft Karlsruhe, z. Hd. Herrn Bieger, KARLSRUHE, Postfach.

Union-member comrades who wish to gather signatures for declarations of solidarity in their factories should send them to I.G. Metall, Ortsleitung Köln, 5 KÖLN, Hans-Böckler-Platz, and a copy, if possible, to the defence committee, whose address is: Ralf Stein Verteidigungskomitee, c/o R. Aurand, 5 KÖLN 30, Tieckstr. 49

Letters and cards of solidarity, in English if you don't know German, can be sent to:

Ralf Stein,
JVA,
5 KÖLN 30
Rochusstr. 350
GERMANY

BEWARE OF TALK ON TRAINS

BILL HETHERINGTON is one of 14 people already charged with conspiracy to incite disaffection. The 14 pacifists are on trial in connection with a leaflet called "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" which gives information about ways of leaving the forces, to soldiers who wish to do so. The trial will start on 29 September this year.

Bill was rearrested and charged yet again on Thursday 5 June - this time under the Incitement to Disaffection Act itself, and has been remanded in custody in Brixton prison; and all this as a result of a conversation on a train! The police said at Bow Street magistrates' court on Friday, 6 June that because he was (merely) accused of an offence related to the one he was already awaiting trial for, he couldn't be trusted on bail. In fact the "offence"

was telling someone he was facing trial. In his own words:

"I was engaged in conversation by one former and one present RN sailor, and happened to mention the level of police harassment and lack of civil liberty in this country. Meeting with incredulity, I was pressed to quote evidence and cited my own case. On 14 May, members of the Special Branch visited me and asked a series of leading questions about the conversation - from which it is apparent that not only friendship, but the mere discussion of one's charge may be a crime!" As a result of the conversation (whoever may have reported it) Bill is charged with "maliciously and advisedly endeavouring to seduce a member of HM forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty". The Director of Public Prosecutions thinks it is illegal to talk to a member of the forces about a court case involving alleged attempts to communicate with members of the forces!

If you feel that all citizens have a right to freedom of communication, including members of the armed forces, we ask you to join with us to create an effective defence campaign for Bill Hetherington and all supporters of the BWNIC facing charges because they believe that there can be no military solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.

For further details of the persecutions, please contact The BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London, W.C.. (01-837 9794)

BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTHERN IRELAND CAMPAIGN.

LETTER

Dear Sir,

FIREWEED

On May 24 you published a review of our new magazine, Fireweed, which contained so much outright falsehood that I must ask for space to reply. The reviewer Arthur Moyse's main point was that the magazine "has little in common with socialism and the workers". One third of our space was given to two stories (not mentioned by Moyse) written by an ex-foundry worker about foundry work and by the wife of a Vickers worker from Barrow about her working-class childhood in Leeds. The poetry that Moyse calls "rambling, impressionistic" and "fashionable ten years or so ago" - which he evidently thinks out of date already! - includes a major poem by Pablo Neruda, 'The People', which is a heartfelt socialist tribute by Neruda, packed with detail of working lives, to those ordinary people of his country who risked their lives to attend his funeral in September 1973. Moyse could easily have seen (from the Contents of No 1 and the information on future contents) that we will be giving ample space to rank-and-file writers, yet he contemptuously mentions our famous contributors (Wesker, Bond, Arden, Vonnegut, etc.) as some sort of argument that we are dealing in the work of "the honoured dead". How young would our contributors have to be to suit Moyse? And would they have to be totally unknown to please his inverted snobbery about our printing of work by some of the most skilled and militant playwrights and novelists now available?

The fact is that our magazine is written by workers and socialists for workers and socialists; and for Arthur Moyse (with all his professed concern for "we the working class") to hide this from your readers smacks of that sectarian in-fighting which has bedevilled the Left for generations. From the next review in his article (of Donald Gardner's poetry paperback *For the Flames*), it turns out that Moyse is in favour of "the lunatic fringe", "the mystic and the lover". If that is his real position, he should come out with it openly instead of pretending to speak for "we the proletariat". We on *Fireweed* actually make no such claims, though Moyse at one point says we do. All we are offering is the work of some working-class or socialist photographers and painters and poets and novelists and song-writers, because we know from bitter experience that the media make it hard for art created by or for the under-privileged (poor, enslaved, exploited) to get the currency it deserves.

Yours sincerely,
David Craig, Nigel Gray
(Editors: *Fireweed*)

107 Bowerham Road, Lancaster.

REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLES

Dear Editors,

Some reply is in order to the disgusting smears which appeared in your issue of 24 May. I am referring to the article disguised as a review of the anarchist press but which was largely devoted to insidious anti-Anarchist Workers Association propaganda. I call it propaganda because there was not one political argument raised in the whole piece.

The author sneered at *Libertarian Struggle's* honesty when it was stated therein that members had left AWA, some of whom joined Trotskyist groups. By mysterious logic this was manipulated to infer that because people left group 'A' to join group 'B', therefore 'A' must equal 'B'!! The poverty of this rubbish must be obvious to even AWA's bitterest opponents.

The truth is that the whole anarchist 'movement' has been impoverished in the last few years, as hundreds have joined the Marxist elites. Look at the columns of *FREEDOM* through the years. Where are all those groups now? Look at the ex'anarchs who abound in IS and IMG etc.

We will continue to lose good militants to the authoritarian Left until libertarians can be seen to present viable class war alternatives in labour's struggle against capital. To point to the valuable work done in squats as being the anarchist model is not good enough. The main fight in this huge war is not in this field. We must get our

LETTERS

hands dirty in the economic battle-ground. We have as much to learn from the working class as revolutionary anarchism has to offer them. We must integrate and fight with the masses inside and outside their organisations. With deep class roots, anarchists can then look forward to the social revolution.

So please, *FREEDOM*, no more of that garbage, differences surely can be debated on a more meaningful level than the 'If you disagree with me you can't be an anarchist' type, or worse, sly innuendoes based on prejudice.

Yours fraternally,
D. Young
(AWA member)

From Nicolas Walter

John Morgan's description of me as an "armchair revolutionary" (compared to whom?), and of my recent remarks about the *Organisational Platform* and about the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists (now the Anarchist Workers Association) as "mostly jealous slanders" (jealous of whom? slanders of whom?), serves the purpose of most abuses -- to avoid unpleasant facts.

It is a fact that the authors of the *Organisational Platform* included some veterans of the Makhnovist movement in Russia which had been destroyed by the Bolsheviks; but it is equally a fact that the critics who pointed out that the *Organisational Platform* advocated the equivalent of a party organisation for the anarchist movement also included some veterans of the Makhnovist movement. It is yet another fact that the main author, Arshinov, later returned to Russia and to Bolshevism. I mentioned such facts in *Wildcat*, but I have never accused "the Makhnovshchina revolutionaries of being Leninists", as Morgan suggests. Similarly it is a fact that Arshinov's example was followed forty years later by the so-called Left Tendency of ORA; and it is a further fact that those anarchists who turned to Trotskyism included some of the founders of ORA. An incidental fact is that *Peace News*, after moving towards anarchism during the early 1960s, officially became anarchist in 1968.

Morgan might make a better job of "writing naked truth" if he would wait until his blood stopped boiling. There is no value in comments, however harsh, if they are not based on fact.

N. W.

Dear Comrades,

I was pleased you were daring enough to publish John Morgan's letter expounding the virtues of AWA/ORA and the relative uselessness of the rest of the anarchist movement. You will no doubt realise that the reason I do not congratulate you on your daring is that I do not consider it very great, and

you will permit me to doubt that you do either.

From many possible areas of contention that I might take up with comrade Morgan from his letter, let me limit myself to the following three.

First of all, in a number of criticisms of the phenomenon he refers to respectively as the "British Anarchist Movement (sic)" and then the "traditional anarchist movement" he deplores its failure "to identify with the toiling masses". Now even if one accepts that this is a desirable objective in general, as I would do, I would like comrade Morgan to explain whether this tactic should be mandatory on all those who consider themselves part of the anarchist movement. If he is in favour of this how could he describe such a movement as even modestly libertarian, remembering that the movement is not a membership organisation? And if he doesn't favour it how can he complain when those whose anarchism is of a different strain do not involve themselves in the class struggle. For you need make no mistake about it, comrade Morgan, anarchists were occupied in the class struggle before ORA/AWA was formed, and will continue to do so in the future.

Secondly I take issue with the claim that "because it is the democratically controlled organ of an organisation which is moving towards a libertarian communist society..." *Libertarian Struggle* is an anarchist paper. Now I am not denying that *Libertarian Struggle* is an anarchist paper. But the point I find most confusing is the apparent conviction that being "democratically controlled" makes it anarchist. I would say all that made it was democratically controlled, but I would be most interested to hear of any connection comrade Morgan has been able to establish between anarchism and "democratic control". I have held the view that anarchism stood out against the domination of minorities by majorities, and would think that the democratic control of a paper made it either definitely non-anarchist or possibly anarchist in spite of being democratically controlled.

Lastly, in his diatribe against "liberal ideas and counter revolutionary forces" we find included freedom of speech among those ideas the movement has failed to break with. I consider that advocacy of complete freedom of speech for all shades of opinion is central to anarchism. I further believe that those who speak out against it in the anarchist movement are moving towards a belief in the advantages of "broad left forces to oppose facism" or "a united front of working class organisations to fight racism" depending on whether the movement is under the control of stalinists or trotskyists. Either way I would suggest that the path that is being approached is a dangerous one for anarchists to tread. They are better advised, in my opinion, to eschew apparent short term tactical advantages in favour of adherence to long standing anarchist principles.

Yours fraternally,
Tom Star.

PRESS FUND

29 May - 11 June 1975

SPALDING: N.L. £ 2; WHALLEY: P.A. & S.L.G. £ 3; NORTHAMPTON: T.H. £ 2; LONDON N.7: J.H.J. 55p; London E.16 P.W. 20p; VILLAS, N.J.: H.W. 45p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 1.20; J.K.W. 20p; LONDON E16: P.W. £ 2.07; London: S.A.P. 45p; Anon: 35p; COLCHESTER: P.E.N. 25p; BOLTON: L.C. £ 1; LONDON E16: P.W. 20p; D.T. 10p; London E.4.: S. & A.G. £ 1; LONDON S.E.18 R.A.S. 40p; HAMPTON, Mddx. B.P.B. £ 1; LOS ANGELES: S.S. £ 8; SAN FRANCISCO: A.M. £ 20.80; LONDON W9: B.C. £ 1.25; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; LINCOLN: D.G. & A.B. £ 2; LLANTRISANT: P.S. 37p; GUILD-FORD: J.N. 50p; CHALFONT ST. PETER: W.C. £ 6; DUNDEE: B.F. 20p.

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THE STOCKHOLM International Peace Research Institute states in its 1975 Yearbook that the United States and the Soviet Union will have the ability within five years to obliterate each other a hundred times over.

THE LONDON Borough of Camden states it has been unable to collect rates for the past year on the 36 maisonettes in Centre Point, the controversial office block in Central London. They are taking out a warrant and are considering starting liquidation proceedings against the owners.

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GROUPS

Libertarian Group-Abergafenni. Anyone interested contact 31 Monmouth Rd., Abergafenni.

Anarchists in HARROW area interested in forming group please write to Chris Rosner 20 Trescoe Grds., Rayners Lane, Harrow, HA2 9TB

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

COVENTRY. Peter Come, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry, Warwickshire.

DUNDEE. Brian Fleming, c/o Anarchist Society, Students Union, University of Dundee, Dundee, Angus.

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union St., Edinburgh (tel. 031-226 3073)

GLASGOW. Gerry Cranwell, 163 Great George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hay, 34 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch 4 (tel. 496 793).

CONTACT

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTRUM No.3 8p + post from AL 16 Kingsmill Avenue, Whalley, Lancs, or Freedom Bookshop.

DIRECT ACTION No. 7. 5p + 5 p from Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M1 7DU, or Freedom Bookshop.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST (IWW) No. 3 10p + 5 p from Freedom Bookshop or Organising Committee, 116 Chadderton Way, Oldham (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124)

THE MATCH I U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic \$3.00 per year from PO Box 3480, Tucson Arizona 85722. Or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13 p including post. ROAD RUNNER, radical Christian mag. for struggles & celebrations of revolution Sub £ 2.50 for 12 issues, £ 1.25 for six. Single copy 15p (+ 5 p post from Freedom Bookshop). Issue 58 out now - on Caribbean, Xian Left, poems on Middle East, Islam. Still some No.56 Giant Health issue left.

PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd., London SW18, 3HS. Letters, postcards (nobody's writing.)

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1 still needs funds for books. GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILAN. The postcard we mentioned in Freedom, addressed to Marini in prison and with greeting in Italian, is still available from Freedom for 5 p (our postage to you) plus a donation for the defence.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday, 5 July. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding and informal get-together.

MEETINGS

British Withdrawal from N.Ireland. BWNIC rejects any military solution in Ireland; calls for an immediate withdrawal of troops and an end to the union; meets at The Bank, Tolmers Square, London NW1, Wed. July 9 at 7.30 p.m.

NAT SECULAR SOC. Public Mtg. "Why Exorcism Bedevils the Bishops" Speakers Eric Maple, Barbara Smoker, Jim Herrick. 7.45 p.m. Thurs. 3 July at Caxton Hall, SW1 (nearest tube St. James' Park)

CAMBRIDGE Folk Festival. There will be an anarchist presence at the Festival 25 June-7 July. Comrades are invited to join us on the free camp site. Further details from P. Silcock, 51 City Road, Cambridge SCOTLAND July 25-Aug. 22. "Connections" - live, work, play, learn together, write, think at Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire. Send sae for details

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

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door) Tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Fm. From 7.30 pm discussions, snacks.

MANCHESTER. SWF weekly mtgs. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd., Manchester, M1 7DU

FRANCE. International Camp organized by French CNT near Perpignan., 1 July - 30 August, 3F per day per person. All comrades from the IWWA welcome. For details write to CNTF, 9 rue Duchalmeau, 66000 PERPIGNAN. Discussion, entertainment.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

REDESIGN: Print - how to do it yourself. There are two requests for this o/p booklet. 1) wanted before end June by Brian Fleming Blairfield Farm, Birkhill, Dundee. 2) a copy to send to Spain. Please send to Editors, Freedom for transmission.

LIBRARY WORKERS contact Martin Everett 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW, with a view to forming network

POEMS & SONGS wanted from all over world for Abolish War Encycl/Anthol. Anarcho-Pacifist, Antimilitarist, Antiracialist, also COs' Tribunal Statements. Any language. Mark Wm. Kramisch, 55 Camberwell Church St., London S.E.5.

PORTUGAL

an Appeal

OUR COMRADES from the Portuguese libertarian movement, editors and readers of A Batalha, need the support of the anarchist movement all over the world in order to present a revolutionary alternative to Portuguese people in struggle

The Portuguese movement needs money, books, contacts and ideological support from all over the world. If you have anything to offer please send it to MOVIMENTO LIBERTARIO PORTUGUES, RUA ANGELINA VIDAL A-2º-ESQ., LISBON, PORTUGAL.

CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE

THE ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

At this point you may be asking: what has all this to do with what we in the West understand by 'the alternative society'? As we understand it, the alternative society is the latest expression of the counter-culture, a broad cultural revolution that has been developing since the 1950s in the advanced, hyper-industrialised societies of the Western world -- a revolution fostered by diverse, often conflicting, groups of mainly young people - the beats, hippies, yippies, civil rights and black militants, anti-Vietnam war resisters, women's liberationists, gay liberationists, radical ecologists, Provos and Kabouters in Holland, the international situationists, and New Leftists generally. At first glance, it may be difficult to see any connection between this motley coalition, some of whose constituent elements have already disappeared from the public scene, and the revolutionary Gandhians of India with their vision of the alternative Sarvodaya society. But, if one looks more closely, I believe it is possible to see a connection. Along with important differences, there are some significant resemblances and parallels in beliefs, sentiments and attitudes between the Gandhians and Western counter-culturalists, especially those of the latter who are involved in trying to extend the movement from the purely cultural level to the level of institutions by building counter, or alternative, institutions.

Because of the diffuse and fragmentary character of the counter-culture, it is difficult to generalise about it; but it is possible to pick out some of its main ideas for the purpose of comparison with those of Gandhi and the contemporary Gandhians.

Central to the counter-culture is a radical critique of modern industrial civilisation and the materialist values it represents. What is being called into question is not merely capitalist society but also, in the words of one of the posters that appeared on the walls of Paris in May 1968, industrial society itself. Industrialisation and its concomitant, urbanisation, which have developed since the 16th Century as a result of the application of science and technology to all spheres of social life, are seen as having consequences which are thoroughly dehumanising. Man in modern industrial society has become alienated from nature, from himself, and from his fellow-men. Based on the plundering of the planet's limited natural resources and the exploitation of the peoples of the Third World, Western industrialism has succeeded in producing, if only temporarily, the affluent, consumer society. For the mass of people in the Western world, capitalist and communist alike, the standard of material life has never been higher at the same time as the quantitative standard of living has never been lower. Life, dedicated to consumption, has become largely a meaningless ritual in which people passively play the roles allotted to them by the bureaucrats and technocrats who control the huge, impersonal organisations that constitute the operative units of modern society. It is from this kind of life, as they see it, that those in the counter-culture 'drop out' in order to engage in the search for a more meaningful existence. The competitive rat-race for more material goods and higher status is abandoned in favour of the more simple life, a life in which it is no shame to be poor so long as one's poverty is voluntary and in which people are no longer judged by what they possess but for their human qualities.

The counter-culture's critique of contemporary industrial society is not novel. From Rousseau onwards there has been a continuous line of social critics who have argued in much the same terms. And in this line, among others like Ruskin and Tolstoy who influenced him, stands Gandhi. Gandhi's first important pamphlet, *Hind Swaraj*, published in 1909, the writing of which did much to crystallise his thinking, is a severe condemnation of modern civilisation which he likened to 'a deadly upas tree'. Part of his object

GANDHI & THE

in writing it was to remind his own fellow-countrymen of the strengths and virtues of traditional Indian civilisation, but there is no doubt that he was deeply convinced of the treacherously deceptive and self-destructive tendencies inherent in Western industrial civilisation. Modern man, he argued, had become a slave to the machine which had encouraged the endless fabrication of material wants at the expense of his genuine needs as a human being. The pamphlet is notable for its condemnation of the railways, for its attack on the professions of doctor and lawyer, and for its comparison of the Mother of Parliaments to 'a sterile woman and a prostitute'. Later, Gandhi modified his wholesale condemnation of the machine, but he never retracted the view that it should be kept firmly under human control and that industrialism and mass production, concentrating production and distribution in the hands of the few, would be the curse of mankind. Nor did he waver in his conviction that 'Civilisation in the real sense of the word consists not in the multiplication but in the deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants'.

THE MACHINE

Gandhi's belief that 'You cannot build nonviolence on the basis of a factory civilisation' led him to stress the importance of developing cottage industries and crafts, such as hand-spinning by means of the *charkha*. Apart from its very practical benefit in providing work for India's unemployed villagers, the spinning-wheel possessed several symbolic meanings for Gandhi. It symbolised simplicity in living, the importance of bread labour, and the need for self-expression, self-reliance and self-sufficiency. He did not expect the whole world to take up the practice of spinning, but he did think it necessary that mankind should accept the wider message of the *charkha*. In this respect there is a clear parallel between Gandhi's ideas and those in the counter-culture engaged in the search for, and exploration of, alternative technology. In his recent book on this subject (*Alternative Technology*), David Dickson argues that 'the main importance of alternative technologies does not lie in the particular solutions which may be offered to certain problems. Rather it is in the approach that they represent, that technology should be designed to meet human needs and resources - and not the other way round - and the recognition that radically different patterns of technological development may not only be desirable but necessary'. (P.39.) This statement echoes Gandhi's views, and, indeed, Dickson goes on to say that the approach 'ties in with Gandhi's recommendation that "every machine that helps every individual has a place, but there should be no place for machines that concentrate power in a few hands and turn the masses into mere machine-minders, if indeed they do not make them unemployed".'

COUNTER-CULTURE

The counter-culture's critique of industrial society questions not merely the uses to which technology has been put but also the basic mode of thought underlying it -- the rational, scientific, positivist mode which makes a sharp distinction between facts and values, means and ends, the objective and the subjective, and which seeks to reduce all problems to questions of technique. For old-fashioned radicals brought up to equate progress with the onward march of science and reason, no aspect of the counter-culture is, perhaps, more bewildering than the apparent relapse of the new generation into mysticism and irrationality. As Roszak observes in *The Making of a Counter Culture*, 'if one scans any of the underground weeklies, one is apt to find their pages swarming with Christ and the prophets, Zen, Sufism, Hinduism, primitive shamanism, theosophy, the Left-Handed Tantra...' and 'No anti-war demonstration would be complete without a hirsute, be-cowbelled contingent of holy men, bearing joss

ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

sticks and intoning the Hare Krishna.' (p. 140-1). Undoubtedly, there is an element of the fad and the craze in this aspect of the counter-culture, but underlying it is a serious, basically religious, quest for the meaning of life, a search for the real self, prompted by the conviction that there are aspects of reality not revealed to the scientific consciousness. The interest in, and use of, hallucinogenic drugs - the whole psychedelic experience - which has so disturbed straight society, is, of course, connected with this search. As Timothy Leary made clear with his League for Spiritual Discovery, LSD and 'pot' are seen as ways of expanding our normal rational consciousness to assist the search for the reality that lies beyond it.

Gandhi would have had no truck with the idea that there is any chemical short-cut to spiritual enlightenment, but he would not, I believe, have been unsympathetic to the search itself; and nor would he have objected to the counter-culture's exploration of a wide variety of religious paths. Subscribing to the Hindu belief in the spiritual nature and unity of the Cosmos, he insisted on the equality of all religions; all religions, even atheism, were for him merely different ways of seeking God. Truth, the Ultimate Reality. Advancing beyond Gandhi's position, Vinoba has developed the doctrine of Scientific Spirituality. Both science and spirituality, he suggests, are valid forms of knowledge, the one concerned with the outer, and the other with the inner world. For real progress, both must advance together. Science without spirituality is blind and destructive, threatening the future of the human race. On the other hand, spirituality without science often masks a subtle selfishness, a futile quest for individual liberation from the ego. What is needed is a synthesis of science and spirituality, from which, he suggests - striking a note that harmonises with the counter-culture - there will result the transcending of man's present level of consciousness and the attainment of a higher level at which it will be recognised that the days of both religion and politics in their old and presently accepted sense are over.

THE NEW POLITICS

As this last point implies, the Sarvodaya movement is engaged in developing what it sees as a new kind of politics. This is another area in which there are strong resemblances between the ideas and practices of the Gandhians and those of the counter-culture. The old politics is about power and the organisation of parties to win or to seize state power, either to maintain the status quo or to institute changes from above. The new politics is about people and how they live their everyday lives, and it is suspicious of the very concept of power in so far as it implies the ability to command others rather than the capacity to work with others for mutually agreed ends. Summarising the counter-culture's attitude to power, Frank Musgrove writes in *Ecstasy and Holiness* (p. 86): 'The gross power of government, industrial, military (and educational) bureaucracies, as well as their infrastructure of rule-regulation, are seen as exploitive and dehumanising. Small-scale human groupings might function with less power and conceivably without fixed and formally designated positions of authority, hierarchies need to be less pronounced, if they are needed at all, and in any case lower-order members should share in an organisation's management. But power and authority are in any event corrupting both for those who exercise and for those who submit to them: a truly human life can only be lived outside the formal power structures of society. Deference is degradation, ambition is corruption, and rule-observation and bureaucratic routine a denial of human spontaneity and autonomy.' These are sentiments which are echoed by the Gandhians -- or, more accurately, were voiced by them before the counter-culture was heard of. Gandhi himself, Father of the Nation, accepted no office in the new Indian state and advised constructive workers to keep out of politics. Sarva Seva Singh, the organisation of revolutionary Gandhians, whose own structure reflects the new politics, proscribes membership of political parties and has developed the doctrine of partyless democracy -- a communitarian, participatory democracy in which decision-making is by consensus. Contrasting the old politics of the state (*Raj-niti*) with the new politics of

the people (*lok-niti*), Jayaprakash Naryan has stated: 'The politics of Sarvodaya can have no party and no concern with power. Rather its aim will be to see that all centres of power are abolished. The more the new politics grows, the more the old politics shrinks. A real withering away of the State.'

A central concept in the new politics, both of Sarvodaya and of the counter-culture, is the concept of community. This is not surprising, since the development of industrial society has involved the destruction or debilitation of community-type groups in favour of groups of the association-type. An association is an instrumental organisation, formed by deliberate, rational will, to serve some specific purposes of those who compose it. Its constituent elements are not whole persons but fragments of persons, with limited, specific roles. A community, in contrast, is an expressive organisation, formed by natural will, composed of whole persons who - usually by accident rather than by design - are joined together in sharing a common life. There is no inherent limit on the size of associations, and they have a tendency to expand and, with expansion, to become increasingly impersonal and bureaucratic. Communities, however, if they are to remain real communities, must be limited in size, and they flourish best when their scale is relatively small and they are based on particular localities.

GRAMDAM

Gramdam is, of course, the Sarvodaya expression of community. In the Indian situation, the villages in which 80% of the population live still exist as communities, although gravely undermined by the effects of industrialisation and the incursion of the market economy. The task in India, therefore, presents itself as the rehabilitation and renewal of existing local communities. In Western industrial societies the situation is different and the problem more difficult. The counter-culture, therefore, has revived the old utopian socialist idea of the intentional community in the form of the commune. Thousands of communes, often short-lived, have proliferated, especially in the United States, in recent years, mainly but not entirely in a rural setting. It is generally agreed that it is in these communes that the values of the counter-culture find their most complete expression. At the same time, others in the counter-culture have directed their activities towards strengthening the tissues of their local, usually near-moribund, communities. They are involved in community action of various kinds -- forming tenants' associations, organising squats to house the homeless, running community and information centres, and legal aid centres, starting free schools and free clinics, setting up food co-ops, health stores, and community craft centres, publishing local community papers, and so on. All these activities and the emphasis on local action accord well with Gandhi's idea of *swadeshi*. 'Swadeshi' means literally 'the use of locally produced goods', but Gandhi re-defined it as 'that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote'. One of the marks of the politics of alienation is to focus on remote objects or causes over which we have little or no control. Unalienated man, or man striving to overcome his alienation, naturally focuses on matters of immediate concern to him and his neighbours. At the same time, the spirit of *swadeshi* does not encourage mere 'parish pump' politics which fails to make connections between immediate local issues and the larger issues. Localism and universalism are not incompatible but complement each other. In the Gandhian view, the man of the future will feel himself to be both a citizen of his local community and a citizen of the world. And much the same idea is present in the counter-culture, members of which have transcended the old national loyalties and identify more readily with others like themselves throughout the world than they do with straight members of their own society.

A NEW LIFE-STYLE

Pursuing its new politics of the people, the Sarvodaya movement has developed a coherent strategy for achieving the new society. There is disagreement, often severe, about tactics, particularly about the tactic of confrontation as opposed to peaceful construction. But the broad strategy is clear. It starts from Gandhi's proposition that 'A nonviolent revolu-

tion is not a programme for the seizure of power, but it is a programme for the transformation of relationships'. And this programme begins with the individual who accepts the new values. If this acceptance is more than nominal, this means changing how he lives -- his life-style. He starts to live, or to try to live, according to his conception of how men will live in the society of the future. As other individuals do likewise, they join together in giving institutional expression to the new values, for only in this way can these values be given some permanence and self-defeating compromises with the old society be avoided. As the revolution develops piecemeal and gradually -- although, if the times are propitious, also quite rapidly -- it moves outward from the individual to the social and downward from the cultural to the institutional level. The new society, then, is built up within the shell of the old. And it is built up from below, by the direct action of the people themselves. Sarvodaya workers, those engaged full-time in the movement, are not the instruments of this revolution. Their role is to advise, help and serve the people, and to act as the catalytic agents of social change. To do this, they need to live with and to identify with the people whose lives are being transformed. Looked at from the perspective of power, the revolution is a progressive realisation of the power inherent in the people, the power which in the old society has been alienated from them and objectified in various forms of oppression. Answering the charge that Bhodan was merely organised charity, Vinoba in 1956 described the revolution he was about in these terms: 'My aim is to bring about a three-fold revolution. Firstly, I want to change people's hearts. Secondly, I want to create a change in their lives. Thirdly, I want to change the social structure... We do not aim at mere acts of kindness but at creating a Kingdom of Kindness.'

The counter-culture is not a social movement in the same way as the Sarvodaya movement. It has no directing centre and no coherent strategy for planned social change. It has developed spontaneously and fragmentarily in reaction to the dominant culture. It is largely a generational phenomenon, mainly confined to a tiny percentage of those aged 35 years and under. It may all fizzle out, leaving just a few traces behind on the main culture, bending here and there straight society. But there are signs that it is still developing and its ideas becoming more widespread as awareness increases of the looming crisis facing industrial society. One reason for being optimistic about its continued growth, despite its declining visibility in the mass media, is the recent emphasis on the concept of 'the alternative society' -- a concept that is tending to replace that of 'the counter-culture' in the same way as that replaced the older concept of 'the underground'. Particularly among those engaged in 'making the alternative society' it is possible to discern an implicit strategy broadly similar to that of the Sarvodaya movement. Referring to the rebellion associated with the new consciousness, Charles Reich (*The Greening of America*) writes that it 'originates with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act'. There is also the same insistence that personal liberation and social liberation go hand in hand; and, as Richard Neville puts it (*Play Power*) that 'The days of 9 to 5 radicalism are over'. The alternative society is to be made by uniting theory and practice in everyday actions, by individuals changing their life-styles, acting authentically, and joining directly with others in collective endeavours expressive of the new values. Nothing could be further from the spirit that moves the new generation than Bernard Shaw's statement (*The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism*): 'Should you become a convert to Socialism you will not be committed to any change in your private life, nor indeed will you find yourself able to make any change that would be the smallest use in that direction.' And nothing could be nearer to that spirit than Gandhi's simple assertion: 'Socialism begins with the first convert.'

GANDHI AND SEX

So far I have been concerned to point out some of the resemblances between Gandhian thought and the ideas of the counter-culture. But there are, of course, also striking differences which affect the ethos of the two movements. One large area of life in which they are poles apart is indicated by the phrase, 'sexual liberation'. Gandhi, as I have mentioned, supported women's emancipation. 'If I was born a woman,' he said, 'I would rise in rebellion against any pretension on the part of man that woman is born to be his plaything.' But on other

sexual matters he was pre-Freudian, let alone pre-Reichian. For him, human sexuality was not something to be delighted in but severely repressed. The love that he referred to in speaking of positive nonviolence was agapaic love, and had nothing to do with erotic love. The slogan, 'Make love not war', would not have appealed to him; he would have been appalled by the frankness, obscenity, and pornography that features in many counter-culture publications; and he would have been even more horrified by the new generation's actual practising of the sexual revolution. Like the Pope, he thought sex was for procreation only, and the ideal satyagrahi should forego even that. Gandhi's stance on this important issue is explicable in terms of the ancient Hindu tradition of the path to self-realisation, but nothing distances him more from the contemporary counter-culture.

The other big difference between the counter-culture and Gandhian thought relates to nonviolence itself. The counter-culture's attitude to violence has been and remains radically ambiguous. Some elements in it, such as the Flower People of yesterday have been as gentle and nonviolent as one might wish, and from the beginning it has contained a core of committed pacifists. But other elements, especially those closest to the Marxist and the Bakuninite anarchist traditions, have no commitment to nonviolence; on the contrary, they have espoused the idea and practice of therapeutic violence. Some of the communes mentioned have, indeed, been the underground bases of those flirting with urban guerrilla warfare.

This ambiguous attitude of the counter-culture to violence brings me back, finally, to a point I made at the beginning.

Gandhian thought is constructed on the basis of the principle of Truth and its obverse, Nonviolence. The Nonviolence side of this dual principle, however, is not the nonviolence which presents itself merely as a technique for resolving conflicts or as a means of resistance to oppression. It is, rather, the nonviolence of a philosophy of life. If this were better understood, and if those of us who are concerned with 'Gandhi Today' were to present him as the Father of Sarvodaya rather than as the Father of Nonviolent Resistance, the relevance of what he and his followers have to say would be more apparent than it is. Given the similarities between Gandhian thought and the ideas of the counter-culture and the fact that Gandhi's ideas are all related to his principle of Nonviolence, the new generation might be assisted in resolving their ambiguous attitude to violence.

Twelve years ago, in the days of the mass civil disobedience campaigns of the Committee of 100, Nicolas Walter published an excellent pamphlet on *Nonviolent Resistance* in which he stated: 'Gandhi linked many things to satyagraha which aren't essential to it. His religious ideas (non-possession, non-acquisition, chastity, fasting, vegetarianism, teetotalism) and his economic ideas (self-sufficiency, 'bread-labour' and agrarianism) don't necessarily have anything to do with post-Gandhian nonviolence.' I hope that I have said enough to suggest that Walter was wrong. I would not disagree with him when he goes on to say: 'What we should do -- what he (Gandhi) would have wanted us to do -- is to take from him what we can, without being false to ourselves.' But I think it is now clear that there is a great deal more we can take from Gandhi than Walter -- and others who thought like him -- were prepared to admit. In short, Gandhi is a highly relevant figure for all those engaged in 'making the alternative society'.

Geoffrey Ostergaard.

VINOBE BHAVE ON GOVERNMENT

THERE IS a false notion abroad in the world that governments are our saviours and that without them we should be lost. People imagine that they cannot do without government. Now I can understand that people cannot do without agriculture, or industries; that they cannot do without love and religion. I can also understand that they cannot do without institutions like marriage and the family. But governments do not come into this category. The fact is that people do not really need a government at all. Governments grew up as a result of certain particular conditions in society. Men have not succeeded in creating a feeling of unity and avoiding divisions; we have not learned fully the art of working together without conflict, so we try to get things done by the power of the state instead; we try to do by punishment what can only be done by educating the community.

--from *Democratic Values*, selections from addresses 1951-1960 (Sarva Seva Sangh Prakashan, Kashi, 1962.)

WILLING SLAVERY

ESTIENNE DE LA BOÉTIE: *The Will to Bondage*. Edited by Wm. Flygare. Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles (£1.60 from Freedom Bookshop plus postage).

WHEN I FIRST became interested in libertarian ideas, twenty years ago, I found it very difficult to discover how and by whom they had been developed. There were many writers of the past mentioned in the anarchist and pacifist press whom I had never heard of and whose writings seemed to be almost unobtainable. One of these was Etienne de La Boétie, a sixteenth-century Frenchman who has written an essay called the *Discours de la Servitude Volontaire* which was said to discuss political obedience and disobedience in strikingly modern terms, but which took me a long time to track down. In the end I only managed to read it in the British Museum, when I immediately decided that it ought to be more widely available and began looking up material about it. I found plenty of French editions, but only two translations -- a good English one of 1735 and a bad American one of 1942 -- and it seemed to me that the best thing would be to reprint the former with a new introduction.

When the general revival of interest in libertarian ideas began to make such a project feasible, fifteen years ago, I suggested a reprint of La Boétie's *Discours* either as a special issue of *Anarchy* or as a *Peace News* Pamphlet (two fresh forms of publication in the early 1960s). In the end it was decided to publish it as the former, with the possibility of republishing it as the latter afterwards. It took a long time to transcribe the 1735 translation, revise the old spelling and punctuation, shorten the text by omitting a dozen long mythological and historical passages, and write an introduction making use of the material I had discovered. Eventually the first edition of the *Discours* to be published in this country for more than two centuries appeared in *Anarchy* 63 in 1966. It was far from perfect -- the old translation was odd though good, the omissions were regrettable though inevitable, and the introduction was compressed and incomplete -- but it was useful enough. The idea of reprinting it as a *Peace News* Pamphlet came to nothing because the Freedom Press had to distribute the type quickly, but at least anyone who has wondered as I had once wondered what La Boétie actually said has been able to find out without too much difficulty.

Now a new edition has been published in the United States. It appears in the *Libertarian Broadside Series*, following valuable reprints of essays by such individualist writers as Max Stirner and Benjamin Tucker; but as well as being rather expensive it is rather eccentric. The editor, Wm. Flygare,

who teaches at the Kyoto University of Foreign Studies in Japan, has a highly idiosyncratic approach to literary scholarship. A few years ago he contributed some articles on Stirner to *Minus One* (numbers 28-30) which were written in a strange style and contained some silly mistakes. (For example, he alleged that Camus's book *The Rebel* "devotes only four lines to Stirner"; that may be true of the English translation, but it is well known that this omits from the original French edition whole sections on Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Breton and Stirner -- and the latter contains not four lines but four pages.) His work on La Boétie is similarly uneven.

Flygare has produced the fullest edition of the *Discours* yet seen in English, providing the text both of the first complete French edition of 1577 and of the first English translation of 1735, not only in parallel pages but in parallel lines, the result looking like a bilingual prose poem. The endnotes are also weirdly arranged. He contributes an introduction of which most consists of a summary of the *Discours*, an alphabetical bibliography, and an annotated chronology from 1492 to 1974, and of which the rest is odd and often obscure. There is also a preface by James J. Martin, editor of the best available history of American anarchism, *Men Against the State*; this is characteristically clear and stimulating.

I said in 1966 that the *Discours* should really be called *Willing Slavery*, which is the literal meaning of the French

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A MISCELLANY this time, starting off with a reprint by Housmans, just out, of a pamphlet by Michael Tippett, the composer and president of the Peace Pledge Union: *Abundance of Creation* (15p + 52p). This was first issued in 1944 and discusses the relevance of the pacifist conviction to the process of artistic creation; it forms a small part of the special tributes to the author taking place in this year of his seventieth birthday.

A new book by Clem Gorman, author of *Making Communes* (now, alas, out of print) has just been published by Paladin: *People Together*, a guide to Communal living (90p + 11p). This is both a practical and a theoretical work, nicely balancing the one against the other -- a quick guide to how it can be and has been done, as well as why it ought to be done, especially at this time.

Joan Thomas, the wife of the late Ammon Henacy, has just published a moving and joyful biography of that pioneer of libertarian Christian pacifism, *The Years of Grief and Laughter* (£2.95 + 27p). Without a trace of the false reverence that sometimes characterises such works, the author has managed to allow the real man to emerge, warts and all, and the stronger for that; and provides in the process interesting sidelights on the Catholic Worker Movement, Dorothy Day and other contemporary radicals in the peace and progressive movements in the USA of the sixties.

An expensive, but marvellously informative reprint, is H. N. Brailsford's *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (£10.00 + 48p), originally published in England by the Cresset Press in 1961, it has now been reissued by the Stanford University Press. It remains the finest work on the Levellers to appear to date (Sabine's edition of Winstanley -- also in stock at £8.48 including postage, is specifically of Winstanley's work and his small circle of Diggers, and hardly touches upon "Free Born John" Lilburne and his less radical, more political Levellers at all).

Another expensive, but important, work is Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon's edition of the letters from exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman (*Nowhere At Home*). These less formal utterance of these two important figures give new insights and slants on their relationship, lifework and characters that are not so fully revealed in their more formal autobiographical works, *Living My Life* (Goldman: also in stock in 2 vols. at £4.96 the set including postage) and *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (Berkman: £2.07 including postage) -- and anyway, Berkman's book was written under such harrowing and traumatic circumstances that one cannot expect the objectivity and dispassionate rationality that one finds in these letters; dispassionate, rational, objective, yes -- but in no sense cool -- there is simplicity, directness and force here, and much moving eloquence. *Nowhere At Home* costs £6.00 + 30p post.

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Lastly, I thought I would plug a couple of the 'heavier' magazines stocked in the shop. *Our Generation* from Canada contains much of interest in the Canadian and wider libertarian scene, the last two issues for example containing articles by Murray Bookchin on "Spanish Anarchism", George Benello on "Anarchism and Marxism", and articles on the "Montreal Citizens' Movement" and the "Socialist Feminist Movement" in Canada, together with the reviews of new books, films and poetry (75p + 15p per sample issue).

Index on Censorship is an authoritative and vital monitor of freedom of expression under fire in Russia, South Africa, Ireland and the U.K., in fact throughout the world. Indispensable reading for all those interested in the establishment and then, hopefully, the maintenance of freedom of expression which is what will surely become the bulwark of a free society (90p + 15p per sample issue). J. H.

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phrase *Servitude Volontaire*; Flygare has chosen to call it *The Will to Bondage*, which has a similar if rather pompous effect. He has preferred an unabridged, unmodernised version of the translation, and has presented it in such a way that it is very difficult to read. He has collected a great deal of material about La Boétie, with due acknowledgement to his predecessors, but again has presented it in such a way that it is very difficult to follow.

This material contains some criticisms of my edition, which are worth replying to because they help to illustrate the curious character of Flygare's own edition. He calls my edition "scarce" and refers to the "poor availability" of *Anarchy* -- which Martin confirms by describing it as "a British journal with very limited circulation in America"; in fact *Anarchy* 63 has been continuously available from Freedom Press ever since it was first published nine years ago, and it is still easily available at a tenth of the price of Flygare's edition. He twice describes my presentation as "lukewarm"; I was mainly concerned to present La Boétie factually and impartially to readers who knew nothing about him, rather than to puff him rhetorically and often meaninglessly as Flygare does ('La Boétie's preterism-futurism admires and inspires ... La Boétie means far more for what he was than for what he did ... La Boétie appears to be dangling freedom before those who clutch fear ...'). He mentions my edition among those that "transgress the margin of error", but specifies only two of what he calls my "careless statements" -- that Emerson certainly knew the *Discours*, and that George Woodcock included La Boétie among the supposed precursors of anarchism; the former statement was possibly too positive, though I still think that Emerson's poem to La Boétie (which Flygare helpfully reprints in full) clearly betrays knowledge of the *Discours*, but the latter statement is undoubtedly true (see page 36 of Woodcock's *Anarchism*), which suggests that Flygare is rather careless himself.

Flygare's interpretation of La Boétie is rather too simplistically individualist. He accuses me of complaining that "La Boétie said how political obedience works. What he did not say ... is how political disobedience works." In fact I was not complaining but indicating the limitations of La Boétie's analysis; and the passage omitted from Flygare's quotation is the crucial phrase -- "and what we have not yet learnt" -- indicating the limitations of subsequent analysis. But Flygare is not really interested in any critical approach to La Boétie. He says that the *Discours* will appeal to "those regarding anarchism as a psychological reality rather than a 'social theory'", and he adds that it

Anarchist Press

THE THIRD issue of *Interrogations* (International Review of Anarchist Research, in 4 languages, available from Freedom Bookshop for 95p + 11p post) has appeared on time. A longer notice of it will appear in "Through the Anarchist Press", next issue.

"has suffered involuntary servitude under activists and passivists from loyalists to pacifists". Of course it would be absurd to force a young sixteenth-century French intellectual, writing for a tiny audience of intellectuals, into the mould of the social movement which has developed during the past four centuries; but it is surely just as absurd to pretend that the *Discours* has no relevance to wider issues. La Boétie emphasises that political obedience is essentially a collective phenomenon; it should also be emphasised that political disobedience is equally a collective phenomenon.

Incidentally, there are a few bibliographical details which I missed in 1966 and which Flygare has not noticed. In France interested editions of the *Dis-*

cours were published by political groups -- in the anarchist *Brochure Mensuelle* series in 1931, and in the Communist *Classiques du Peuple* series in 1963. I have also discovered that when La Boétie came "within the anarchist horizon during the 1890's", as I put it, the *Discours* was printed in *Les Temps Nouveaux* (the leading French anarchist paper from 1895 to 1914) along with many other neglected libertarian classics. This kind of work is a valuable function of the anarchist press, and it is a pity we don't do more of it. There are several good English texts which are not so much neglected as almost forgotten and, like La Boétie, several good writers who are still worth reading from time to time.

N. W.

WOMEN & CRIME

WHEN THE (government-appointed) Working Party on Vagrancy and Street Offences published a Working Paper in March, 1975, *Radical Alternatives to Prison* issued a press release criticising the fact that after three years of considering evidence relating to street offences, the Working Party had produced a report which "leaves the situation almost entirely unchanged. The Committee framed their terms of reference to include only 'the practical aspects of the law since 1959', thus failing to discuss the real issues... or to provide any constructive suggestions. When changes in the present law were proposed to the Working Party, e.g. replacing the term 'common prostitute' by 'any person'; introducing the concept of 'persistence' to the offence; requiring the person being solicited to give evidence - all were dismissed on the grounds that too much police time would be involved in obtaining convictions". RAP comments that this consideration of police time is not surprising, since the Committee of 13 contains four members from the police, one from the Department of the Director of Public Prosecutions, seven from the Home Office and

one from the Department of Health and Social Security. There was one woman only on the Committee.

RAP quotes a few examples from the report as revealing the prejudices of the Working Party, such as "... The way of life of the prostitute is so remarkably a rejection of the normal ways of society as to bear comparison with that of the drug addict" (RAP points out that the prostitute is only one half of a relationship; could it be suggested that the way of life of the client is in any way a total rejection of the normal ways of society?) and "We have little doubt that soliciting in public by homosexuals causes offence to the majority of people who have to witness it or who are themselves unwillingly accosted. Indeed it may well create a much greater revulsion than that produced by kerb crawlers or by female prostitutes in the streets". The law which the Working Party suggested for kerb crawlers would require that 'persistence' and 'offensiveness' be proved, whereas no proof of either is required in a charge of female soliciting. RAP points out that it is the policeman alone who infers that the prostitute is soliciting a client, his qualification for being judge and jury being that, in the words of the Working Paper, "officers on street offences duties are well able to distinguish the prostitute from the respectable woman". Adding inconsistency to prejudice, the Working Party admits that prison is not a deterrent for the female prostitute, but advocates it for homosexual offenders.

Commenting that the more successful prostitutes no longer work the streets ... it is the least successful, the unorganised, often homeless woman with perhaps other severe problems and disabilities who finds herself in prison (of the women admitted into Holloway prison each year who are or have been prostitutes, 15% have a history of mental breakdown, 25% have attempted suicide, 25% are alcoholics, 25% dependent on other drugs, 25% have a variety of physical disorder and deformities, many of which antedated prostitution).

Continued on Page 14



ARTHUR MOYSE

"If you have any marble left over carve a monument to the innocent by-stander."

IT WAS AN old Burlington hand who voiced the general consensus of opinion during the Press Day at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition with the statement that "standards at the Royal Academy have drastically fallen", and he was not referring to the thousand or more daubs that paper the walls. There was a time when we few, no more than thirty, stood at the buffet table and drank freely of the whisky and ate our fill of the smoked salmon sandwiches, only breaking the order of the hour by demanding gin and asparagus sandwiches. Those were the great days of but a year ago when it was a pleasure to prostitute



ARTHUR MOYSE
"GO PLAY IN THE YARD!"

WOMEN & CRIME, contd. from P.13

RAP concludes that soliciting, by men or women, should cease to be a criminal offence:

"... We feel that nothing else would remove the discrimination against women which is the result of the present law... for in a relationship which requires both a client and a prostitute, it is only the woman who suffers... Only long-term social and political changes... will reduce the need for much of the casual and some of the regular prostitution."

"... The working paper gives much weight to the annoyance of innocent men approached in the street and passers-by forced to witness such approaches. We believe that if we are to achieve a more tolerant and humane society, such nuisance will have to be accepted. When it is set against the lives of these women, the annoyance does not seem too great a burden. It is worth noting that women have been tolerating the approaches of men in the streets for centuries. We are not advocating the legalisation of prostitution, as has been done in other countries, for two reasons. First, it is probable that the unorganised prostitute would continue to exist outside a state system, and thus most likely find herself in prison for having no licence. Secondly, we find it offensive that the selling of one's body should become another capitalist industry."

M. C.

Some members of RAP in London are at present considering forming a Women and Crime Group, which they hope to launch in September with a short series of discussions on relevant topics with guest speakers. Relevant suggestions and participation would be welcomed.

one's principles. But this year it was only sherry and sausages, and five free sherries are not worthy of a pee. We the lumpenproletariat of the fourth estate puppy-pawed the tablecloth to attract the attention of the black-and-scarlet uniformed attendant in a bid for whisky and even made little mewling noises with our pursed lips but in vain, for he is a hard man who has stood at the buffet table for many years in his black and scarlet uniform. And even though he and I won the last war together he ignored my plea for he is of the type who would be drummed out of the Foreign Legion for cruelty to the enemy during battle. O my comrades there was a single bottle of whisky stashed under the buffet table and when a Very Important Personage wafted in it was produced like an altar chalice and one single shot of whisky was given to the VIP with the reverence of an underground priest offering the Blood of Christ to a CIA bishop passing through. This is what inflation means, and cold sober we began to wander through the empty rooms of this year's Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. A gentle smile from the lovely Griselda Hamilton-Baillie took the edge off my bitterness.

11,015 works were sent in, of which 1,300 were accepted and I feel that with that large number of works submitted and only a tenth put on public display there is some bureaucratic con job in operation. For each artist has to pay to submit a work, and no matter how high the general standard if there is no wall or floor space the work is rejected but not the fee. I would hold that if any work is accepted by the selection committee and the hanging committee cannot find space for it then the fee should be refunded. So I have made my yearly protest.

It is said that this year's exhibition is a dull affair with work of a particularly low level. But it is not the purpose of the Royal Academy to produce a mind-blowing exhibition; its purpose is simply and honestly to hold the mirror up to accepted British art at this particular moment in time, and at this particular moment in time standards are low. One wanders from room to room and nothing registers, for it is all good, solid, dull, academic pap. This is the negative virtue of this exhibition. But it has one positive virtue for which I am grateful, in that it is one of the rare occasions when one can see a number of good *trompe l'oeil* paintings. It is that type of painting in which by brilliant technique the artist creates the illusion of reality -- a fly, a photograph, a torn piece of newspaper. It is a dead art form. Pliny the Elder who was baked in the Vesuvius eruption in AD 79 mentioned this art from in his Natural History and its high point was during the Baroque period in Italy. And the Summer Show at the Royal Academy is a rare chance of seeing this traditional style of painting.

HAWKING THE

From Piccadilly to the wrong side of the river is a small series of steps, yet one goes from one dull academic exhibition to another. For the huge concrete mausoleum that is named the Hayward Gallery there is an exhibition ill named The Condition of Sculpture. Some short time ago the state-financed Hayward Gallery opened its doors to what they claimed was an exhibition of British Painting '74 (if memory serves me) and I held that it was no more than a collection of third rate abstractions paintings, the product of a small and untalented clique. This in itself is no crime. The crime was to call it British Painting '74, and once again we have the same sorry circus in Town but this time in the name of sculpture. Organised by William Tucker, it is no more than a closed club of "British and foreign artists", all playing with painted girders, sheets of Perspex, buckets of sand and all the rest of the tarted-up rubbish that littered London's galleries five or ten years ago. Kurt Schwitters died a quarter of a century ago and his small and worthy contribution to art was his 'merz' pictures wherein he built up small and sometimes lovely artefacts from rubbish he literally picked up in the streets of Hanover, for he showed that the rejected matter of an industrial society could be transformed into a work of art by reassembling it into a new, ordered framework. There is a limited market for Schwitters' tiny and dated collages but the market for its bastardised and elephantine offsprings seems endless, and every college campus must be littered with this talentless type of expressionism that demands no more than a supply of builder's material and an awed audience. It is art because it is placed within an art gallery and I remember the time when we all stood around a metallic structure that was not entered in the catalogue, to be then informed that it was the gallery heating radiator; and at the old AIA Gallery in Soho when we stood and examined a large crude abstract until we were informed that it was a sheet of hardboard roughly nailed to cover a broken door panel. Corny but so true in the context of this exhibition. The painted iron girder, the roll of chicken wire, the torn trousers nailed to the gallery wall were never works of art but a good and an honest protest against academic work that had finally degenerated into the wall-filling pap that fills this year's Royal Academy. But the dealers and the hucksters without talent have taken Schwitters' 'merz', degouted it, made it saloon car size, polished and painted it and called it sculpture, until it does not even have the vulgar honesty of fairground prizes. If you hold an exhibition of sculpture in London in 1975 that does not contain work by Elizabeth Frink, to name but one good working sculptress, then the whole thing, as with "British Painters '74", is a mindless charade unworthy of its ordered adulation.

OLD NOSTALGIA

The Tate Gallery for its sins has given the Town and his mindless frau the overrated trivia of Kenneth Martin, and with the work goes a catalogue of amazing pseudo engineering complexity. Small and simple arrangements of polished brass no higher than a pint size beer glass, they are pretty and rather unimportant metal doodles. Fix them to a thin chain and women would wear them as a rather pretentious decoration, and swaying in the dead air of the Tate they are small mobiles that lack Calder's appeal to the wandering eye. Good, simple scu... - nay, ensembles of brass wire and brass washers they gleam pretty-pretty in the grey light and in some small twee gallery off Bond Street they would be worth a moment of drifting time, but I find that the catalogue, so portentous, so pretentious, makes the exhibition out of place in this major gallery. It is a vade mecum that Leonardo could have accepted with its fine and intricate engineering drawings and a table of "Elements" and "Performance" that quoted out of context reads in part:

(2.3.) (3.4) (4.3) (3.2)
Position of cylinders

$$4=1+1+1+\frac{1}{2}$$

Relationship of tunnel to bars.

All this may be meaningful but the art it gestated is not worthy of the time and effort, for I see what I see, and what I see is minor work mounted on a major platform.

I will go along with this minor art form and within the context of a smart Bond Street gallery such as Gimpel Fils one can accept and enjoy the regional abstractions of Peter Lanyon, who died in 1964. He belonged to the St. Ives school of artists and his brash brush work was subordinated by his use of muted greens and greys. As with Barbara Hepworth, Nicolson, Moore, Kit Wood and the primitive Alfred Wallis, they produced an English regional art that found a world audience. There is Derek Boshier at Angela Flowers' Soho gallery. It is no more than a line of postcard-size travel photographs running around the gallery wall, of no importance in the scheme of things but one accepts it in the context of this romantic gallery, and with Angela, very tall and very lovely, handing out the wine dare one say more.

But there is major work on display within the Town at the Tate, with the exhibition of Henry Moore's 'Graphics in the Making'. I have always been, and still am, dubious about prints for they owe too much to the employed craftsman, but Moore's brilliance as an artist is beyond dispute and here are sketches of sculptured projects that make a sorry joke of Martin's intricate banalities. Here at the Tate is Moore's lithograph of the Spanish Prisoner that he produced to raise monies for the Spanish Republican soldiers imprisoned in France in

1939, and the Helment Heads of 1975 that drew on the Spanish Prisoner for its inspiration. There is much good work for the Town and his sullen frau to enjoy, from Derek Mynott's lovely water-colours at the Mall to Oliver Campion's bravura landscapes at the New Grafton Gallery, Ardizzone's gentle social comments at the Mayor Gallery to Andrew Murray's lyrical childlike vision, so simple yet so sophisticated, at the Portal Gallery.

Nostalgia's not what it used to be

But when all this has been said there is a great void in the creative arts of the hour and a need and a desire for the past. Nostalgia can be a thing of heart aching agony and the memory of the purple hills along the Shannon river, the darkness of a hot summer's night with the sound of the distant band and the threaded lights of the distant pier etching for eternity on the child mind are a cause for sorrow. And the Town has much nostalgia to offer for sale. Old halfpenny comics for sale at £1 a copy, and at the Editions Graphiques gallery the drawings of the film fantasy world of the 1930's. The pretty animal-like faces and the sense of guilt at the naked bodies and the old memories when Hollywood and Moscow were the twin heavens for the working class. Martin captures Hollywood as we would wish to remember it in a style related to its period and we paid for our dreams and we were well served.

It is all nostalgia in the Town from the Victoria and Albert's exhibition of the simple clinical art style and life style of the American pioneering Shakers to the exhibition of Chinese jade, and the exhibition of Juke Boxes 1935 to 1950 at the Kinsman Morrison Gallery - and at over a thousand pounds each dreams come expensive but they work and the voice of Elvis set the gallery swaying bottom to bottom. Even American Folk Art is in town at 69 Duke Street, W.1 in pioneering Mayfair, with an exhibition of Flagg's slightly less than awful collection of American recruiting posters, but there in the centre of the gallery a group of women sat round a crowded table making patchwork quilts in the style and the mode of two hundred years ago.. It was all very friendly but rather sad. Only the JPL Fine Arts at 23 Grafton Street, W.1 decided to keep one foot in the future, for their exhibition of DADA PLUS DADA AFTER FLUXUS PLUS JUDY CHICAGO contained not only work by the Old Masters such as Schwitters and Man Ray but work by Boshier and Patrick Hughes. Hughes is the master of the double take in the visual art and come the referendum he should take the crown from Magritte, but all in all it flows through the Town and little will be cast into history's net. But it amuses myself and the Town and his frau, and can we ask more of the age than that we laugh rather than cry.

Arthur Moyse.

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WHAT ABOUT THE WORKERS?

IT IS RELATED that after the French Revolution, revolutionaries went about looking for aristocrats; they examined the hands of suspects and if they were well-cared for and uncalled for their owners were sent for execution as counter-revolutionaries. Every now and again a similar witch-hunt takes place in left-wing movements, and with new concepts of 'anarchism' hints of such an attitude are dropped in anarchist circles and publications.

With technological change perhaps hands are not now the place to look for callouses, perhaps backsides and feet may be more appropriate places to look. Nevertheless, the concept of the 'working class' of the 'class struggle', the proletariat and their 'historic mission' still lingers in the Marxist-influenced sections of the left.

There is some confusion as to whether the definition 'working class' or 'workers' includes both workers by hand and brain or only hand workers - occasionally the expression 'toiling masses' creeps in and this usually excludes 'brain workers' who are assumed to be middle class (or as the swear word has it, bourgeois).

Since the introduction of a great deal of machinery, it is comparatively rare for workers to be subject to unremitting physical toil. In fact, the handling of great weights (since they have become so colossal) is necessarily left to machines, and the dockers (and others) spend a great deal of time arguing that the introduction of machines to lighten their physical work is a device which will probably ultimately make them redundant.

Also with technological growth the elimination of the skilled worker becomes more a possibility and the white coated technician takes over. He, by reason of his social position, basically is not a 'worker' or 'working class'.

It is arguable as to what is the definition of 'worker' or 'working class'. The 'Worker' is generally used as a sociological definition, and the working class or proletariat is the economic (or Marxist) term. One hesitates to use the term 'proletariat' since like many other Marxist terms it has a curious old-world, scholastic overtone. Marx was, in fact, an intellectual - almost purely so - and it is curious that in the jargon of insult the word 'intellectual' has come to have an insult-value in the same way that the words 'working-class' are a compliment. (One often comes across the failed double insult like 'ci-devant intellectual' or 'pseudo-intellectual' which are almost compliments.)

There is some hedging too on the definition that the working class does not own the instruments of production. It is comparatively easy to find skilled workers who own the tools of their trade and who are in fact, by manoeuvres largely fiscal in nature, self-employed.

Yet they are by no means capitalists, since they employ no one else.

As to 'intellectuals' as a class. It is impossible (and undesirable) to find anyone who does not, at some point, use their brains. Equally it is impossible (and undesirable) to find anyone who uses nothing but brains. Such categorization (frequent on the left) is mere inverted snobbery and an echo of the Nazi cry 'to think with the blood'.

Inverted snobbery is common in the worship of workers as the 'working-class', 'the salt of the earth', rather akin to the Rousseauian idea of the 'noble savage'. Marx's idea of the mission of the proletariat as the saviours of mankind is rather like a biblical prophecy. His ultimate idea of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is either Utopian or (as in the USSR) ambiguous.

Since the Marxist concept of the 'working class' is idealized, technologically out of date and psychologically falsified, it is impossible to fully subscribe to and believe in such a definition - whether it be someone who lives by selling his labour-power or one who 'has nothing to lose but his chains'.

In the same way that many people deny being 'working-class', practically everybody denies being middle-class. But, the group that once could be defined as 'working class' have accepted

middle-class standards of living, middle-class standards of taste and a middle-class 'admass' culture. This is not an argument against materialism, since the working class have as much right to 'luxuries' as anyone in society. But unfortunately when luxuries get to the point of mass production they cease to be such, and also they are considerably adulterated and degraded for mass marketing. Secondly, the real customer for luxuries has by that time moved on to new tastes and sensations, for its exclusiveness is what makes a luxury.

The real argument against the working-class acceptance of middle-class standards is the acceptance of a cultural poverty, of a constant putting up with the second rate. The virtual disappearance of craftsmanship from work has meant that one's leisure should be the time when creative instincts were given full play. Instead of which the gaps between working hours are filled for the most part with cretinous, vicarious amusement in trivia. For the young, this undoubted frustration finds an outlet in hysteria, of violent displays at football matches and ecstatic swoonings at pop concerts.

Our home-bred Marxists promise us a new cultural future for the working class 'after the revolution'. But some of us want (and have) a new society now and to do that the outdated concepts of class must go before a revolution can happen which, before it happens in a mass, must take place in individuals.

Jack Robinson.

Workers of the World

THE Industrial Unionist is a well produced official publication of the General Organizing Committee of the Industrial Workers of the World in Britain. Many readers will be familiar with the Industrial Worker produced by the IWW in America but might not have come across the British section's journal. Their No. 2 issue will serve as a good introduction to anyone interested in industrial unionism and the IWW. "Our Place in Human Progress" is an explanation of the workings of the capitalist system, and also a description of the organisational basis of the IWW is given.

The wheel of industrial unionism shows that all workers on the same job are also members of the same union or section of the IWW. As such they are a part of the One Big Union. The six major departments provide a structure which gives the advantage of uniting all workers. Workers are organised industrially. As an example: "...kitchen crew on an oil rig, the mess department aboard ship, the staff of a factory canteen, all do the same sort of work as that done by the employees of a restaurant, but they can bargain more effectively if they are organised respectively with other oil workers, seamen and

factory workers."

Issue No. 3 departs from industry and has two articles on education.

The article "Who's Working Class?" shows that just because people like doctors and lawyers work it does not mean that they are members of the working class. These, along with shopkeepers and farmers, are generally neither employers nor employees. As such they nevertheless usually aspire to become the boss and to take on labour. The working class are those "employed to work the capital of another for the profit of the latter, in return for wages or salary received - the last class to gain its freedom".

This type of definition implies that such groupings are free. Obviously with an all-powerful state which is more and more encroaching on all our lives this is not true. As we are all aware, exploitation has many forms and is not just experienced by wage earners. It does hold water, however, as a definition of the working class as employed for another's profit -- but then, so are managers.

*When these people are employed by the state or by a company, they then become working class.

Industrial Unionist is available from Freedom Bookshop or from 6 Coniston Ave., Werneth, Oldham, Lancs at 15p + 5p post. P.T.