

FREEDOM

SIXTEEN PAGES

anarchist fortnightly

Vol. 36 Nos. 32-33

16 AUGUST 1975 • TEN PENCE

HELSINKI

PRELUDE TO WORLD WAR III?

"PUBLIC OPINION continues to be unfavourable. . . On all sides one hears it said there is no harmony, that they are no longer solicitous about the re-establishment of order and justice, but are bent only on forcing each other's hands, each one grabbing as much as he can. . . It is said that the [meeting] will end because it must, but that it will leave things more entangled than it found them. . . The peoples, who in consequence of the success, the sincerity and the noble-mindedness of this superb coalition had conceived such esteem for their leaders and such attachment to them, and now perceive how they have forgotten what they solemnly promised - justice, order, peace founded on the equilibrium and legitimacy of their possessions - will end by losing their affection and withdrawing their confidences in their principles and their promises." Of course, this is the report of another conference, in another place. But is it so different?

"When we consider the transitoriness of the settlements effected by the diplomats, we are impressed at once by the feebleness of their diplomacy and realization of the strong intractable forces that defeated their manoeuvres and arrangements. We are still more impressed by the uninstructed ineffectiveness of the new international idealism imported into European interchanges by [the American] President. . . This, too, was another time, another place. But was it so different from Helsinki?

The key speech from President Ford contained the bromide "History will judge this conference not by what we say today but what we do tomorrow -- not by the promises we make but by the promises we keep." Judgement has already been passed on the two 'peace' conferences commented upon in the first two paragraphs. Firstly, the Congress of Vienna (1815-16) which set up the jigsaw puzzle of Europe and sponsored the domination of Czarist Russia and laid foundations for the rise of German nationalism -- the report was by a secret agent to his police chief. The second was a comment by H. G. Wells in his *Outline of History* on the Versailles Treaty which, coupled with 'intractable' economic forces led to the rise of Hitler and the outbreak of the Second World War.

A more *realpolitik* assessment of the purposes and achievements of Helsinki was described by Mr. Brezhnev, before the conference: "A necessary summing-up of the political outcome of the Second World War."

There is not about Helsinki the flagrant junketings of the Congress of Vienna (although in the midst of it all Napoleon escaped and went on the rampage again until his final defeat at Waterloo) or the heady optimism of Versailles, but it is a culmination of the obvious softening of attitudes towards Russia inaugurated by Nixon and continued over many years and conferences.

This softening or detente (we are told there is no such word in Russian - nor in English either!) has been harshly received by hard-line anti-Communists including such diverse types as Alexander Solzhenitsyn and George Meany,

the president of the American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations.

Solzhenitsyn can scarcely be blamed for his anti-Communism, but he is a simple-minded non-political Christian and his interpretation of detente as victory for Russia in a Third World War is naive. Russia's victories reinstating the Czarist empire (even one portion lost to Japan in 1905!) were accomplished by 1945. Brezhnev's comment implies that Helsinki merely reasserted these conquests and subjugations. Diplomacy is merely the continuation of war by other means (to paraphrase Clausewitz). However, Solzhenitsyn's simplistic interpretation of what has happened will only provide fuel for the warmongers, since his criticism is of Russia and Communism only and not of all states which at Helsinki and elsewhere have made World War Three probable but not inevitable. Solzhenitsyn ends his *Telegraph* article (from an American speech): "It is too late to ask how to avoid the Third World War. But one must have the courage and lucidity to halt the fourth. Halt it, not fall to the knees."

George Meany is quite a different

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SECURITY! SECURITY!

--from our correspondent. HELSINKI, July 29.

AS I WRITE it's like there's a bloody war going on here. Police helicopters and airforce jets fill the skies and uniformed police swarm in every street . . . not to mention the plain-clothes; variety. I may be wrong but there does seem to be an unusually large number of road works in progress - just about every other manhole is occupied by suspiciously inactive groups of "workmen"! The airport is ringed by tanks and a local paper printed a picture of one with the caption "Terrorists welcome!" Presumably they meant that "we're ready for you" but it could of course be taken in a rather different way if one has a slightly different view of the state. All these precautions just to protect the "representatives of the people" from the people. You'd think if they were all such good mates they would have nothing to fear. Just to give you the flavour of the situation here I will quote verbatim and with no additional comment a recent news broadcast in English:

Finland is mounting a vast security operation to assure the safety of the delegates to the 35-nation European Security Conference due to open in Helsinki on July 30th.

*Some 5000 Finnish police and security men will be detailed for the meeting assisted by army units and foreign security forces.

*A steel mesh is currently being thrown around the Finlandia Congress House and the building and its surrounding parks have been put under close police surveillance since last weekend. Finland's national museum, Kansallismuseo, which is just across the street from Finlandia House will be closed for the duration of the conference and Hel-

sinki City Museum next door will be turned over to police use.

*TO ENSURE PROPER DECORUM POLICE IN HELSINKI HAVE BEGUN CRACKING DOWN ON THE SMALL ARMY OF DRUNKS AND DEFELECTS AND DROP-OUTS, the so-called *Pullukot*, who inhabit the city's parks in the summer. The drunks are being picked up and jailed for the legal 12-hour drying-up period, a process which can be repeated indefinitely as soon as the offenders return to the parks from where they were taken. (Our emphasis)

*Finlandia House, the site of the first stage of the Security Conference at foreign minister level two years ago is hurriedly being equipped to meet the needs of about 1000 delegates plus the conference secretariat and technical staff. Some 1000 foreign journalists have been invited and will have full telecommunications facilities in the building.

*The Finnish Foreign Ministry has placed a block order for 2500 beds in the best hotels. The 300-strong Soviet delegation headed by party leader Leonid Brezhnev is coming by ship; the vessel will act as a floating residence. The Polish delegation is also bringing its own ship as residence while the East Germans are coming by train and plan the special rail cars next to their embassy in the eastern suburbs of Helsinki. Most Western delegations, including those from the United States and Britain, are expected to live in the luxury hotels reserved for them or to stay in their respective embassies.

*The estimated cost of the conference, about 10 million Finnish marks, will be shared by the participating nations.

GANDHI VERSUS THE GANDHIANS

THE ANARCHIST contention that a State's guarantee of rights to its citizens is scarcely worth the paper it is written on has been borne out once again by recent events in India. After the British Raj finally ended in 1947, the Indian politicians spent much time and effort devising a 'liberal-democratic' Constitution which, among other things, provided an impeccable list of Fundamental Rights of the citizens of the new state. But, at the same time, they were careful to include provisions whereby the Government, when it deemed it necessary, could abrogate those rights. Invoking these provisions, and thus acting in accordance with the letter if not the spirit of the Constitution, Mrs. Gandhi's Government declared a State of Emergency on 26 June. It then proceeded to jail without possibility of trial its principal political opponents, to impose a complete censorship of the Press and news media, and to ban all forms of protest and demonstration. With the opposition silenced, the Indian Parliament has now - again 'in accordance with the Constitution' - endorsed the Government's action. And to make quite sure that the declaration of a State of Emergency will not itself be challenged in the courts, it has also taken steps to amend the Constitution to preclude this possibility.

Rights 'guaranteed' by the State, it is clear, are intended to operate only when the sun shines on the Government. When the Government runs into bad weather, all the hatches are closed down and then the real nature of the State is revealed. And what is revealed in the words of another Gandhi - Mohandas Karamchand - is 'violence in a concentrated and organised form'.

There is bitter irony in quoting these words for in today's India such seditious observations, even if they come from the so-called 'Father of the Nation', are subject to censorship. The irony goes yet deeper, since the principal target of Mrs. Gandhi's repression is Jayaprakash ('JP') Narayan, a man cast in the mould of 'the Mahatma'. It was JP's call for a nation-wide satyagraha, of the kind practised by M. K. Gandhi against the British Raj, which provided Mrs. Gandhi with the excuse for inaugurating her 'constitutional' police state.

* * *

How JP came to emerge as Mrs. Gandhi's 'public enemy, number one' is worth recounting, for the story throws light on a central problem in the strategy of those who set out to make a nonviolent revolution. Briefly, in 1953 JP, India's leading socialist intellectual and till then widely tipped as Nehru's likely successor, radically revised his views on how socialism could be achieved. Having earlier abandoned the revolutionary Marxist road, he now came to see that the road of democratic state socialism was equally unlikely to lead to the goal of a classless, casteless, stateless society. A re-reading of Gandhi led him to move 'From Socialism to Sarvodaya' (the title of one of his more important writings), and he joined Vinoba Bhave's campaign for Bhoodan-Gramdan. This

campaign was focusing attention on the plight of the landless labourers who comprise about one-third of India's rural population and who constitute 'the low, the lost, the last, and the least' of Indian society. In its Gramdan phase, the campaign set out to achieve by peaceful persuasion the voluntary villagisation of the land - the vesting of its title in the village community. But Gramdan was also something much bigger than this - the symbol of a nonviolent social revolution which would usher in 'real swaraj' (self-government): Gandhi's dream of a radically decentralised Sarvodaya (Welfare of All) society, the Indian version of 'the alternative society'.

For the next 21 years, and having signed the Sarvodaya workers' pledge not to participate in party politics or to accept any public office, JP devoted most of his energies to the Bhoodan-Gramdan campaign. Although ignored or ridiculed by most of India's intellectuals who could not give credence to the idea that there was an alternative, genuinely Indian road to socialism, the campaign by 1969 achieved a quite significant degree of success at the propaganda level. By that date, the year of Gandhi's birth centenary, the majority of villagers in 140,000 of India's 550,000 villages had pledged themselves to accept the Gramdan idea.

It was after this that the campaign began to encounter its most serious difficulties. With Vinoba retiring to his ashram and relinquishing active direction of the campaign, the task now facing the Sarvodaya workers was to redeem the Gramdan pledges, to transform 'paper' Gramdans into 'real' Gramdans - transferring land titles to the village community, distributing a proportion of the land for the use of the landless, organising the village development fund, and setting up the village assembly.

In propagating the Gramdan idea, the Sarvodaya workers had adopted a strategic approach which emphasised loving persuasion and consensus rather than conflict and confrontation. After all, if villagisation of the land was to be genuinely voluntary, the landowners had to be peacefully persuaded to give up their titles to it. But it soon became clear that this approach had severe limitations when it came to implementing the Gramdan pledges. In India, as elsewhere, promise is one thing, performance another. Some moderate success was achieved in some areas, but elsewhere the larger landowning peasants - India's burgeoning kulak class - proved resistant to taking the practical steps which would lead to the relinquishment of their privileged position. Most of the 'paper' Gramdans remained just that.

At this point, some of the Sarvodaya workers began to call for a different strategy and more militant tactics - aimed at mobilising the poor and small peasants against the dominant rural social class. The call was resisted by other workers and, apart from some local actions, the movement continued pursuing Vinoba's line of peaceful persuasion. The constructive work of trying to implement Gramdan went on but, after 1972, at a slackening pace. The idea that Gramdan was indeed

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case. He is an unregenerated anti-Communist also explicable in terms of Union struggles for power and a bourgeois anti-communism inherited from the McCarthy era and never changed.

The thesis of those like Meany, and there are some in British politics too, is that Russia, by her soft approach is lulling the West into security in order to soften them so that she may more advantageously proceed with her conquest of power. Helsinki is merely a stage on the way. This thesis ignores the changes that have taken place since the Iron Curtain was lowered and the Truman doctrine was proclaimed in the late 1940s. By then Poland had been betrayed and the Baltic states

sold down the river; Helsinki merely confirmed this.

Since 1947 Russia has become less of a world power and of less influence. Communism (Russian style) has become more respectable and less to be feared. (Russia now wishes to borrow billions from the commercial banks to finance a five-year plan.) America is less powerful since she has lost much power and prestige from Watergate and Vietnam. Russia and America need each other; they always have - even as enemies they kept each other going - but now a new factor has entered the equation. China has risen as a new world power and a potential rival, in material and ideological aspects. Kissinger like a modern

Metternich sees Helsinki as another weight in the new balance of power - now on a world scale.

Harold Wilson, a pigmy at this congress of giants, extracted comfort from this conference in Russia's proffering of the 'basket' deal of 'non-interference' in the internal affairs of other nations'. Harold Wilson (who accepted the fait accompli of Czechoslovakia) thought this meant affairs like that and Hungary would cease; Mr. Brezhnev made it clear he meant no more American interference with regard to Soviet Jews. Everybody went home happy. Every one had won. Nobody (least of all the people) had won.

Jack Robinson.

the 'hoax' that its critics all along had alleged it to be began to gain currency even among the Sarvodaya workers themselves.

It was in this growing mood of despondency and frustration that the Sarvodaya workers watched from the sidelines Mrs. Gandhi's slide from the apogean point of her power and prestige which she reached after her massive electoral victory of 1971 and her Government's successful military intervention on behalf of Bangladesh. Her programme of radical reforms and her promise to 'abolish poverty' soon began to look very hollow as the economy staggered from one crisis to the next and the rate of inflation escalated.

Then, in January 1974, the students of Gujarat, faced with a 50 % increase overnight in their mess-bills, raised the banner of revolt. The imaginative way in which they conducted their campaign won them widespread popular support and, despite severe repression, the end-result was the dismissal of the corrupt, faction-ridden Congress State Government, the dissolution of the State Assembly, and the institution of President's rule, i.e. rule by the central Government. The Gujarat revolt then subsided.

But the spark struck in Gujarat found tinder in Bihar, India's poorest state, the home of famines and floods, and notorious for its corrupt politicians who, by manipulating contracts, made fortunes out of natural disasters or who were often prepared to trade their political support for hard cash. Bihar, however, is also the state in which the Gramdan campaign had been concentrated and the home territory of Jayaprakash Narayan. When the Bihar students revolted in March 1974 and were repressed, they turned, therefore, to JP and invited him to direct their 'anti-corruption campaign'. This he agreed to do on the condition that it was to be conducted in accordance with the Gandhian principles of nonviolence.

Many teachers in Bihar had been actively involved in the earlier campaign to obtain Gramdan pledges, and in their pupils JP now began to see a new social force capable of providing the impetus required to carry forward the Gandhian nonviolent revolution. From this perspective, the student movement presented a welcome opportunity to extend Sarvodaya influence in the cities and towns where hitherto the Gandhians had been notably weak.

In the next 12 months the anti-corruption campaign in Bihar gathered increasing momentum, notwithstanding the violent repression of nonviolent demonstrations by the State Government, aided by its political ally, the Russian-oriented Communist Party of India. Mrs. Gandhi's central Government, having been forced to concede to the students in Gujarat, decided to stand firm in Bihar and to resist the demand for the dissolution of the State Assembly and fresh elections. The situation became increasingly revolutionary as the parties in opposition to Congress, including the right-wing Jana Sangh as well as the Socialists, rallied to JP's movement and his call for a 'total revolution' on Gandhian lines.

deeply involved in it, but a minority remained opposed. The latter argued that the new campaign represented a deflection from the movement's real objectives and an abandonment of its non-partisan approach to politics. Suspicions were also voiced about the motives of some of JP's new-found political allies, notably the Jana Sangh. Were they, as he claimed, really being transformed in the ferment of agitation, or were they merely using him to ride to power? Yet others feared the consequences of a head-on confrontation with the central Government. In December 1974 Vinoba had already indicated obliquely his reservations about JP's campaign by vowing for himself a year of silence. Since decision-making in Sarva Seva Sangh is by unanimity and consensus, the existence of the unpersuaded minority precluded endorsement by the organisation of JP's campaign. A compromise solution allowing individual participation was arrived at, but this finally broke down at the Sangh's conference at Paunar in late March. JP and twenty other members of the Executive Committee resigned from the Committee but not from the Sangh, and this was followed next day by the resignation of the three remaining Committee members. The latter resigned from the Sangh itself and were accompanied in this action by about fifty rank-and-file workers. Vinoba briefly broke his vow of silence to appeal to JP to give up his conflict with Indira Gandhi, while continuing his campaign. Apparently, Vinoba was concerned about the danger of

'national disintegration' if the conflict persisted. JP, although expressing willingness at any time to negotiate with Indira Gandhi (he had already had one fruitless meeting with

JP's standing as an 'all-India' (as distinct from a local, state) figure and his connections with the Sarvodaya movement made it only a matter of time before the fire started in Bihar began to spread to other states. The 'nationalisation' of the anti-corruption campaign was spectacularly demonstrated on March 6 of this year when, despite hindrance from the police, 500,000 people took part in the People's March to Parliament in Delhi to present a 29-point Charter of Demands. As might be expected from the mode of the demonstration, this Charter was a 'liberal' rather than a radical or revolutionary document. But to Mrs. Gandhi its meaning was quite clear. In JP the opposition had at last found a leader capable of putting together a coalition that could effectively challenge Congress and its junior partner, the CPI. It was quite beside the point that the Charter demanded nothing that a liberal-democratic Government could not reasonably accede to and that the new-found opposition leader, remaining true to his Gandhian principles, had made it quite clear that he was not seeking office himself and that he had no desire to occupy Mrs. Gandhi's seat of power.

Shortly after the People's March, Sarva Seva Sangh (Association for the Service of All) - the organisation of the Sarvodaya movement - split over the issue of whether or not to support JP's campaign. Many of the activists were already her), felt that event had gone too far for him to draw back now, making a one-sided gesture that would be interpreted as a sign of weakness on his and his supporters' part. The final upshot of the Sangh's internal crisis was a decision to suspend all its activities until the end of Vinoba's year of silence on December 25, next.

With the Sangh frozen (possibly never to be de-frozen), JP's supporters in the Sarvodaya movement were free to throw themselves wholeheartedly behind the anti-corruption campaign. It continued to gather momentum and was, of course, given a great fillip by the Allahabad High Court's conviction on June 12 of Mrs. Gandhi on a charge of electoral malpractice, which was followed the next day by the electoral defeat of Congress in the Gujarat State elections - elections which had been forced on Mrs. Gandhi by Morarji Desai's 'fast unto death' unless President's rule was ended. At this point the national leaders of India's other Communist Parties, notably the CIP(M), who had been hanging back, were indicating their willingness to join JP's coalition of opposition forces. With the national General Election scheduled for February 1976, Mrs. Gandhi smelt a strong whiff of electoral defeat which would end 28 years of Congress rule at the centre. To forestall this a swift, pre-emptive strike against the opposition was the obvious answer.

* * *

The excuse for this strike was JP's announcement of a week of nation-wide satyagraha which would have the limited object of forcing Mrs. Gandhi to resign from the premiership in view of her conviction in the High Court - a course of action which was necessary if the Supreme Court, which is to consider her appeal, was to do so in an unprejudiced atmosphere. In launching the satyagraha, JP, conscious of the looming dictatorship, called on the police and army personnel not to obey orders which went against their conscience - an appeal which no Indian aware of his country's history could find exceptional.

In the best traditions of the British Raj, Mrs. Gandhi defined the situation, which her own actions and inactions had largely helped to shape, as a 'law and order' one. Using all the coercive instruments of the State at her disposal, the repression ensued: a Gandhi (but clearly no relation to the Mahatma, albeit the daughter of Nehru) clobbered the Gandhians, and all other opponents in sight. Attempts are being made to justify the repression as a well-timed move, based on lessons from Chile, to forestall a counter-revolution financed by the CIA. Some slight colour is lent to this travesty by the fact that undoubtedly right-wing leaders have been included among those detained, although what 'right-wing' means is dubious if JP is so labelled. To attempt to make the justification stick, there is some evidence that Mrs. Gandhi has had second thoughts about detaining non-Soviet Marxists.

THE RICH ARE STILL RICH

THE ROYAL Commission's Report on Income and Wealth tells us very little that we did not know already. While it will obviously be used by many to show that they are worth more money for the job they do, there is nevertheless a continuing trend towards a greater equality in the distribution of wealth. But it is taking a long time. The new figures still show enormous gaps. For instance, the top five per cent of the population still owns over half of the wealth of the country. The figures also show that the trend towards equality has not been very pronounced over the last 15 years.

For the average wage slave such wealth is beyond comprehension. There is no sane reason why such wealth should be held by a minority. However, anarchists are not in favour of the equal distribution of incomes; we are opposed to the wage system and money as such.

But wealth is not just money and incomes. It is also the ownership of property, land and the means of production and distribution. Working people have little chance of achieving ownership of very much. Even owning the house you live in means a mortgage, but this is often preferable to paying a landlord an equally high rent.

When the national press talk of 'the national interest', it is mainly the interests of the top five per cent they are concerned with and not the working class who have no stake in the country.

The capitalist system is based on individual greed and competition. Everything is made for a profit, and in the words of Oscar Wilde, on knowing the price of everything and the value of nothing. It is a basic inequality and injustice of the system that many who do the most important and worthwhile jobs in society get the least income, while at the other end of the scale, people inherit their

wealth without doing a hand's turn.

This sort of inequality permeates right through out society. Each has certain advantages over the other. Those who can afford a mortgage for a house then get tax concessions on their incomes. Others get pensions when they retire and there are all sorts of 'perks' and concession which discriminate against the actual poor.

It is obvious that those top five per cent have become rich because at one time or other they or their forebears have robbed the working class. We have to admit this fact, that we the working class are robbed at the point of production. Robbed because we have nothing to sell but our labour. Our wage packets only represent a fraction of what has been created. The rest goes to keep the rich rich.

As the wage packet never equals the real value of the wealth the working class has produced, anarchists are totally opposed to the wage system. To be constantly chasing after higher wages might be important in the short term but we must go beyond next year's wage increase. There is only one answer to the money and wages system -- abolish it.

Those who at present belong to the five per cent perform less service, if any, for the community than does the road sweeper or dustman. Who can estimate the social usefulness of a doctor on the one hand and a dustman on the other. The doctor's income and social position are of a higher standard, but both safeguard our health, both perform socially useful jobs.

No price can be put on useful labour. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" is the anarchist watchword for social equality. We all have different needs and abilities. But we could all work together to satisfy our collective needs. We can do this despite differences in ability or skills. Such a system would not permit social inequality between people. The day to day exploitation of our working lives would end and instead of working for the profit of others we would work for the general community.

P. T.

"ANGER" is a word that has cropped up frequently in recent headlines over Meriden and Norton-Villiers-Triumph, but what the copy under them didn't reveal was the sheer industrial and ideological muddle of the whole affair.

TO DO A MERIDEN'

the End or the Beginning?

Anger was the word but, where the co-operative is concerned, a more apt description of the reaction of that puny specimen of industrial captaincy, Dennis Poore, is a smouldering resentment bordering at moments on almost pathological hatred. This hatred is in itself remarkable since whatever the big bosses do nowadays they rarely exhibit so melodramatic and nineteenth century a passion - but the Meriden workers should really not have been surprised at his rejection of their first two prototypes.

Knowing this puerile bitterness at Poore's defeat over the establishment of the Meriden co-operative, blamed ever since for NVT's longstanding financial plight and bad management (clearly bad, as one of the American Triumph dealers pointed out) the rejection was bound to happen. And it was bound to take the most humiliating form possible - namely an unusual public criticism of the prototype models before the workers had even been notified that this is what Norton Villier would do.

That the prototype models (updated versions of the Bonneville and Tiger machines specially designed for the American market) had already been tested and passed by the Motor Industry Research Association in the Midlands, that noise levels were below the maximum permitted level and braking speeds and distances found acceptable,

course, naive to believe repression by a Government is an indication of its strength: on the contrary, it is a confession of its weakness, of its loss of authority and legitimacy which it seeks to remedy by the application of naked coercive power.

India's nonviolent revolutionaries are well aware of this truth and know that repression in the form of State violence is an inevitable consequence of nonviolent action which reaches a point of threatening the power of the rulers. They know also that, in the dynamics of nonviolent action, the opponent's repression - if resisted firmly enough - can work against him and help to encompass his fall: the phenomenon of what Gene Sharp has called 'political jiu-jitsu'. *

Whether the revolutionary Gandhians in India - some of whom have evaded detention and gone underground - have sufficient strength left to mount a determined resistance remains to be seen. Nonviolent resistance works more slowly than violent resistance and, as yet, it is far too early to proclaim a clear victory for Mrs. Gandhi. But what is already clear is that events in India have posed sharply the issue long debated by strategists of nonviolent revolution: the issue of whether to concentrate on the peaceful construction of alternatives (counter-culture and counter-institutions) or whether - and when, and how - to engage the power-holders in a face-to-face confrontation.

26.7.75

Gaston Gerard

*following Richard Gregg (*The Power of Non-Violence* c.1935)

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some of whom are reported to have been released from detention. The patent weakness of the justification is that, in order to forestall a counter-revolution, it is necessary first to have had a revolution! In an effort to cover this logical lacuna, Mrs. Gandhi has subsequently announced her own 21-point programme of radical reforms. Included in it is the promise of land to the landless. It would, indeed, be supremely ironic if this particular promise were to be fulfilled in the course of Mrs. Gandhi's topsy-turvy 'revolution' that follows alleged counter-revolution. Having spent the last 21 years seeking to provide land for the landless - in the face of opposition from the large landowners and rich peasants who control Congress in the rural areas - even JP might think a spell in jail worthwhile to solve the problem! Indeed, as the first Jeevandani (one who pledges his life to the Sarvodaya cause) he might well think it fitting that he should literally give up his life on behalf of the landless - an eventuality which is by no means remote since he is reported to be seriously ill in a prison hospital.

Uncensored reports from Western correspondents have suggested that the Government's use of its emergency powers against hoarders of grain and holders of 'black money' (undeclared assets) has already resulted in short-term relief for India's starving millions. This desirable consequence may have the effect of blunting the edge of the response to repression. Already, even among those who are not sycophantic followers of Mrs. Gandhi, there is talk welcoming 'the slap of strong government'. But it is, of

NVT knew perfectly well. Even The Economist of August 9 commented that Meriden's Bonneville bike, "contrary to the scare stories last weekend, should need further modification to meet American specifications and can sell more cheaply than the NVT bikes". For this reason NVT were careful to deny the alleged defects required anything but a bit more time (after which, if Meriden had unfortunately not collapsed, Managanesse Bronze and Dennis Poore would stage the face-saving farce of resigned acceptance, which they have naturally planned to do all along). This crude display of capitalist peevishness was too silly; but it couldn't fail to raise the temperature at Meriden, while the co-operative was still being blamed for everything under the sun, including the events leading up to the government's third volte-face on aid and the expected closure of the Wolverhampton plant.

It is certainly an unhappy and infuriating situation for the Wolverhampton men. But while the irony of the fact that the Wolverhampton plant is NVT's one successful factory was duly noted by the press, the deeper irony - that of the workers' attitude itself - was not commented upon. It is, after all, a pity that those among the union-dominated workers of NVT should now turn to the solution of the sit-in and "threaten" to "do" a Meriden only as a last resort - though it must be said that the Wolverhampton men gave little or no support to the Small Heath campaign against the Meriden workers during their long hard struggle.

Naturally our "democratic" triumvirate of government, management and unions have shown not the slightest interest in the idea of workers' control - except where the first can keep it safely attached to its own financial apron strings, or the second can use it as a dustbin for its own "refuse" or the third, as a last ditch attempt to prevent unemployment. Even in France, where for a number of historical reasons, the unions are weaker than in Britain and anarcho-syndicalist influence has favoured the spread of workers' co-operatives (there being now over 550) they are still looked at askance by all who stand to fail by their success. These include the Communists who are afraid to lose their power of manipulation over a supposedly solid proletariat; while the Socialists welcome workers' control only under the cautious umbrella of "democratic planning" - that is, of course, joint control of the party and its mirror-image union, the CFTD.

But, as in this country, the Right's taunting dream of workers' capitalism is devoid of any meaning - at least in the Marxist sense - when an élite of private or state bosses no longer owns the means of production, when "free enterprise" is no longer a mere synonym for cutthroat competition and exploitation, and when the building of a federation on co-operative, essentially anarchic lines would cancel out any of the characteristics the Daily Telegraph now longs to see emerging from a workers' takeover.

It is therefore time for the workers of this land to think in more imaginative terms of self-government, not as a last resort when the government beats an embarrassed retreat, but as a thing of value in itself; not as just another means to a livelihood but as a way of life with its own intrinsic virtues and opportunities for general enrichment. No-one ought to be fooled by Labour's move to put workers on company boards of directors, or by shop stewards like Ray Durman who announce "We do not want to do this (occupation of the factory) unless we have to." The desire "to do a Meriden" (to use the phrase of the RGWU senior convenor Jack Everitt) must be a voluntary one. Once this begins to happen the petulant Poores of this world can safely be committed to the mausoleum of capitalism alongside the abortive monsters that are their brethren, the state socialists.

G. F.

THE IRON WILDCAT

A WILDCAT strike at the Minntac Mine and plant in the town of Mountain Iron (Minnesota) is continuing. The Minntac Mine is owned by the U. S. Steel Corporation. It is a primary production-point for taconite iron ore. Striking workers have ignored a federal District Court "restraining order" and plan to continue their wildcat walk-out.

3,000 workers began the strike, caused by workrule disputes. They constructed a car blockade which has sealed off the three big entrances to the plant. People were allowed to leave the plant but all incoming traffic is turned back.

Strikers said that some workers trapped by Management inside the Mine were forced to remain on the job for 32 continuous hours under threat of violence. Company spokesmen have "rationalized" but not denied this behaviour. The U. S. Steel Corporation has used helicopters to bring food and strikebreakers (etc.) into the plant for management personnel.

This is an illegal workstoppage. The "international" Steelworkers' Union cannot sanction the action because of a no-strike clause in all its contracts. This no-strike commitment was voluntarily initiated several years ago by the "international" bureaucrats of the Union. The wildcat people (in contrast) have been picketing the Mine and plant, absolutely interfering with plant traffic and encouraging other workers to leave their jobs in sympathy strike.

On a petition by the Company, federal Judge Gerald Heaney issued a "restraining order" against the strike. The wildcat workers vowed (however) to ignore the order of the Court and remain at the picket line until their demands

are met. Those demands include a new perspective of workrule rights and full compensation and amnesty for the strike.

Strikers said severe dissatisfaction had been building in the workforce for some time and the scope of the strike had grown larger than the original issue. "Everybody is getting the shaft", one striker said to me, taking about the procedures of the U. S. Steel Corporation.

The wildcat people have blocked the passage of the Duluth Missabe and Iron Range Railway, whose trains service the Minntac plant. They have initiated strike discussions at other taconite mines across the Iron Range "in an attempt to shutdown the industry". Wildcat strikes have also begun at the Sherman Mine (city of Chisholm), the Stephens Mine (town of Aurora) and two facilities of the U. S. Steel Corporation in the city of Virginia, Minnesota. Actions have been taken against the Hibbing-Chisholm Airport, because it was used as a base for airlifting strike-breakers and supplies into the Minntac plant.

The U. S. Steel Corporation (in reaction) has bought full-page advertisements in all newspapers and is conducting a vicious propaganda campaign. Judge Heaney then amended his "restraining order" to apply to "all who know about it" and not just the workers.

This is the largest strike on the Iron Range since the 'Thirties. Gus Hall, head of the American Communist Party came to Northeastern Minnesota especially to react with the Wildcat. The Communist Party regards this strike as an event of crucial importance. (Most of the wildcat people are of the generation of the 'Sixties... lawyers are often speaking of them as "kids".) Curt Carlson, a Minnesota anarchist, at a meeting, dissuaded Gus Hall from making a public intervention in the strike. Hall was brought to agree that open stalinist intervention would only harm the Wildcat.

Séamas Cain.

GWYN WILLIAMS, one of the 14 on trial for "Conspiracy to Disaffect" troops with the BWNIC leaflet, was arrested on 2nd August while distributing a standard anti-recruitment leaflet at the Royal Tournament, but when taken to court was charged under the 1381 Binding Over act. She defended herself and was acquitted. About twenty people picketed the court in her support.

ACCORDING to Socialist Worker the co-operative at Fakenham are being sued by ASTMS in Norfolk for £60, being balance of electricity undertaking on the takeover of the factory. The co-operative has fallen on desperate times and S.W. feels the ASTMS union's action is petty and vindictive. Donations would be welcomed by Nancy McGrath, Fakenham Enterprises, Fakenham, Norfolk.

Dear Editors,

I read with interest the letter in FREEDOM 2 August from Terry Phillips and Ray Cowper on the theme of "Organising Anarchy". The Anarchist Workers Association is criticised on various counts, and I believe wrongly. I can only imagine that the authors have very little knowledge of the structure and ideas of AWA.

ORA(AWA) was formed in 1971 by class conscious anarchists who wanted to develop anarchism into a living and decisive force in the fight against both capitalist society and the increasing influence of the authoritarian Leninist groups and parties. In most areas we have very good relations with other anarchists and we have never isolated ourselves from other anarchists who, for whatever reasons, may not wish to become involved with AWA. We are, of course, not afraid to criticise liberals who call themselves anarchists, because Liberalism is no solution to authoritarian class society.

Terry and Ray are quite wrong when they say that AWA is a centralist organisation; this is quite the reverse of the truth. There is no central committee, either official or unofficial, and this is quite deliberate. Every group has its own internal autonomy and is federated on a national level. National conferences of all members are held twice yearly to discuss political and organisational questions. Any resolution passed is designed to be a guide to practical work and minority rights are strictly protected. Delegate conferences are held bi-monthly to co-ordinate activity between national conferences. Delegates are rotated and mandated on a group basis as indeed are the editors for Libertarian Struggle. This obviously prevents the development of an elite with privileged information, as well as ensuring a representative consensus of the views of the members.

AWA does have formal membership on the following basis which I quote from the aims and principles, as agreed at the last national conference. "Membership is open to those who agree with our analysis of society and its transformation and who work towards this end." It should be clear from this that AWA is not a rigid authoritarian tendency, and because of its democratic structure, there is room for quite a wide divergence of views.

Lastly, because Terry and Ray denounce us as Leninist, they implied that we are setting ourselves up as some sort of anarchist party, whose only purpose is to put up a libertarian facade in order to con the working class. AWA does not seek power for itself, unlike the Leninists. If that was what we were about, we would deserve every guttersnipe allegation that was thrown at us. Instead we work as a tendency within the working class to aid the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a freely organised workers society.

LETTERS

Anyone interested in serious discussion or further information, can contact us by writing to 13 Coltman Street, Hull.

Ray Burman.

WHAT "THE TIMES" DIDN'T PRINT

Sir,

As a friend of Vladimir Bukovsky, a founder member and former secretary of the Working Group on the Internment of Dissenters in Mental Hospitals (and a life-long member of the National Council for Civil Liberties), I have from time to time sought the intervention of many eminent people in political and medical circles on Mr. Bukovsky's behalf: he remains illegally imprisoned. I particularly remember a confrontation with Dr. Denis Leigh in November, 1972; the occasion was an international symposium on schizophrenia, the place the Royal College of Physicians. The evidence I wished to make available to doctors attending the Symposium was dismissed as "propaganda" and I was told I was interfering in a purely technical discussion.

It would be interesting to know precisely what has occurred to make Dr. Leigh change his mind, and apparently be one of those doctors who now profess to be "anxious to help Soviet dissidents" (your paper July 11th). This is not an academic question; (as Alexander Solzhenitsyn so strikingly argued in the Gulag Archipelago) motives are all-important.

It would be comforting to think that Dr. Leigh has also had second thoughts on the use of Control Units and the various forms of Sensory Deprivation favoured by our own government: that would at least represent an attempt at facing the whole question of the medical profession's participation in punitive psychiatry - an attempt that has so far been avoided and ignored: yet it is crucial. If necessary, our own statutes must be cleaned, our own Mental Health Acts re-examined in the urgent necessity to preserve our remaining civil liberties - that would be a small and welcome price to pay.

Meanwhile, we must act boldly and unequivocally to save the lives and sanity of Vladimir Bukovsky and his friends. Dr. Storrs has made an excellent suggestion how one might begin. His advice should be taken, and quickly.

Yours faithfully,
David Markham

(Committee for the Release of Vladimir Bukovsky: Lear Cottage, Coleman's Hatch, Hartfield, Sussex.)

R.A.P.

ON CONTROL UNITS

RADICAL ALTERNATIVES to Prison continue to watch diligently for and to campaign outspokenly against excesses in the present penal system. We print below their recent forceful statement on the special units for troublesome prisoners which caused concern in less radical quarters when the setting up of these control units became known:

DESPITE MISLEADING indications from the Home Office that Control Units were no longer to be used, three men have been in the special units in Wakefield prison since May 22nd.

These units were designed as part of the growing machinery to control internal dissent for people described by the Home Office as "subversives" and "troublemakers". Prisoners kept in these units are subjected to a minimum period of 6 months sensory deprivation. This means that for at least the first 90 days those incarcerated are in total solitary confinement for 23 hours of the day with virtually nothing to do except sew mailbags and other menial tasks. For the next 90 there is limited association with other prisoners in the units to test willingness to "co-operate". The power rests with the prison governor and the Board of Visitors (bodies of visiting magistrates) to revert the prisoner as far back as day one of the regime if they consider his behaviour "unsatisfactory" -- in fact this can amount to an indefinite period of solitary confinement.

Three other men completed a period

in the units at Wakefield prison in March. Press reports of the deterioration of their mental and physical health gave great cause for concern.

It should be pointed out, however, that this manner of treating prisoners is not new in concept, but it is a scientific refinement of barbaric processes of punishment, isolation and coercion. What is particularly worrying and what lends an insidious note to this regime is that doctors and psychologists were involved in designing the units. Both monitor prisoners in the units. Hardly therapeutic processes.

The whole process illustrates the myth of British justice -- once inside prison, the prisoner is open to additional sentences from the prison authorities. No public charges are brought to the prisoner. He has no trial, no hearing, no legal help and no right to appeal. Since the inception of the control units, some minor aspects of the administrative allocation procedure were altered which involved the introduction of the prison Boards of Visitors. But these bodies act under the recommendation of prison governors. And when referring to a decision a Board of Visitors could make, the Home Secretary said that "transfer would not be authorised against its view unless I have personally considered the proposal and announced that I believe it to be right" (Hansard Vol. 881 no. 17). The Home Secretary therefore wields total power. This extra-legal punishment violates even the minimum standards as laid down in the European Convention for Human Rights to which this country is a signatory. It is interesting that the U.K. has more charges against it than any other signatory country.

FOLK FESTIVAL

THE FESTIVAL reported to be the largest in Europe (Cambridge, 25-26-27 July 1975) was graced by a small anarchist presence marked by a tent above which a black flag fluttered.

The festival, I was told, gets bigger every year and probably less beautiful. The commercial interests move in and probably make a substantial profit. Milk at 10p a pint seemed excessive, especially when one is aware of the farm gate price. £3.50 per head entrance fee for 15,000 would be £52,000 I am sure the folk groups could do better with these resources if they organised themselves. The vast crowd was friendly, happy and good humoured, and there with a common purpose, which seemed to make the employment of private armies superfluous. A double fence between the camping site and festival area patrolled by paid thugs was more appropriate to a concentration camp than a folk festival. The money would have been better spent on more bogs, waterpoints and showers.

The music was of great variety, social criticism, humour and beat;

R A P. . . continued from Page 6

Information about the prisoners at present vegetating in the units is hard to come by. This is thwarted by illegal censorship of mail and also by the Official Secrets Act. The prison authorities again violate the European Convention on Human Rights here. In February of this year the British Government was found to have flouted two articles of the Convention -- that of respect of correspondence and also access to the courts. But there has been no subsequent amendment of the Prison Rules. Furthermore the Labour Party in its pre-election manifesto promised to repeal the Official Secrets Act. But of course there has been no change here either!

Public opposition to control units has been minimal. But as state repression continues to increase the prison population rises. It has doubled in the past 25 years to over 40,000. In fact there are now more people in prison per head of the population than in any other country in the Western world with the exception of West Germany. The public can no longer remain passive about control units. Remember we can now be jailed for picketing activities. CONTROL UNITS WERE DESIGNED FOR 'SUBVERSIVES' AND 'TROUBLEMAKERS'.

The control units action group has been vigorous in campaigning against this dangerous innovation. But we are thwarted by lack of support and finance. To help overcome this we are printing a series of posters exposing this atrocity. Money raised from sales of these posters will enable the printing of further posters to be distributed throughout the country. (The first poster in the series is available from Freedom Bookshop at 30p plus 10p postage and packing.)

variety of skills, instruments and provincial origins. Groups outside the festival area, groups within the area.

There was even a good food tent selling proper food as opposed to the commercial rubbish sold by the ton in the festival area. More could be done in this direction, as at the Continental anarchist camps where groups prepare the site and the food is purchased and sold at wholesale prices.

One is impressed at the enormous amount of waste, even in these days of economic stringency, in tins and cartons that occurs when such large numbers of people are gathered together. The high cost of convenience is brought home when liquidity is containerised and waste profitable in financial terms to some. To venture out early in the morning to a vista of a sea of litter which is then swept up by oil-fuelled vehicles is to me a sobering experience. The juxtaposition of man's creative humour and his ugly profligate waste seems to strike too few people.

*

Some comrades from Norway turned up and we exchanged details of the state of the movement in our respective countries. One met old friends, and being sold along with FREEDOM, Wildcat, Peace News were some poems of Kenneth Patchen, Alan Albon.

FILM REVIEW

THE RUNNING SORE

Hennessy. Cannot be seen at Rank, ABC or Odeon cinemas.

THERE ARE FILMS which have received unmerited publicity by the operation of bans; there are also films which have received unmerited praise for sheer topicality. Hennessy, alas, is no masterpiece but it has received merited publicity by a ban operated by Rank and ABC so it can't be all bad. It had a certain amount of courage in its presentation of a topically controversial subject.

Even as this is written news has come of the shooting of a girl of four in Ulster's crossfire. This situation - the shooting of innocent bystanders - is the basis of this film.

It was claimed that the film was banned by the big circuits because it too skilfully incorporated newsreel shots of the Queen at the opening of Parliament making it look as if the Queen were perturbed by an interruption at the opening - the apprehension of a fake M.P. set on blowing up Parliament. The shot of the Queen was excised, freeing us of that lèse majesté, but shots of our other leaders looking disturbed were incorporated - making the Queen look indifferent. The production company have incorporated a long disclaimer; that the Queen was not a film extra...but they can't fool everybody!

However, this is not the first time a film has been barred from the circuits. Their power is absolute and many films have sunk without trace at their edict. One remembers the local withdrawing (and never thereafter showing) of State of Siege during an election! One also remembers Mahler being advertised at another local and never turning up. . . cold feet? And then there was The Last Days of Hitler.

But it does seem that the reasons given for 'banning' Hennessy were other than those given in the press. Firstly, the death of the girl and her mother was not, as described, in 'crossfire'; they were shot at point-blank range by a British soldier who tripped and continued firing his automatic after the couple had wandered into his range. Two or three other juveniles were shot at the same time. That the soldier was immediately shot by a sniper has little to do with the justification.

The Scotland Yard head of Special Branch (played off the top of his head by Trevor Howard...who else?) admonished a S.B. man (played by Richard Johnson, author of the film) for being 'corrupted by violence' in his experience in Northern Ireland. He had beaten up a man wanted for questioning, broken in for a search without warrant.

The presentation of the IRA (Section never specified) is ambiguously sympathetic. They too do not wish Hennessy to succeed in blowing up Queen and Parliament since they will be blamed and hell will break loose. Sounds reasonable. They too wish to get Hennessy before he carries out his revenge. In this, they spontaneously co-operate with Special Branch.

In the present-day climate of Irish politics such attitudes engendered by Hennessy will obviously be unpopular with the government who are pursuing a course with all options open -- for withdrawal also. The persecution of BCWNIC is only explicable by its anticipation of an inevitability.

One wishes that Hennessy could have been a better film. Rod Steiger, fine actor though he is, had little chance to act; nobody, not even Lee Remick (pretty enough) had that chance. The background and atmosphere of London and Northern Ireland were authentic enough but the plot for the attentat didn't make me suspend my disbelief although it had one Hitchcockian touch of making the M.P. (another innocent bystander!) an anti-pollutionist candidate -- would that Hitchcock had made the film!

The running sore of Northern Ireland calls out for the truth that nobody is interested in healing. It is in the interest of all parties that the suppuration should continue. The festering presence of religious bigotry and military blackguardism ensures this.

Even so mild a poultice as Hennessy is denied us.

J. R.

IN BRIEF

MEMBERS OF the 2nd June Movement last week twice raided a West Berlin bank and carried away 100,000 marks. During the second raid one of the women left a box of marshmallows and/or cream cakes on the cashier's desk and invited customers and bank employees to help themselves. With the cakes and marshmallows they also left leaflets on the 2nd June's "economic programme".

Named after the day in 1967 when police shot dead a student in a peaceful demonstration, the group has since murdered the West Berlin judge, Von Drenkmann and kidnapped the CDP (Christian Democrat) leader Peter Lorenz.

THE FRENCH government made it clear last week that under no circumstances would they allow the socialist party, or anybody else, to set up their own radio stations. Broadcasting is a state monopoly and intends to remain that way. "We will defend the monopoly in all circumstances, present and future" an official spokesman declared. The Psf had wanted to build a radio transmission station in the Val de Marne, south-east of Paris.

A FRIEND using the Imperial War Museum for research, discovered that their library has an unique anti-war literature collection but quite a lot of it was destroyed by a fire started by friend Tim Daly (see his poetry collection "Jump my Brothers Jump," Anarchy 110)

PAUL Pawlowski has been released from Wandsworth after serving a two years' sentence on a drugs charge (he contended that the cannabis he had (about enough for 2 joints) was essential for Hellenist religious rites. Paul now intends to return to Poland despite discouragement from some of his friends.

IN NEW YORK the Immigration and Naturalization Section arrested two Greek immigrants for some irregularity. They were cleaning up a statue base which was inscribed "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free" etc. etc. It was, and is, the Statue of Liberty.

A DRIVER who refused the orders of a policeman to reverse the wrong way down a one-way street failed in his High Court appeal against a conviction for obstructing a constable in the execution of his duty. The appeal judge stressed that the court was not making a general ruling on the powers of policemen to order a person to break the law.

Sancho Panza

PRESS FUND

Contributions 25 July - 6 August

NEW YORK: W. T. S. £3.50 ; STOCKHOLM: O. H. 80p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. K. W. 10p; J. L. 60p; SHEFFIELD: P. L. £1; GLASGOW: A. J. 20p; LEEDS: A. K. 70p; CHAUMARANDES: M. S. 50p; LONDON N7: J. H. J. 50p; LONDON SE26: J. B. £1.80; ILFRACOMBE: I. L. £1; WHALLEY: P. A. G. & S. L. G.: £2; LONDON E16: P. W. £2; TRONDHEIM: K. B. H. 60p Anon (in shop 40p, 20p).

TOTAL: £15.90

Previously acknowledged: £863.90

TOTAL to DATE: £879.80
(less error in addition) 50

£879.30

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

MEETINGS

WINDSOR FREE FESTIVAL
More than good vibes. Watch out for the black flag

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

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/Int. Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd. 2nd door), tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Fm. From 7.30 pm discussion, refreshments etc.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly mtgs.
Enq. Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M17DU

GROUPS

ABERGAFENNI contact 31 Monmouth Road.

BOLTON (expanding to Salford) An. Group, write 6 Stockley Ave, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CORBY Anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

Every Sat. bookstall, Corporation St. 1-3 pm. Come and help

COVENTRY Peter Corne c/o Univ. of Students, Univ. of Warwick

DUNDEE Brian Fleming c/o An. Soc., Students Union, Univ. of Dundee, Angus.

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

GLASGOW Gerry Cranwell, 163 Gt. George St. Hillhead Glasgow

HARROW write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

CONTACT

Libertarian POSTAL WORKERS - how can we spread the ideas of anarchism re organisation in the Post Office? Contact Dave Morris, 56 Mitford Road, London N.19

LEICESTER Anarchist Group contact 41 Norman St. (tel 24851)

PORTSMOUTH Rob Atkinson 23 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Hants.

SWANSEA group forming for discussion, street theatre, drinking tea, anything possible. Write Tim, 64 Woodville Rd. Oystermouth

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

PROPOSED ANARCHIST FEDERATION and Conference. For details contact Corby Anarchists, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

PUBLICATIONS

Z Revue - new anarchist magazine, poetry and other writing and political material, No. 1 now available at usual movement outlets 15p + 5½p post from Freedom Bookshop (or specimen copy from Z Revue, 180 Melbourne Road, Leicester).

DIRECT ACTION No. 8 out now 5p + 5½p c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M1 7DU or Freedom Bookshop.

THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. \$3.00 per year from P.O. Box 3430 Tucson, Arizona 85722, or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13½p including postage.

PRISONERS.

PAUL PAWLOWSKI is out.

RONNIE LEE serving sentence for action against vivisection &c and awaiting trial as one of BWNIC 14 would welcome letters, postcards at H. M. Prison, Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Rd, London W.12

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

RALF STEIN, awaiting trial, postcards to Ralf Stein, JVA, 5 KÖLN 30, Rochusstrasse 350. Germany.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday 27 August. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening, for informal get-together and folding session

WE WELCOME news, reviews, articles letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next review section is Monday 18 August News/features/announcements Monday 23 August.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY

THE OCCUPATIONS in Italy during the month of September 1920 occurred after two years of bitter class struggle. The First World War had dramatically increased the number of people working in factories. Hundreds of thousands had come to the towns and cities from the country districts to work on the Italian war machine. During this period the industrialists made huge profits. And yet when the economic demands of the Italian Federation of Metalworkers (FIOM) were submitted to the employers, the National Federation of Engineering and Metallurgical Industrialists in the June of that year, they were flatly rejected. The employers had no intention of negotiating and suggested "a realistic look at conditions in industry which rule out any increase in pay".

The demands centred on increases in piecework rates, overtime rates, twelve days' paid holiday a year. It meant an average increase of 7.20 lire a day on the current rate of 18 lire. This was in reply to an increasing rate of the cost of living. For instance, it was estimated that for a five-persons family the weekly cost had gone up from 109.28 lire in July 1919 to 176.25 in August 1920.

The occupations followed "four long months of weary and sterile dispute stretching from May to August and ending in breakdown in negotiations which had never really begun." The dispute was a classic one of economic stalemate, neither side had room for compromise. However the two previous years of struggle had heightened the consciousness of the working class. The metalworkers had in early 1919 won the eight hour day. There was a movement of 'factory councils' in Turin. The FIOM was opposed to such councils but the leadership had to co-exist with the revolutionary ideas of the factory council movement put forward in the journal *L'Ordine Nuovo*, founded by Angelo Tasca, Antonio Gramsci, Palmiro Togliatti and Umberto Terracini. It was also at odds with the USI, the revolutionary syndicalist federation founded in 1912 of which the secretary was Armando Borghi, an anarchist. Paolo Spriano, in a footnote on Page 26, says that the C.G.L., which was the major union federation, was "founded in 1906 in reaction against revolutionary syndicalists as a confederation of trade unions" and had close relations with the Socialist Party.

As the dispute started as a classical confrontation on an economic level. The reformist nature of the FIOM and the confederation of the C.G.L. gave the conflict in its early stages a set piece appearance. Of course the USI saw the confrontation as a beginning of a new era and they proposed that workers should immediately occupy their work places and re-start production and distribution under workers' control. The FIOM had other ideas. As with all reformist unions, they were more interested and concerned with the containment and control by the leadership.

This shows itself in the type of tactics the FIOM pursued at the beginning. They called for a programme of 'obstructionism'. This brought about a slow down in production but in some places virtually a standstill. It can be argued that this method was the correct one. Bruno Buozzi, the leader of the FIOM, claimed at the Fifth Congress of the C.G.L. that 'the mass was hesitant' about this method of struggle but he thought that 'through obstructionism we succeeded in galvanizing the masses'.

Of course such a tactic puts the onus on the employers to react; it also corresponds to the outlook of the bureaucratic centralised structure of FIOM. But as is common in working class struggles, the rank and file improvise and devise their own methods within disputes which are officially led. From the very start it was this improvisation and initiative on the part of ordinary workers which soon began to worry employ-

ers and prefects of the cities. At first the employers seemed to think they could contain such methods, but when the slow down virtually became a stoppage, they were incensed. It was a challenge to their right to manage. Their answer was a lock out.

It seemed that the industrialists wanted a showdown. In fact, the Minister of Labour, Arturo Labriola, tried to bring the two sides together but without success.

The response to the employers' lock out was an immediate occupation of the factories. It must be said that this was the unions' reply to the employers' lock out. The policy of the government (or rather of Giovanni Giolitti, the Prime Minister) was to remain on the sidelines at this stage.

Mere occupation of factories, as we have recently seen in this country, is not in itself a revolutionary act. It is rather an alternative weapon to the conventional withdrawal of labour. As we have seen, the FIOM was in control of its members and was only acting defensively to the employers' attack. What in fact altered this and put the workers on the offensive was that workers in other industries started to occupy their places of work. But it did not end there, for supplies still continued to be delivered at factories by the railwaymen in order to keep production going.

When this began to happen the employers and members of the government saw the need for a quick settlement. The fact that these same workers were arming themselves and workers in other industries were clamouring to join in, gave cause for alarm. Equally, the union leaders were concerned about the situation and that the dispute would continue to spread.

When the FIOM first decided on obstructionism, the USI metalworkers' union thought that such action was inadequate. The USI proclaimed: "The expropriation of the factories by the metalworkers of Italy must be simultaneous and speedy, before the lock-out shuts them out, and must then be defended by all necessary measures. We are determined, further, to call the workers of other industries into the battle." Anarcho-syndicalist agitation was proving a success in the northern cities.

While the occupations were spreading to other industries, some were taking up arms. This, however, was purely a defensive move. The extent to which the arming had taken place was exaggerated in the press. Prefects from the large cities were reporting this arming but the government made no move to seek a settlement. Gramsci warned that occupations were not enough and urged a 'loyal armed force, ready for any eventuality'. He was also aware of the Prime Minister's intention of wearing down the occupiers.

During the second week of the occupations, virtually all of Turin and Milan were affected. It was spreading. The aim was to keep production going, to supply the needs of the working class. The working class was beginning to take over the production and distribution of goods. But the power of the state remained. The police and the army had hardly been used. The situation had reached a turning point.

On 9 September the Turin industrialists protested to the prefectures at the government's inaction. The Prime Minister's reply to the Prefect of Milan for a similar request for action was: "It is necessary to make the industrialists understand that no Italian government will resort to force and provoke a revolution simply to save them some money. The use of force will mean, at the very least, the ruin of the factories. I place my faith in a peaceful solution."

He seems to have correctly judged the situation. Certainly the unions were not for revolution. The Turin socialists, Palmiro Togliatti and Nino Benso, were asked by the leaders of the C.G.L. whether they were ready to move to the attack. Togliatti replied no. It was felt that Turin and Milan would be overwhelmed and that other areas were just not ready and that there were not enough arms available.

As for the factories themselves, D'Aragona, C.G.L. leader, said, "We had plants where workers gave a real demonstration of maturity and consciousness; other plants where the workers knew how to run their own business as it had been run when there was a capitalist to run it. But we had other plants where, for a multitude of reasons which had nothing to do with the maturity of the mass but everything to do with lack of raw materials, absence of technicians, leading personnel, etc., the running of the factory proved impossible."

Armando Borghi, the general secretary of U.S.I., took a different view. He reported innumerable cases of extension of the struggle and talks of 'a truly revolutionary situation', of 'order, enthusiasm, exchange of products, fraternization among all the trades, regular labour, a will to action'.

The extension of the occupation of the ports of Genoa and of Liguria and a general occupation of all work places did not happen because, says Borghi, the local FIOM section would not act on its own and maintained that at Milan the C.G.L. would make a call for a general occupation.

It is the same recurring story of revolutionary potential being contained and held back. Obviously it also needed more workers like those at Turin, who were convinced that the only way to end the stalemate was to push forward to a social revolution. None of the leadership wanted to take that decision. In fact, such a desire can only come from the people themselves.

When a settlement was reached it represented a victory in trade union terms. Financial increases, holidays, and cost of living bonuses were all covered. Wages were to be paid for the slowdown period but no agreement was reached for wages for the time of occupation.

The question of union control was solved in the usual governmental manner by the setting up of a joint commission. Nothing came of this, but it was an attempt by both the government and the C.G.L. to intervene in the affairs of private industry, and was one of the items the Prime Minister had in mind to bring the industrialists under some restraint.

Offers had in fact already been made in the form of co-operatives by some industrialists who thought that this was a way of avoiding a thoroughgoing revolution in which there

would be no place for them.

Workers voted in favour of the terms of the settlement. Even Turin managed a small majority in favour. And so in the words of Errico Malatesta in *Umanita Nova*: "The workers come out of the factories feeling betrayed. They will come out, but with anger in their hearts and revenge in their minds. They will come out this time, but they will profit from the lesson. They will not 'work more and consume less', so the crisis will not be resolved. The revolution remains both imminent and necessary."

The conservative press called the settlement a defeat for the employers. *La Stampa* said, "Commonsense has won a great victory". Another article in *La Stampa* said: "It signifies an undertaking by gradualists to work in continuous coherence and inexhaustible energy so that the crisis of the capitalist regime in Italy works itself out in harmony with the peculiar conditions of our country and its national economy, does not climax in a single violent or destructive shock. So that the transformation of the economic structures of society is accomplished without a dissolution of its wealth."

The occupations created a fear among the bourgeois and the industrialists. This fear was used by the fascists in their rise to power; they continually stressed the need for strong government to combat the trade unions and the working class militancy. When Mussolini's fascists took to the streets the workers were disillusioned and betrayed, there wasn't the will to fight back and the time for a working class revolution had passed.

Most opinions on the 'left' estimate that a revolution had been possible. Some like Togliatti claim that the peak was already passed at the time of the occupations. It has been said that had the will been there the union and the Socialist Party could have taken over the state and formed a government. Such a situation would not have brought the defeat of the revolutionary movement which occurred with the Giotti settlement. It might have led to a thoroughgoing social revolution which would have once and for all ended the capitalist system and ensured the defeat of Mussolini's fascists. As it was, the betrayal of the revolutionary potential led directly to the Mussolini takeover of power.

P. T.

THE OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORIES: Italy 1920, by Paolo Spriano. Translated and Introduced by Gwyn A. Williams (Pluto Press, £2.00)

BOOK REVIEW

THE INESSENTIAL KROPOTKIN

THE ESSENTIAL KROPOTKIN. Edited by Emile Capouya & Keitha Tompkins. New York: Liveright, 1975.

KROPOTKIN IS THE ANARCHIST writer with the most appeal for non-anarchists, and several one-volume anthologies of his writings have been produced in English with the intention of introducing readers to anarchist thought. Only six years after his death came Kropotkin's *Revolutionary Pamphlets* (1927), a pioneering collection of a dozen shorter pieces, carelessly edited by Roger Baldwin and published in the United States, where it was reprinted in cloth in 1968 and in paper in 1970. Then for the centenary of his birth came *Kropotkin: A Selection from his Writings* (1942), a readable collection of shorter extracts from many works, introduced by Herbert Read and published by the Freedom Press, but never reprinted. Then just before the fiftieth anniversary of his death came *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* (1970), usefully supplementing Baldwin's collection with another dozen shorter pieces, ponderously edited by Martin Miller and published in the United

States in both cloth and paper.

Now comes *The Essential Kropotkin*, which might have been a worthwhile book ten years ago, when no other such collection was easily available and when Kropotkin's own books were almost entirely out of print, but which has appeared at a time when all its contents are widely accessible elsewhere. It begins with six short pieces which appeared in Kropotkin's *Revolutionary Pamphlets* - the essays *The Spirit of Revolt*, *An Appeal to the Young*, and *Law and Authority* in Kropotkin's first political book, *Paroles d'un Revolte* (1885); the lecture on *Prisons and Their Moral Influence on Prisoners* (1887); the earlier (and shorter) version of *Modern Science and Anarchism* (1903); and the well-known article on *Anarchism* from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1910). The rest consists of extracts from five of Kropotkin's books which have been frequently reprinted during the past few years - the account of his life from leaving school to joining the socialist movement in *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* (1899), which was reprinted in cloth in 1967 and 1968 and in paper in 1962, 1970 and 1971; the chapter on mediaeval cities

in *Mutual Aid* (1902), which was reprinted in cloth in 1955 and 1972 and in paper in 1962; the opening and closing chapters of *The Great French Revolution* (1909), which was reprinted in cloth and paper in 1971; the essays *Expropriation*, *Dwellings*, and *The Wage System* in *The Conquest of Bread* (1892, English translation 1906), which was reprinted in cloth in 1968 and 1971 (moreover *Expropriation* appeared in *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* and *Dwellings* appeared in *Anarchy* 102); and several extracts from *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1898), which was reprinted in cloth in 1968 (twice) and 1974 and in paper in 1974.

So the main objection to *The Essential Kropotkin* is its contents, since it offers nothing new or rare but simply reworks old stuff. Even then the detailed editing of the items is perfunctory, the bibliography is incomplete and inaccurate, and there is no explicit reference to or apparent awareness of any of the work done on Kropotkin or any of the reprints of his writings since 1927. The second objection is to the book's title, which is pretty well meaningless. Even if such a concept as the "essential" Kropotkin (or anyone else)

makes sense, it is silly to use it for a book which includes so much that is not essential and excludes so much that is (Baldwin made a similar mistake by putting items into *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets*, which were neither revolutionary nor pamphlets). There is plenty of material here on revolution, prison, history, economics and general science. But there is nothing from Kropotkin's important if neglected work on human science - either the biological observations given in the early chapters of *Mutual Aid* or the ethical speculations given in various essays and in the posthumous book *Ethics: Origin and Development* (1924), which was reprinted in the United States in cloth in 1947 and 1968 - and which has just been reprinted in Britain in both cloth and paper by Prism Press (for details, see the review by G. Baldelli in the last issue of *FREEDOM*, August 2, 1975). This aspect of Kropotkin's work is genuinely essential, because it represents what he saw as his general contribution to anarchist theory - the argument that man is by nature a social animal, not in a theological, political or legal sense but in a strictly scientific sense, that mutual aid is a factor of biological evolution, and that human morality is an aspect of mammalian sociability which is not derived from (and is indeed damaged by) the traditional sanctions of god, authority and law.

Nor is there anything substantial from Kropotkin's many reflections on contemporary politics - the place of anarchism in Russian populism and world socialism, the revival of socialism and the rise of trade-unionism, propaganda by deed and direct action, terrorist and syndicalist tendencies in the anarchist movement, the Paris Commune and the Chicago Martyrs, the development of the state and the approach of war, the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, and so on. This aspect of Kropotkin's work is also essential, because it represents his particular contribution to the

anarchist movement - the inheritance from Bakunin of the function of interpreting the world to anarchists and interpreting anarchism to the world.

The trouble is that the editors are not much interested in this side of Kropotkin's career. It is significant that the biographical information they give concentrates almost entirely on his life before he became an anarchist. They state briefly that in 1871 he decided "to throw himself into the revolutionary activity to which he devoted himself until his death in 1921", and they refer vaguely to his personal experience of imprisonment in Russia and France; but that is all. Their sixteen-page introduction is concerned with the anarchist critique of state socialism, industrial society, and progressivism in general, of specialised education, alienated work, class justice, professional bureaucracy, representative government, and authoritarianism in general. This is a perfectly reasonable line to take, and possibly a sensible one for newcomers to anarchism, but it is a rather partial one, because it isolates anarchism from the political struggle and isolates Kropotkin from the movements he was involved in. Emile Capouya and Keitha Tompkins see him as an individual commentator in the American tradition from Emerson and Thoreau to Goodman and Illich - the tradition they both seem to belong to themselves. This may be the best way to interest new readers, at least in the United States; and, for the many people who have no knowledge of anarchism in general or of Kropotkin in particular and who have missed all the recent literature about both, *The Essential Kropotkin* may be the right first introduction.

N.W.

The Essential Kropotkin is available in the paperback edition from the Freedom Bookshop at £ 2.50 plus 15p. postage.

Sartre and Anarchism

Jean-Paul Sartre, the French philosopher, is seventy years old and is going blind. He was once well known for his attempt to make Marxism acceptable to Western intellectuals, and his Existentialism became an elaborate justification for fellow-travelling with every twist and turn of the Communist Party. But in 1956 he finally broke with Stalinism, and in 1968 he openly spoke out for rebellion against both the Gaullist regime and the Communist counter-regime; since then he has been involved with some extreme Maoist groups, and achieved new fame by refusing the Nobel Prize for Literature.

In a long interview in the *New York Review of Books* (August 7) he states that "I have always remained an anarchist", that at first "I was an anarchist without knowing it", and that "then, by way of philosophy, I discovered the anarchist being in me" -- though he adds that "today's anarchy no longer has anything to do with the anarchy of the 1890s" and that he "was very far from" the "so-called anarchist movement". Above all, he says, "I have never accepted any power over me, and I have always thought that anarchy, which is to say a society without powers, must be brought about".

It may be something of a death-bed conversion, but it is worth noting all the same.

N. W.

ANGER IS NOT ENOUGH

THE ANGRY BRIGADE, by Gordon Carr (Gollancz, £ 3.50)

"IT IS NOT like a gang of ordinary criminals. . . we only establish membership by our enquiries and arrests." This definition of the "Angry Brigade" trial which followed the bombing of Robert Carr's home. *

In his book Gordon Carr draws half his material from police sources and achieves a flat-footed humour with this admittedly difficult subject matter. One becomes filled with admiration for the Special Branch sergeant who, from the word 'Spectacles' in an Angry Brigade communiqué stumbles over the historical and philosophical origins of the "conspirators: Situationism; along with its Gurus: Vaneigem and Debord. From this moment the case becomes a matter of finding victims to suit the label. At the Bow Street hearing for the "Miss World Trial", Supt. Habershon deliberates on which four women from the 29 Grosvenor Avenue commune to arrest. "We are all angry," so ran the Angry Brigade wall graffiti. "They are all guilty," was the police response.

This same Special Branch sergeant, a latter-day Sherlock Holmes, loses his credibility

when during one of the numerous raids on communes and flats of libertarians, he "finds" one of Vaneigem's pamphlets annotated by John Barker himself. The "crap" story of the "shock" suffered by the police on coming into contact with the communards life-style, suspends belief.

The trial transcripts apart, Carr seems to have obtained the rest of his material from deliberate libertarian leaks and anarcho-gossip resulting in a hodge-podge in which he is able to prove the accused's conviction to make for a fictitious whole. For example, in February 1970, Barker and Greenfield attended a meeting at Freedom Press in Whitechapel at which the star guest was Miguel Garcia, then recently released from a Spanish prison -- Fact 1 "As they walked down Whitechapel they (Barker and Greenfield) had made a decision to follow the First of May's example." --Conjecture 1 based on gossip.

This type of statement runs through the whole of the book and, to this reviewer at least, seems to be an act of recuperation in itself. It is noticeably obvious that the author feels free to attribute any action, or belief, which supports the charge of conspiracy to Prescott, Barker, Creek, Greenfield and Mendelson, all convicted of conspiracy, yet treats with circumspection those of the

accused whom the jury found "Not Guilty".

In his treatment of the trial transcripts, Carr presents a more balanced scene. It was obviously a huge task to extract, for the purpose of this small book, just enough of the right material which recreates the atmosphere in which the trial was held, and also depict the crucial issues of the trial itself. In this the author has succeeded but again one suspects that Carr is attempting to prove the verdict.

During the final trial sequence of the book the four convicted come to life through their own words and one can only admire them for their fortitude during the long period of remand and trial to which they were subjected. Anna Mendelson's words as she left the dock for the greyness of prison "I would like to thank the two members of the jury who had faith in us," shew where these young comrades stood, no matter what they were convicted of. One hopes that when they regain their liberty that the scars will not be too deep.

This book does nothing to convince one that the "Angry Brigade" actually existed except as a name and a police conspiracy. It will certainly add to the folklore on the subject. It is to be hoped that when Jake (Prescott) has done his "Bird" that the libertarian movement will not dismiss him as perfunctorily as Carr managed to do, for this book, *The Angry Brigade*, is primarily about four young people who tried to do something about the evils of society and only succeeded in adding to them. Their epitaph when it comes to be written should not be that they failed but that they TRIED.

Alan Barlow.

BIG BROTHER'S WAGE SLAVE

THE KINGSNORTH POWER STATION STORY PART III

AFTER LEAVING the Kingsnorth chimney job I worked on Laings' coal and oil jetty, Lind's switch houses, Gleasons coal and ash contract, and Parsons' turbines. During this period of about two years I worked hard together with my fellows in all sorts of weather and under all kinds of conditions. But with a growing family I found it hard to live - even though we were doing a regular six days a week of slavery. On Parson's contract we did a five-day two-shift system for very little money. Here as usual the skilled men determined the way things went. These particular workers came from the local area around Chatham. Most of them had spent all their previous working lives in Chatham Dockyard; and when they came to Kingsnorth they imagined that their higher weekly wage of some £20 per week was great. When I tried to get them interested in fighting for a proper living wage some of them said I should try spending less and saving something like they did every week. I remember on one occasion being told by two of these skilled workers that they did not consider themselves workers but middle class people. Such was their attitude at the time. But it is interesting to relate how some three years later these very same workers went on a lengthy strike for more pay - when inflation and knowledge about what other skilled workers were getting on the site made them realise how their employer was exploiting them.

So far as I myself was concerned, after some months with Parsons as a fitter's mate I resolved to get a job with I. C. L. (International Combustion Limited) who were paying much better money to labourers than Parsons' fitters were getting. This, however, was easier said than done. But, eventually, in the spring of 1968 I. C. L. hired me as a cleaner. And I was immediately put to work with about ten other men sweeping up the boiler floors, picking up waste fibre glass wool from amongst the mass of pipes making up the boilers, lugging timber and chunks of metal around, and driving the lifts in the boiler houses at times.

I could not have started at a much worse time so far as earning money was concerned. For a week or two after getting the job the I. C. L. canteen, drying rooms, and wages offices were burned to the ground sometime during a weekend when the site was empty. This led to such a disruption of the normal state of management-organised disruption that it was several weeks before we were all fully employed and earning our regular wage again.

It was during these weeks of utter chaos that I came in contact with men on the I. C. L. site who could be described as anarcho-syndicalists. These were libertarian workers who related their libertarian ideas to the real live flesh and blood situation of their daily lives. I found their attitude to the world fresh, idealistic and inspiring. They were very different indeed from Communist Party hacks and others like them on the Kingsnorth site who could do little more than mouth Marxist jargon and slogans and the particular party line current at the time.

One day not long after first meeting these libertarian workers one of their number whom I will call Tom (not his real name) gave me a small duplicated magazine called Solidarity - with "For Workers' Power" printed under the title. It contained several articles about different workplaces - one of them being Kingsnorth Power Station. But these articles were like nothing I had ever seen before. Reading them was like looking into the mirror of real life. They were so different from the glamourised accounts of workers' lives which are a feature of firms and trade union mags, which never print anything critical of themselves. Solidarity not only showed life in all its grim and bitter rawness but it also did so using the idiom of the workers themselves. At times it tended to go a little too far so far as contemporary standards

were concerned and broke certain unwritten taboos regarding what you could say or couldn't say about the private lives of managers and corrupt trade union officials. But while these peccadillos were later used as ammunition against Solidarity by its detractors they represented only slight faults in an otherwise excellent shop floor paper. The Solidarity movement itself at that time consisted of a number of autonomous groups, scattered around Britain, each producing its own literature, which usually included a regularly or irregularly published duplicated magazine. The main aim of the Solidarity movement - to quote from its literature - was and is: "to create a socialist society based on self-management in every branch of social life. Its basis would be workers' management of production exercised through Workers' Councils. Accordingly, we conceive of the revolutionary organization as one which incorporates self-management in its structure and abolishes within its own ranks the separation between the functions of decision-making and execution. The revolutionary organization should propagate these principles in every area of social life."

Slowly the months passed by. And equally slowly the power station began to resemble what it looks like today. The big smokestack got its finishing touches. The first boiler was fired or, at least, an attempt was made to fire it. All sorts of technical problems and hitches due to bad management planning kept cropping up everywhere. But none of the technical boffins got the sack. Neither did any of the managers. But workers continued to be fired for all sorts of trivial reasons and continued to be blamed for every delay. And if a serious technical hitch came up and the workers could not be blamed for the delay, then a management might create a strike situation by deliberately sacking a worker under circumstances which his mates could not take lying down. When the men went on strike the technical hitch would be put right. While the Central Electricity Generating Board would grant the firm extra time for completing the contract because of the "disruption" caused by the strike. This was one of the reasons why the libertarian workers at Kingsnorth were continually urging their fellows to occupy our workplace rather than go out the gate on strike. Unfortunately, no worker-occupations ever took place at Kingsnorth. But some workers did learn from experience, however. And on one occasion I remember how astounded the head manager of I. C. L. was when instead of going on strike as he had wanted the men to do in order to cover a serious technical hitch they came marching back to work after a meeting outside the gate of the power station.

How easily strike could be started among the militant workers at Kingsnorth because of the tremendous tension which always existed there is well illustrated by the following report taken from our grassroots press of the time:-

"On Wednesday May 5th last about 80 of I. C. L.'s manual employees were made redundant. When the I. C. L. management - following the golden thoughts of Chairman Mao Peekin - reorganised their labour force on the following morning several construction gangs were left short of their normal complement of men. In one particular case a fitter's mate was put in place of an erector who had been made redundant the day before. As soon as this happened the gang concerned stopped work and rightly so.

"In no time at all their section engineer, Paul Douglas, was involved. Douglas, known as the 'Gonk' or 'Pussycat Paul', soon turned a slightly burning issue into a raging firestorm when he stormed over to the waiting men, stuck his big thick glassy-eyed mug into their faces, and bawled in that inimitable accent of his: 'If you're not going to work then go home!' Much to his surprise the blokes involved did go home and so did the remaining 400 workers on the I. C. L. site. And on the following day they came in and after the third meeting in 24 hours voted to go home again.

"All this happened because of the ineptitude and arrogance of the I. C. L. management. Site manager Peekin was fully aware that any attempt to replace redundant tradesmen with non-tradesmen would cause trouble on the job. But yet he did so; and when trouble did arise went so far as to refuse to discuss the issue with the shop stewards, thus causing the whole site to become involved."

In many ways, however, the above example was not quite

the rule; because every day similar instances were taking place all over the site and no one except the shop stewards and the gang concerned would know that they had taken place. It was only on those particular occasions when tension was running unusually high all over the site that one of the constantly occurring small incidents sparked off big trouble. And then instead of reacting positively by occupying their workplace the men just walked out the gate, held a meeting and went home.

From the reports in the local press an outsider might get the impression that Kingsnorth was being run by its workers who were enjoying a near-paradise existence. But the truth was very much the opposite. For except for exercising our right to strike now and again we were virtually powerless and our working conditions were atrocious. Just to show what the situation was really like I will quote again from our grassroots literature, giving a very small instance of daily life on the I. C. L. contract which was the best organised and most militant on the whole job:

"Last week two fitters and two mates were detailed to complete the construction of the internal structure of a drum at the very bottom of Boiler Two. This particular drum is a pencil-shaped steel cylinder about 75 feet (25 metres) long. And to get inside this drum is like trying to crawl into a big fountain pen with some ink still left in its tube. Once inside it is impossible to turn around, so that if you go in head first you must come out feet first and vice versa. Not alone is it airless and terrifyingly narrow inside this drum but it is also indescribably filthy.

"When the two fitters and their mates were ordered to work inside this drum they asked for the special clothing, footwear, and face masks specified for this kind of job, but none of this was forthcoming, though a shop steward did ask the management for these very necessary items, plus an extra hourly rate because of the extremely foul conditions which the men would have to work in. Far from being willing to give anything, the management hinted that if the job wasn't done on their terms there would be no alternative employment available for the men concerned. So the four workers had to don ordinary overalls and cover themselves in rags before crawling into the drum.

"They were not very long inside the drum when both mates - who seem to have a well-developed sixth sense - felt that something quite dreadful was about to happen. It is rumoured that this feeling was aroused partly because just before entering the drum they spotted a bug-eyed foreman mucking about with some water valves a short distance away. Anyway, both mates decided to crawl back again out through the narrow opening. They had hardly time to stretch themselves on the outside when they heard a terrific commotion from inside the drum. They could hear their buddies shouting amidst sounds of splashing water. Looking through the drum opening the mates saw water pouring in through some pipes on top of the two fitters who were trying to crawl like salamanders through six or seven inches of dirty water..."

The Kingsnorth site was a dangerous place to work as the huge number of accidents there only too clearly reveals. You could fall off something or fall through something. Or something could fall on you. Or, just as likely, you could walk into something like an unmarked scaffold tube. Or something such as a dumper without brakes could run into you. Many of the accidents at Kingsnorth were caused by managements ignoring basic safety rules. And whenever such accidents could be blamed directly on managements the latter usually fought tooth and nail to prevent successful compensation claims being brought against them. However, while management indifference and carelessness was bad enough, still worse was the practice of deliberately taking risks with the health or even the lives of their employees for the sake of getting a job done quickly as the following instance from our grassroots literature at Kingsnorth illustrates:

"For several days the week before last some I. C. L. Kingsnorth welders were using electrodes (welding rods) which gave off very strong fumes. They were working in enclosed positions on the Number Three Boiler at Kingsnorth Power Station. And all the while they were using these particular rods they were coughing and spluttering and feeling a little

queer. There was no notice or warning on the welding boxes about the use of these electrodes. Then last week the welders came across an electrode box on which was printed a warning about not using this particular kind of welding rod in an enclosed space because it gave off toxic fumes. On examining the other (now empty) boxes the welders discovered that this warning notice had been carefully scratched off."

Real life daily incidents at Kingsnorth Power Station often incorporated an element of comedy. Perhaps a touch of tragic-comedy would be a better term, in that grown men in their hundreds and thousands were almost completely at the mercy of the whims of a few domineering managers who treated them very much like an authoritarian headmaster might treat junior schoolchildren. This is one way in which the prevailing social order degrades and demeans ordinary people. And it sometimes results in workers acting as they are treated, as the following instance from our grassroots lit at Kingsnorth shows:

"In a recent article it was pointed out how the stopping of the I. C. L. workers' teabreaks in the afternoon gives the I. C. L. management yet a further opportunity for exercising and extending its dictatorial power over its rank and file employees, who can be treated like criminals subject to on-the-spot fines for doing such a very ordinary thing as drinking a cup of tea. Here is a report from an I. C. L. worker which helps illustrate this:

"I am one of those blokes who like to finish off his target as early in the day as possible. One day last week I completed my double time target by three o'clock in the afternoon. It had been thirsty work, and not having anything to drink but the brackish water at the one or two drinking fountains in the Boiler Houses, I went across to Keirs canteen for a cup of tea. There were quite a few lads there. I won't say how many. But there was quite a few. I was there only about five minutes when suddenly a shout of "Raid! Raid!" went up. All at once pandemonium broke loose. Men leapt to their feet glancing desperately around for a quick way out. I did the same and spotted I. C. L. engineer Ernest Wilde and foreman "Jib-up" John Baker peeping in through a nearby window. Gasping, I raced towards a window on the far side of the canteen. Men were already pouring through it. I reached the window. Someone was on his back on the ground outside shouting at the next one out not to jump on him. The fellow in front of me leapt forward. I thought I was also free. Then I found myself being pushed aside by a moving mass of human flesh clothed in black overalls. I fell sideways against the canteen wall. In a moment my eyes had swallowed up the scene. There was a West Indian, normally black, but now looking whiter than I was, trying to claw his way through a window beside me. A few yards away was a bespectacled shop steward with his glasses steamed up feeling his way about - like a blind man - among the tables. Yet another character was shouting that the raiding party was coming through the door. I glanced in that direction and saw "Tweety Pie" Wilde standing in the doorway. Towering above him was "Jib-up" John with notebook and pen at the ready. Gasping for breath I turned back towards the window, fighting to get out. I knew it was now or never. I pushed and shoved like mad. And in a moment I was outside and racing like a hare towards the Boiler Houses."

"Only four men were caught in this particular raid but they each lost 1½ hours pay, which is rather a lot to pay for a cup of tea. All the I. C. L. managers, engineers and foremen have tea in the afternoon. It is an outright disgrace that having had their own tea two supervisors could come along and fine four of the actual builders of the power station for doing the same. When the union's and the firms' managers agreed between themselves to stop our afternoon teabreak, it was done on the understanding that tea machines would be provided, as is the case in factories. But they never materialised, except for one which was never put into operation. We have been told that the money to buy such machines was provided, but was de-materialised rather quickly. There has been a great deal of name-taking and men losing money on the I. C. L. site recently. The Keirs canteen raid is only one example. For there was a raid on the B. I. C. C.'s canteen earlier the same week, followed by

the night-shift commissioning workers losing five quid per man in a most underhanded way a few days later. The supervisors who do the actual spying and raiding claim that they are punishing wrongdoers who break the rules. Yet these same supervisors are the biggest wrongdoers on the job. On the same day as the Keirs canteen raid, for instance, one particular engineer who lost money stole half a bag of cement which he brought home in his car. And he got away with it. Is it any wonder, therefore, that engineers and foremen's cars are maliciously damaged at times?"

On the I. C. L. site at Kingsnorth the engineers and foremen were very much the kapos of the controlling managers. One or two of these kapos did their best to sit on the fence between the men and the management. But many of them were only too happy to serve their masters and carry out their instructions to the letter. Now and again incidents took place which provided a useful insight into the real nature of the kapo mentality and its potentially sinister aspects. The following incident taken from the Kingsnorth grassroots literature illustrates this point very well:

"Our story begins on the evening of Tuesday February 5th when about a score or so of I. C. L. workers at Kingsnorth Power Station received notes with their clocking out cards telling them that a $\frac{1}{4}$ -hour's pay was being deducted from their wages because it was alleged that they were missing from their places of work in the Boiler House at 4 o'clock. How it was ascertained that they were missing from their workplaces at the said time is anybody's guess, because the foremen of the men concerned were on kapo duty in front of the men's changing room doors (I. C. L.'s Brandenburg Gate) and thereabouts at 4 o'clock. Perhaps these particular foremen possess some occult organs behind those dull glazed eyes of theirs which permit them to detect the absence of a worker from a particular spot inside a maze of wires, pipes, galleries, stanchions, ductings, floors and walls while stan-

ding several hundreds of yards (metres) away. If these foremen can actually do this, then it is yet another reason why they should be with a circus.

"Anyway, the point is that a certain Dick Coward, one of I. C. L.'s senior fuzz, signed the foreman's notes. For Coward this was just another bit of signing to do and according to one foreman he did it with a certain malicious glee. The following morning Coward was greeted with boos and jeers when he entered the men's canteen to get the blokes out to work. The men concerned were insensed over the matter and rightly so. They felt that the management, in the course of making yet another puerile show of authority, had chosen them at random.

"When Coward got into the Number Three Boiler lift a short while later he was accosted by some workers who questioned him about the matter. 'But I was only carrying out orders', he protested and then added quickly (quote): 'If I was ordered to shoot them, I would shoot them, and that is that.'

"Perhaps Coward has been too long in the managerial jungle to appreciate the sheer naked horror contained in this statement of his. Perhaps his desperate attempts to impress his superiors over the years is gradually turning him into some kind of monster who had been brainwashed into believing that to fawn and to crawl and to spy for his bosses is the thing to do in life. Whatever the reason is, it appears that Coward is a person already conditioned to obey his masters unquestioningly. It is upon people with ant-like minds like his that Hitler built his fascist Reich. This is why it is vital that the I. C. L. management, including Coward, continues to be challenged and its authority undermined by us on the shop floor. It is only in this way that we will be able to remain human beings with minds of our own in a sick social environment breeding insect-brained crawlers craving to serve a Fascist Strong Man."

(TO BE CONTINUED)

Michael Tobin.

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ITALY 1920

"THE OCCUPATION OF the factories and the land suited perfectly our programme of action.

We did all we could, through our paper (Umanita Nova daily and the various anarchist and syndicalist weeklies) and by personal action in the factories, for the movement to grow and spread. We warned the workers of what would happen to them if they abandoned the factories; we helped in the preparation of armed resistance, and explored the possibilities of making the revolution without hardly a shot being fired if only the decision had been taken to use the arms that had been accumulated. We did not succeed, and the movement collapsed because there were too few of us and the masses were insufficiently prepared.

When D'Aragona (the secretary of the CGL) and Giolitti concocted the farce of workers control with the acquiescence of the socialist party, which was at the time under communist leadership, we put the workers on their guard against the wicked betrayal. But as soon as the order to leave the factories was issued by the CGL, the workers, who though they had always received us and called for us with enthusiasm and who had applauded our incitement to all-out resistance, docilely obeyed the order, though they disposed of powerful military means for resistance.

The fear in each factory of remaining alone in the struggle, as well as the difficulty of laying-in food supplies for the various strong points induced everybody to give in, in spite of the opposition of individual anarchists dispersed among the factories. . . .

--Errico Malatesta in Pensiero e Volontà, April 1, 1924.

THE SCAVENGERS

IN A TIME of easy money when all personal needs are fulfilled there is a mindless rush to acquire material things of no particular intrinsic value. They buy, we buy the prettied banalities and the refuse of the immediate past from the hucksters and in time's infinity we are simply opening and closing myriad circles of small greeds triggered off by understandable human fears. Every museum is the hoarding sheds for the loot of grave robbers and when Flavio Constantini produced his magnificent graphics of militancy within the anarchist movements his interpretation of Ravachol robbing the tomb of the Baroness de Rochetaillee must surely be judged, if one wishes to moralise, in relation to the actions of the Chinese government who are at this time of typing robbing Chin Shih Huang's burial pit. Chin was buried over two thousand years ago and the Baroness a mere ninety years ago but does time hallow? The Chinese government have acquired over six thousand warrior figures, many life size, while all Ravachol obtained for his midnight spade work was a wooden cross. I will willingly view the spoils of the graveyards only never tell me that you did it in my name.

But there comes a time when there is almost no more graveyard trivia left to hawk and it is then that yesterday's refuse finds its market, and we now have the Kinsman Morrison gallery off Bond Street with their current art exhibition of "Choice" Comics. After the juke boxes it is now the moment for the American pulp magazines to become high camp art and here are Weird, Terror, Superman nicely framed and for sale with slices of the original art work at £ 25 a portion. And, comrades, the intellectual middle class are there to buy man buy! with the art critic of the Observer paying a bargain price of £ 18 for an original full coloured cover painting for number 99 of the pre-war Sexton Blake comic, and have no illusions comrades he acquired a bargain. But finally the graves are exhausted of loot and the Tinker Bell, Comic Cuts and Super weirdo comics have made the final change of hands from the child to the dealer to the collector, and the scavengers of our society must find new ways and small pleasures to hawk in the fashionable alleys of the Town. And when originality can no longer be offered for sale then the hawkers of genuine fakes set up their stalls in, off and around Bond Street. There by the Redfern Gallery in Cork Street is the latest gallery offering the Town and his twitching-fingered frau not only yesterday's masterpieces but, I quote, TOMORROWS ANTIQUES for what Haslam-Hopwood R.G.G. and P.M.G. are flogging in this vast off-Bond Street gallery is antique furniture circa 1975 handmade by their own craftsmen in styles that "have been fashionable for hundreds of years and will never be dates" except of course when one tries to resell it, for handmade imitation must of necessity have a limited market. One wishes the Haslam-Hopwoods R.G.G. and P.M.G. well for everything is open and above board circa 1975 and I spent a pleasant half hour in their huge gallery, yet the only thing that three me was the paintings offered for sale in the styles of Picasso, Seurat, Matisse and the rest of the boys give or take a name. They were, in my opinion, so badly printed, so crudely executed that one wondered why the Law bothered to send one particular 'artist' to jail for unloading his particular rubbish onto the American market. The good fake, the excellent forgery is the work of craftsmen and these awful daubs would have been valid if they had faithfully mirrored third rate accepted crap within the established art world, but they are bad workmanship and it is a foolish man who would buy one when for a handful of coin and a deflating of personal vanity he could purchase a printed reproduction, but in a world of easy middle class gelt the Town and his wealthy frau demand the expensive third rate as long as it is expensive and a limited edition.

I have a great respect for the artist who, no matter how bad his work, has the courage to seek an audience for, like the platform speaker it too often needs a genuine belief in oneself to face the mob political or aesthetic, and when the Bishop Apostolic Exarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Augustyn Hornyak, O.S.B.M., S.T.D., J.C.B. opened the exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by Anthony Atamaniuk at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral Hall at 21 Binney Street, W.1 I was all set to bend the knee for I am a sentimental and emotional type, and it was only the fear that a passing comrade might see me that straightened my back, that and a heavy backlog of Freethinker articles read but never forgotten and permanently lodged back in the sewer of the ol' subconscious.

Atamaniuk's work is pleasant and academic in its style and one enjoys it for he makes no great claims and with prices averaging £ 30 a painting no buyer is spending more than they could afford but for their purchase

they will own a minor and very personal work of art. In a year when we of the working class are told that we must not ask for a wage rise over £ 6 a week, should the employer decide even to pay that, one must play the cynic, for the Mayor Gallery current exhibition is of Joan Miro's figure drawings. In the main no bigger than a sheet of typewriter paper, they are slight and happytype drawings in the loose-lined manner of, say, Hockney. To own one is to own a Joan Miro and the 82 year old Catalonian painter has given the world much simple pleasure. But at £ 1,000 each one has a right to ask who in our society from Richard Marsh downwards dares to scream that the working class are asking too much of a return of the wealth that they and only they produce. Roosevelt spoke of a tenth of a nation, Disraeli spoke of a third of a nation and one knows as one wanders in and out of these fashionable West End galleries that these people, both dealers and buyers, have literally no knowledge or understanding appertaining to the lives of millions of working people within these crowded islands. Fed on the daily spew of the Telegraph and the Mail, the comic figures of working class subnormals created for television laughs and the instant news coverage of outdoor show of hands at mass strike meetings, they see a feared world of drunken lazy louts with "a take home pay of £ 100 a week" in an industrial country with a take home pay of £ 25 to £ 30 and/or an hourly rate of 50 to 80 pence an hour. What these unfortunate people refuse to do is to examine their own society and their own perverted values: 50 pence a working hour against £ 1,000 for a small drawing. But the Town calls and I must obey, so it was to the press view of the Mosaics from the Gilbert collection on exhibition within the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The V & A is hard on the lumpenproletariat of the Fourth Estate for there are no free drinks for the thirsty so it is the catalogue and the half-closed eyes. Mosaics are strictly art of the artless. At its most simplistic it is no more than assembling a jigsaw of small coloured stones and marbles, and later coloured glass, into the form of a pattern or picture, and with the Vatican Schools claiming to have over 28,000 different shades it gives endless scope for the craftsman and those with a wet afternoon to kill. At its worst there is the huge floor mosaic within the entrance of London's National Gallery made up of 1930 film 'stars' etc., and at its best in the collection of Arthur Gilbert at the V & A.

In the cultural world of the visual arts too many of us see only the perverted reproduction and turn economic and geographical misfortune into a moral virtue by choosing to reject a particular culture but the original is the ultimate and the absolute truth. Within the American Embassy, late of Who three that brick., is an exhibition of paintings from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art. Good solid rather worthless work in the English 19th century tradition, but this exhibition does offer us a rare chance to see an original Edward Hopper, who kicked this mortal coil in 1967, and it disappoints. Hopper was the master painter of American small towns. The deserted main streets, the empty houses, shadows on a Sunday morning magnificent in reduced reproduction with their evocation of the small town white American protestant silent majority. But the original within the American Embassy fails to live up to my standard, my faulty memory, for the colour and the brush work is brash and the work is only saved by the subject matter. I always suspect reproductions and for this reason I am leary of the coloured prints and silk screens that the Sunday Supplements always seem to be hawking, but to sit in the deserted basement within/beneath the Royal Academy's "An exhibition of work by young print makers" in the solitary company of Lawrence Jenkins and view his prints through his enthusiastic eyes is to desire to be deceived and I so choose. The bright flat colours or the merging of two bright colours gives a pleasure to the eye but the mind cries treason, for I see the paintmaker mixing the paints and the lowly paid assistant pulling to the order of the kultural entrepreneur in the wall-to-wall floor-to-floor love-it-man-love-it office, but to sit in talkative solitude with Lawrence Jenkins is to sit and listen to the craftsman and that is the pleasure. With G. F. Watts, wine and Kate Merkel at the National Portrait Gallery, Elizabeth Butterworth's beautiful bird wings paintings and punch at Angela Flowers and the tough female cookies, even though they write me to deny it, at the Piccadilly Gallery one has a right to fear that 'they' have taken over but Egon Schiele's cruel, crude and obscene nudes at Fisher Fine Arts plays the devil's advocate for we the weaker sex. This Austrian died in 1918 and his sad and savage works were the banners for the Germany of the 1920's. Feverish, haunting drawings and painting of rejection, they will offer a mirror of his age as surely as the paintings of Pieter Bruegel condemned his age in time's collective eye, but with Comini's "Egon Schiele's Portraits" rolling off the California Press at £ 35 a book and Mitsch's "The Art of Egon Schiele" bring hawked by Phaidon at £ 20 a time maybe Schiele did not only speak for his own generation.

Arthur Moyses.

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTION II

[Concluding the translation of the article from the French anarchist magazine *La Lanterne Noire*, from our previous issue]

States not only have the monopoly of legitimated violence, but also of organised force: the army, the police, the secret service. Who is blind or ingenuous enough these days not to know that torture is a semi-clandestine governmental institution? Even if the State does not openly legitimate it, torture "is essentially a State activity". "Moreover torture is not simply a localised activity, it is international; experts are sent from one country to another; schools of torture justify and teach the methods to be used; modern equipment conceived to be used for torture is an object in international trade." (Amnesty International: Report on Torture.)

All these open manifestations of violence are manipulated so that their daily presentation in writing and pictures leaves their real meaning and their connection with power in the shadows. Social discourse presents things as if violence starts with the action of the subject who rebels. Those who do not accept, and say no, to the social order, are the violent ones. Then the secondary violence of the State comes as a response to the primary violence of the subject: repression necessary to save the lives and goods of honest citizens, their sacred right to property, life and work. That is, beneficial violence to secure law and order, the social order.

But the problem of social violence is much wider and deeper. What is conventionally called the "social order" is a particular order, a regimentation necessary to the perpetuation of the established order - whether private or State capitalism - that is, to the maintenance of division into classes, of paid work, of property, of a selective and hence repressive type of production and consumption.

In other words, this "order" is the facade of a system of political domination which is the indispensable setting for economic exploitation. Domination is based on force and repression, in a word, on violence. The fact that this primary violence is not immediately apparent is an indispensable condition of the "liberal" systems of government. The disguising of this basic violence which is present in all power-relationships and a fundamental element of what we call the State has been a long historical operation of conditioning which entails the complicity of its victims. This fundamental relationship between power and its victims, this irrational dimension in politics, this linking of repressive institutions and the unconscious individual, rests on the crossing of two lines, of two axes of social organisation: the family relationship and sexuality. Their

crossing is active in particular situations, and in various organisational forms which determine authority and which entail the subordination of young people.

"We are also opposed to the patriarchal and judicial authority of husbands over wives, of parents over children, because history teaches us that despotism in the family is the root of political despotism. . ." (Bakunin)

This breaking in takes place in the cradle, in the family, in school, in the factory. It's the power of the foreman, the boss, the cop. The State is based on this "internalisation of violence". In a way, it is the State. So that the preacher who condemns violence on principle is only legitimising present-day institutionalised power. And violence is only a function of this structure of domination.

So we may think that violence will only cease to exist in a non-repressive society. In the utopia world of anarchism it will be a memory of disorder, a token of the old world.

But anarchism is not only a utopia, it is a fundamental negation of existing power-relations and their transformations in a libertarian direction. We must struggle in this society, here and now. "There is no more propitious a heaven nor fertile a soil for us." Violence is imposed on us first as social repression, and then as police repression, finally as an unavoidable imperative of the struggle. Because State oppression and capitalist exploitation are the typical forms of organised violence.

IF VIOLENCE is tied up with the Revolution, that's because the Revolution is linked with present-day society. The revolutionary movement is developing inside the state capitalist system. So the problem is not that of violence itself but of the legitimation of violence.

Revolution is fundamentally a total challenge, by deed and action, to the established system. It is not an abstract idea or a millenium but a collective social process which has to be worked on and built up daily until the moment of insurrection which breaks the continuity of existing society.

It is in this context, not abstracted from the social relationships of our capitalist society, that violence acquires its particular meaning. If it is abstracted it can only be judged by empty moral criteria - the evil of violence and the sacredness of human life. What justifies the violence of the oppressed is not its form, or any meaning attributed to it by the mass-media - obviously the prototype of revolutionary violence is the spontaneous generalised violence of the insurrection, but it can also take the form of the individual reply to repression, the execution of executioners - but the place that it occupies within the revolutionary movement and its project of the creation of a non-

repressive world free of economic exploitation and political domination. And of a State. There must be an ethics of action, a relation between means and ends. And the end cannot be something situated in a far-distant future which would justify the use of any means. There must be a direct relationship between the means used and the end aimed at.

Within the wide spectrum of political violence there are many acts which cannot be justified because they reproduce existing power relationships of domination and exploitation and substitute themselves for a popular struggle, and there is a neutral zone where it is difficult to defend certain violent actions because their strategy is confused.

The powers that be have an interest in depoliticising any violence which opposes them and reducing it to the rank of "criminality" and "social deviancy". The confusionism on the ideological origins of violence practised by the mass media has this effect. Their use of the word "anarchy" is obviously intended to strip it of any political content and to reduce it to criminality, but luckily there is something irreducible about the connotation of the word which has preserved it from the degradation undergone by other terms which were once radical and revolutionary.

Nicolas

(Translated and adapted by D. L. M.)

CENTRE INTERNATIONAL DE RECHERCHES SUR L'ANARCHISME

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