

FREEDOM

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TEN PENCE

TUC'S SEASIDE FOLLIES

YET ANOTHER TUC congress is over and done with. For many of the faithful it is the high peak of the year. A time for getting together over drinks, of lobbying your union executive but also when decisions are made without or with very little consultation or decision making on the part of the ten million rank and file members.

This year's congress highlighted exactly how inept the trade unions have been on an issue affecting an increasing number of trade unionists. That issue is equal pay for women. Congress and the platform were reminded that it is 87 years since they had passed their first resolution on this subject. It was pointed out that even with the full carrying out of the 1970 Equal Pay Act later this year, many women will still not be affected by the Act because their jobs fall outside those which are broadly similar to those of men.

We are also well aware that the Confederation of British Industry has advised its members on how to avoid the full implications of this Act.

But some unions wanted the TUC to support a 10-point charter which proposed a minimum wage for women and also to extend their rights beyond monetary considerations. These included nursery education facilities, freely available abortion and contraception. One speaker pointed out that it was not "just a question of removing barriers where women are concerned but of exerting positive discrimination" in their favour.

The General Council of the TUC opposed the charter and the resolution was lost. Obviously the trade unions are split on women's rights. Abortion and contraception were opposed on moral and religious grounds by a member of the bakers' union.

Such opposition shows that trade unions are not the progressive institution of enlightenment, of brotherhood/sisterhood we are sometimes led to believe. Disregarding whether the resolution would have been acted upon by the TUC if it had been passed, it showed up the preju-

dice which exists in this male dominated organisation. Even the opposition to the minimum wage, because of statutory overtones, is false, since support has been given in the past to a policy of an overall minimum wage. Why not for women?

Another resolution - this one was accepted by General Council - was for legalising sit-ins and occupation of work places. Nothing will be done about this one because it attacks property rights and ownership. The employers will always have the full weight of the law to evict and prosecute workers who take part in occupations. Mr. Urwin, for the General Council, said that the law on this subject was a legal minefield. No doubt it is, because the ruling class has made sure that the state has an armoury of legal weapons to protect property with. It was both naive on the part of the movers and opportunist of the General Council to accept when this type of action is increasingly being used to defend jobs.

Really these yearly congresses are a seaside show. They are meant to impress the trade unionist and for some unknown reason they manage to frighten a reactionary section of our society. Let's face it, the trade unions are not going to make the rule of the Labour government uncomfortable. Women's rights along with other reforms will have to be postponed until the working class has made the necessary sacrifices to pull capitalism through the current economic crisis. The TUC is adding its bit to see that we do just that.

P. T.

SINCE 1972 and the capture of Baader and Meinhof the retreat of the West German state from social-liberal posturings has been clumsy but surprisingly quick. The swiftness of passage through the Bundestag of the Justice Minister's series of new laws seems undignified, politically indecent even to the loyal pillars of the Establishment. "Once Vogel's packet becomes real law, the dismantling of the liberal state will have begun" muttered *Der Spiegel* in June. Certainly, the demolition is now well under way.

The new laws include the introduction of Queen's evidence (*Kronzeuge*), detention pending trial without bail for every suspected member of a "criminal organisation" (a particularly obscure and vicious charge directed at political dissidents), and supervision of all personal contact, oral or written, between prisoner and defence lawyer. As for the trial at Stannheim, it may be remembered that the jury has been hand-picked, that already three defence lawyers have been banned and arrested, their offices searched and their dossiers confiscated. (Now Klaus Croissant has been released, but forced to pay a fine of 80,000 DM, to give up his passport and to appear regularly before the police.) Consequently, the new lawyers have been unable to prepare a proper defence case and were refused extra time to put even an attempt at one together. (When English journalists crap on about endless defence wrangling they

W.GERMANY ON TRIAL

should remember that.) Proceedings have also recently been complicated by the fact that the prisoners have been forced to take daily doses of stimulant drugs. The court-appointed doctors themselves have confirmed that they are, with the aid of these drugs, physically able to stand only three hours of court proceedings per day. The new lawyers too, have already been threatened with expulsion and imprisonment.

Despite the clear evidence of maltreatment of the Baader-Meinhof group in prison there is a danger in concentrating on this particular piece of black comedy and in forgetting the numerous less known, less publicity-pampered victims of State Justice. Not only the large number of anarchists (upon many of whom the President of the Republic, Schmidt, has himself passed sentence, calling them "criminal, unscrupulous, violent criminals and bandits" even before their coming to trial) but the immigrants whose cases barely make one paragraph of a local newspaper. How many in Germany, let alone England, know, for instance, of the case of the Eritrean, Beyene Habte, who has been in gaol for two years (of which one in solitary confinement) on a trumped-up charge of hash-smuggling? He has

been refused all contact with his family (in a country now being subjected to the Ethiopian Government's policy of mass murder and starvation) and is himself facing not only physical maltreatment but very possibly a further indeterminate term of imprisonment in Bayreuth under the above-mentioned obscure charge of "criminal organisation", probably to be followed by deportation and likely execution by the Ethiopians for his support of the Eritrean liberation movement. Or again, who has heard of the four Turkish workers, Özertugut, Yurtas, Uguriu and Tutkun, due to face trial in Cologne on Tuesday after a year's detention on this same charge, as members of a Turkish antifascist group whom the Turkish government have asked the German secret service to keep an eye on? Or again, the Turkish Ford worker, Baha Targun, sentenced to six years' imprisonment for so-called "violent intimidation" of an exiled Turkish grocer who hoped in bringing such a charge to make his peace with the Turkish government before returning home?

The case of the immigrant underdog put away for an indefinite period by a bloody penal code, in the interests of diplomacy and without even the comforts

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THE GOSPEL

ACCORDING TO GERALD

THE FORD said unto Henry, go down into Egypt's land and speak with Sadat, and go to Israel and speak with their Ministers and tell them the word of the Ford that there must be peace in Israel even to the borders of Egypt and to the Mount of Sinai, and Henry went to Egypt's land and to Israel and to all parts thereof but there was no peace. But the Ford said unto Henry go yet again to Egypt's land and to Israel and let there be peace, for my people and thy people wish to anoint themselves with oil and without peace there is no oil.

So Henry once more to the promising lands and the rulers of Russ spake unto Arabia and unto Israel that they would summon the peoples to gather in Geneva from whence came divers doc-

WEST GERMANY ON TRIAL ? (continued from P. 1)

of publicity that attend the glamour of guerilla warfare, is but one of the uglier aspects of West German repression since 1972. Another area on which Vogel's bird-like eye has alighted is the civil service, which can boast the considerable achievement of being the "most conservative bureaucracy in Western Europe". According to the New York Times, whose tribute this is, "even membership in a legally permitted political party that the Government has deemed radical is enough to cast doubt on a West German's fitness for public service, whether he swears he is loyal or not". The young primary schoolteacher from Kassel who was dismissed by the Ministry of Education of the Land of Hesse for belonging to the (legal) Communist Party is one of the better known examples.

Yet there is little sign of disaffection, if one can judge from a recent survey, according to which the German army has gained unprecedented popularity with 74% of the population considering it "important" or "very important" compared to 50% in 1973! Maybe increasing unemployment or the great forest fire on Lüneburg Heath had something to do with it? At all events the question remains: Has urban guerilla warfare succeeded in bringing the West German state to trial? Has it not merely provided the State with the welcome legislation necessary for snuffing out a more widely based, more "grass-roots" anti-State opposition? Are potential new Hegels not even now springing up with their ideological powders and cosmetics?

In the absence of clearly-defined alternative systems, which it must be the task of anarchism to build up from within the heart of the present order, most people in most places will continue to prefer the familiar ugliness of state repression to the still mysterious and terrible idea of political justice!

G. F.

trines. But Henry went back to the Ford and said: what wouldst thou that thy servant does now. The Ford said the rulers of the land of Russ will not make my peace or thy peace. Their peace passeth our understanding, so Henry go you yet again to the land of Israel and the land of Egypt.

Ford, said Henry, must I go yet again. Thou knowest what happened to the peace I brought to Vietnam. That, said the Ford, was in the reign of Nixon and thou knowest he was a wicked man and I have utterly cast him out. Thou knowest too what happened to Jonah who failed a mission, he ended up inside a whale and even the whale spewed him out.

O Ford, said Henry, I will go yet again to Israel and to Egypt. Ford said, Go though into the Middle East and all the countries thereof for next year is the year of our election and we would have the Arab votes which are as precious in our sight as those of the Israelies amongst us. Offer unto the Israelies, unto the Egyptians even, many shekels for the gift of peace. Henry said I will go but they are hard men and drive a hard bargain.

When those that were of the Arab tribe heard of the peace that was not of the land of Russ they were sore distressed and Arafat of the tribe of Plo cried that he was betrayed. All those that had leaders were in the fulness of time betrayed.

And those that were of the Israelites who had fought in the battles cried that they were betrayed. And the rulers of the land of Russ cried that the Ford and his servant Henry would betray with their peace the peoples of the tribes of Arabia even to the Egyptians. For their peace was not the peace of the Russ people but an imperialist plot and a capitalist set-up.

So Henry was closeted again with the rulers of Israel and the rulers of Egypt, for the rulers of those countries had taken a great oath never to speak to each other again until the strife between them was over. Henry spake with the gift of tongues (and shekels) so that the rulers looked upon the Ford's peace and the Ford's commandments with more understanding.

And Henry came down from Sinai with new commandments which said

Thou shalt not kill in a conflict between the parties to these commandments -- except in a just cause.

Honour the Ford, and the foreign policy of the United States that you should live so long.

Thou shalt not commit adulteration of foreign policy and go whoring after Russ for the Ford thy god is a jealous god.

Thou shalt not steal territory from each other but confine legitimate expansion to non-participants in this treaty.

Thou shalt not launch propaganda against each other but confine it to where it will do the most good and your days will be long in the land.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's canal, nor thy neighbour's oil fields, nor thy neighbour's nuclear weapons. For the Ford will give you nuclear weapons, yea even all the bows and arrows you may require and your strength shall be as the strength of each other.

Remember the Sabbath day and keep it wholly for golf. And remember which day it is for Ford remembereth not.

And Henry came down from the Mount of Sinai with his new Commandments and saw that the Egyptians and the Israelies were worshipping the Golden Calf of the shekels which the Ford had provided. And Henry knew that the Ford was with them and they would know war no more until the next time.

Jack Spratt.

IN BRIEF

SCOTLAND YARD claims it received 253 bomb warnings on the day two people were killed and 62 injured at the Hilton Hotel, London. They were accused of delay in dealing with this bomb. Commander Habershon has asked the 'real' bombers to identify themselves by a pre-arranged code-word - as arranged by the Provisional IRA - when giving bomb warnings.

DOUBT HAS been cast by forensic experts on the source of the bullets which killed Robert Kennedy, for which crime Sirhan Sirhan is serving a life sentence. One of Sirhan's lawyers has alleged that a guard accidentally fired the shots which killed Kennedy.

MEMBERS of the Thames Valley Police Force complained (to the Daily Telegraph) that they had to stand and watch the open flouting of laws on the Watchfield free pop festival site. A police officer said, "The scum have won. . ." Another said, "There have been at least 1,000 offences including drug-taking, thieving, indecent behaviour, sexual and other assaults and possession of offensive weapons on the site." The police reported they had made 99 arrests - 80 of which were for drug offences uncovered by a 40-strong undercover squad. Sid Rawle, one of the organizers, said that he thought the figure of 1,000 crimes was 'conservative'. "If we had not been doing it [smoking pot] here we would have been doing it at home where we might have been 'busted'. By doing it here we have not harmed anyone."

Sancho Panza.

BREWING TROUBLE

There has been trouble at the two Copenhagen breweries since last autumn, when the management used the economic crisis and the high level of unemployment to mount an attack on the brewery workers' living and working conditions.

Carlsberg and Tuborg, the two large breweries concerned, merged officially in 1970, but there has been close co-operation between the two concerns since the turn of the century, in the matter of profit splitting, for example.

Carlsberg/Tuborg has expanded massively in the last five or six years, both in Denmark and abroad. They have taken over smaller Danish breweries, such as Wibroe, Neptun and Urban, and they are building a new bottling plant in Fredericia. Abroad they have built breweries in Malawi, Brazil, Turkey, Cyprus, Malaysia and recently, in Britain.

From its base in two Copenhagen factories, the corporation has become multinational. It has scattered its production all over Denmark and into foreign countries. This is what is popularly called "structural rationalization", and its consequences for the Copenhagen brewery workers, who have traditionally been strong fighters for better wages and conditions, are clear: their action will be weakened because the corporation will be able to shift different areas of production around the country if they strike.

The management started their attacks on the Copenhagen workers last summer by means of temporary dismissals, tightening up of discipline, political sackings, and blacklisting. 800 workers have been dismissed from Carlsberg/Tuborg since July 1974. Some have been laid off temporarily, being re-employed when needed. (When slavery was legal, the masters had to supply food housing and clothes to the slaves even if there was no work for them. Nowadays the working class as a whole pay for the unemployment benefit, so that the capitalists have a free labour pool to hand). Other workers have been dismissed for being absent too often. A warning is issued if a worker is absent more than twice a month, and three warnings mean the sack. This applies to absence caused by illness, even if the illness was contracted by having to work in the cold, draughty environment of the brewery. Conditions of production have been made much stiffer, by reductions in manning levels, the "rationalization" of jobs, firing of "activists", etc.

All these attacks were designed to create a "proper atmosphere" for the May 1975 bargaining between management and unions, so that further reductions in manpower could be forced through.

The local brewery workers' unions in Copenhagen are separated into mens' and womens' unions, and are not members of the Danish LO (equivalent of TUC), which negotiates with the DA (employers' association equivalent to the CBI) to fix a steady price on labour for 2-year periods. Nevertheless, instead of organizing the struggle against the breweries, the two unions pleaded for "law and order". They said straight out that members "should realize that they are small fry" and wait for better times.

JOB APPORTIONMENT

The first wave of dismissals in July/August

was followed by a second in October/November. As a result the brewery workers held a local general meeting and demanded a written guarantee against further dismissals and that all who been dismissed should be re-employed under a scheme of job-apportionment.

Under strong pressure from its members the national brewery workers' union accepted that a referendum on the claim should be held, but the local branches tried to apply very undemocratic voting procedures to it. Against union laws, the unemployed were to be excluded from the referendum, and there would have to be a "qualified" majority in favour of the demand, that is, at least half of the members qualified to vote would have to say "yes" if the demand was to be proceeded with.

At the mens' union general meeting these voting rules were rejected in favour of the legal ones, whilst at the womens' general meeting it was only agreed that there should be a simple majority. The unions' resistance to the claim, especially on the part of some women shopstewards, was reflected in the results. The women had a majority of about 100 for apportionment, while the men had 1000.

The brewery management rejected the claim because they wanted to see how the talks between the LO and the DA were going, and officially because they thought re-employing the dismissed under apportionment might be against labour laws. The unions accepted the suspension of the claim until these points had been clarified. The whole dispute was pigeon-holed!

WHY APPORTIONMENT?

The best thing about apportionment is that it stops a number of colleagues from being thrown into unemployment, and from losing contact with their fellow workers. Solidarity in the factory is strengthened providing the basis for a counterattack on the bosses later on.

But apportionment is clearly the worst solution to the unemployment problem. It is a method that should only be resorted to if there are no other ways of actively fighting dismissals in a factory.

During the dismissals at the breweries it was seen that the bosses avoided firing driver-salesmen and the workers in the brewing section by transferring them to the bottling sections, getting rid of less qualified workers there. Most companies don't want to dismiss people with jobs that need long training if the period of slump in sales doesn't appear to be going to last long. The bosses will then be more interested in job-apportionment because it would clearly be in the interest of the factory to have such workers on hand. At the same time, however, it would be easier for the workers to refuse job-apportionment and to demand no dismissals at all.

In February 1975, the Carlsberg/Tuborg management started to negotiate special agreements with the local unions. Far from accepting job-apportionment, they wanted automatic bonuses abolished, piece-rates reduced, the freedom to hire and fire at will, and comprehensive reduction in manning. The local mens' union refused to accept reductions, the negotiations broke down, and were passed over to the national union; but the womens' union accepted bargaining for reductions in manning, over the rejection of this line by all the rank-and-file sections of

women workers. Despite this unanimous attitude among the female workers at Carlsberg, the union executive went into negotiations with the brewery about reductions and pressed through an agreement which meant the elimination of jobs in exchange for higher wages and longer breaks. The agreement broke all solidarity with the male workers and with the unemployed, but the discord between male and female workers was only at the union executive level. The media jumped on the "split" and deepened it, to the advantage of the United Breweries.

The mens' union refused to accept reductions. The United Breweries management were in a good position to demand such reductions against the background of the settlement with the womens' union. The men took their case to arbitration, demanding equal pay with women, which was part of the collective agreements signed in 1973.

On Friday 18th July the men struck for the first time demanding publication of the arbitration decision. The decision was published the following Monday and, as expected, went against them. The Carlsberg men struck for the whole week, whilst the strikes at Tuborg were more fragmented. On Monday 28th July work was resumed in the bottling plant and the following Friday there was a 24-hour strike. Obviously the men were anticipating the general assembly of their union due to be held on the Saturday to decide the general line of the conflict. Apology of 24-hour strikes each week was decided on.

The effectiveness of the mens' actions depended on how well it cut back the sales of beer. If the driver-salesmen upped their deliveries to customers, the bottling plant strikes would have no effect. So the fork-lift drivers decided to put a limit on the number of cases each truck could take out of the Carlsberg and Tuborg breweries. This created some friction with the truck-drivers who are in the same union as the production workers, but like the men in the brewing section have a different contract from the bottling plant workers. However they had a meeting and decided to respect the decision of the fork-lift drivers.

The management reacted immediately by telling the drivers that they would not be allowed to drive without a full load. The drivers responded by blocking the gates with their trucks and stopping all production in the bottling plant. The management gave in, they got pay for the day, and they drove out with the amount that the fork-lift drivers decided.

The weapon used by the management against all partial strikes, and strikes limited to one group was to send the non-strikers home without pay. The workers as a whole failed to develop effective means to prevent the management from sending the rest of the workers home when one group was striking. The basic reason for this was a lack of direct communication between different groups. At times such communication was sabotaged by shop-stewards who would distort the facts about actions they disagreed with.

Some steps towards direct communication were taken. When the drivers set up their blockade, they were invited to a womens' canteen meeting. Men and women in one section of the Carlsberg works held joint canteen meetings. But these small beginnings were insufficient to secure effective co-ordination and organization of the actions. Despite bad publicity in the media and the lack of any attempt to inform other works about the true situation in the breweries, there have been actions of solidarity from other provincial breweries, both money and decisions not to work over time while the dispute lasted.

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

U. S. A

CAKES AND ALE ON THE BREADLINE?

AS MOST comrades are probably aware, the U.S. is rapidly approaching the bicentennial of our Declaration of Independence, and the following revolution. In commemoration of this event, a locally distributed beer company has begun to package their product in a "collectors series" of Bicentennial Beer Cans.

Besides being a fine example of gross capitalism at its worst, this product is probably a most fitting example of our whole official approach to the bicentennial. First, just as the scenes depicted on the cans occurred largely after 1776, the official bicentennial commissions seem to have totally missed the

BREWING TROUBLE

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Negotiations between the mens' union and the management opened again on Monday, 4th of August. In the first round of talks the management demanded a 125 man reduction if the men were to get the same wages as the women. In the second round this was reduced to 50 men, and a promise was made that nobody hired before the 1st of May 1975 would be sent home during the year.

The union executive declined both offers and stuck to the demand for equal pay without any reduction in the workforce. The 24-hour strike for 8th August went ahead as planned, but then on 14th August it was suddenly announced that the management and the union had come to an agreement that in exchange for equal pay, 128 male workers were to be fired within a year.

In reaction to this obvious treachery, 48 workers in the brewing section went on strike as soon as they came in on the day shift. The strike spread and by midday 250 workers were out. It is remarkable that while the previous four weeks conflict had been restricted to the bottling and distribution sections, it was now the brewing section that was taking measures to fight the management's negotiating tactics.

However, a few hours after the 48 had laid down their tools, the industrial court dealing with the dispute came down against the Carlsberg workers and their union. The union was fined 150,000 kroner - the largest fine imposed on any union in Denmark so far; and the workers were fined 70 kroner for every day they remained on strike.

At the time of writing, we do not know the outcome of the strike, but there seems little hope that the militant minority have been able to hold out in face of the swingeing fines. Nevertheless let us hope that this article (derived from the third issue of "Notes from Denmark", jointly produced by basis and Workers Solidarity) will dent the image that anybody still has of Scandinavia as a Social Democratic workers' paradise, and will provide Carlsberg workers in this country (the Carlsberg brewery in Northampton is one of the most up-to-date in the country), whose contracts are identical with the Danish ones, with some lessons, and some tactics.

D.L.M.

picture too, and instead are promoting a huge birthday part in the best "let them eat cake" style.

Instead of using the anniversary to examine where we've come from, and where we are headed, they are wholeheartedly setting out in pursuit of the tourist dollar. Millions are being poured into cleaning up tourist attractions, major tourist roads etc. In short everything is being made ready for the two-week visitor, and the fifty-two week resident be damned. Even where there is a "problem area" the official approach appears to be to just hide it from the visitor's eyes, instead of doing something to cure it.

Unfortunately, there is also something sadly typical of modern America in the beer can bicentennial. Once again the concern is more with the packaging and selling of a product than with the actual quality of the product involved. There is more concern with pushing an image, than creating something of intrinsic value. Thus while the governments content themselves with improving the tourist traps the citizenry is already facing the opening shots of the great Buy-centennial. Everywhere one turns one is faced with buy-centennial frisbees, buycentennial candies, buycentennial dolls, and even buycentennial novels, ad nauseam. Perhaps the whole Buy-centennial Beer Can episode is so typically American, because it is the logical continuation of our history from the revolution to the present. But that is a topic best left for the next article. In the meantime you may rest assured that the great American Buy-Centennial is alive and well.

W. C. Humphreys, Jr.

U. S. A.

THE SIOUX NATION AND THE F.B.I.

THE UNITED Sioux Tribes, meeting in special session, have passed a series of resolutions calling for the return to Tribal procedures on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation (South Dakota) and an end to the FBI action there. The "reservation" was the scene of a June 26th gun battle in which two FBI agents and one Indian were killed. Following the shootings, an army of FBI agents swarmed over the "reservation", searching (they said) for persons suspected of murdering the government men. The FBI incursion continues.

The United Sioux Tribes have gathered in Convocation (in direct response) to denounce government violence on the second largest "reservation" in North America. Represented at the meeting were all segments of the Sioux confederation -- the Rosebud tribe, the Crow Creek tribe, the Lower Brule tribe, the Cheyenne River tribe, the Devils Lake tribe and Standing Rock tribe. They proclaimed that "the Pine Ridge situation is having a tremendous overspill effect on other reservations. This thing has been blown up to an international situation. It's casting a bad light on all government".

The United Sioux Tribes "demand the immediate withdrawal of all FBI agents and U.S. marshals from the Pine Ridge and other reservations". Indian spokesmen said "many reservation residents are frightened by the large FBI contingent on the reservation and by the helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft being used to hunt Indians for investigation".

Clay Brady (of the FBI) said that the Bureau has no plans to reduce its force on the reservation and said the FBI has had no problems with reservation residents. "Basically, our relations with residents on the reservation are good," he said.

The United Sioux Tribes attacked William Janklow, the Attorney-General of Dakota, for inflammatory and racist statements concerning the situation on the "reservation". The Tribes also denounced the government for autocratically creating unremovable "officials" of the Oglala Sioux tribe, thus destroying the communal procedures of the Sioux confederation.

Although there were several anarchists at the siege of Wounded Knee, along with some Catholic and Episcopalian radicals, the Left in general has ignored or avoided the struggle of the AmerIndian people. Though the generations of the 'Sixties and the New Left responded with courage to the Civil Rights Movement of Blacks in the South, they have not made any Motion of response to the Indian freedom movement. We may rightly ask whether this is yet another sign of the failure of the 'Sixties and the "New" Left to push through to a synthesis of (libertarian) philosophy and (direct action) revolution... or, if racism is not deeper in layer over layers of the population (including the American Left) than we had previously suspected?

I personally (being of a gaelic Tribe) am convinced that there are great parallels between the history of the AmerIndian tribes and the history of the Celtic tribes. My clann was the first gaelic Tribe to be hit for the Plantation of Ulster, and reading the details of (initial experimental) strategy in Captain Docwra's campaign against my Clann we discover the identical strategy used later against the AmerIndian tribes. (And the precise procedures of Captain Docwra's men in the shadow double actions of the American infantry in Vietnam.) Therefore I appeal especially to all Celtic people to support the struggle of the AmerIndian tribes. It is the responsibility of the revolutionist to see how one human dimension sets up in juxtaposition with another. And pro-AmerIndian demonstrations against U.S. embassies (etc.) in Ireland and Wales and Scotland as well as London would give a powerful assist to the Indian freedom movement. We Celts have much to learn from the Indians. . . they have never sought a nation-state (but they have sought Autonomy), and they have never allowed religion to be used in the suppression of the people. When White churches expounded racism (humiliation; obedience), the Indians simply elided them for the (revolutionary) ghost dance.

Minnesota

Seamas Cain.

ANOTHER LIBERATION "ARMY" ?

ON August 28, the Guernsey Weekly Press reported at the bottom of its sports page: "It has just been revealed that a petrol bomb attack was made on the home of the President of the State of Alderney last on Sunday night. The incident took place after Mr. and Mrs. George Baron had retired for the night. . . Their son, David, arriving home a few minutes later, discovered a blaze outside the house, near the garage. . . Asked to comment, Mr. Baron said that he attached 'no great significance' to the incident except that it was most unpleasant at the time."

And that is all that has been reported "offi-

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cially" about the incident in the Channel Islands. The Guernsey police (and Special Branch) are saying nothing, except that it was probably the act of a crank. But President "Knocker" Baron is a powerful man in Alderney (indigenous population about 3,000), and is the Island's main builder.

Readers of English papers like *The Guardian*, however, would have read on August 22 - the day after - that Channel Television had received a telephone call from someone claiming to represent the "Alderney Freedom and Liberation Movement", who said that all the homes of other Alderney representatives to the Guernsey "States" (government, which incorporates Alderney, Sark and Herm Island) would be bombed.

The so-called Liberation Movement objects to the fact that Alderney was for the rich people, and the rest "could go to hell"!

No one "officially" admits any knowledge of an Alderney Liberation Movement; but there have been ominous rumblings on Guernsey (indigenous population about 60,000) of late. The Police are saying little, but packages of gelignite have been discovered, and there has been an unsuccessful attempt earlier this year to blow up the oil and gasoline storage depot near Saint Sampsons to the north of the Island. No "liberation army" in Guernsey has claimed responsibility. But I am informed that there has been, "for at least a year", a number of small groups of a clandestine nature in Guernsey who are opposed to increasing bureaucracy, the influx of rich English parasites, foreign banks (there is actually a "Guernsey Bank of Bermuda"!), the encouragement by the States - i.e. government - of "respectable", regular, "middle-class" tourists (some bars and hotels refuse entry to people wearing jeans), and the growing split between the largely local poor workers and the rich, both local and "foreign" - i.e. English tax-dodgers and bankers. There is also some resentment that many English managerial types are getting the top jobs.

The so-called liberationists, such as exist at present, appear to have both "nationalist" and libertarian tendencies; at least this is the view of one anarchist in the Island. Just across the water their "blood-brother" Bretons are also attacking the French state.

That Guernsey represents capitalism at its most rotten is pretty obvious. The sun shines on this sub-tropical island for much of the year; and many people, but far from the majority, are making a "packet". But there is another side to the coin.

Only yesterday I visited an old friend (aged 61). He had a small one-man business; his family had rented a medium-sized house for 100 years. Earlier this year, the owner of the small shop he rented gave him notice because he could make far more from renting it to a London-based subsidiary. Then, his 80-year old mother died. He was thrown out of the house - the owner now has five "illegal" English immigrants in the place, each paying

CONG. 07 P.7

COMMUNES

FREE COMMUNES WITHIN SOCIETY

MODERN SOCIETY is imbued with a shortsighted materialism, people are judged by what they have and not by what they are. The most important status symbol is of course the ownership of house and property. The little box mentality is probably the biggest barrier to the collective community attitude that is essential if society is to be deflected from a path that promises increasing violence, disorder and utter rape of the environment. Since the breakdown of community life larger than the nuclear family there have been attempts by groups to restore the wider community. With the decrease in religious influence the breakdown of lifelong marriage concepts has created a rootlessness in the absence of an effective wider community.

The concept of the necessity of private ownership has permeated the whole of society. The economic pressures towards such modes of ownership have become very strong. This becomes a trap and a bastion of the society of private property. It is an illusion that ownership somehow confers some control over the society in which we live. It becomes increasingly clear that such ownership is rapidly becoming a prison controlled by larger and more remote forces.

It should be understood that the concept of the ownership of land by individuals is a relatively new concept in the annals of human history and was for much the largest part of human existence as alien as ownership of air and water.

One of the earliest attempts in Britain (1898) to reverse the existing concepts of ownership was the Whiteway Colony near Stroud in Gloucestershire, where a group of people (influenced by Tolstoy) bought some land and burnt the deeds as a gesture against private ownership of land.

This community spirit was to some extent overwhelmed by the concepts of property and private ownership against which the simple act of deed destruction did not protect it.

The whole legal system is of course orientated to private ownership, and groups who wish to share land and property find the legal problems formidable.

The answer of social democrats and communists is to invest ownership in the State. The social democrats have the illusion that a mixture of private privilege and state ownership can work. The communists invest the complete control and ownership in the hands of State and Party.

These types of control cannot be confused with direct community control of the essential resources of the earth. Social Democratic mixture of ownership still leaves privilege to some extent untouched; this bureaucratic planning has not resulted in sufficient housing and a realistic agricultural policy. In fact, one may say that planning blight has affected practically every sphere of human activity.

The communist complete central control has resulted in agricultural disasters and a tendency which is common to all power orientated society, complete concentration on industrial technology.

With increasing interest in communal and collective activity a pamphlet has been published by Laurieston Hall: *Legal Frameworks Handbook*. * Its preface says:

"... The world is in a horrible mess. Capitalism is a main culprit. The whole system needs changing. In particular, private ownership of property will have to go. We all know this. You may think (as we do) that each new commune is a helpful, if tiny, step towards change. But as things stand you'll be setting up inside the (state-capitalist) framework - or not at all. Which means that somewhere along the line there'll be a compromise. We make no apologies for things like advising you to buy, rather than rent, a place to live (it's cheaper); or for avoiding a longer political discussion of the whole idea (this isn't the place). . ."

As they say, for groups considering renting or buying a consideration is that by renting a property one avoids the personal and ideological hangups of owning property. Some years ago renting was certainly a very feasible proposition as it was still possible to rent at very low rents. Now, however, the situation is that it is probably cheaper to buy than to rent. The pamphlet discusses the problem of society only accepting some form of ownership and how it is possible to avoid the difficulties of private ownership, and what they are.

Normal ownership, housing, associations, trusts, partnership and companies are discussed. All being within the framework of capitalist society have their problems. Unless there was a large scale destruction of deeds and some mechanism to protect liberated land from the predatory element of private property no doubt some compromises have to be made and use made of existing frameworks.

Alan Albon.

*LEGAL FRAMEWORKS HANDBOOK for Communes and Collectives, 38pp 50p from Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland. 62 sections covering legal, financial and internal structures of communes and co-operatives, with nine examples from life. You need good eyesight or a magnifying glass as the print has been reduced to a seemingly needless smallness, as there is a lot of white space.

CLOCKWORK MAN

"A BEHAVIOURIST working in a mental hospital took a patient and picked out a behaviour he wanted to add to the patient's repertoire. For demonstration purposes, he decided to try to get the patient to start carrying a broom around the wards wherever he went. So every time the patient went near the broom or picked it up he was rewarded. Later he was rewarded for holding the broom, still later for toting it around. Then the behaviourist called in a psychoanalyst and innocently asked: 'Say, we have this patient who keeps carrying around a broom all the time. What do you suppose is the cause of that?' The Freudian doctor did a little probing of the symptom and began to explain. 'Well, of course, it is a phallic symbol and has to do with the patient's relationship to his father in childhood.' "

This little anecdote is from Philip J. Hilt's book *Behaviour Mod* (published last year by Harpers Magazine Press, New York). It tells in a few lines the essential difference between the older psychologies, such as that of Sigmund Freud, and the new means for shaping human actions called "Behaviour Modification". It also helps to show us how powerful is this new tool of man, and how pregnant it is with spine-chilling prospects for all of us if its use is determined by the ruling elites who control the peoples of our modern world.

A thorough reading of Philip Hilt's excellent book can hardly fail to give the sympathetic reader the impression that the much publicized dangers, such as nuclear war and global pollution, which confront humanity in general, might well become only secondary ones in the very near future. Because, while a planetary cataclysm created by war or uncontrollable pollution could end the physical presence of mankind, the large-scale use of the latest behaviour mod know-how would very likely end our status as human beings as such. For if practised in a big way according to the designs of the controllers of modern capitalist mass industrial machine society, a very possible result would be a global nation of flesh and blood robot slaves, so moulded

AT AN ecology conference at Parma, Italy two experts claimed that the wolf is really a well-behaved and selfless creature, which never attacks men. Because of the elimination of deer by hunters the wolf is forced to invade residential areas and search for food in dustbins. "It is a degrading situation for such a refined hunter as the wolf," the professors added.

THE UNITED States detonated a 20-kiloton 'nuclear device' (i.e. bomb) underground in the Nevada desert 90 miles north-west of Las Vegas.

that they would never even desire to be anything else.

This is in no way an exaggeration of the horrific possibilities which now lie immediately ahead of us. Such is the power of the latest techniques of behaviour modification that unless they are resisted in a totally uncompromising way there is almost no limit to their capacity for changing human behaviour.

Very briefly, behaviour modifiers start out from the assumption that for all practical purposes people and rats can be dealt with in the same way. In the eyes of the behaviourists thoughts and feelings, values and aspirations, are very much secondary to behaviour. What matters to them is not what a person thinks or feels but what he does.

Starting in the 1930s with B. F. Skinner of Harvard University (USA) the behaviourists have found that the activities of people can be observed, analysed, charted and modified just like the behaviour of pigeons and rats. So much data has been accumulated that we can now speak of the technology of human behaviour, as we might speak of the technology of steam engines. And the most important thing about this new set of techniques is that it has been shown to work, and to work only too well, if anything. Such is the success of the new technology of human behaviour in action that the very existence of the long-established psychologies is threatened. Psychoanalysis, for instance, is now being made to appear like some kind of left-over from the Middle Ages. While such oft-applied psychological descriptions as neurotic, psychotic, psychopathic and so on have absolutely no meaning for the behaviourists.

In some ways the new technology of human behaviour has positive aspects. When used to help autistic children and other unfortunates who have been considered hopeless cases by conventional "doctors" it has resulted in near miraculous cures. And there are now people of all ages enjoying normal lives who but for the behaviour modifiers would have been condemned to spend the rest of their days in state institutions of one kind or another.

But while the technology of modification has had some spectacular results and could eventually lead to the emptying of mental homes, for example, it brings with it - in our existing society - more possibilities for evil than for good. The evil element lies in the inescapable fact that in order to modify someone's behaviour an external controller must first determine according to the standards of his employer that certain human conduct is bad and destructive and that it needs to be eliminated in favour of behaviour considered good or desirable. Now, while it may not be so controversial to determine

what may be wrong with an autistic child and how best to help it, a very different situation arises when general social behaviour, particularly that of groups, is involved. In his book, Philip Hilt gives several instances where teachers in the U.S. have called in the behaviourists not to step up academic performance but to make the kids in their classes obedient, docile, and easily regimented. In one particular case, the behaviour of a school class was so modified that the teacher had only to switch the lights on and off to produce instant quiet.

But the most shocking cases of the evils of behaviour modification quoted by Hilt were those of several score prisoners in California whose treatment fell well within the common definition of torture. These unfortunate prisoners were strapped down and injected with a drug called Anectine which paralyses temporarily the body's muscles. And then at the point when the prisoners were unable to breathe - and were in fact suffocating - the prison doctor would demand authoritatively that they agree never to commit acts of violence again.

One of the serious aspects of these large scale experiments on children and prisoners is that the behaviour modifiers were working to maintain the status quo. They were seeking and continue to seek to adapt human beings to suit the existing social environment which is the cause of all our problems, a fact some behaviour modifiers agree with. And our social controllers are now aiming to bring about a situation in which they can mould whole populations to suit the requirements of modern machine society. How great and imminent is this threat was shown in a study not so long ago of the Rand Corporation in the U.S. which forecast that internal revolt is now seen by the Pentagon as a major security threat and that the behavioural techniques for the control of millions of people will be ready for practical application before 1980.

The present rapid introduction and large scale use of behaviour modification techniques in the narrow interests of ruling elites has caused another black cloud to appear on the horizon. But there are many people, including prisoners and even some behaviour modifiers who are fighting tooth and nail against this new evil. And like every other man-made evil in our world it can be stopped and beaten if enough people with guts and spirit take part in the struggle. We can start by taking note of the fact that, in the final analysis, the behaviour modifiers' philosophy says that the environment determines general social behaviour. So all progressive radical people and revolutionaries would be well advised to take up this aspect of their science with both hands and turn it on its head so that it becomes an unanswerable reason for forcing a change in the prevailing social environment and thus enable a more generally constructive and co-operative form of social behaviour to evolve and flourish on our planet.

M. J. T.

LETTERS

FREE SPEECH ON THE ARMY & IRELAND

Dear comrades and friends,

During September the courts in the North West are going to be busy, with the trial of two supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign, charged with conspiracy to break the Incitement to Disaffection Act, and six members of a street theatre group, charged in connection with the performance of an anti-recruitment play at the Manchester Show in July.

The crisis in Ireland, and in the army, has brought a predictable response from the state—stifle the activities of anti-militarists and opponents of the Irish war. What's happening in the North West is just part of what is happening nationally.

We formed our committee because we believe that massive solidarity action can help defend those arrested and prevent further arrests. We appeal to your readers in the North West to support the following pickets which will mark the trials.

- 1) Monday 15 Sept. - Preston Crown Court 10 a.m.. Trial of Andrew Lloyd.
- 2) Tuesday 23 Sept. - Manchester Crown Square 9.45 a.m. Trial of Alix Otten; both she and Andrew are charged with conspiracy.
- 3) Monday 27 Oct. - Manchester Crown Square 9.45 a.m. Trial of members of a street theatre group.

We will be holding a benefit in aid of the defence work on Friday, 19 September at Manchester University Students Union, Oxford Road, from 8 p.m. There will be a disco, Pat Arrowsmith will be reading her poetry, and you can find out what is going on around the trials.

Yours fraternally,

Ad Hoc Committee for Free Speech on the Army and Ireland, c/o 178 Oxford Road, Manchester, 13.

SPAIN --- DEATH SENTENCES

DEMO IN BIENNE

I SHOULD like to tell you about an action which a group of about twenty Spanish workers as well as a few Swiss sympathisers undertook this last weekend here in Bienne, in an attempt to arouse public opinion on behalf of Garmendia and Otaegui who, as you no doubt know, were sentenced to death last Thursday (28 August) by a military court in Burgos.

After marching through the streets of Bienne, we arrived at the Catholic church of St. Mary at about 4 p.m. Saturday. After entering the church we issued a communiqué to the press and radio, announcing our intention to stay there for 24 hours at the same time undertaking a hunger strike.

Quite a few people came to see us, some sympathising, some almost insulting. We asked the priests who came to say mass if they would collaborate with us by reading out an explanation of our action or at least a summary, and we can report a very good reaction on the part of the Italian priests, although the Swiss priests were rather less helpful.

We ended our strike as foreseen on Sunday at 4 p.m. Another communiqué was issued before our departure announcing that we would continue our efforts and that a public demonstration would be organized for this coming Thursday.

Bienne, Switzerland.
2.9.75

S. J. R.

PORTUGAL

HAVING just returned from Portugal, I would like to make a few comments, whilst agreeing with many of the points in your article of 5th July (the remaining vast differences of rich and poor, the intrigues of the parliamentarians, and strivings of Stalinism).

It is on this point of Stalinism in the country that I wish to add a few lines. True, the armed forces still hold closely on to as much power as they can, but there are signs that they are undergoing the beginnings of democratisation. This is only a small start so far but the longer term possibilities are great. Also, the soldiers and sailors in Lisbon appear not as gaulers but as a part of the working people, participating in spontaneous discussion on the street corners; not being held in contempt or awe by the people.

The Portuguese C.P. (P.C.P.) is the obvious vehicle of repressive, monolithic Stalinism but even its propaganda appears relatively human in comparison to the M.R.P.P. the party which has the enthusiastic support of revolutionary Marxist groups in this country. It was amusing to see some English students selling *Socialist Worker* with the M.R.P.P. against a backdrop of large posters of Lenin and—Stalin, no less. In addition the M.R.P.P.'s slogans are invariably decorated with the sterile Stalinist "art" of the '30s depicting ordered muscular workers, assembled behind the single leading figure of M.R.P.P. leader Amaldo Matos.

The real progress of the revolution in Portugal may be slow, even stagnating, but at present in the face of U.S. and E.E.C. attempts to produce or allow another Chile, the Armed Forces Movement appears in its hesitancy a lesser evil than the P.C.P. or groups like the M.R.P.P. and of course the moderate social-democratic/conservative etc., etc., etc.

Accrington.

Grayson Malder

SAFETY TESTS of two viruses are being undertaken at the Ministry of Defence Microbiological Research Establishment, Porton, in research on agents that could be produced commercially as a new form of pest control on crops to replace insecticides.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

from P.5

five pounds a week rent, and no questions asked. Bitterly, this man says that "the Island is run by a load of crooks".

Inflation is, if anything, even worse here, while wages are somewhat lower than on the mainland. House prices on the open market are unbelievable. I give but one example. A man whom I've met socially (he is looked upon as being vaguely libertarian) is going to with his family to New Zealand. He owns a large, modern bungalow with, by Guernsey standards, a fairly large garden. It is, as the Estate Agent says, a desirable property, on the west coast, opposite Lihou Island. And the selling price? Write quickly and you can buy it for—£125,000!! And it is not the most expensive property on the market.

As things are going over here at present, I would not be surprised if we do not hear again from the "Liberation Army". Meanwhile, the sun shines, and 30,000 cars (some families own three, and I am told of at least one five-car family) traverse the narrow roads, lanes and cart tracks of an island eight-and-a-half miles long and four miles wide. . .

3rd September.

Peter E. Newell,
Guernsey, C. I.

DENMARK

ALTERNATIVE CITY

IN SEPTEMBER 1971 a group of homeless people occupied the barracks and arsenal at Christianshavn in Copenhagen, vacated that summer by the Danish army. By Christmas the 500 residents had organised weekly assemblies, an information office, kitchens, refuse collection, a bakery, a dance hall and workshops. In the new year a newspaper and discussion with the authorities began.

Soon conservative M.P.s criticised the government for tolerating the squatters. This was followed by police and press attacks. The Minister of Justice produced a police report and demanded the immediate closing of the squat. However, following negotiations between the squatters and the ministries of War, Social Affairs, and the Copenhagen Council, on 31 May 1972 an agreement was reached—that each squatter would pay a moderate rent.

In June, 1973 the 'Free City' occupied more space. But finally the right wing MPs forced the government (a socialist party) to a commitment to completely close the Free City by 1 April, 1976.

In order to oppose this decision, the Free City Christiania invited people to a fortnight of festival last month, in order to convince the Danish people that the city should survive. Besides friendly local relations, there is a widespread goodwill towards the community's good usage of this superfluous military establishment. It was recently reported to us that the building workers' union has announced that its members will not take part in demolition during the squatters' occupation.

---compiled mainly from 'Christiana Alternative' by C.H.

FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, by Gaston Leval, complete translation by Vernon Richards of 'L'Espagne Libertaire' in which Leval set down in closely observed detail how anarchy worked during Spain's Spring of Freedom. 368pp cloth £4. (post 46p) \$10.00 paper £2. (post 24p) \$5.00

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION 1936-39, V. Richards, an examination of some of the ways we went wrong, a worthwhile study for the libertarian left today. 240pp cloth £1.50 (post 37p) \$4.00 paper £0.75 (post 24p) \$2.00

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman. The section of "Anarchist Communism" which sets out Berkman's ideas of how the anarchist society could work. 25p (post 8p)

USA 75c post free
About Anarchism, what anarchists believe, how anarchists differ, what anarchists do, what anarchists want, Nicolas Walter. 15p (post 5p)

USA 40c post free
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism Rudolf Rocker's classic essay on the subject so topical. 20p (post 8p)

USA 65c post free
Anarchy, Errico Malatesta (which he considered his best essay) 25p (post 8p)

USA 75c post free
Bakunin & Nechaev, Paul Avrich traces the history of Bakunin's relationship with Nechaev and how it led Bakunin to re-examine his revolutionary doctrines and reassert his libertarian principles. 20p (post 8p)

USA 65c post free
The State, Its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin in this essay began by examining free societies, tracing their decline under the power of the State and concluded that the increasing centralisation of State power could lead to social destruction and a new Dark Age. 20p (post 8p)

USA 65c post free

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CONTACT

MEETINGS

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

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, second door), tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Fm. From 7.30 pm discussion &c.

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

PRESTON Mon. 15 Sept. Picket Crown Court 10 am trial of Andrew Lloyd BWNIC

WANTED

TWO BICYCLES (ladies' for preference) for impoverished nurses. No reasonable offer refused. Contact Jim at Freedom Bookshop (01-247 9249)

URGENT. Anarchist needed to live in and help run the Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St., Leicester. Rent approx. £6 p.w.

BOOKS - Freedom Bookshop's Bargain Basement! An interesting, miscellaneous selection of paperbacks & hard covers, prices 10p, 15p, 20p. Personal callers only, who may find useful reading matter. Fiction, Science, Freethought, Politics, etc., etc.

GLASGOW comrade seek flat, etc. in INVERNESS or near - Ron, 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

COMMUNE - We're trying to get a commune going and need at least one other to form the nucleus. If you are interested please contact Roger McGrath and Steve Cook c/o 36A Newmark Street, London E1 2AA.

GROUPS

ABERGAFENNI contact 31 Monmouth Rd. **BOLTON** (expanding to Salford) Anarchist Group, write 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Every Saturday, book stall Corporation Street 1-3 p.m. Come and help.

COVENTRY Peter Come c/o Union of Students, Univ. of Warwick.

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

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

GLASGOW new contact A. Ross, 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow

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

IRELAND Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, with view to forming an organisation.

LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact Pat and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street Leicester (tel. 549652)

LEICESTER Anarchists "Libertarian Circle" continue to meet every Thursday. Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street

PORTSMOUTH Rob Atkinson, 21 Havelock Road, Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants

SWANSEA group forming for discussion, group theatre, other possibilities. Write Tim, 64 Woodville Rd. Oystermouth Swansea

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next review section is Monday 15 September; news/features/letters/announcements Mon. 22 September

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday 25 September / Come and help from 2 p.m. onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

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

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.

PROPOSED ANARCHIST FEDERATION & CONFERENCE. Write Corby Anarchists 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants (and watch our news columns.)

ANARCHIST FEDERATION MEETING to organise bulletin, etc. at Freedom Press on Saturday 20 September at 2 pm. For further details write to Corby Anarchists, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants, enclosing a stamp.

CULTURE

W.E.A. Classes. Subjects include History of Theatre, The Humanities, Social Science, Modern Lit., Sexual Radicalism in Britain and U.S. 1850-1914, Music, Emotion and Understanding. Full programme from S. Billson, 33 Compton Road London N.1. (S.A.E. please).

PUBLICATIONS

WANTED secondhand copy of Burnett Bolloten's *Grand Camouflage*. Bob Dent, 48 Manchester St. Liverpool 1.

International Workers of the World read **INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST** from 116 Chadder-ton Way, Oldham Lancs. In London & around ring Watford (92) 39324.

THE MATCH U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. \$3.00 per year from P.O. Box 1480 Tucson, Ariz. 85722 or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13 p including postage.

PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) serving sentence for action against vivisection &c. and awaiting trial as one of BWNIC 14 would welcome letters, postcards at H.M.P. Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, 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 needs funds for books, etc.

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

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

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

ANARCHISM IN BRAZIL

APART FROM ARGENTINA, Brazil produced the largest anarchist movement in Latin America. Its adherents were mostly immigrants, or children of immigrants, who came not only from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, but also from Germany, Austria, and other countries of central and eastern Europe between the 1880s and the First World War. During this period over a million immigrants entered Brazil from Italy alone, thousands of whom became anarchists or close sympathisers, so that anarchism outstripped socialism as the dominant radical ideology among prewar Brazilian workingmen and intellectuals. Until the 1920s most Brazilian trade unions were Anarcho-Syndicalist in orientation, and long afterwards they retained strong libertarian cast, particularly during its early years, which it lost only with the consolidation of Stalinism in the 1930s.

That Brazil, given its size and population, should have boasted a vigorous anarchist movement is not perhaps surprising. Yet the reader of two recent histories of Brazilian anarchism cannot help being impressed by its remarkable range and vitality or by the immense courage and idealism of its adherents. In *Socialismo e sindicalismo no Brasil, 1675-1913* and *Nacionalismo e cultura social, 1913-1922* (Rio de Janeiro, Laemmert, 1969 and 1972, 346 and 460 pages) Edgar Rodrigues has produced a detailed chronicle of the Brazilian movement from its earliest origins through 1922, after which it fell into decline. An extraordinary work of scholarship, it combines accurate narrative with extensive documentation, including selections from newspapers, pamphlets, manifestoes, resolutions, songs, and poems, as well as many interesting photographs (which, however, are not as clearly reproduced as one might have wished). It is thus both a history and an anthology, based on the full range of printed and manuscript sources and portraying a rich and varied movement that spanned more than half a century. Rodrigues is to be congratulated for preserving this legacy for posterity.

Rodrigues begins with the roots of Brazilian anarchism and socialism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, stressing the influence of Owen, Fourier, and Proudhon, whose doctrines of decentralist socialism inspired the formation of anarchist movements all over the world. Following this there is an interesting chapter on the Cecilia Colony, founded in 1890 by Dr. Giovanni Rossi, an Italian veterinary surgeon and utopian visionary, together with a group of Italian working-class immigrants. Rodrigues next analyses the impact of the Haymarket executions on November 11, 1887, followed by the appearance of the first Brazilian anarchist journals (in Italian as well as Portuguese) and an influx of European anarchist literature, not only by Proudhon, Bakunin, and Kropotkin, but also by Reclus, Grave, Malatesta, and such lesser-known but influential writers as Saverio Merlino, Charles Malato, and Augustin Hamon.

In addition to publishing their own journals, anarchists served on the editorial staffs of labour, anti-clerical and other radical periodicals that were launched around the turn of the century. They played a leading role in the formation of labour organizations, above all the *Confederação Operária Brasileira* (Brazilian Confederation of Labour), which was founded in 1906 and attracted shoemakers, printers, masons, carpenters, fishermen, dockworkers, textile workers, and hotel and restaurant workers as well as teachers, journalists, and poets. These self-educated workingmen, photographed at labour conferences in their high white collars, dark neckties, and frock coats, make an exotically attractive spectacle. Beyond their role in May Day rallies, strikes, and the movement for an eight-hour day, they organized anti-militarist demonstrations, libertarian schools, theatrical performances, musical concerts, and lectures on the sciences and arts. As in Portugal and Spain, however, their movement sometimes assumed an ascetic, quasi-religious form, involving uncompromising dedication to principle, intense anti-clericalism, vegetarianism, and denunciation of alcohol and tobacco. Rodrigues provides a full account of these activities, as well as of the dramatic repercussions of the war and Russian Revolution within the Brazilian anarchist movement. He has produced a work of fundamental importance which will be the starting-point for all future research on the subject. His bibliography alone, which lists more than 200 books, pamphlets and journals, is a major contribution that will be indispensable to Leonardo Bettini for his multi-volume anarchist bibliography now in progress.

Brazil, it is no exaggeration to say, produced some of the noblest and most colourful figures in the entire history of anarchism. Among them was Oreste Ristori, who was deported from Argentina after emigrating from Italy at the turn of the century. In an effort to escape, he jumped off the ship into a small boat, breaking both his legs. So great were his powers of persuasion that the doctor was converted to anarchism by the time he had finished treating him. Ristori went to Uruguay, then on to Brazil, where in Sao Paulo he founded the Italian-language weekly *La Battaglia* (The Struggle). In 1936, after his second expulsion from the country, he went to fight in Spain. With the victory of Franco and the suppression of the anarchists, Ristori returned to his native Italy and joined the anti-fascist resistance. After four years of fighting, he was captured and shot by the Germans in 1944.

Assisting Ristori on *La Battaglia* was Gigi Damiani, who had spent several terms in prison or under house arrest in Italy before he emigrated to Brazil in 1899. On his arrival he was once again imprisoned for his anarchist beliefs. After his release, he learned the trade of painter and worked on stage sets for Sao Paulo theatres while assisting at *La Battaglia* and other anarchist papers. Not much of a talker, he was remembered by comrades for his "ironic smile". Deported to Italy in 1919, he worked on the *Umanita Nova* in close association with Malatesta.

Everardo Dias was two years old when brought to Brazil from Spain in 1887, the year of the Haymarket executions. Becoming an anarchist as a young man, he joined with Oreste Ristori and Benjamin Mota in the Association of Free Thought and edited its fortnightly journal, *O Livre Pensador* (Free Thought), which promoted the ideas of Darwin, Spencer and Ferrer, and attacked the obscurantism and despotism of the Catholic Church, as well as the "tyranny of tobacco" and of alcohol, "the most evil drink ever invented by man".

Florentino de Carvalho, who also emigrated from Spain, got a job with the police but was converted to anarchism by Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* -- a sort of anarchist bible in Spain and Latin America -- which he had chanced upon in a Sao Paulo bookshop in 1902. Quitting the police, he took up work as a stevedore and printer in the port city of Santos, where he became a labour organizer, hunted by his former colleagues. Yet he found the opportunity to read, write and teach, and to speak at anarchist meetings, where his thick dark hair and blazing eyes reminded his comrades of Nietzsche.

Neno Vasco, who emigrated from Portugal in 1901 and joined a group of Italian anarchists in Sao Paulo, came from a wealthy family and earned a degree in law. Although he possessed none of Carvalho's oratorical gifts -- he was too shy even to face an audience -- his articles and plays and his journals *Aurora* (The Dawn) and *A Terra Livre* (Free Earth) won him a reputation as the most cultivated anarchist in Brazil. A linguist and orthographer, he devised a modernized system of spelling from which many changes were later adopted by the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

Another gifted linguist was Paulo Berthelot -- his passion was Esperanto -- who came to Brazil from Paris in 1907. He soon left the coastal cities for the interior to learn from the Indian tribesmen about their stateless cooperative life, but he came down with fever and died.

Edgard Leuenroth, "a man of saintly character" who became Sao Paulo's leading anarchist, was born in Brazil in 1881, the son of an immigrant pharmacist from Germany. Leuenroth became a typographer, editor, librarian, and union organizer, and in 1905 joined Vasco and Manuel Moscoso in launching *A Terra Livre*, one of the major anarchist journals in the country. Another native Brazilian was Fabio Luz, a well-known novelist trained in medicine who held the post of school inspector in the Federal District and who preached the doctrines of anarchism throughout his life.

A third native-born anarchist was Jose Oiticica, literary critic, poet, linguist, philosopher, the son of a senator in the northeastern state of Alagoas. After being educated in medicine and law, he founded a school in Rio, then was appointed director of a municipal school in

Laguna. Otlicica came to anarchism not through reading but by evolving his own ideas about society and the state. When he returned to Rio after two years in Laguna, he discovered to his amazement that the anarchists, whom he had previously regarded as ordinary bombthrowers, has been advocating essentially the same ideas. So he embraced their cause as his own, becoming one of the movement's most energetic speakers and writers, though his ideas contained some unattractive elements. "I do not seek the democratization of aristocrats," he said in 1919. "What I seek is the aristocratization of democrats. What I desire is to give them intelligence, culture, love of eternal beauty, of imperishable art." If this sounds patronizing or condescending, more disturbing are his references to the "three Jewish leaders", Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev in his criticisms of the Bolshevik dictatorship.

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What a fascinating story might be written with such an extraordinary cast of characters! Unfortunately, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900-1935* by John Dulles (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1973, 603 pages) does not rise to the occasion. For the most part, it is dry, factual, pedestrian, a catalogue of meetings, strikes, and repressions with little sustained analysis and few overall interpretations or conclusions. A specialist in Latin American history, the author possesses a limited knowledge of anarchism in the wider context. He gives the wrong year for the expulsion of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman from the United States and the wrong date of Kropotkin's death and commits the familiar error of calling the I.W.W. the International Workers of the World. On occasion, he has a peculiar way of phrasing things. The Bolsheviks, he says, came to power "by means of the Bolshevik Revolution". Bakunin "liked to plot the overthrow of governments and participate in such plots". The European anarchists of the late nineteenth century "played roles in insurrections and bombings, giving particular attention to the assassination of members of the royalty". As for Brazil itself, the important Cecilia Colony is never mentioned, nor is the literature about it -- by Alfonso Schmidt and Newton Stadler de Souza, among others -- listed in his bibliography, which omits some important periodicals as well as Edgar Leuenroth's anthology of anarchism published in 1963.

On the other hand, Dulles has performed an impressive labour of research. He has gone through a mountain of books and periodicals in the collection of Leuenroth, who died in 1968, leaving his precious library in the possession of his son, Germinal. He has interviewed surviving members of both the anarchist and Communist movements and provides 600 pages of useful facts and interesting quotations from the anarchist and Communist press. His book, which also contains many photographs and cartoons (some of them from the leading anarchist paper, *A Plebe*), fills a conspicuous gap in English-language anarchist historiography, so that, whatever its shortcomings, it is a welcome contribution.

Dulles provides an especially useful discussion of the response of the Brazilian anarchists to the Russian Revolution. With very few exceptions they welcomed the Bolshevik insurrection with great enthusiasm, hailing Lenin and Trotsky as comrades who shared the ultimate anarchist vision of stateless communism. Through the influence of anarchism, they believed, Bolshevism had been transformed from an authoritarian Marxist philosophy into a libertarian one, and they were willing to accept the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a temporary expedient for combatting landlords, capitalists, and other counter-revolutionary elements trying to regain power.

In Rio and Sao Paulo between 1917 and 1919 anarchists mounted a series of strikes and demonstrations with the hope of achieving a general strike which, following the Bolshevik example, would overturn the capitalist system. They denounced the Allied intervention, sang the *Internationale*, and marched through the streets (led by girls in red blouses) to celebrate the coming new order. By 1921, however, many had become disillusioned, for news had been reaching them of the suppression of their anarchist comrades, of the defeat of Nestor Makhno, of the crushing of the Kronstadt rebellion, and of increasing bureaucratism and despotism on the part of the Bolsheviks. On November 7, 1920, the third anniversary of the Bolshevik seizure of power, *A Plebe* launched a campaign against both capitalists and Bolsheviks, though more than a few anarchists preferred to cast their lot with the fledgling Brazilian Communist Party or to become fellow travellers -- counterparts of the "Soviet Anarchists" in Russia.

Efforts at fomenting revolution within Brazil had meanwhile been unsuccessful. Anarchists, as in the past, were hounded and persecuted by the authorities. Charged with dynamite plots and conspiracies, they were arrested, held incommunicado, stripped, beaten, starved, tortured, shot, deported. Strikers were fired upon, blacklisted, and dismissed from their jobs. Journals were suppressed, presses smashed, meeting places and cultural centres closed down. Supporters of Bolshevism called on the workers to forsake the anti-political and decentralist principles of anarchism for the more disciplined methods of Communism, and the ensuing contest for mass support did much to disrupt the revolutionary movement and undermine the unity of Brazilian labour.

From the 1920s onwards the influence of anarchism dwindled, and what was once a flourishing movement shrank to the proportions of a sect. But Carvalho, Leuenroth, and their comrades refused to despair. They took an active part in the worldwide movement to save Sacco and Vanzetti, and they later fought in the streets against the Green Shirts and other fascist groups, remaining faithful to their ideal to the end. One looks forward to the third volume of Edgar Rodrigues's work, which will deal with these last decades and thus complete the great story he has so admirably begun.

Paul Avrich.

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

BIG BROTHER'S WAGE-SLAVE

THE KINGSNORTH POWER STATION STORY PART V

SUNRISE

ON THE GENERAL labour front in Britain at this time things were beginning to warm up in a big way. This was because of the nation-wide agitation over the Industrial Relations Bill which was then being prepared for the Statute Book. Significantly, there were many people in favour of the Bill, even trade unionists. This was partly due to press and government propaganda and to the backing of the old diehards and jingoists among the middle and upper classes, who had come to believe that the British worker had grown too big for his boots and were, therefore, overjoyed at the proposed legislation which was aimed precisely at curbing the shop floor power of the working masses. But another reason why the I. R. Bill found such wide support was because of the corruption and the bureaucracy and the heavyhandedness of trade union executives, who, over the years, had grown distant and remote from their members, many of whom as a result had lost much of their traditional loyalty and respect for the labour movement in Britain.

Not surprisingly, Kingsnorth Power Station was one of the chief centres of agitation against the Bill in Southern England, and enthusiasm for the struggle was whipped up to a high pitch there. We were united on the site as never before. Literature condemning the Bill appeared on the site in all

shapes and sizes. Much of it was sent in from outside organizations. But much of it also was homegrown and was produced on a duplicator. I had purchased some time previously. I myself wrote an anti-Bill song called "Forward is the cry" and sang it many times on different contracts at Kingsnorth, often accompanied by the thunder of hundreds of pairs of feet stamping in unison to the tune of one of Sousa's most popular marches. The first four lines and chorus went "Forward into Battle/You workers of the land/Against the Tory Bosses/We are not to make a stand./Forward worker-soldiers/'Neath banners flying high;/Let us smash the Bosses Charter/Forward is the cry!"

While all this furore over the I. R. Bill was going on some friends and myself were actively making preparations to begin publishing a magazine of the *Solidarity* kind. One of these was Noel O'Sullivan, a young Kingsnorth worker in his late twenties, and another was Michael Glover, a shop steward at the Metal Box factory in the Medway Towns and the same age as myself. We had great experience to go on and intended to learn everything possible from it. We had learned much from the fact, for instance, that over the years the South London *Solidarity* magazine had made some big mistakes, which it tended to repeat. To a great extent it seemed to be unable to get out of the rut of personal attacks on certain well known people at Kingsnorth. Furthermore, for much of its lifetime the magazine seemed to have lost sight of its basic strategy as outlined in "As We See It". And be-

cause of this a great deal of mud-slinging and stone throwing amounted to little more than that.

Out of our discussions came the idea of a frequently and regularly appearing duplicated magazine that, for a start, would not be sold like any other product on the capitalist market like Solidarity was, but would be distributed freely according to libertarian economic principles. We believed that if such a local community magazine satisfied a heartfelt need among its readers to the extent that they would look upon it as their voice and their form and was wholly of them, then it should be able to survive and get along on voluntary donations. Yet another thing that came out of our discussions was the idea that the proposed magazine should be a forum for all kinds of ideas from our fellow workers; that the revolutionary nature of the magazine would be derived not from the statements it contained as such, but from the fact that it would be a forum through which ordinary men and women could express themselves as they saw fit about everything in our society which they thought should be exposed and challenged -- or defended, for that matter.

From beginning to end the whole project was seen as an experiment from which a vast amount of useful experience in producing effective revolutionary community papers could be gleaned. We began by publishing in the first week of October 1970 a set of proposals about a Kingsnorth site/community magazine. This was distributed and discussed by a wide circle of Kingsnorth workers; and the resulting criticism and comment was carefully noted. Soon after this some experimental literature was produced and was distributed far beyond the Chatham area, which included the Kingsnorth Power Station site. My friend Michael, who had a great range of useful contacts, which unfortunately he kept to himself, had some of the literature sent into Poland.

Then a terrible tragedy befell us. One evening early in January Michael paid me a visit to let me know how the distribution of the lit was going his end. It was going well and he looked very pleased as he described what he had been up to. "Something big is going to happen soon: I can feel it," he added as he finished his story. And how right he was - but not in the way he meant it at the time. For shortly afterwards he died of a brain haemorrhage in a London hospital. And the next and last time I was in his company was on a fine winter's day when his body was lowered into a grave in the Hoo Saint Werburgh village churchyard just a little way across a patchwork of marsh and fields from the towering Kingsnorth chimney.

Michael's death was a tragic loss. But the show had to go on. And the literature had to be produced. For this was a very critical time. For the magazine and related literature was growing in size and evolving in nature and form to suit the community situation of which it was a product. By the time Michael died the magazine itself had become a weekly of eight foolscap pages packed with all sorts of features. The experiment had only just been started. But it was already proving to be a success.

On the back page of every issue of the magazine, which soon became known as SUNRISE was printed the following note:

"This magazine is free. We give copies away. Why? Because we believe in the principle of giving - of giving our time, a proportion of our weekly wage, and whatever talents we may possess to our fellows. We living in a society dominated by the principle of 'I'm alright Jack', which isolates working people from each other and prevents them from sharing a common sense of unity and solidarity. We are convinced that the revolutionary birth of a higher social order must first take place in the hearts and minds of individual men and women and that unless part of the working masses begin to try and live by new values and principles no fundamental social change will come about; that a revolution in attitudes must precede or at least go hand in hand with a transformation of our social system, which includes the establishment of students and workers control."

This short note reflected the basic philosophy and principles underlying the magazine project - the principles of giving, of co-operating, and of mutual help. At first sight this might seem to have been pretty utopian and over-idealistic. But it wasn't. Because in practice it worked and

worked very well. Never once was the magazine sold; nor was any of our other literature either, for that matter. Yet never were we short of funds. It was indeed quite a remarkable phenomenon how fellow workers responded so warmly and were prepared to fork out money - often pound notes - without being asked every time literature was produced. The whole thing stood out in marked contrast to the ways of the surrounding social environment with its very much opposed rat-race principles of grabbing and competing.

Fellow workers responded in the way that they did not just because the whole SUNRISE grassroots lit phenomenon was something very close to their hearts, but also it was very much for the reason that they admired and liked the character of the SUNRISE magazine itself. Every journal worth its salt needs to have a personality and character just like a human being. And SUNRISE had both of these to a very marked degree.

Basically, the personality of SUNRISE was that of a cheeky worker who could be very saucy and even completely outrageous at times. Characterwise, it was very courageous. And if something had to be said, it did not mince its words, but was completely forthright and fearless. There was no institution or personage too sacrosanct to attack in its eyes. And by a combination of biting satire and straightforward reporting of facts it dealt hard blows to the high and the mighty, as well as those who only thought they were mighty.

We also came to be feared by the high and the mighty because we seemed to have eyes and ears everywhere. To a great extent this was quite literally true; because by the summer of 1971 we had managed to create a significant people's info-gathering network extending far beyond the Medway Towns area. And we were beginning to use the information gathered by this network effectively.

During this period, for example, we gained unofficial access to the files of a big London news agency. And as a result of this we were able to produce a detailed factual article of about three thousand words on Securicor, which is the biggest security outfit in the world. The full significance of this can only be appreciated in the light of the fact that only a short while before Securicor was successful in preventing the Times and Guardian newspapers from publishing much shorter and less detailed articles about it. Though I had nothing to do with the Securicor article it was generally believed that I was the author. And from information coming from within Securicor we found out that from the moment of the article's publication they put a special spotlight on me and their head office began sending every piece of libertarian literature we produced to two of their friends and admirers at Westminster.

Yet another example of our info-gathering service in action was when I was attacked personally by Graham Parrett, a Medway Towns newspaper owner, in the columns of the Chatham News. Quick as a flash we got a former employee of his to open up Parrett's personal cupboard and show some of his hidden skeletons. This must have hurt him like a wasp's sting; because a short while later I received a letter from his solicitors threatening legal action if we published anything further about their "esteemed client".

However, it was at Kingsnorth Power Station itself that our information network was at its best. For nothing occurred there without the SUNRISE people knowing about it. On one occasion - it was a Friday evening - two foremen made a secret arrangement to have a couple of workers come in on the following Saturday morning; and they finished off their chat with the two men with the words: "Whatever happens don't let Tobin hear about it" - a precaution they were taking because of a joint shop floor decision rejecting overtime unless everyone was offered the chance of doing some. However, I did hear about it, and within a few minutes of these very words being uttered. It was only a very small event; and I grinned when I was told about it. But at the same time I considered it was a sort of indirect pat on the back for those of us who were actively involved in the SUNRISE phenomenon.

There were workers from all over Britain and Ireland, and some from other countries as well, at Kingsnorth; and quite a number of these told me that a SUNRISE type of grassroots

publishing service would do a great deal of good in awakening people in their home towns. Most of these workers had never seen anything remotely like *SUNRISE* in the whole of their lives. Here at Kingsnorth for the very first time they were witnessing a publishing phenomenon which literally sprouted like a plant from the hearts and minds of the people on the shop floor. Here was literature which looked at our social system from the standpoint of real live workers confronting oppressive real life situations which they could actually see and feel and touch.

Political parties of the left tend to attack what they call capitalism, in general or even in the abstract. For their literature to survive even the most extreme party organizations have to live by the rules of the system and be careful that they don't contravene the laws of libel and the rules governing matters which are sub judice and the like. We at Kingsnorth regarded these rules as having been drawn up by the high and the mighty for the protection of themselves and their interests. And this fact may be proven any day of the week by just glancing at a local paper, and reading the graphically-written exposures of ordinary people who have had the misfortune to be brought to court. This was especially true in the case of the Medway Towns press. For we knew for a fact that a proof copy of one local rag was scanned by a solicitor before printing - not to see whether the laws of libel were being contravened, but to ensure that the people who were being exposed to the public eye were not the type who might take libel action against the paper.

Those of us involved with *SUNRISE* at Kingsnorth believed passionately that it was necessary to go out beyond the publishing arena of the system and attack our social order by exposing local real life situations in which actualities were involved. This meant, of course, open attacks on our controllers and overseers - not personal attacks on them as people, but attacks on them in the light of the social role they were playing.

In one issue of the *SUNRISE* magazine this whole approach was discussed in some detail and it will help to explain this very important point more fully if I quote from it at some length:

"...Whereas political parties aim at grabbing the reins of state power, we aim to change existing society by seeking to build a new one in its place. This means that at every geographical spot where Libertarians seek to establish their own alternative culture they will come into direct confrontation with the existing social order and like it or not they will become involved not with some vaguely-identified bunch of capitalists but with some real life people occupying positions of power in the community in question.

"The contrast between the old Marxist political approach and the new Libertarian cultural one was well exemplified recently when C. E. U. President and Communist Party member, Brother Barr, criticised what he called "your attack on Rynston" - who is a senior engineer and forms part of the I. C. L. management clique at Kingsnorth Power Station in Kent. Brother Barr was critical because as he said (quote) Rynston is a worker as well.

"From the point of view of the Communist Party Rynston would, of course, be a managerial worker; and if by some miracle or perhaps with the help of the Russian Army this particular party got into power, Rynston would continue to remain as such. So would the site manager and the rest of the Kingsnorth ruling clique who would then be employed by a state-owned I. C. L. or Simor Carves or whatever the case might be. The reason for this is because the system would be very much the same except that the British Communist State Machine would be far more powerful and far more ruthless than the one we have right now.

"Whereas the Communist Party and others are concerned with those who own the means of production we and all other Libertarians are concerned with those who control them. Hence, while the Communist Party opts for state ownership under the control of a clique of powerful managers responsible only to the "Party", as is the case in Russia, we Libertarians seek to bring into being a wholly new kind of system in which the majority of people in every community have full direct control over their collective destinies.

"From the Libertarian point of view the main divisions in the existing social order are not those between propertyless workers and property-owning capitalists but between the minority of order-giving controllers and the majority of order-taking controlled.

"Within the context of this point of view then the matter of Rynston being a managerial worker or not becomes irrelevant because he is seen to be part (and a very willing part) of an order-giving dictatorial management who with the backing of the prevailing social system dictates to a majority of order-takers at Kingsnorth.

"Indeed very much the same could be said about Brother Barr himself. He forms part of yet another order-giving management clique. Socialism for him would involve the particular bunch of order-giving cliques he belongs to replacing those who are in power at the moment - which for us rank and file order-takers would only mean a change of dictators, and, if anything, a change for the worse, one might add.

"As readers will now appreciate, from the Libertarian standpoint shop floor attacks on managements of all kinds are a very natural outcome of a situation in which a wholly new culture is seeking to establish itself. We have no friends among the order-givers. The whole upper crust of these order-givers appears to us, in fact, like a gigantic House of Commons debating society. On one side of the House are those who hold the reins of power in the Establishment at the moment. On the other side are the trade union bosses and others forming a shadow cabinet as it were - waiting to take their turn (if ever) as the dominant clique of order-givers in the land.

"To expose all these order-givers for the paper tigers that they are is a small but at the same time a very necessary part of the Libertarian road to our liberation. However, it must be emphasized that none of our attacks are intended as personal ones. We attack managers as managers wielding dictatorial power over the masses, and not as persons whom we might pass the time of day with on the street.

"As time goes on and more and more facts information become available to us, our exposures of managers and the system, from which they derive their existence, authority and power, may be expected to become more and more constructive and hard-hitting. We will be able to show in great detail, for example, how all the mystery and mumbo-jumbo attached to modern management is but a front designed partly to raise its social status, partly to baffle those those on the shop floor, and partly to conceal inefficiency and at times outright corruption.

"But we have no intention of getting bogged down in purely local issues. Every attack of ours in the socio-economic field, as indeed in every other field, must be seen against the overall economic, or rather uneconomic, fabric of this whole world social order and its criminally wasteful and polluteful ways. We must never forget, for example, that this present social order squanders £1,500 millions on armaments every week - enough to build a dozen Kingsnorth Power Stations; that more millions are being spent on research into "better" ways of making napalm adhere to human skin; that thousands of people die every day from hunger and most of the world goes to bed hungry every night while American farmers, the most productive in the world, are paid fortunes not to grow food (or even to destroy it) and top scientists are engaged in making drugs that will permit rich people to overfeed themselves without getting fat.

"In time we will try and demonstrate that we have all the means available in our world today to radically alter the whole sad condition of our planet; and that we could bring about such changes in the short space of a decade if we were willing to create a social order that could use our existing technology and know-how constructively."

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Needless to say, neither the Communist Party nor Brother Barr, nor any other state socialist even attempted to reply to this criticism which was one of the many theoretical products of our many hard and bitter practical struggles at Kingsnorth.

Michael Tobin

TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

REVIEW

IRISH REPUBLICANISM -- THE PROTESTANT VIEW

REPUBLICANISM -- the aims, methods and ideals of Irish Republicanism: Report of the Committee on National and International Problems. Belfast, 1975.

THERE HAVE BEEN many books written on the subject of Irish republicanism but this report of a committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland makes worthwhile reading for those who seek an understanding of Protestant attitudes towards republicanism. Published in pamphlet form at ten pence, it contains a brief history of the movement from its origins in the eighteenth century to the present day together with some revealing comments, and is a reliable guide to Protestant thinking on such questions as partition, Gaelicization and the Eire constitution.

One point it makes -- that Wolfe Tone, the father of republicanism, was no lover of Roman Catholicism -- rather understates the case. Tone attempted to enlist the support of Catholics in his cause but was himself a secularist and entertained no illusions with regard to those he was dealing with, as Sean O'Faolain points out in his book *The Irish* (Pelican, 1969): "How bored Tone was by these talks and meals with dithering, half-educated catholic tradesmen and farmers, and he was the last man to whine or complain. 'Cowardly enough'... 'Our mob, very shabby fellows'... 'Victuals bad, wine poisonous, bed execrable'... 'Dinner with the catholics, dull as ten thousand devils. Dismal, dreary'."

Even though Tone adopted a cavalier attitude towards his own likely fate ("A fig for the disembowelling if they hang me first") the cult of violence and martyrdom owes more to the Fenian movement and to Patrick Pearse, as the pamphlet states, in regard to Pearse:

"A further stimulus to violence is to be found in the writings of P. H. Pearse, who was a potent influence in modern Irish Republicanism. His extraordinary combination of the Christian religion, Irish mythology, bitter hatred and and glorification of bloodshed is an extreme example of a certain strain in Irish Republicanism which is appalling"

That is far enough comment, but is it necessary to point out that a similar strain exists in Ulster loyalism? Pearse is not one of my favourite writers but on occasions when I have read him I have been struck with the remarkable resemblance between some of his ideas and those of the Nazi, Alfred Rosenberg, who wrote: "Today a new faith is awakening: the myth of the blood, the belief that it is by the blood

that the divine mission of man is to be defended; the belief, based on the clearest knowledge, that Nordic blood represents that mystery which has overcome and replaced the ancient sacraments... We believe that the three possibilities of understanding the universe through perception, will and reason, originate from a single myth, the myth of the blood, the myth of the people." (*The Myth of the 20th Century*, Munich, 1935). That could well have come from the pen of Pearse, the blood-metaphor being found constantly in Nazi and Irish Republican literature; the many ideological affinities between Irish republicanism and European fascism indicating that the former was a precursor of the latter.

Except for a few isolated individuals, Protestants have been generally antagonistic towards republicanism, even though the Society of United Irishmen was formed by a number of Belfast Presbyterians in 1791. Many of these left in 1793-4 when the movement was changed into a secret-oath-bound society committed to armed rebellion, and when the rebellion broke out in 1798 the accompanying massacre of Protestants in Wexford revealed the wide gap that existed between Tone and the majority of his followers. "So far as Irish Presbyterians were concerned, Republicanism seems to have almost died out among them after the Union." (*The Union of the Dublin and London parliaments in 1800.*) The Protestants, says the pamphlet, saw their whole way of life and their economic security dependent on unity with Britain, and subsequent event "led to such an identification of interests with the larger island, that most of them became zealous supporters of Crown and Empire, intensely conscious of being British (though not English - they were Irish)."

"Cynics have maintained that the ruling classes in the North-East prevented the development of socialism and separatism among the deprived urban workers by encouraging sectarianism. Undoubtedly the competition for work between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics who came into Belfast encouraged sectarianism which led to recurrent rioting; and the preaching from some pulpits had the effect of encouraging it. It seems unlikely, however, that this was part of a deliberate plot to enslave the people. In any case the Protestant workers in the North, however much they were deprived, remained politically right-wing and unionist."

And so it remains to this day. Even the moderate brand of social-democracy preached by the Northern Ireland Labour Party finds little support from Protestant workers and the creation of the Social Democratic and Labour Party has shown to what extent the NILP was formerly dependent upon Catholic votes - the fact that the NILP supported the link with Britain made little difference to Catholics.

The pamphlet concludes that "The one persistent element appears to be

this hatred of England, often paranoid in its intensity, leading again and again to outbreaks of violence, without any clearly thought out and feasible strategy." In passing, it refers to Connolly's attempt to steer Irish nationalism in a socialist direction, "But those who survived the Rising and later became leaders in the new Free State under W. T. Cosgrave did not share Connolly's socialist views." To which it is necessary to add that Connolly himself did not share the paranoid hatred of England although he had no love for the English government, his own views on this question being clearly expressed in *The Irish Worker* October 31, 1914:

"The working class has ever refused to be drawn into any mere anti-English feeling; it refused to be drawn into it now. It has always refused to consider that hatred of England was equivalent to love of Ireland, or that true patriotism required an Irishman or woman to bear enmity to the toiling masses of the English population. It still holds that position. But it also realises that the best services it can render to the British people... will take the form of as speedy a destruction as possible of the foul governmental system that has made the British people an instrument of the enslavement of millions of the human race... they are the truest friends of the British people who are the greatest enemies of the British government."

Surprisingly enough - for a pamphlet published by a religious body - the Ulster Presbyterians have failed to recognise the religious basis of Provisional politics as outlined in their document *Eire Nua* (New Ireland). These ideas, based upon papal encyclicals, were current in Ireland during the 1930s and the system advocated was known as distribution; today the Provisionals have renamed it as democratic socialism.

Within its twenty pages this pamphlet has packed a lot of information and will provide people outside of Ireland with many valuable insights into the mentality of the Ulster Protestant -- many people in Ireland could benefit from reading it too. It should serve as a useful antidote to the republican propaganda which is peddled in England under the name of socialism. It is available at ten pence plus postage (5½p or 7p) from Gardiner's Bookshop, Queen St., Belfast 1.

H. B.

HOW SHOULD WORK BE DONE?

THE DIVISION of labour means labelling and stamping men for life - some to slice ropes in factories, some to be foremen in a business, others to shove huge coal-baskets in a particular part of a mine; but none of them to have any idea of machinery as a whole, nor of business, nor of mines. And thereby they destroy the love of work and the capacity for invention.

The Conquest of Bread

POMP & FOLLIES

ARCHITECTURE is the only communal memorial that the past can offer the future. Though men and women live out their short and often brutish lives in verminous hovels or in the overcrowded ghettos of metropolitan slums their age will be assessed by the temples and cathedrals, the Georgian Squares, the mannered terraces, the great houses lapped in green pastures, the stone carved castles and the neat villages of the pure in heart and rich in pocket.

It was the labour of the companions of the left hand who broke the stone and fashioned the wood for the courts and palaces and by that labour we put our seal of approval on their age. The fractured skyline of New York is our image of all the millions who fled Europe, the Eiffel Tower our image of those who stayed, the pyramid and the Stone-circles of unhewn stones speak for the nameless labouring dead whose bodies were buried in the soil and sand that rose alongside the foundations of a passing belief. And as time, the State and the indigenous National Trusts take over the castle, the palace and the Stone-circles we finally pay tribute to the men and women and the children who hewed the stone, cut the wood and raised stone upon stone of palaces and buildings that in their short lives they dare not enter except as servants.

And what have we to offer the future that we may be judged? A system of motorways, neither better nor worse than the Roman's, laid out over a thousand years ago, and a monument to the Irish peasants? Steel, concrete and glass hotels that rise and fall in a lifetime? Our only offering to the future is the blocks of High Rise working class dwellings designed by the middle class, built by and inhabited by the working class, and despite the raising of voices and of hands they are no small contribution, for if high living was good enough for the Aztecs and International Society penthousewise, then we the working class should not reject them out of class prejudice. Their fault, and let there be no mistake concerning this, is that they were designed by the middle class but never for middle-class living. Insufficient lifts, no communal areas, no change in design floor by floor, no roof gardens, no window boxes, a political denial of the right to have pets, no 'small' shops within every ground floor, no internal television to give the tenants their own watch and ward system, in short a deliberate alienation that is as authoritarian in its interpretation of battery living as a Victorian workhouse, and the answer for the working class is that they should demand homes suitable for middle-class living.

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The Hayward Gallery as one of the great architectural atrocities of our age has turned its barren halls over to a display of the work of Andrea Palladio

It is claimed, and I would be the last one to bother to deny it, that Palladio was a genius as an architect and that prior to our own age he had a greater influence on the property speculating merchants than any other man. Inigo Jones, Robert Adams, Kent, Jefferson yea even unto Le Corbusier bent the knee and stole ideas and the ten huge models give the layman an idea of the man's mind. As with the Greeks it was order and simplicity and in his book "I quattro libri dell'architettura" he dismissed as unworthy of attention the florid mannerists of the day. Harking back to Vitruvius, Roman architecture and the simplistic idea of man as the centre of his own universe, Palladio saw cities as unified wholes with each building a continuation in each direction of those buildings that form the centre of administration, be it church or state, and he was wrong. It is true that he was mind-sick of mannerist building and this is as it should be, for when any style has exhausted its potentialities then there must and should be a reaction against it and pray god the reaction is worthwhile, but Palladio's major fault was accepting a city as a unified whole to be planned as such. This is the failure of twentieth century High Rise working-class housing, of the huge working-class estates such as Roehampton, for towns and cities should unfold in a thousand unrelated scenes of interest and of man-made beauty like unto a river. For those in political or economic authority are creatures of distances while the great mass of mankind exists within a fifteen minute walk of his private village no matter how great the town. Therefore it should be Drummond's thinking, that he took from anarchist thinking, of separate and interlocking units, self contained communities within the framework of the city. We must not flatten the hills and straighten the rivers but build our towns among the hills and alongside the rivers so that we are ever conscient as the peasant of the earth beneath our feet, and the free flowing rivers shall no longer be the town's ditches.

When I was a small sad child at London's Addison Gardens LCC Primary School for the children of the working class, once a term one went through the ordeal of being led in front of the entire class while a huge Dickensian woman searched one's head for lice. Twice I won the jackpot and with my 'lousy' certificate in my hand had to run through the 'play' ground with other unfortunates while the tougher elements screamed insults. The Hayward's Palladio catalogue is priced at £4.00 and on press day one had to stand at the desk while a younger, prettier but just as embarrassing Dickensian version searched our credentials for VIP lice to see if we were entitled to have a catalogue or just borrow one presswise. That's inflation man and it is rather shy making. The Hayward exhibition has in truth little to offer the Town and his semi-detached

frau but I must confess that I found a small and welcomed pleasure in the accompanying exhibition "The Georgian Playhouse" which is no more than a display wallwise of paintings, prints and watercolours of the actors and actresses who stamped and ranted upon the Georgian stage.

Acting is a craft that I despise yet I have a great admiration and respect for the men and women involved in hawking the writer's fantasies. I watch them in the shopping arcades mouthing again and again the same commercial slogan for the television camera and I state that this is what acting is about. It is not the swooning, the lisping and the mouthing of the set speeches of established genius act-one-enter-knight-in-Mos-Brothers'-armour but the ability to portray sincere emotions irrespective of the banality of the text. Within the Hayward's assembled cast of theatrical painters is the work of Samuel De Wilde (1748-1832) and his 33 watercolours of Garrick, Kemble, Ms. Icor-rect!) Siddons and Kean and their company catch for me what I would hold to be the economic poverty, the dedication and the strutting defiance of those who trod the creaking boards when they were truly vagabonds and social outcasts and not queuing for the National Theatre knighthoods. In London's Leicester Square is the Maximus nightclub, a small shadowed and ornate home for the night people, and at mid-day a small company of actors performs for 55p and our pleasure. No membership cards, just pay at the door, and within this world of Hammet and Chandler these ten actors and actresses give us Brinsley Sheridan's 1775 farce "The Scheming Lieutenant" that he wrote for the actor Clinch who 'saved' Sheridan's play "The Rivals" after a first night flop.

This to me is the meaning of the play and of Wilde's watercolours, for one sits literally an armslength from the players and with the Elizabethan groundlings become part of the play even to holding a casual conversation with them as they accept their rightful applause. James Walsh as the Lieutenant carries his joyful villainy with charm and grace and Nan Munro as Mrs. Brigid Credulous all fluttering naive intelligence gives depth to her part, but praise them all for they are a goodly company. And the point comrade is this, that without these small groups of actors working at poverty level in pub or club all Palladio's measured facades, all the international National Theatres, all the state sanctioned Acting Schools are no more than charades and masques. Palladio may have wielded a mean set square but he was wrong, for man is the moveable feast of God and all the great houses, cathedrals, castles, become no more than empty stone shells as we the players, bearers of the lonely light, move on to seek as always the comfort and community of our fellow men.

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And for the Town and his puzzled frau the State galleries have little

THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION

AS A RESULT of the article "Organising Anarchy" in FREEDOM we have received replies from anarchist groups and individuals in Cork, Durham, Harrow, Northampton, Saffron Walden, Surbiton, Scarborough and Whalley expressing interest and support.

Many comrades have suggested that we produce more detailed proposals. This we have decided to do in order to provide a basis for discussion. Please let us know what you think of these proposals. We will circulate your comments in due course.

THE ANARCHIST Federation we envisage would exist to encourage communication and practical co-operation between autonomous anarchist groups and individuals. This co-operative spirit would find practical expression in the production of a monthly bulletin, etc. Looking outward, it is important to criticise and provide an organisational alternative to authoritarian, elitist and centralist trends within the wider revolutionary movement, including the Anarchist Workers' Association. We think it is necessary to define basic principles

POMP AND FOLLIES

cont. from p14

comfort to offer her artwise. Richard Smith is having his Retrospective exhibition at the Tate with the resident fanfare and over the years I have stated that the abstractions of Smith and the rest of the boys flitting around Kasmin's ex-Bond Street gallery were trivial, third rate work by parasitical artists in that they lived off the reputation of American workers in the same barren field. Smith has Seven Exhibitions in one at the Tate a la Palladio, with an exhibition of drawings at Gimpel Fils and a show of prints at a third gallery, so that if wall space meant genius then Smith should have it made. But I will not accept crudely painted abstracts and stiffened canvasses hung along the wall like Mrs. Murphy's washing. All this gimmicky rubbish harkens back to over ten years ago when the writer Lawrence Alloway turned the Town's third rate artists into his private and public circus and only Alloway the writer did any good out of this sad stale joke.

And at the Royal Academy there was once more whisky and asparagus for we the free loaders of the fourth estate and Hommage à Tériade. Almost 80 years of age, Tériade has made his reputation as the publisher of the booksellers' bibles Cahiers d'Art, l'Intransigent, Minotaure and Verve, expensive books for rich people. And here on display are the illustrations by every named artist of the mode but pop names and high prices working to ten by eight inches do not produce great works of art, only expensive books for rich people.

Arthur Moysé.

LETTERS

and we did this in our article "Organising Anarchy" (FREEDOM 2.8.75).

PRODUCING A BULLETIN

An important step would be to establish a monthly bulletin. It should contain anything that anyone wishes to publish: reports of local activities and struggles, offers of/please for help; and theoretical discussions. Anything published in the bulletin should be free for anyone to reproduce in local publications. People could send in articles and news items, etc. which might be useful to other comrades.

There should be no editorial censorship - the role of the collating group should simply be to collate and despatch the bulletin. In order to cut down the work for the collating group we propose that anyone sending in any lengthy material should send their contribution ready duplicated (initially say 100 copies on A4 paper). People without access to a duplicator could send their contribution to be duplicated by the collating group. A regular deadline - say the end of each month - should be agreed for the receipt of all material for the bulletin. The collating group could then assemble the pages and despatch the copies of the bulletin.

An up-to-date contact list should be included in every bulletin. All contacts should be listed unless individuals specifically request that their names should not be published.

PROPOSED NATIONAL CONFERENCE

It is likely that organising a weekend Conference will take some time. Because we feel that setting up the Federation is a matter of urgency we propose a short meeting specifically to discuss this issue in London soon. We will investigate possible venues and let you know what has been arranged.

PLEASE SEND US YOUR OPINIONS or points you would like to be raised at the meeting if you think you will be unable to attend. We would appreciate it if you sent us a stamp for the next mailing.

Corby Anarchists, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

POSTERS WANTED

Dear Friends,

This letter requesting your co-operation is being sent to about 40 libertarian action and community groups all over the world.

We, a poster collective from Amsterdam ask you to submit posters of actions that you've been involved in to us, so we can display them in an exhibition of revolutionary posters that we are putting together. We especially write to you because we would like to include material from your country/city.

The exhibition is put together on re-

quest of a group of youth- and community-centres in Holland. It will be free to the public and also offer the opportunity to learn about the different printing methods, and how, for example, to set up your own screen printing press. The exhibition will travel from one place to the next and people from us will go along. Nobody is making money out of it.

This is a practical proposition, so please don't just lay this letter aside after reading it, but look around and send those posters that you can dig up as soon as possible.

Everybody that sends us any (old or new) posters will here from us again and will receive material from the exhibition, a booklet on how to build your own screen press, which is a must for everybody who believes that

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS IS ONLY GUARANTEED TO THOSE WHO OWN ONE.

Please send all correspondence and material to:

De Vrije Zeeafdrukker
Groenburgwal 15
AMSTERDAM. Holland

FREEDOM

BOOKSHOP OPEN Tue. - Fri. 2 - 5 pm
(Thursday till 8 pm)
Saturday 10 am - 4 pm

Any book not in stock but in print can be supplied. (When ordering books listed please add postage as in brackets)

- . Paul Lafargue: Le Droit a la Paresse £1.25 (10p)
- * Peter Kropotkin: In Russian and French Prisons £2.00 (27p)
- * Leo Tolstoy: The Law of Love and the Law of Violence £2.25 (17p)
- . Michael Confino: Violence dans la Violence : le debat Bakounine-Necaev £3.50 (15p)
- * Estienne de la Boetie: The Will to Bondage £1.60 (15p)
- . Ralph M. Wardle (ed.): Godwin and Mary: The letters of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft £1.75 (17p)
- . Antonio Tellez: Sabaté Guerilla Extraordinary £2.35 (17p)
- . Claire Tomalin: The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft £4.75 (27p)
- . Victor Serge: Year One of the Russian Revolution £3.95 (48p)
- . Alexander Herzen: My Past & Thoughts (ed. & abr. Dwight MacDonald) £4.75 (48p)
- . Flavio Costantini: The Art of Anarchy £3.00 (27p)
- . Inter-Action Advisory Service: Handbook No. 6: Community Newspapers, how to produce them £0.50 (10p)

Bookshop

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

THE MID-SUMMER dearth of anarchist publishing has come to an end with the receipt in the FREEDOM offices of five new anarchist magazines. The trouble with the first issues of new periodicals is that one expects them to be excellent, on the presumption that more planning can go into the production of the first number than into that of subsequent ones. This expectation is, however, frequently disappointed, and some first numbers give the impression of being experimental dry-runs.

Too much emphasis can be placed on production values - beautiful typography is no substitute for intelligent content, and though a combination of the two would be the ideal, there is no point in carping at decent, workmanlike presentation for not attempting to outshine glossy coffee-table productions.

The present bunch of first numbers is a mixed one. Four are off-set litho jobs, reproducing from various kinds of typewritten copy, and one is a traditional duplicated production.

To start with the esoteric, Anarkia is the first Finnish-language anarchist magazine I have come across (though doubtless it has turn-of-the-century predecessors). It's a fairly densely printed 91 pages of articles, but as only one of them is in English, it's hard to tell the quality of them. There are articles on Stirner and Proudhon, on ethics and the relationship between Trotsky and the anarchists. The English article is an intelligent analysis of the general revolutionary movement in recent years, and if the rest of the articles are up to this standard, Finland has a good anarchist magazine, probably for the first time in years.

Moving in an antipodean direction, brings us to the first issue of a New Zealand magazine, calling itself Anarchy (just to add to the confusion prevailing about the two British magazines of that name), which is the duplicated one, "produced on a budget that makes the average shoestring look garish", as they themselves say. Aside from the routine profession of anarchist faith the magazine seems to consist of a torrent of bellyaching about the misdoings of New Zealand social democratic politicians laced with goblets of ill-digested situationism and weird comments on British anarchist papers. Wildcat is supposed to be "Libertarian pacifist" (and produced by Rising Free); Direct Action is described by informative and sincere /our underlining/; Freedom is said to be "pacifist" (well, we're not terrorist, I guess), "fairly moderate" (reasonable yes, moderate no), and to "have changed one hell of a lot since it was founded by Bakunin in 1886". (Now there's somebody who hasn't read our "History of British Anarchism" feature, by John Quail). Black Flag comes out of this consumer survey as the "best value of the British mags", and Anarchy is described as "irregular", which you can't grumble with.

The problems of editing an anarchist journal are the subject of an article by Colin Ward in the first issue of the best-produced magazine of this bunch, Z-revue. In fact Z-revue's first problem was that the paste-up of the entire first issue got lost in the post, and they had to re-do the whole thing, a heroic effort. They're hoping to "fill the gap between political papers that seem oblivious to the power and influence of the creative impulse and literary papers that ignore the political/social implications of what they publish/review". Actually the anarchist press seems less guilty of this than most of the authoritarian left, although obviously some anarchist papers are purely political. This problem of the gap between some revolutionaries' militancy in the fight for social change and their acceptance of established reactionary, cultural values and life styles, is the subject of an interesting article by Glenn Meredith in Black Star, a new publication of the American Social Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF), but more of that, a little later on.

Although Z-revue is publishing poetry (there's a particularly good one by Lawrence Ferlinghetti) graphics and short stories, it's also including essays (a short one by Ronald Sampson on Tolstoy, reviews (Dennis Gould on Bob Dylan) and news-snippets. There's also what seems to be the obligatory situationist-style essay, this one "On Sexual Poverty" (actually, it's quite readable, intelligible even, though on the usual level of fairly dry abstraction).

The last of the new publications, The Sheffield Anarchist also includes a couple of parables, in between sound anarchist articles (and it uses situationist-style "adapted" comic-strips, to embellish an intelligent article on the mythology of nationalisation) but they're both from the early part of the century, one adapted from Olive Schreiner and one taken from the first series of the Sheffield Anarchist which ran for ten numbers and was terminated by the police in 1891. Strangely enough both the parables are about sexual liberation. It's understandable that that form should have been used in those two periods, but why now? This is only a minor quibble, however, and The Sheffield Anarchist is worth getting just for the "Small Ads" on the back.

According to Colin Ward's "Notes of an Anarchist Ex-Editor" in Z-revue, one of the major problems of anarchist journalism is that "so much time and nervous energy goes into producing a journal that none is left to spend on distribution and promotion" (given that most of our time is taken up by making a living: this is certainly true of Freedom). Black Star attempts to solve the production problem in what it claims is "a different manner than just about anything else". This means that any group adhering to SRAF can submit material for publication in the paper so long as it is set up ready for printing: no censorship is applied. This first issue seems to have been co-ordinated by three separate groups,

and the result is a curious mixture of type-styles, and a great unevenness in the quality of the material. In particular the pages for which the Milwaukee SRAF group (who also seem to be the mailing address of the paper) take responsibility, contain writing of a very dubious nature. Consider, for instance, the following sentences from an article on the West German urban guerillas: (1) "While in prison Holger Meins and a few of the R. A. F. people became 'true' anarchists." (2) "The R. A. F. et al. are to be commended for their courage and commitment. If only more Anarchists had that much commitment. . . The whole affair however isn't doing anything to advance the cause, for sure." The whole piece is riddled with non-sequiturs and self-contradictions. This may be due to the fact that, as they acknowledge, "most of the information in this article was gleaned from the Black Flag and the I. A. T." [International Archive Team, also operating from 83a Haverstock Hill]

Black Star also sees fit to reprint an attempted character assassination on Fred Woodworth and The Match! which first appeared in Black Flag in March 1975. There's no space here to go into the ins and outs of the controversy (which arose over articles about the "revolutionary", or not, character of the Symbianese Liberation Army), but it's painful to see the columns of the anarchist press filled with the twisted corpse of logic and the contortions of Jesuitic, ad hominem attacks. In the June 1975 issue of Black Flag, there is a column of "Sectarian Notes" in which the magazine rejects the accusation of attempting to be the Pope of the anarchist "faith". And yet in the very preceding paragraph we read, with reference to The Match!: "The paper should not be supported by contribution or subscription. . ." Now if that's not an ethical imperative, what is? If that's not the setting-up of an Index of Prohibited Anarchist Periodicals, what is? Incidentally, the anarchist pope seems as inaccurate in his reading as his catholic predecessors. He writes: ". . . Match prints a letter from one, signed 'P.P. Indiana' who says he knew Graham in 1940 (there is indeed a Paul Paskie who was around then and does live in Indiana but who indignantly repudiates the letter, written, one suspects, by an F.W.)." In fact, the letter is signed "P.P. (Michigan)", and is from another comrade, known to us.

D. L. M.

Addresses:

Anarchy, 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch, 4, New Zealand. NZ\$1 for 4 nos.
Anarkia, c/o J. Olavinen, Oikokatu 2A 19. 00170 Helsinki 17, Finland.
Black Star, Box 90159, Milwaukee, Mich. 53202, USA \$3 for 6 issues
Sheffield Anarchist, Anarchist Commune, 4 Havelock Sq., Sheffield 10. "Pay what you like".
Z-revue, 180 Melbourne Road, Leicester E1 for 5 issues. (15p + post from Freedom Bookshop)