

FREEDOM

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SICKNESS OF MEDICINE

WHILST IN general principle anarchists approve of the strike as a method of social protest and financial adjustment we regard the current junior doctors' strike with some ambivalence. This is not entirely to us a class issue, neither do we feel that the social importance which surrounds medicine should inhibit or prohibit (in any grade) the withholding of labour and skills. Such attitudes of disapproval as usually voiced (but strangely withheld in the case of doctors and consultants) are a form of blackmail investing hitherto unregarded trades and professions (usually underpaid) with a halo of saintliness and an odour of sanctity.

Among anarchists it is not uncommon to find an unorthodox attitude to medicine. That is to say that the widely prevailing scepticism takes a more positive form of regarding the doctor not as the all-knowing authority many set themselves up to be but the fallible, and sometimes useful, medicine man of a triabally superstitious society as far as sickness is concerned.

The visceral tangle of the body politic of medicine - both State and private - is manifestly moribund. It has rarely been otherwise and the sick corpus is but a reflection of the sick mind of society with the drastic purges of Statism and the corrupting specific of doses of gold for the private parts.

It is impossible to prescribe a universal remedy for this sickness but there are indications for the kind of drastic therapeutic action which has been advocated by anarchists for many years.

The following extracts are from Leval's Collectives in the Spanish Revolution and describe health services in the Spanish civil war.

THE SOCIALISATION OF MEDICINE

BY 1937, the National Federation for Public Health, a section of the CNT, had 40,000 members and it goes without saying that such large numbers could not have been assembled so quickly had not the way been shown by others over the years.

Some precedents explain, only partly, the creative drive that was to take place. A number of doctors were among the best Spanish militants . . . Along with these doctors, best known because of their writings and activities, there was a large number of others who supported the constructive concepts of the libertarian ideal of a new civilization, a

more rational and just organisation of society. At the local level, these men, often in contact with the workers' syndicates, performed wonders of human solidarity. . . we have given examples of mutual aid societies founded or administered by the libertarians in the villages or small provincial towns. The disinterested collaboration of one or two or more doctors was secured by them. Sometimes it would even go much further. Thus, in Valencia, then the third largest city in Spain, was the

. . . Mutual Aid Society of the Levante, founded by libertarians . . . who brought together many doctors with different specialties, professional people with experience in the different fields of public health. More than a simple society for mutual aid, it was, basically, an association of practitioners of medicine which extended over the whole region of the Levante and in which the spirit of mutual aid dominated in its most human implications.

CATALONIA

When the Civil War broke out, there was no doctors' syndicate specially organised in Barcelona, but a "Syndicate of the Liberal Professions" with various sections: journalists, writers, teachers, lawyers, doctors. How many of the latter? We do not know, but their number must have been fairly large to judge by the speed with which initiatives sprang up when the time was ripe.

There are two reasons for this. In the first place, the sanitary problems;

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Revenge and Death

THE SHOOTING of Mr. Ross Mc Whirter was a pointless act of mindless violence. All it has achieved is the staking of the fires for those who want to bring back capital punishment. In fact, those responsible could not have timed their act better, that is for the pro-hangers, since it will be exactly a year since the last vote was taken in the House of Commons.

Although the IRA have not officially 'claimed' the killing it has been assumed that they are responsible. If they are, then they have provided the moralizers and reactionary-minded people with a martyr they have longed for. But equally the IRA uses the same morbid methods to drum up support for their equally reactionary cause.

Now we have to be treated to a load of crap about Mr Whirter being the champion of the individual, and a man of the people; a man who fought for the oppressed and the rule of law. His own description of himself was "a simple, single-minded libertarian who likes to see the laws kept. I am concerned with the frail defences of the people".

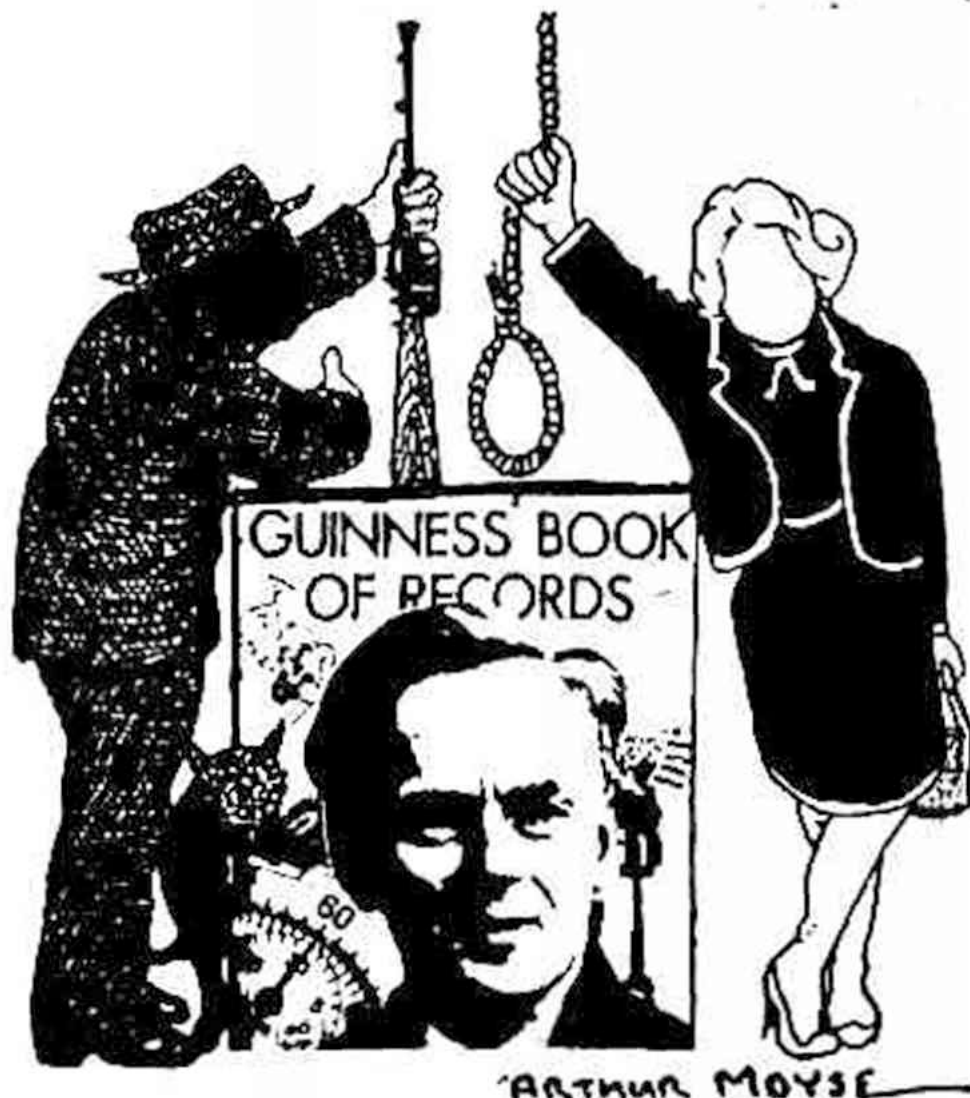
His defence of the people included acts like advertising in the papers urging the nation to "Stand Up to The Unions". In the advert he suggested and outlined a plan called Operation Carlift to break any strike on the railways. Similar strike breaking methods of producing a Current Affairs Press in the event of a newspaper strike.

This 'libertarian' also thought that 'the people' should not see a film on Andy Warhol on the ITV. His successful injunction meant that his opinion that the film was "unedifying, uncivilised, and unnecessary" prevented the public from drawing their own conclusions. Of course this arbiter of what's good for the public to see saw the film himself.

Recently he started publishing a paper called Majority (Journal of Free Enterprise and Self Help). He in fact was becoming the spokesman for the small man in business and for those on fixed incomes, who feel equally threatened by the great unwashed and big business. He was, as he said, 'no fascist ogre', but if certainly he was against any real freedom of the individual to decide and govern his own affairs.

His death will give added strength to all those who want a return to juridical murder. If this is applied to acts of terrorism then the IRA will get their martyrs. And so more senseless killings will result. In such a situation both the IRA and the pro-hangers need one another. Both are obsessed with revenge and death.

P. T.



CRY DEATH !

SICKNESS OF MEDICINE

questions of social hygiene; infant mortality; the struggle against tuberculosis, venereal diseases and others, were subjects openly discussed in our press, particularly in the libertarian review *Estudios* which... had a circulation of up to 75,000 copies in a country of 24 million inhabitants of whom 40% were illiterate). The minds of many militants were therefore aware of these problems. Then the disorganisation of the sanitary services, administered by a religious personnel which, after July 19, disappeared overnight from the hospitals, the dispensaries and other charitable institutions, made it necessary to improvise methods of organisation and to set up new establishments not only to continue to succour the sick, the blind, the infirm, but also to operate, to tend and treat the wounded from the Civil War who were being brought in all the time.

Individual and collective initiatives were encouraged; stately homes were requisitioned and the rooms were furnished, and beds set up all in good order. Then the importance of the sanitary question loomed large, so large that the Federation for corresponding services soon appeared among the sixteen large organic divisions in which the whole life of the country had been divided on the basis of a national plan which was perhaps excessively organising...

But... we must in the name of objectivity mention the emergence at the same time of a new element in this vast improvisation. In that month of September 1936, faced with the public's demand for a unification of the anti-Francoist forces, the CNT decided to join the Catalan government and, shortly afterwards, the national government led by the socialist Largo Caballero. Among the three Catalan "councillors" it nominated, one of them, Garcia Birlan, the best known contributor to the Spanish libertarian press [*"Dionisios"*] was appointed Minister of Health. He chose his collaborators from among his ideological comrades, and it was thus that Dr. Felix Marti Ibanez was nominated director general of sanitary services and of social assistance in Catalonia.

A study in depth would reveal that in many similar situations the government used libertarians to carry out practical programmes for their ministries...

One of the reasons which explain this official attitude towards the official sanitary services was that the CNT could, thanks to its contact with the working masses, and its constructive and organising spirit, be a valuable and even necessary aid, though the government, or whatever was in its place, held the advantage of disposing of the financial resources which those on the revolutionary side lacked.

The result of the situation created in



ARTHUR MOYSE
"With the doctors now boasting about how many of us they've killed off one feels safer with the bastards out on strike."

Catalonia was that the existence of these two forms of activity, at the same time divergent and convergent, were to provoke a fraternal and inevitable rivalry. Dr. Marti Ibanez in his book *Obra* (Work) published in November 1937 bears witness to this. His Ministry did more in ten months than other Catalan ministries had done in the five years of the Republic. It is true of course that the revolutionary situation, and the participation of CNT militants, made it possible to speed up the rhythm of achievement.

We are only too anxious to establish a parallel between the action of the governmental organism and that of the syndical organism, both in the hands of the libertarians. On this subject Dr. Marti Ibanez starts by paying a tribute to the creative drive of the members of the CNT to which he belonged. From the first day of the struggle, he writes, "We, the doctors of the CNT, constituted, thanks to the workers' sanitary organisation, the first sanitary control which was also the first effort at organic cohesion of the sanitary services in Catalonia. When the time is ripe we will describe those hectic days during which the sanitary control by the CNT improvised, at high speed, solutions which the innumerable problems that arose continuously demanded."

This "hectic" activity of our independent movement continued, and it explains the powerful take-off by the Syndicate that was constituted as a result. And that the balance sheet of the two forms of organisation was all in favour of the direct creation according to the principles of the CNT. For, right at the beginning, as we have seen, it was from the syndical movement, from the syndicalist militants, even though the specific sanitary organisation had not yet been constituted, that everything stemmed; in fact Garcia Birlan and Felix Marti Ibanez simply transferred to the Ministry of Health what was already living in the thoughts, in the souls of the utopians, impatient to convert utopia into reality.

Apart from the financial advantages

that a Ministry could enjoy, and the aid that it received from the syndical organisation... and from the industries providing the necessary technical elements, we note that the new hospitals placed under a kind of governmental aegis, were only the old establishments with a change of name, whereas those, much more numerous, taken over by the syndicate were, with considerably less means, created all of a piece.

...
[After recording statistics of centres, personnel and their specialities, and their co-ordination, and the fact that private practice still continued and noting the control placed on this, Leval considers:]

What was the attitude of doctors to this upheaval? Different answers can be given, indeed contradictory ones. But as my comrades explained to me, there are essentially two groups: that of the "old ones" who constituted the privileged class - a part of whom left Catalonia and crossed over to France - and for whom medicine was above all a source of considerable material gain; that group, as was to be expected, was not at all satisfied with the changes that took place. The other group which had not yet "arrived" offered no resistance and even collaborated with good grace in this general series of changes.

By contrast the young joined with enthusiasm. For many of them the future was problematical. After having qualified they had to work virtually unpaid in the hospitals and the sanatoria. In the clinics the official doctor, handsomely remunerated, hardly ever showed up; a younger doctor would stand in for him; waiting for the "boss" to die so as to step into his shoes. Alongside him, a younger doctor still acted as secretary, waiting for a shake-up in the hierarchy to move up in his turn.

Under the new system, all hospital doctors received 500 pesetas a month for three hours work a day. They had in addition their private patients. We know only too well that this was not yet economic equality but within the limits of what was possible, a great step had been taken. There were no longer "señores doctores" receiving huge fees while other doctors lived virtually in conditions of poverty. In the hospitals, clinics, etc. no one could receive two salaries.

(Compiled by J. R. & M. C.)

THE FRENCH Prime Minister announced that 'sweeping measures' would shortly be instituted to combat the setting up of 'soldier committees'. Defence Minister said that one Army unit in ten may already have been infiltrated and conscripts have already been 'disciplined' for illegal activities. Links have been established with Portuguese S. U. V. (Soldiers United for Victory). Thirteen conscripts have been arrested and will be tried in special Security Courts for 'taking part in an attempt to demoralize the army'. Civilian arrests are expected.

DEVOLUTION: or How to Keep Power

WE, WHO ARE federalist, were never fooled by devolution and so were not among those who wrung their hands at last week's White Paper. Such useless exhibitions are, however, common to those who believe in the ability of governments to govern themselves out of a job and who, believing this, are touchingly surprised and angered by that traditional method of keeping the crown from one's rivals by anointing (though not, it would this time seem, with oil) a mindless idiot.

Colonial Scotland has long been impoverished and unemployed. Its unemployment rate is three times higher than that of the South East of England. One in ten of its houses are sub-standard. The ricket-prone Glasgow slums remain. The Red Paper on Scotland estimated it would take an extra 41p per person per year under the present system to raise Scotland's social services to the average position of England and Wales. Colonial Scotland, like Italy's Mezzogiorno, is the classic example of an imperial market drained and despoiled of its natural riches and forced in return to accept a derisive State charity in the form of Anglo-American high-technological, capital-intensive industry and agriculture. Colonial Scotland means the break up of old peaceful communities; it means a new Klondyke for American oilmen and a playground for the aristocratic and managerial elite of the Continent, freaked out on *la chasse* and the tartan folklore imported by Queen Victoria. But *devolved* Scotland means the establishment of a puppet bureaucracy, the mere addition of Herod the tetrarch to Caesar Augustus the emperor, the mere physical removal of a part of the ministerial machine from A to B. It means a new law-making body, a new cabinet, a new chief executive, a new load of rates and taxes, perhaps, but which will not buy out the disciplinary intervention of Westminster on almost anything, or prevent the nasty flow of oil into the bankrupt national Exchequer or English law and order over political dissension, education, housing, all matters economic, financial and supranational that count. In short, it means a piece of botched-up plumbing.

But this is also the criticism of the "federalist", PR-obsessed Liberal Party, of chauvinistic Scotsmen, of "moderate" Plaid Cymru, whose devolutionary prospects are bleaker still, and of a conservative press. The *Economist*, for instance, sees in the White Paper the elevation of the Scottish secretary of state from within the Westminster cabinet as "something akin to that of a Tudor monarch" and the Scottish assembly as a terrorized patient in the hands of a particularly vicious dentist. But above all it sees and fears in the government plans a potential conflict between the Scottish assembly and its English overlord that could turn (God save us and the Queen!) into a "constitutional crisis". And the spectre of "separation" is brought out

by all to dance its *danse macabre* before a frightened nation.

But we, who are intrinsically federalist, and internationalist, scorn the idea of devolution just as we oppose separation and isolationism. Devolution under any government of whatever shade of red or blue will only bring more law and more paper for hungry bureaucrats. More satrapy which, while satisfying the immediate desires of some, far from weakening government will bring it nearer in a plumped up, painted guise. . . . And after all, do we in London feel any happier for knowing the whole sham Gothic mess is just outside our windows? And does "autonomy" do anything for the Sicilians and Sardinians by bringing closer to their consciousness the entangled web of clientelism, the battles and sour truces of inter-party warfare, the kafkaesque nightmare of local bureaucracy? Everything,

in fact, the great federalist Carlo Cattaneo feared and prophesied in mere decentralisation?

The anarchist answer to this White Paper as to all, can be epitomised in two rude words. To put it more politely, however, we can be satisfied with nothing but an international federation of self-governing communes with direct control over whatever has to be run within a central framework - transport, some (decent) forms of energy, etc. Oxford Circus will be restored to beautiful barbarity and Westminster will become the dung-heap of Morris' dream - a heap of good rich stinking organic manure!

As such it will serve a useful purpose - the first real public service it will ever have performed.

EDITORS.

B.W.N.I.C.

DEFENCE OF THE 14

THE PRESENTATION of the defence case for the 14 charged with conspiracy to break the Incitement to Disaffection Act has been completed. Most defendants, deciding that the jury have probably heard enough to know their own minds without being forced to sit through what could be weeks of cross-examination, elected not to call witnesses, and to make unsworn statements from the dock. Even so they were subjected to numerous interruptions and objections from the prosecution, particularly when they spoke of the various political factors which contributed to their "state of mind" and therefore their intentions in taking the actions they did in furtherance of the aims of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign.

Wendy Butlin was interrupted twice as she read descriptions of what she experienced when she visited N. Ireland to distribute to soldiers and civilians a leaflet put out by the War Resisters International, for example a CS gas cylinder exploding a few yards from her. Bob Thomas was stopped twice and accused of "political harganguing" - once when he spoke briefly about the last few years of Northern Irish history and the other time when he remarked, "If you think bullets and bombs can bring peace, then I feel an alien amongst you." Rick Walker, one of the defendants from Liverpool, was stopped when he described his increasing fears of the army being used in this country, particularly in situations which might arise from growing unemployment. But there was one word which had the prosecutor on his feet even quicker than Ireland, and that was "Kitson", as Michael Wescott found when he tried to quote briefly from Brigadier Kitson's book *Low Intensity Operations*. The prosecutor was sure the book was

"wholly irrelevant" and the judge, as usual, agreed with him.

Paul Seed, the last to make his statement from the dock, said that the prosecution had been brought not because anyone thought that any soldiers had been seduced but "for quite other, political, reasons: because it is something of an embarrassment to this government that soldiers are in ignorance of their rights; that conscientious objectors still exist in the army despite the fact it is called voluntary. . . ."

The ninth week of the trial was taken up with the prosecution's closing speech and two defence closing speeches - from Gwyn Williams who conducted her own defence and from Michael Burton, John Hyatt's counsel. Michael Coombe, the prosecutor, began by taking an afternoon to describe what he said he was not going to talk about: the "irrelevancies" - which included Ireland, whether the Incitement to Disaffection Act should be on the statute book, soldiers' rights and free speech (all those political matters which the Crown has tried, and to an extent failed, to exclude from this political trial). Then he went on not simply to restate the case as he defined it on opening when he concentrated heavily on the alleged conspiracy to incite soldiers, particularly to desert to Sweden, but widening it to include a newly invented crime -- that of trying to get soldiers to disaffect legally (in other words to inform them of their rights of discharge, etc.).

He appeared to be uncertain of having a good case in law any more, and hit out in whatever direction he could to discredit the defendants and their ideas. He made a long personal attack on John Hyatt (who denies that he was ever actively involved in BWNIC though he agrees with the Campaign's demands) and called him a proven liar - mainly, as John's counsel pointed out, because he had so little actual evidence (and in fact none of John's being a liar anyway). All the defendants were attacked for pretending to "support the working class" whilst in

fact leading astray "people from a poor and humble background", like James Woods, the sailor Bill Hetherington is alleged to have tried to get to desert. He referred to the "threats to democracy" which could occur in countries not even outside Europe" (Portugal?) where "troops try to run political affairs contrary to the elected representatives of government".

Gwyn Williams, referring to the prosecution's dictionary definition of seduction - "leading astray by some means of persuasion a vassal, servant or soldier" - commented that the feudal system was gone, servants were no longer indentured or hereditary and we were left with soldiers "the last relic of bondage, who can be held against their will in a form of forced labour". She then refuted the prosecution case, comparing particularly the seductive recruiting literature put out by the army and the factual, unemotive, even dull, style of "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers". Replying to Michael Coombe's frequent use of the word "subversion" (for which she pointed out she was not on trial) she said, "I consider darkness is subverted by light, that falsity is subverted by truth, that cruelty is subverted by compassion."

SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

ON 18th November a BWNIC supporter, Alix Otten, appeared at committal proceedings in Manchester Crown Court on a charge of "attempting to incite persons to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act" in that she had signed the "Complicity Statement" (along with 599 others who as far as we know were not charged) which stated that the signatories were in possession of the leaflet "Some information..." and intended to distribute it to soldiers. The magistrate dismissed the charge, commenting that the leaflet was "hardly seductive". He also complimented the prosecution on not having fallen into "the trap that is all too common these days where you have insufficient evidence to bring a substantive charge, the trap of bringing a conspiracy charge".

On 20th November about 100 people picketed the Old Bailey and later presented a letter to the Prime Minister demanding the repeal of the Incitement to Disaffection Act and the law of conspiracy. The number included representatives of trade unions and minority political parties and six Labour MPs.

DECEMBER

There is likely to be a verdict in the second week of December. If any of the 14 are sent down the Defend the 14 Campaign will be holding demonstrations in solidarity, particularly outside the relevant jails on the night of sentencing. Please keep in touch for information:

Defend the 14 Campaign,
Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Rd,
London WC1, or phone 01-837 9794.

SPAIN

"DURING THE transition period we are determined to maintain production and productivity, to avoid taking economic measures which might seem revolutionary but which would risk disorganising the economy."

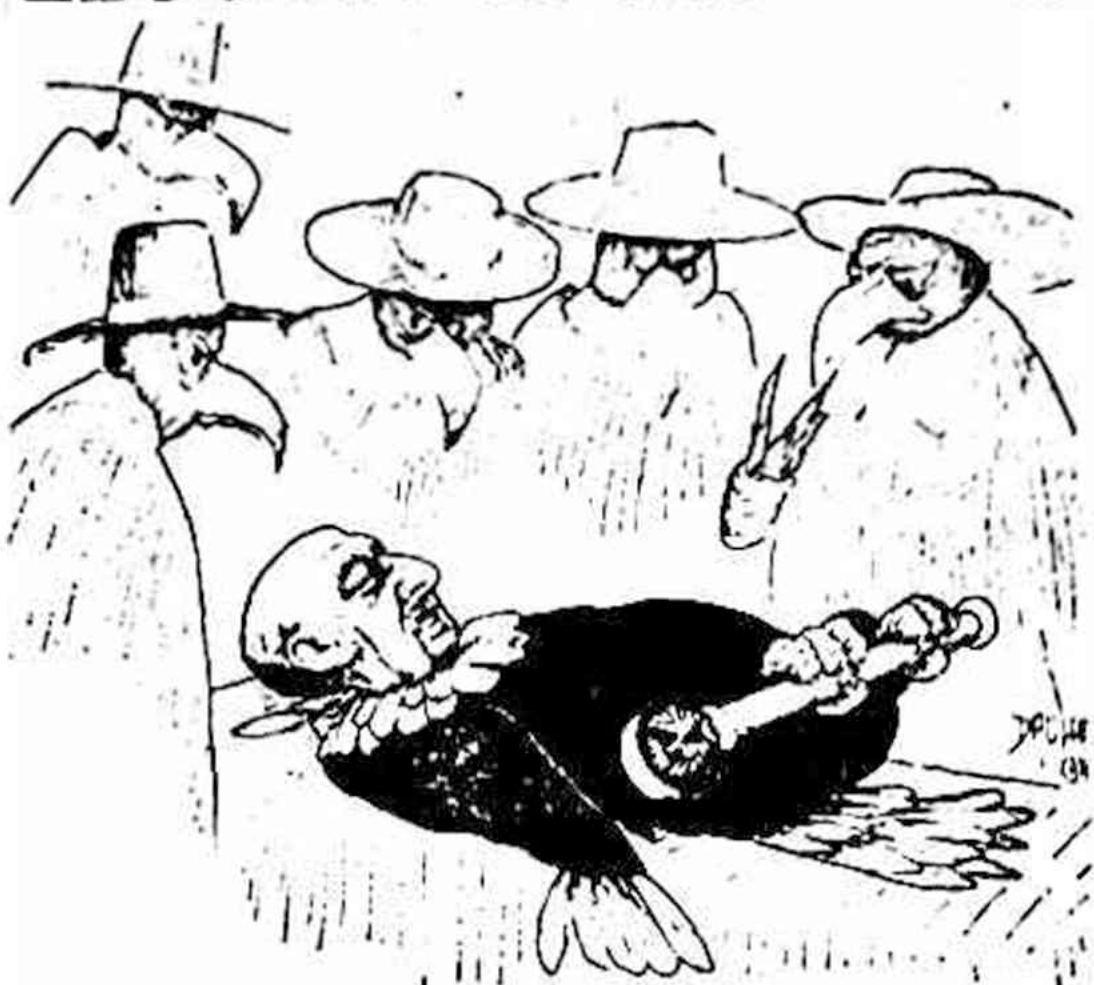
"A priority objective is an alliance with the small and medium bourgeoisie against the power of monopoly capital which is organising the methodical destruction of small and medium-sized property; and is knowingly provoking the ruin of numerous businesses."

The Spanish Communist Party hasn't changed its methods since the early days of the Civil War. Their aims (seizure and maintenance of the productive forces, increased exploitation of the working class) and their recruiting ground (frightened small owners and businessmen) are the same. But it is strange that a party which seeks the support of small businessmen should be linked in a "democratic junta" with Raphael Calvo Serer, a member of the left of Opus Dei, a representative of that techno-bureaucratic class which wants to take Spain into the Common Market and really "open" the country up to the multinational corporations.

Strange unless one takes the "cynical" anarchist view that all of Carillo's rejection of Moscow and Peking, support of Soares against Cunhal in Portugal, commitment of the Party to a mixed economy and parliamentary elections are so much Leninist window-dressing designed to woo potential supporters of the "social-democratic" Spanish Socialist Party, which has chosen to lie with equally strange bedfellows, i.e., its "democratic convergence". Anarchist experience of the Spanish Socialist Party in government before and during the Civil War, should be sufficient warning of the policies that will be adopted by such "moderates". Their counterparts in Portugal have closed down some newspapers, heavily censored others, and imposed a curfew in Lisbon; in Germany they have set off a huge witch-hunt in the name of "moderation" and order; in this country they have just voted for the continuation of anti-terrorist laws which are obviously ineffective and are only being retained for their repressive potential in the future.

Recent opinion polls suggest that if there were to be parliamentary elections in Spain the Socialist Party would probably win. And there would probably be a large poll, as in Portugal. But the Spanish people would be no freer than they are now. The repressive apparatus would still be in position (no government has ever totally dismantled its secret police, merely replaced it with its own agents), the army would still be a guarantee of "order", economic exploitation would continue. The only hope for the Spanish people (for us all) is if they can bypass the imposed "normal" progress

LECCION de ANATOMIA



How can we remove the power from him?

to parliamentary "democracy" which is merely a more subtle way of maintaining the capitalist economy.

Spain is the one country in Europe which has a real and prolonged experience of a different way of organising social and economic relationships within living memory. That experience must be revived. It is the only hope.

D. L. M.

PORTUGAL

RIGHT WING BACKLASH

THE EXPECTED military right-wing backlash has happened and scores of left-wing militants (officers, soldiers and civilians) have been arrested since the 25th November attempted coup by disaffected units of the Armed Forces Movement in Lisbon.

According to private information reaching us in London, leading members of the P.R.P.-B.R. (Trotskyists), U.D.P. and M.R.P.P. (Maoists) and L.U.A.R. (labelled as anarcho-populists by the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties) are under arrest and others went underground in order to avoid imprisonment.

Although no official figures have been released yet by the Portuguese military authorities, it is believed that up to 200 people have been arrested.

Very little is known about the political forces behind this attempted coup other than the ever surviving PCP has now disassociated itself from this ultra-left wing "adventurist" attempt to change the course of the so-called Portuguese Revolution.

It should be noted that only members of ultra-left parties have been arrested and that once again the PCP (Communist Party) seems to be the political beneficiary of the latest events, for the PRP-BR, UDP, MRPP and LUAR were highly critical of the opportunistic role played by Dr. Cunhal's party since 25th April, 1974 and that now their voices have been silenced.

The attempted putsch of 25th November has failed to raise, thanks to the passivity of the PCP, of Intersindical and other satellite organisations, enough popular support to give it any political and strategic credibility.

The vanguardist theory so dear to the revolutionary parties in Portugal and abroad has obviously backfired and now it is the turn of the despised social democratic parties (PSP, PPD) to pick up the pieces and salvage what is left of the democratic freedoms conquered by the workers since the beginning of the 25th April Revolution. Fearing a complete military backlash to the extreme right, the PSP and the PPD are urging the AFM to show moderation and are demanding a return to civil rule and restoration of political liberties, which have been seriously eroded by the latest events in Portugal.

Lisbon is under curfew (from 1 to 5 a.m.) and the working of the press, radio and TV has been suspended. Surprisingly, the only daily paper being published is Republica, which has appeared in the streets with a headline **WE HAVE LOST A BATTLE, THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES.**

With the extreme left and the extreme right out of the way, the military and the reformist parties are now trying to give continuity to the rapidly flopping Carnations' Revolution, that should be more appropriately renamed "REVOLUTION OF DEMAGOGUES AND OPPORTUNISTS".

Just let's hope that the oppressed people of Portugal will have learnt the lessons of 19 months of betrayals and opportunisms and will not be fooled any more by promises of professional politicians and army cranks and that slowly but firmly will be able to shape its own destiny without the "help" of generals, popes and red vanguards. The struggle continues and indeed the Social Revolution is our aim but the end of the road, comrades, is still far, far away.

Meanwhile, we should protest strongly against the arrest of the anti-fascist militants in Portugal. Letters and telegrams should be sent immediately to Presidente Costa Gomes, Palácio de Belem, Lisboa, Portugal demanding the immediate release of all anti-fascist political prisoners.

Claude.

P.S. Contact has been made with our Portuguese comrades. We hope to be able to publish any information sent to us by our friends at A BATALHA.

BERLIN

BOYCOTT SPANISH HOLIDAYS.

ON NOVEMBER 25th a group calling itself "Freedom for Spain" visited two West Berlin travel centres. They cut telephone wires (to prevent police being called), burned all the promotional material about Spain (leaflets and posters) and sprayed slogans on the walls inside the offices and on the windows outside.

The action was carried out in order to encourage the boycotting of holidays in Spain and to make advertising Spanish holidays an expensive proposition, because tourism is the main source of income for the fascist government.

One of the slogans was: "Tourism supports Fascism".

Further actions will follow.

Berlin Comrades.



PINELLI WAS MURDERED

THIS HAS always been the verdict of the anarchists ever since comrade Pinelli's tragic death at the hands of the police chief/thug Calabresi. This obvious fact was corroborated by a report from a team of 13 medical "experts" during the recent appeal hearing against the original verdict of suicide. The opinion of this team was that it was impossible for a man of the physique of Pinelli to have fallen out of the window. He could only have fallen the way he did by being actually thrown out of the window.

As is by now usual with hearings involving anarchists, several bits of evidence disappeared immediately after the murder. Pinelli's belongings, for instance, have vanished. Also, the report of the autopsy carried out after his death has "been mislaid".

The story put about at the time by his murderers was that after having interrogated Pinelli he had virtually confessed to having collaborated in the bombing at Piazza Fontana with Valpreda and had then thrown himself out of the window, shouting "This is the end of the anarchist movement!" Very melodramatic. Very convenient for the Fascist bombers and the State. But, it is a pack of lies.

The presiding judge in the appeal hearing is one Gerardo D'Ambrosio. He was the man who "realised" (i.e. had to admit publicly) that the Piazza Fontana bomb was the work of Fascists and thus had two unconvincing Fascists, Freda and Ventura, arrested. His verdict for the appeal demonstrates clearly D'Ambrosio's talent for avoiding any embarrassment which might be caused to the government. To say that Pinelli killed himself is by now obviously false to almost anyone. To say that he was killed would have caused great embarrassment to the police, the Ministry for the Interior.

and their Fascist collaborators.

D'Ambrosio decided that Pinelli, after many hours of interrogation in a smoke-filled room, fainted and fell out of the window.

D'Ambrosio is by no means a Fascist. It is rumoured that like many other Italian bourgeois he is in sympathy with the ever-compromising Italian Communists (PCI). To tell the truth about Pinelli's death would have endangered the Communists' and Socialists' attempts to compromise themselves with the Christian Democrats (authors of the politics of opposed extremisms) with whom the real responsibility for Pinelli's death lies.

Our comrades in Italy are determined not to let the matter rest and neither shall we.

Francesco.

ITALY

IN 1897, Malatesta was tried by the military authorities in Italy for "criminal association". On previous occasions most anarchists had denied the charge of "criminal association" on the grounds that they were opposed to organisation. Malatesta and other comrades on this occasion not only declared that they were organised, but also demanded the right of anarchists to join a formal organisation. This was followed by widespread agitation throughout Italy for the "freedom to organise". By the time the trial took place over 3000 anarchists, in the name of various groups and clubs, had signed a public manifesto in which they declared their political beliefs, affirmed that they were members of a "party" (in this case meaning a "group of persons united in a cause, or in an opinion") and in complete agreement with the accused.

This fine tradition seems to have not only been maintained in Italy but has even expanded. In mid-November this year the Federazione Anarchica Italiana (FAI) held its twelfth Congress. It was attended by 100 delegates representing an estimated 10,000 comrades belonging to groups all over Italy. In the 1920s the Federation's paper UMANITA' NOVA used to be a daily paper which had a daily circulation of 50,000. The Congress lasted for four days and many organisational and political activity aspects were dealt with.

It was decided to hold regular four-monthly national conventions which would consist only of delegates from the groups belonging to FAI and would not admit any outside observers. Extraordinary special meetings or Conventions can also be called when the need arises. A federation treasury was established whereby the various groups' and individuals' contributions would be utilised to aid the groups and people directly working for the FAI.

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UNEMPLOYMENT: THE ALTERNATIVE

LAST WEEK 20,000 people marched to the House of Commons to lobby their members of parliament over the growing unemployment in this country. The march was organised by the London District of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. As Mr. Murray, general secretary of the TUC pointed out, they did not back the demonstration. In fact, Mr. Murray saw fit to attack the demonstration and called MPs who took part 'naive and misguided'. He also said that 'extremist groups' were 'exploiting the concern of people for their own political ends'.

Mr. Murray gave his alternative to the demonstration. "The best way of overcoming this problem is by the TUC working together with the government - not by taking part in anti-government demonstrations". Such statements are an insult to the genuine feelings of concern of working people for their livelihoods. Not only has the TUC failed in preventing rising unemployment, it has no alternative to offer trade unionists.

What I mean by an alternative is that the TUC supports the continuing exploitation of working people by private and state owned managements. In this attitude the TUC are not very much out of step with the same 'extremist groups' Mr. Murray readily attacks. They also see employment or a job as the be all and end all, in other words, the slogan, "the right-to-work" means the right to be continually exploited by one boss or another.

This same demonstration included 700 Chrysler workers. Like other workers they face the prospect of being thrown out of work. It is very unlikely that the government will take over Chryslers after having already committed £815 million of public money to save the Leyland empire. As it is, the government's Think Tank on the motor industry says that between 250,000 and 300,000 jobs will have to be lost in the next decade. So letting Chryslers go to the wall makes good economic sense, but to do so would have strong social and political implications for the Labour government. The likely outcome will be a compromise which will at least allow the considerable export deal with Iran. Upsetting such a powerful oil producer and investor as the Shah could also be very damaging to Britain's balance of payments and the rate of inflation. It is also ironic that the plant which has lost the most money is Linwood in Scotland and this produces very little for the contract with Iran. However, it would mean 6,300 people losing their jobs in an area where the Labour Party is already finding it difficult to match its support with the Scottish nationalists. Linwood sackings would anger further the nationalist MPs at Westminster who have already threatened to bring down the government over the question of devolution for Scotland. Closure would resolve them further and would also lose Labour seats in the next general election.

The government will try to cushion the effect by granting financial help to keep the Stoke plant open while phasing out Linwood. Other plants could be linked up with Leyland and change to commercial vehicle building.

But as we have written before, the slogan of the 'left', the right-to-work, means the right to continue as a wage slave, the right to be ordered around, chained to a production line doing boring repetitive tasks. Such work even if we needed all these cars, is an affront to a worker's dignity. As it is, cars are produced for a profit and not for their usefulness. The same machinery could be used to provide buses, but not off a production line, and others could work on the land, on public transport, building and repairing houses and other socially useful jobs, but such work is not available under the present system because to employ more people would mean less or no profit, since the extra demand would not be there.

It should be recognised that being unemployed is not the fault of the worker but of the system. No stigma should be attached to the unemployed by those remaining in work, but in fact every

assistance should be given so that at least they can get their full state benefits. But workers should also realise that all work is not useful, but that we should seek alternatives both individually and collectively and so create something of a new society within the shell of the old. Occupations should take place, not to demand a continuation of wage slavery under a different master, but to take over and to start producing useful items for and in consultation with the community in which the factory is situated. The union shop floor organisation is capable, along with the trades councils, of drawing up such plans involving every grass roots group in their area.

It is no use seeking the support of MPs for jobs or giving the TUC support in its programme for the continuation of your slavery. Such action only serves to keep them in power and privilege. People whether they are in work or out have to act together to seek alternative ways of self-help and mutual aid groupings, in order to create control of our working lives so that useful goods and services can be made and run for the benefit of everyone.

P. T.

IRELAND LETTER

Read your article about the arrest of three Dublin anarchists (FREEDOM Vol. 36 Nos. 44-45) which you got from "Hapotec Newsletter".

We are sorry not to have written to you before now, but we were under the impression that an English comrade would contact you about the case. Well, you know the saying "if you want anything done, better do it yourself". So if you don't mind receiving this info even if some of it is out of date.

ON SEPTEMBER 11th, a raid took place on a north Dublin city bank. After the raid an off-duty policeman gave chase in his own car (thus endangering the life of his wife and child who were with him. In a nearby park the raiders abandoned their car and took off on foot. The policeman tackled the raiders and was shot. There were no witnesses (according to the papers). Some days later the Dublin paper Evening Herald carried the headlines "Anarchists shoot Garda". There was no indication in the article where they got their story from, but the story was quickly followed by police raids, mostly on the families and friends of anarchists already serving time in prison - over 200 raids on 16th September.

Some weeks later Noel Murray, who had been on the run from the police for almost two years, was arrested, along with his wife Marie. The main case against them seems to be that they lived near the bank that was rob-

bed, and this can also be said about the third comrade, Ronan Stenson. Another comrade was also arrested and after being kicked around the police station for 48 hours he was released and immediately admitted to hospital, where he spent the next seven days. The three comrades have made two court appearances so far, and are due to appear again on December 1. Trial date not yet set. Marie, who is in Limerick prison is having a very bad time, denied visits, letters and even a visit from her solicitors. At their last court appearance, Noel and Marie were not even let say "Hi".

Haven't seen the Hapotec Messenger - they probably just didn't let it in though they deny holding mail on us - but from what you said of it, it seems to be a fair representation of the info. we sent them.

Keep up the good work and we all hope to see you soon. By the way, Noel and Ronan are both here in the Curragh. Thanks for the Freedoms but in the interests of your own economy, one copy would suffice for the lot of us as there are only 25 prisoners in this nick - "the elite" or an "isolation wing" ???

p.p. Curragh Mob,
Bobby Cullen

* The policeman died.

[Marie Murray is one of the five prisoners named as having thrown hot water at three policewomen on guard in the Limerick prison kitchen (none seriously injured) after which the five barricaded themselves in the kitchen, in protest at the rigour of security measures imposed since Marion Coyle became one of them.]

ANARCHISTS IN CONFERENCE

THE ANARCHIST conference, attended by about 70 comrades and presided over by David Toff, was held over the weekend at Warwick University. A meeting was held on Friday evening to discuss the agenda. This was followed by a social.

The wish for a national federation was confirmed and further steps were made towards its formation. The structural form it will take has yet to be worked out at a second, post-Christmas, conference at Warwick, and and subsequently (Easter?) at Keele. Meanwhile it was decided that responsibility for publication of the Anarchist Federation bulletin will either be continued by the Corby Anarchists, or pass, as is probable, to a London-based group including ex-Wildcats Philip Sansom and Wynford Hicks. These expressed the hope that it would develop from its present modest form into a more ambitious paper. It was also decided that the international correspondence address for the Federation would be that of Warwick University and that Federation material would be passed on by Warwick's Anarchist Association to whichever group was in charge of the bulletin/newspaper at the time.

The steps taken were small and tentative but in view of the diversity of opinions and currents represented at the conference, certainly an advance of form over the pure chaos prevailing at the outset of the weekend. Had any of our foreign comrades been present they would certainly have been impressed by the extreme purist suspicion of English anarchists for any kind of formalisation. Indeed it would appear that some had come to Warwick to debate and oppose the whole idea of a fed-

eration at all, let alone the structural form it should take, and this attitude risked a totally negative outcome. Nevertheless, though a few "fucked-up" individualists periodically walked in and out of the Council Room declaring how "shitty" their lives were without seeming anxious to do much about it, and despite the moves of others to condemn as bureaucracy anything even remotely resembling structure, an agenda was at length decided upon and a pattern did emerge. For this some tribute must be paid to the intervention of one comrade, Alex, who made an impassioned speech pleading for unity, reminding us of the hopes of the French Anarchist Federation that we could "finally construct this national organisation" and "spread out common ideas with a better efficiency", and begging us to combat as one, the horrible machinations of capitalism. To this end he suggested the establishment of a "secretariat", at which a kind of moan or shudder was detected from certain quarters, and which provoked a heated and rather futile debate on semantics. But in the end it was explained that the terrible "secretariat" would simply be an address for Federation correspondence, and calm was restored to the proceedings.

There were, nonetheless, many reservations. Corby Anarchists, upon whose initiative (an article entitled "Organising Anarchy" in FREEDOM of 2 August 1975 followed up by a meeting) moves towards a new Anarchist Federation were made, were disappointed by the seeming lack of common ground for the loose formation on an individual basis of revolutionary anarchists as an alternative to AWA (Anarchist Workers' Association). In their article Terry Phillips and Ray Cowper

stressed the urgency for serious analysis of the present capitalist crisis as a means towards deciding upon the best way of creating an effectively revolutionary anarchist opposition. They advocated a federation (or national assembly?) of revolutionaries who rejected hierarchy, "hierarchy, centralism, formal membership, collective responsibility and delegation of responsibility". Others, however, while equally opposed to hierarchy and centralism, showed at the conference that they by no means rejected the idea of Federation membership on a group basis, and Wynford Hicks suggested that as the Federation grew in numbers, as everyone must hope, some means of delegation would become essential. (Certainly there is no reason to see in carefully controlled delegation per se any danger to an essentially free organisation at a future time, though at present one can hardly appreciate the necessity for it).

Part of the Saturday morning session was given over to reports from the 15 or so groups present. Regret was expressed by some at AWA's presence, especially in view of AWA's past tendencies to see in anarchist federations and in anarchists depressed by excessive individualism, recruiting opportunities for their own rigidly centralised organisation. But it was unfortunate to have to begin on such a negative level. The AWA members responded in tones of wounded indignation. They denied they would refuse access of non-AWA people to their own conference and explained that in any case they had come as individuals not as delegates, and were willing to co-operate. Their report mentioned activities ranging from militant working-class campaigns in collaboration with other left-wing organisations to rock-climbing (preparation for the English "October"?). Keele and Stoke spoke of their work as a propaganda group involved with food co-ops, Friends of the Earth and alternative technology and in preparing to print their own local bulletin. Warwick's own recently-formed Anarchist Association (about 40 members at present) were into food co-ops too, buying wholesale and selling at wholesale prices to students, and they were also involved with BWNIC, but campus-isolation from the outside world imposes inevitable limitations. Followed reports by Sheffield anarchists who, of course, have achieved their own local newspaper as well as the more general Sheffield Anarchist; by the Social Revolution group from the London School of Economics; North-West London anarchists (studies of fascism, women's problems, squatting struggles); the West London group (special interest in housing, and soon to bring out its own local paper Corrugated Times; East London Libertarians, whose recent forming has brought an encouraging response in the East End; Freedom and Black Flag groups.

Members of Freedom collective also briefly suggested at the outset of the conference the establishment of a mutual aid fund. They have had some recent enquiries from prisoners inter-

ITALY

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Various committees and working parties were made the responsibility of particular groups belonging to FAI. These Committees are required to: a) gather and make known to the rest of the Federation the material relevant to their particular area of interest; b) promote and organise working conferences on their area of responsibility for the individuals and groups in FAI; c) produce four-monthly bulletins with documentation, analysis, and discussion to be circulated throughout the Federation. These Committees are: the International Committee, the Committee on the Problems of Work, the Committee on Education, the Anti-Military Committee, the Committee on Communication, the Committee on Art and Culture, the Committee on the Problems of Youth, the Committee on the Regions, the Provinces, the Comuni with regard to local struggles.

The FAI congress agreed to take part in the anarchist defence committee (Comitato Anarchico di Difesa) which would have its own funds and

was proposed by Gruppi Anarchici Federati (GAF).

A motion was approved at the Congress relating to Anarchists in the present-day situation. The evolution of science and technology has become the instrument for the oligopolistic restructuring of power, whose costs are borne by the workers, peasants and consumers through unemployment, rises in the cost of living, and the cutting down of public services (schools, hospitals, public housing and public transport). Only a presence which tends to undermine all power structures can break the stranglehold of repression and exploitation. This means action directed by the masses, conscious self-management of the struggle and revolution against all forms of power.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the FAI Congress was reported in several of the mass-media press. Corriere d'Informazione, Paesa Sera, La Stampa, Messaggero, L'Unita, and Gazzetta del Popolo, all carried comments.

Nino Staffa.

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CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, articles, reviews, letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next Review section is Monday 8 December. News/Features/Reports/Letters/Contact Column is Monday 15 December.

NEXT DESPATCHING date of **FREE-DOM** is Thursday 18 December. Come and help from 3 pm onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

MEETINGS

Poet, Prophet & Anarchist : Speaker **Dennis Gould** on Sunday 7 December at 3pm in **Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. WC1**. The **BWNIC 14+** Defence Group meets every Friday, 6 pm at 6 Endsleigh St. WC. Support welcomed.

BRIGHTON. Inaugural meeting of local group **National Council for Civil Liberties**, Friends Centre, Ship Street, 8 pm on Monday 19 January, 1976.

CONFERENCE on **Saravardya 'A Vision for a Communitarian Society'**, Dec. 13 9.30 am - 6 pm at **Conway Hall**. Meetings Fri. 12th & Sun. 14th at **Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, Bethnal Green, London E2**. Participants: **Lorenzo del Vastro, E.F. Schumacher &c.** Tickets £1. Enquiries to **Satish Kumar, Eastbourne House**.

Women Against Fascism in Spain meet Fridays 6 pm at **38 Earlham St., WC2**. Anarchist women would be welcome.

Anarchist Forum. Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, Listeners & Hecklers welcomed.

Every Sat. & Sun evening at **Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre**, 83A Haverstock Hill, London, N.W.3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, second door) Tube **Belsize Park/Chalk Farm**. Discussion, refreshments &c from 7.30 pm

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club. Thursdays 7.30 pm at **Workmen's Circle Center**, 369 8th Avenue NYC (SW corner 29 street).

December 11: Anarchy and Authority, talk by **Sharon Presley**. Free admission, coffee, tea, cookies. **Libertarian Book Club**, GPO 342, New York, NY 10001.

GROUPS

ABERGAFENNI. Contact 21 Monmouth Road

BATH Anarchists & non-violent activists contact **BANANA**, c/o Students Union, The University, Claverton Down, Bath.

BOLTON Anarchists, contact 6 (not 8 as in last issue) **Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton** (tel. 337516)

Anyone interested in the **Syndicalist Workers' Federation** in Bolton area contact or write **SWF** also at above address.

CORBY anarchists write 7 **Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN17 211**. Every Saturday bookstall **Corporation St., 2-4 pm**. Come and help.

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

DUNDEE : (new contact) **Allstair Dempster**, c/o Students Union, Airlio Place, Dundee

EAST LONDON Libertarians Group. Next meeting on Wednesday, 17th Dec. at **123 Lathom Road, East Ham** (near East Ham tube). Starts 7.30. All comrades welcome.

EDINBURGH. **Bob Gibson**, 7 Union St. Edinburgh

GLASGOW now has a centre at **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.

LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact **Pete and Jean Miller**, 41 Norman St. (tel. 549652)

LEICESTER anarchist "Libertarian Circle" continues to meet every Thursday at **Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St.**

OXFORD Anarchist Group c/o **Jude**, 38 Hurst Street

PORTSMOUTH. **Rob Atkinson**, 21 Have-lock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants

SIDCUP & Bexley. Will any anarchists contact 29 Halfway St. Sidcup, Kent

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

PEOPLE/PUBLICATIONS &c.

FOR SALE. "Defend the 14" badges 10p, Poster "We only feel the chains when we we start to move" (4-colour silkscreen) 75p + 15p post, from **BWNIC Defence Group**, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, and from **Freedom Bookshop**.

PORTUGAL. The Portuguese Anarcho-syndicalist paper **A BATALHA** (sales 5000 copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets &c. to **A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2-Eº, LISBOA, Portugal**.

JOHN NIGHTINGALE (446510) H.M. Prison, New North Road, Exeter

PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) HM Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.12, serving sentence for action against vivisection &c., at present on trial as one of **BWNIC 14**, is not permitted to read **FREEDOM** in Wormwood Scrubs but we presume postcards will get to him.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS in The Curragh now number 5: **Noel Murray & Ronan Stenson** joined **Bob Cullen**, **Des Keane & Columba Longmore**. Letters & papers should be addressed to any one of them at **Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire**. (see page this issue).*

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Com Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High Street, London, NW1.

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

*Particular address for **Marie Murray** not yet to hand - is in **Limerick Prison**, (Co. Limerick, Munster?)

FEDERATION CONFERENCE

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ested in the existence of revolutionary welfare organisations abroad - **Berlin's Black Help, Red Help** and think it could provide general relief for anarchists in trouble, and aid in all kinds of local projects and actions, as well as do much to build up co-operation and solidarity between federated groups. It need not detract from the more specialised activities of **Black Cross**.

By the evening several comrades were making for home, although some were staying to hold small workshops on various topics on the Sunday morning.

A meeting has also been called by some comrades in London to talk about forming a **London Federation of Anarchists**. This meeting shall take place this Saturday, December 6th, at 10.30 am in the **L.S.E., St. Clements Building, Houghton Street, room S 101 A**.

The conference will be fully reported in the December issue of the **AF** bulletin. Meanwhile our own thanks to the **Warwick AA** for their assistance in making the conference possible. One hopes the next will bear the fruits of more thought and preparation and that real progress will be made towards the setting up of a serious revolutionary organisation in this country.

Correspondence/donations for the bulletin should be sent to **Philip Sansom**, 20 Albert Street, London N.W.1.

Freedom correspondents

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13 - 26 November

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polemic

DOLGOFF'S DILEMMA

"AUTOPSY ON A Revolution" by Sam Dolgoff (*Freedom's Review* Nov. 22) purports to be a review of Carlos Semprun-Maura's *Révolution et Contre-Révolution en Catalogne* (1933-1937) (published in Tours, France 1974 by Maison Mame n.p.) but it is in fact a rag-bag of Dolgoff's own confused political views (which he seeks to pass off as anarchist) and a number of quotations from Gaston Leval's writings which in most cases can be shown to be either mis-translations, quotations out of context or, equally serious, his own selective summaries presented within inverted commas to give the impression that they are direct quotations from the text under review or referred to. Furthermore Dolgoff is a master of the non-sequitur which makes it difficult, on occasions, to understand what he is talking about, and when he accuses Semprun-Maura of presenting "a distorted over-simplified description of events" we are indeed faced with a classic example of the pot calling the kettle black.*

For, anybody who has read Semprun-Maura's book, whether they agree with his conclusions or not, will surely recognise that it is well-documented, and his material well organised. Obviously Dolgoff is one of that dwindling brigade who still cannot accept that the Spanish CNT-FAI could do wrong and that the compromises they made were imposed upon them by the extraordinary circumstances with which they were faced in the first days of the military rebellion. And if I may be allowed to elaborate on the arguments of the "circumstantialists", they also maintained that the situation facing the CNT-FAI had never before been foreseen by the theorists of anarchism.

The Dolgoff thesis of the "tragic dilemma" of the CNT-FAI

"hopelessly trapped between the cruel choice of collaborating with its anti-fascist enemy; betraying the principles of anarchism by trying to establish a dictatorship over the other organisations in Catalonia and the rest of Spain (an obvious impossibility) or accepting, at least, partially the awesome historic responsibility for the fascist victory" just will not stand up any longer. If Dolgoff were not still living in 1936 (so far as Spain is concerned) he would be realising that in 1975 the CNT-FAI's "awesome historic" responsibility was not in Franco's military victory of 1939 but in their involvement in a war of attrition which, I am convinced, was the major factor in ensuring that Franco's regime would not, for a long time to come, be threatened by any opposition (from the Left, that is) which could count on widespread support to overthrow it. It just could not be. The armed struggle had gone on for nearly three years. With the brutal reprisals following Franco's victory, nearly a million Spaniards had either died or were in exile in a struggle which was followed by years of chronic shortages of the necessities of life for the many, of families with the bread-winner killed in battle, shot after "victory", in exile or in prison without trial. After 1939 a whole generation of Spaniards refused to have anything to do with politics not just through fear but a "disgusto" with the political game that had left their families without a father, or a son, that had shown favour for some, and that had ended in widespread poverty for the many. But in order to consolidate his power Franco and his advisers could not ignore the problems facing the "masses" for whom the burning issue was bread and not freedom. The upheaval of the 60s is without precedent. More than a million Spaniards left their villages to seek work in the

cities and growing industrial centres, another million emigrated to the booming industrial countries of Europe, and reluctantly Franco also opened the country to foreign capital and to world tourism. The generation that washed its hands of politics and hated the regime but was equally scathing of the "Reds" of all shades when one sought to find out what was in their uncensored minds, have on the whole enjoyed in the past decade a rapidly growing standard of living, including the useless but universally esteemed status building gadgetry, common to the developed countries of the world. Spain now has its professional, middle class, and many who are on the payroll of the multinationals obviously resent the fact that Spain is still being "shunned" by Europe politically and culturally. One imagines that they will therefore be on the whole favourable to a "liberalising" of the regime but in order to bring about Spain's complete integration in the European Capitalist Community, and thereby strengthen their own political and economic role in the country. It is among the children of that generation including the more or less enlightened, who are now students in the universities, and like their contemporaries throughout the Western World are both disgusted by, but at the same time exploiting to the full and enjoying, the tit-bits that mass production and the technological revolution must, by definition, offer to all and sundry or collapse, but have also been the most active protestors against Franco's regime. The libertarians among them, who are obviously in a minority (after all why should the pattern in Spain be different from the rest of the world?), far from applauding the compromises made by their fathers and grandfathers are highly critical of them and it is churlish of Dolgoff to write off Semprun-Maura's work which represents his critical approach ably and forcefully.

I would like to deal at greater length with the present situation and the prospects of a libertarian resurgence in Spain following Franco's death, but for the purposes of the present article must come back to Dolgoff's "tragic dilemma", not because I am concerned with having a slanging match with him (if he has not changed his views about the politicians of the CNT-FAI over the last 35 years, then I can only leave him to die in peace with his illusions), and though there is nothing we can do in 1975 to save one human life among the thousands that were needlessly sacrificed in the struggle of 1936-39 one hopes that by realising what mistakes were made by our Spanish comrades then, their grandchildren will in the immediate future not only avoid the mistakes but also draw advantage from the opportunities that may present themselves for the libertarians.

So far as the anarchists in July 1936 were concerned what was unpredictable was that the unfolding of events in the first days of the military uprising should have been so favourable to the revolutionary movement, in other words the support from the people in the street. This was confirmed on July 20, 1936 when Luis Companys, president of the Catalan government, invited representatives of the CNT-FAI to meet him to tell them, among other things, "Today you are the masters of the city and of Catalonia (my italics) because you have defeated the fascist militarists." Dolgoff in order to buttress his "tragic dilemma" thesis for compromise says that the revolutionaries may have been strong in Barcelona and in one or two other towns but not in Catalonia as a whole, and quotes Leval to prove that Companys was talking through the back of his hat! Leval did not arrive in Spain until November 1936 (as he himself points out in the book *Freedom Press* have recently published) and while he is obviously entitled to his opinion, just as Dolgoff is, somehow I feel that Companys would not have bothered to parley with the CNT-FAI if in fact they were not in control, and what I have quoted is what Companys, shrewd politician, and a lawyer to boot, had to say when the events were actually unfolding.

Semprun-Maura in his book rightly goes into more detail than I did so far as this meeting was concerned, for having succeeded in winning their approval that he could continue as President, Companys even informed the CNT-FAI leaders that in the next room representatives of all the anti-fascist

*If Dolgoff protests that my strictures are unfounded, I am quite prepared to substantiate each one, limiting my references to his article published in *FREEDOM*.

organisations were assembled to meet them! And at that meeting Companys explained to them that it was necessary to set up a Central Committee of Militias the aim of which would be to "direct all activities in Catalonia..." (Semprun-Maura quoting Garcia Oliver p. 42).

"But the delegates of the CNT-FAI wanted first to consult their organisation" - writes Semprun-Maura and is surely justified in asking why, in that case, they undertook to "return and support" Companys without consulting anyone. At a "Plenum of the Regional Committee" held that same night in the Casa Cambo which had been occupied by the CNT-FAI and was to be the headquarters for the duration of the civil war, it was Garcia Oliver who outlined the proposals made by Companys for the Militias Committee and so far as he was concerned the situation posed the following dilemma: they had to choose "between libertarian communism which meant the anarchist dictatorship and democracy which meant collaboration".

Semprun-Maura comments: "A curious but significant way of posing the problem; contrary to all the ideas expressed in masses of articles and speeches, libertarian communism in the moment of truth, becomes an 'anarchist' dictatorship, and the CNT and FAI political organisations which according to this hypothesis would have exercised power on their own! And the perfect reverse side of the coin, collaboration with the other political tendencies, the republican and bourgeois authorities of Catalonia etc. ... is... democracy. No one seems to have got up to protest, or to support other forms of democratic solutions viable in the circumstances such as councils of delegates, elected and subject to recall - in a word, another Commune. Garcia Oliver's dilemma is a false dilemma, but is revealing of the mentality of the anarchist leaders as subsequent events were to make abundantly clear."

Of this key paragraph Dolgoff uses the three words "...a false dilemma..." and neatly sandwiches them into a paragraph expressing his own views about the "dilemma" and then knocks Semprun-Maura down with the old taunt that though the "collaborationists" failed "it is also true that the 100% 'pure' anarchists like Semprun and others, have not been able to work out a practical alternative".

Since Peirats as well as being the historiographer of the CNT is one of Dolgoff's approved "responsible writers on Spain" I will quote for his benefit a short paragraph from his contribution to an enquiry conducted by the short-lived journal *Presencia* (No. 5, Sept. 1966) on the burning topic "Did one Renounce the Revolution?" (*Se Renunció a la Revolución?*)

"There is no doubt that there was a renunciation of the revolution as soon as the military uprising in Barcelona and Catalonia had been resolved. And in spite of the fact that the revolution could not have occurred under better circumstances. . . . It is true that the hardest part of the tasks had to be assumed by the most determined minorities. In particular the seasoned militants of the CNT-FAI. But the populace, which understood the issues involved, shouldered them massively, preventing any upsetting of the situation. The renunciation took place precisely at the moment when a group of outstanding members of the CNT-FAI went to the Generalidad to listen to the flattery which President Companys showered on them. For the historian this group of distinguished men entered as conquerors and in a short space of time left as the conquered."

(TO BE CONTINUED)

V. R.

"I omitted the sentence "se había dado el caso de antecedente psicologico popular" which I am unable to understand and therefore to translate.

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PERU

LET US examine first of all the chronicle of recent events. On the 5th and 6th of February 1975 the city of Lima was the scene of rioting and looting by crowds of lumpen-proletarians from the barriadas [shanty towns]. Several hours passed before troops intervened, firing off their weapons, and managed to clear the city centre. The outcome: about a hundred dead.

A police strike had left the city unprotected for a short time and the rioting crowd had set out from the bidonvilles, called pueblos jóvenes - young cities - in the government terminology. A race to the big shops in the centre, the clothes shops and the shoe shops. A race of the poor against the rich. But also a revenge on the regime's propaganda; a military club was burned and the same fate was meted out to the premises of a local branch of SINAMOS - National System of Aid for Social Mobilization - , the bureaucracy devoted to the good of the masses.

Obviously the authorities will never admit that such a popular demonstration could have been spontaneous, that it revealed a deep discontent, that it showed the poverty of a large part of the population, that it expressed the real feelings of the masses about the regime. The official communiques denounced the oligarchy, the A.P.R.A. and the C.I.A.

On 29th August, whilst representatives of the "non-aligned" nations were meeting in Lima, an explosive piece of news broke; President Juan Velasco Alvarado had been fired and replaced by another general, Francisco Morales Bermudes, recently made Prime Minister.

Immediately speculations and extremely contradictory interpretations arose and were circulated. Velasco was ill, threatened with arteriosclerosis after the amputation of a leg in 1973, Velasco had become too personalist and no longer enjoyed the trust of the Revolutionary Council, that is, his fellow generals. Velasco was too far to the left. Velasco had made concessions to the North Americans. Morales was a moderate. No, he was on the right wing of the Revolution. But he was a criollo, and from a good family; his grandfather had been President of Peru from 1890 to 1894, and besides he was a graduate of the CAEM - the Centre for Higher Military Studies. Whilst Velasco was a cholo, a half-breed, who had risen from his class, and was thus nearer to the people. . .

Undoubtedly these considerations were of more than slight importance, but more important seemed the fact that the situation of the country was difficult, that prospects seemed dim, at least for the next two years. And also that the methods and the behaviour of the government had not produced the desired results, that A.P.R.A., the Party of the old leader Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, still retained its forces, that the nationalised press entrusted to revolutionary intellectuals unconditionally devoted to the regime had lost all credit, that there was a strike wave despite the socialist and progressive nature of the economic programmes, that the proliferation of offices of SINAMOS and of support association had not aroused popular enthusiasm.

Apart from the ideological problem, the Military Junta had to draw some conclusions from these relative failures, to provide measures to resolve the immediate problems, and restore a flexible relationship between power and people. The directors of the seven nationalized daily papers handed in their resignations. The reopening of various, previously banned, publications was announced. Some exiled militants were authorized to re-enter the country. Hugo Blanco, mainspring of the peasants' trade union movement of the Valle de la Convencion, released from prison after the coup d'etat of 3rd October 1968, refused to reunite himself with the Junta, but the majority of the revolutionary leaders, including the former heads of the guerillas, accepted offices or posts in ministries.

Right wing orientation, leftist tendency, these phrases don't mean much except to military men who are having to face up to international, social and economic problems, and who, to face them, manoeuvre, adapt, soften and harden, but always

exclude any measure that might put their power in question.

What are the important factors in the present situation? Copper - one of Peru's export commodities - is in recession. The hunt for petroleum deposits, on which the Junta had counted, has only produced mediocre results up till now. Exports of fish oil and meal, a fairly recent source of economic wealth for the country, have revived, but after a grave crisis in 1972-3, due either to over-exploitation of the sea bed or to the appearance of a warm current near the coast which caused the "anchovetas" to go further out. Finances are in deficit and recourse to loans has been necessary. Numerous forecasts, a good part of planning programmes based on optimistic calculations of development, have been limited, restrained, paralysed. Large projects, which are under way, will produce results, that is, will not intervene beneficially in the general economy for several years.

In the meantime, the cost of living has risen considerably in the Lima-Callao (the capital and its port) area, which represents a quarter of the population (3.5 million out of 14m.) The urbanization of the plains and high plateaus surrounding the cities continues. Crowds of Indians continue to install themselves in increasing numbers in the outskirts of the cities. As a result agricultural production is tending to diminish while the population increase - more than 3% a year - does not.

The cost of planning, the uncertain profitability of the nationalized sector, difficulties of all kinds, require voluntary participation, almost tacit acquiescence, and, if possible, the enthusiasm of the citizens. On one side, those who decide, order and organize. Which is the Military Junta, surrounded by civil advisers, among whom are to be found, higgledy-piggledy, technicians, technocrats, quasi-, pseudo-, and post-revolutionaries of all the brands of trotskysm, nationalism and leftism spawned so prolifically by the universities. On the other side a peasant, mining, working-class, marginal population, a good part of which was already organized, or - in the case of the Indians - pursued its own path.

These are the data. Two institutions reflect the two poles. Or rather the first, CAER, expressed the military conception of power whilst the second, SIMAMOS, tries desperately to make contact with the real, multiplex, pullulating, difficult, diffident country.

The desire of the Armed Forces to intervene in national life is not a recent phenomenon. In addition to the right of the Armed Forces to intervene written into the Constitution in the 1940s, there have been several attempts by the military to create organizations and invent means which will allow them to participate in the general direction of the country.

First of all, Civic Action. No longer is it a question of merely defending the country's frontiers and guaranteeing internal order, but of creating and developing technical means of national organization. Considering the "home front" important, the Armed Forces estimated (and this under General Odria, considered a solid defender of the oligarchy) that they could not neglect social problems. Their mission was to make sure that the national community became a reality. Poverty, social injustice, abandonment of important sectors of the population could only weaken the unity necessary for defence.

Certainly, their words surpassed their deeds. Civic Action's programme was to be education and advancement. The essential and modest aim was the formation of a personnel to take charge of works of a collective interest: streets, canals, reclamation work, house building, forest clearing, transport of heavy materials, but also transportation of co-operatives of small owners, etc. Military garrisons were to form the infrastructure of Civic Action whilst recruits furnished the work force after a period of training and preparation. At times they were aided by Ministries - Agriculture, Public Works - later by subventions from the Alliance for Progress.

Another form of intervention - or attempt at intervention -

was that of the Military Colleges. At first it was a matter of offering all "gifted" adolescents, whatever their social origin, the opportunity of a career in the military apparatus. Although the teachers were chosen from the best specialists in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, the first results were rather disappointing. Less than 10% of the pupils entered the Army on leaving these Military Colleges. But this didn't hinder the continuation of the experiment, even if it was revised and adapted on the basis of the results. The strictly military character of the colleges was abandoned and many civilian teachers were appointed to run courses, and at the same time as military-civilian meeting places were being created in various regions, to foster knowledge and understanding of the role of the Army. The creation of new Military Colleges was very significant: in the north, and particularly in Trujillo, i.e., in the sector dominated by the A.P.R.A. (a party of a social democratic type, with a popular base), and in Arequipa, the second city of Peru, in the south, notorious for leftist agitation.

The A.P.R.A., another candidate for power, understood the danger well, and its parliamentary representative, Luis Alberto Sanchez, was to present a proposal for a law to exclude the Military Colleges from grants given by the National Ministry of Education... Colonel Graham was to say in 1964 that "a Military College is a democratic centre for the education of élites whose selection is made on the basis of knowledge and capacity, without the candidates' social origin or economic situation having any influence. A Military College is an economically burdensome solution for a poor state, but in this period of crisis it is the only one which permits the training of the managers who will be necessary tomorrow... as much in private as in state organizations".

If the principal members of the Military Junta, created by the coup in 1968, had taught in the Military Colleges, most of them were, in turn, products of the Centre for Higher Military Studies (CAEM).

The origin of the CAEM is significant. With Odria as President of the Republic, a conflict with Ecuador was thought inevitable (1948). But as strategic knowledge was somewhat sketchy, it was decided to create a study-centre for high-ranking officials. Colonel Marin was put in charge of organizing it, but he quickly gave the centre a direction which greatly exceeded its original scope. Even though it was reduced to two small, uncomfortable rooms, the CAEM quickly became the "brain" of the Armed Forces.

National Defence was still the object of study, but the concept was widened: a) an effective strategy must presuppose the existence of a state and of a state policy which guarantees national life; b) there can be no policy which guarantees security without a policy that guarantees the welfare of the population; c) there can be no organized society without a guarantee of the welfare of each individual. The state represents society organized to pursue the wellbeing of its members. The state has no other resources than the national potential, formed of the intellectual and material forces of the nation. The planning of this potential will multiply its value. The means of arriving at wellbeing is planning of the development of this potential.

For two decades, the studies, courses and researches at the CAEM were directed to these ends. And logically so, with the progressive confusion between society, state and Armed Forces.

It was these ideas, these perspectives, these men who came to power in 1968. Dragging with them, thanks to their phraseology, a band of civilians - advisers, arrivistes, crafty or deluded clients - amongst them a raggle-taggle confusion of socialists, marxists like Carlos Delgado, survivors of the guerilla movements like Hector Bejar, extreme left essayists like Hugo Neira, castroists, ex-leaders of student movements...

The most important problem, greater than all the questions to be solved, is the participation of large sectors of the population. Because everything is done from the top: nationalization of North American and European companies, of large agricultural undertakings on the coast, of mines in the north. And the same with agrarian reform, difficult in a divided country, with systems of multiple ownership, with systems of exploitation which vary from immense modern haciendas for the cultivation and processing of sugar cane and cotton, to

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SOLIDARITY— Graveyard Style

THIS IS THE moment in time when the professional and the guilty apologists for political murder and all its attendant evils are penning their briefs to justify their own past and future actions. Before us in the arid desert of political hagiology wait all the books and articles seeking to explain away the terror, the misery and the human suffering that General Francisco Franco was part of in his 36 years of one man rule over the Spanish peoples, therefore let us speak ill of the dead. Yet if we spit upon the corpse of the political gangster let us bow our heads and raise a hand in salute to one of the militant victims who shared death with General Francisco Franco.

Hugh Oloff de Wet died this same week at the age of 63 and one knew him by virtue of his sculptured head of the poet Dylan Thomas within the Royal Festival Hall and his half-remembered book on the Spanish civil war, *Cardboard Crucifix*. Yet de Wet is well chosen to speak for the murdered silent majority, for this descendant of Rembrandt's pupil, Jacobus de Wet, faced death, physical mutilation and personal grief for a cause that was and is so often betrayed yet must always be fought and defended. De Wet was arrested in July of 1939 in the town of Vienna and with his wife charged with being a French secret agent, and he had to watch his wife being tortured before him to make him talk. Held in solitary confinement for 18 months while chained by hand and foot, he was finally tried in Berlin in 1941 and sentenced to death but he lived only because, without his knowledge, the British government made known that they held a German secret agent whom they would execute in his turn if de Wet was beheaded. De Wet's wife solved the world's problem when she committed suicide but de Wet lived out a four years in the condemned cell, watching through his cell window other men and women being taken to the block and the rope to be murdered by the German government. As the Russians approached Berlin de Wet was one of the 19 hostages taken to Hitler's rahole in Bavaria as negotiable hostages for General Francisco's penpal but he escaped the S.S. at Halle and the German police pleaded with him to make his way to the American lines to surrender the city of Halle to them.

This is de Wet, a man who fought with the Ethiopian Air Force against Mussolini's trained and well equipped decorated vultures and who in 1936 took his place with the Republican Air Force in the Spanish civil war, flying with string and faith. Here was the man and here is the artist, for though his German guards used his hands for ashtrays and broke his fingers he still created memorable sculptures, and his bust of Dylan Thomas must for us be his memorial for in the overcrowded Valleys of the Fallen only the artist survives. Let us play the time server and deplore war yet at the same time query why physical violence, an evil in itself, should command a cardinal place in the condemnable canon of an honourable section of the companions of the left. War and revolutionary violence has made the reputation of many a minor artist in that he was able to give his small talent to a major cause, be it good or ill, and one feels that this must be the verdict on the works of the English painter Paul Nash whose major retrospective exhibition can be seen at the Tate Gallery. It is said that Paul Nash "stands firmly in the established British tradition in the arts" and there is no surer way of denigrating any artist than to imply that he was part of that school of charming, pleasant parochial artists of the 1920s and 1930s who were the English art scene.

Nash was called to the colours in 1915 and commissioned in 1916 but though he served in France he saw no serious fighting and on various recommendations was appointed an official war artist. War in 1918 was no longer romantic and it was now intellectually and culturally fashionable to condemn it and from 1917 and 1918 on a spate of poems, books, plays and paintings became marketable for the shifting scene of trend setters were being given what they paid for. And from hindsight one must place Nash's paintings of both World

Wars in this context, for the shell-torn hearth, the bare and broken trees and the smashed vehicles have an artistic geometry and a use of bright colouring that turns carnage into fairylands forlorn so that in print they graced many a fashionable flat. Ever the cynic, in my mind's eye I related Nash's London based oils of Passchendaele, Vimy and "The Menin Road" that Nash finished in his studio in Gower Street in 1919 to the churned up mud and debris of any major building site to realise the falsity of Nash's interpretations, for what Nash offers is visual poetry. In 1940 Nash made his encore as an Official War Artist and his paintings of wrecked German bomber planes and the death haunted sky patterns of the Battle of Britain, terribly relevant in their hour of death, now, rightly, exist as very beautiful quasi realist poetic abstractions. Nash was a minor artist and by turning the world of harsh reality into bright geometrical patterns found his niche and in doing so gave much pleasure to many a nascent romantic mind and for that I thank him. In 1937 Paul Nash exhibited his memorable surrealist watercolour *Landscape from a Dream* at the Redfern Gallery and de Wet the sculptor was flying for the Republican cause in Spain, and both are dead and Nash is at the Tate and de Wet at the Royal Festival Hall and General Francisco Franco who claimed he killed in defence of God and the Christian faith must now be biting his finger nails and wondering why he is now sharing Hell with all those Spanish Cardinals and Bishops who died with the wafer on their lips and hate in their hearts. So be it.

Burne-Jones at the Hayward, Claes Oldenburg at the Mayor

There is no finer way of clearing the mind of social cares than a pint of Guinness and a dirty joke, and the exhibition of the works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones at the Hayward Gallery and Claes Oldenburg at the Mayor Gallery provide the second with Wards Irish basement pub providing the all important first.

Oldenburg is the popular clown of the day with his huge, brightly painted 'soft sculptures' of hamburgers etc. and for our delight and delectation he has offered us a collection of ball point pen drawing at, if I remember correctly, £1,700 each, of tough looking females possessing their own penis and forcing it into their own mouth or arse. The gallery windows are discreetly covered from the puritanical eye and the drawings amuse in the same way that clever and witty lavatory graffiti does and damn the man and the mind that does not enjoy good pornography, therefore if you have £1,700 to spare and spend I honestly advise you to buy a Claes Oldenburg dirty drawing culturewise and send it to a friend in Women's Lib. One week ago I climbed up to their office in Covent Garden to purchase a poster of theirs for an overseas friends and all six of them refused to serve me and ordered me out of their women's lib crowded office stating, with pointed finger, that 'no man was allowed in their office' under any circumstances, not even to buy or cadge a poster. So it is back to Sir Ted at the Hayward.

The Burne-Jones exhibition is by the nature of the man's time and talent a depressing affair, for one is conscious of what one would not notice in a single isolated painting of the mass of badly painted draperies with which he filled his canvases. His uni-sex figures of the hermaphrodite knights and maidens lack Oldenburg's lavatory virility and too much bad work is lost by the use of cheap and vulgar subject matter and the only painting of any note is the uncatalogued oil of Ignace Jan Paderewski, but with the Alma-Tademas he churned out this Victorian erotica for the Victorian middle class and flogged it to them under the guise of an interpretation of Greek and mediaeval. It is in Burne-Jones's stained glass windows that one feels that he reached his lowest and crudest level, and it is with pleasure that one climbed the silent stairs within the Japanese Embassy, passed all those open doors leading into empty room and always within the sound of clicking typewriters to view the stained glass display of YOSHIRO OHYAMA. Bright, cheerful and contemporary, one enjoys them and the man as a new facet in the Town's art scene, but what one must praise is the beautiful and magnificent poster for the exhibition. Two single Japanese characters in burning glowing colours.

The empty room, the silent stairs and the clicking of typewriters by unseen fingers and it is back with the Town and his giggling frau to the fashionable realism of Young at

the Redfern, the work of John Piper at the Marlborough now falling into cliché. Dallas Brown at the Piccadilly with his sombre haunted canvasses making a case for Scottish devolution; on, on to the National Portrait Gallery for more and more photographic Victoriana to peer at all those dead faces, and sherry at the British Museum to view the Metropolitan Museum's loan of twenty-five Sung and Yuan painting. The work dates from 1050 to 1380 and exists within the closed prison or discipline of a particular school. One accepts this and enjoys watercolours and drawings wherein man exists for the background and the background is no more than a handful of coloured silks tossed into a limited space but its 'official' limitations destroyed the freedom of the artist and produced, as ever, the emasculated but talented craftsman.

Therefore let us praise Pat Parker's *An Anarchy of Words*, published by Jean Gillard, 186 Gloucester Terrace, W.2., for here for 25p is a present for a friend. Twenty poems so very gentle, so very personal, for as she writes in her poem "Change", 'I have made/as many mistakes/as I have years/ revolutions are still words/resolutions seem to promise more. . . ' and we who sit outside the action know that she speaks for us all. And for those with wealth to spare after the state, landlord and supermarket have had their legal cut, then 50p for Pete Laver's *Fun Book* (Vertigo Studio, 18 Strathearn Way, Fawdon, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE3 2SA). If I claimed that they were major works of art I should be wronging myself, the poet, the artist and you who buy, but Pete Laver's book is a collection of happy extrovert drawings, some bad, many good but always enjoyable, and Pat Parker's poetry has the sad and memorable beauty of the still quiet voice whispering above the sounds of the dead and drifting leaves. And I, hand in hand with the Town and his hired Frau will walk through the streets of our dying world and think on death so song the poet and artist smash the mould case by ancient masters for only then can freedom stand revealed.

Arthur Moyse.

INTERVIEW

MEMOIRS of an Anarchist

AN INTERVIEW WITH LENA SHLAKMAN (1872 - 1975)
RECORDED BY PAUL AVRICH

I WAS BORN Lena Hendler in Vilna in December 1872. My father died before I was born, when my mother was in her fifth month. Mother remarried and I was sent to live with my grandparents. As a teenage girl I got a job in an envelope factory, pasting on the glue. That was in the late 1880s, under Tsar Alexander III, when the socialist movement in Vilna was just beginning. Students from the *gimnasia* and from the university of St. Petersburg came to the factory to talk to us about socialism. They formed little discussion circles, *kruzhki*, of four or five working girls with a student as the "teacher". Sometimes the teacher was a literate worker who had been initiated by the students.

My own teacher was a shoemaker named Berkovsky, whom I ran into later when I came to New York. And that was the way it started. He taught me--and he himself had teachers. We read the little books, which were passed from group to group until they were read to bits. There were books on socialism, on cooperatives, on the labour movement, on the sun, the stars, and the planets. It was all very elementary -- but how we devoured those little books! You can imagine how little we knew and what wonderful new worlds were opened before us!

I was then about sixteen. Life was hard: we worked twelve hours a day for a ruble and a half a week. At night we read until the sun went down, and then by candle-light. We read books by Engels, by Kropotkin, by all the great ones. Engels' book on cooperative stores was the first book I read about England. Berkovsky lived outside of Vilna, and I and

two or three other girls had to walk at night to his house to take our lessons. He taught us how the earth moved, using a pitcher filled with water that he turned around with ropes. We thought the water would fly out of the pitcher, but it remained. It was a miracle to us! So we learned how gravity works, how the earth rotates on its axis, and how it revolves about the sun. Another teacher, a girl, read to us from socialist writers, from the major thinkers, the wonder-people (*vundermenshn*).

We celebrated the First of May, which was a very important event. It was forbidden by the authorities, so we met in one of the girls' rooms upstairs to celebrate it and ate herring and bread while we talked, or we walked for an hour out of town and had our meeting in the woods, where our teachers, the students from the university, made speeches. At these meetings in the rooms or the forests one of us always stood guard to watch out for the police. Sometimes they lasted all night and we walked back to town as the sun came up.

So life was not easy. But we were happy. We were friends, like sisters, and worked together in the factory, and studied together in our circles, and took part together in our first strike. Our heroes were the Narodniki and the European socialists. My future husband was a Social Democrat, and we named our first daughter Eleanora, after Eleanor Marx. Our son was called Victor, after Victor Hugo, and our second daughter was Vera, after Vera Zasulich. --You know, you're the first person I'm telling all this to. In the old days who would want to hear -- that was the way we all lived then. And now no one is interested, until you came.

I came to New York in 1897, the year the *Forverts* started. I was a socialist then, and was completely on my own, though I met friends from Vilna who had come here before me. I rented a tiny room with an anarchist family, the Rudashes. He was from Vilna and she from Moscow. All the anarchists came there to talk -- Dr. Solotaroff, Dr. Maryson, and the other intellectuals; and I found myself gradually drawn to their ideas. That same year I went to hear Kropotkin, who had come to speak in New York. It was a big meeting, and the hall was packed. He spoke in English with a Russian accent, which somehow made it easier for me to understand. I also heard Johann Most speak a few times. He was not liked by many of the comrades, but I can't recall why. [Because he had criticized Berkman's attempt on Frick -- P.A.] Two years later, in 1899, Yanovsky came from London and revived the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, which we all read every week.

Soon after coming to New York, I got a job in a glove factory owned by my friend's brother on the Lower East Side. For the first six months I worked without pay to learn the trade. I worked by a window, stitching gloves on a machine, and the people outside would watch as they passed by. Then I got a job in another glove shop. I worked on gloves for quite a while, but I didn't make much from the gloves. After that I went to work in a shirtwaist factory, where I learned to make silk waists with corduroy, then with tucks. Here I began to earn more money, ten dollars a week with three times a week overtime and half-days on Saturday. I was able to pay back my cousin in Vilna for my passage to America; and I invested a couple of hundred dollars that I had saved in a little book store that Rudash opened, but it soon failed.

I met Louis Shlakman the first day that I came to New York. He was from Pinsk and he came here by way of London. He was a ladies' tailor and a lifelong Social Democrat, yet always friendly with the anarchists. We got married a few years later, and our first daughter, Eleanora, was born in 1900. Then came Victor, an engineer at General Electric who died not long ago of multiple sclerosis, and Vera, who taught economics at Queens College and now teaches at the School of Social Work at Columbia.

In 1901 we moved to Montreal, where my husband was offered a job as foreman in a shirtwaist factory. We stayed there 39 years. There was a small anarchist group, mostly Jewish garment workers, and whenever Emma Goldman and Rudolf Rocker came to Montreal to lecture they stayed with us. Emma had a strong character, too strong for some, but she was honest and fine, and I liked her! Alexander Berkman also came once to lecture. Rocker was a lovely man and a

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ETHICS & ANARCHISM

THE SUPERIOR ethicality of anarchist theory is underscored in that it matches its claim to the universal validity of its precepts with a refusal to create those divisive barriers inseparable from any power and political organization, while at the same time it accepts, defends and blesses many existing cultural differences. Powers, and their sustaining faith in the superiority of this or that culture, including any established or revolutionary ideology, are all expansionist, and draw their strength and vitality from a set of musts, to which they feel it their duty to make others submit. If others do not submit, and they are strong or foolish enough to force the issue, the axe inevitably falls on them, not on the set of musts. For anarchism, as for ethics, there are no musts, but only must-nots. A must is a matter of conscience, a set of musts constitutes a moral code, and moral life is a matter of individual choice, a question of taking responsibility for one's actions, using one's knowledge, one's experience, one's intelligence and one's heart tones, to decide of what is right and what is wrong. Any must imposed from without is destructive of moral life. Ethics draws its principles from reason, but its becoming a social reality depends at least by half on the moral conscience and moral will of each member of society. It cannot therefore have truck with any ideology, whose business it is to tell people what to do, and make them do it, substituting itself for their moral conscience. As for the other half, on which ethics becoming a social reality depends, it can only consist of such modes of organization, provisions and institutions as would not invite crime or let it go unpunished once committed. Authority to punish may hardly appear consonant with anarchist principles, but on the other hands there can be no hope for anarchy being more than a lying dream, if society leaves the meek at the mercy of the aggressive, and the trustful at the mercy of the deceivers, if it does not face the problem of how to do without political and any other power which is there to ensure impunity for crime that is most strongly organized and cleverly disguised.

Although the establishment of an ethical anarchist society demands positive action, the essence of ethics is a negative one. If no crime is committed, ethics is satisfied. The anarchist who is ethically inspired does not presume to know what anybody should do, but he has no right whatever about what no one has a right to do. He is very concerned when someone does it, and if he can he will stop him, he will not let him get away with the idea that it pays to do it. Having to be impartial towards all individuals and groups, ethics needs a basis of universality for its precepts, any objection to which could clearly be seen as a case of partisan interest or special pleading. This basis lies in pretty general notions concerning things which man should never do to man. To starve, to cheat, to kill, to wound, to insult and to humiliate a human being are universally considered wrong. He who considers such things right should have no objection to having them done to him. But if universal consensus can readily be as-

MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST (Continued from Page 13)

great speaker. He stayed with us several times, the first when my children were still babies.

All three of my children were educated at McGill, but they all went to New York to find jobs. Meanwhile, my husband and the head of the Montreal anarchist group, Kars, had opened up a cooperative contracting shop. But Kars died, and the shop burned down. So we followed the children to New York. We went to anarchist lectures and to picnics at Mohegan Colony. When my husband died I went to live in Brooklyn with Vera, and two-and-a-half years ago I came here.

Last month I had my 101st birthday and everybody made such a fuss! I have been a socialist and anarchist all my life. But now I am discouraged. I don't believe "it" - the free society - will ever come. People are not getting better. They're getting worse. We tried many experiments - schools, colonies - but only the ideas remain. Ideas - the ideas of the anarchists and socialists - can remain forever. But it will not come in my time, and not in yours. If it does come, we won't be there.

INTERVIEW conducted January 23 and 24, 1974, at the Jewish Home and Hospital for the Aged, New York City, where Lena Shlakman died on June 14, 1975, at the age of 102.

sumed to establish a few things as definitely wrong; the case is not nearly so clear concerning what is right. The diversity of objects of desire, of opinions and qualities of life, based not only on cultural, but also on natural differences such as sex, age, health and genetic code, do not allow for universality to be claimed for any positive ethical precept. The same differences, and others besides, make it impossible for any ethical positive precept to be universally binding. He who has no food, or has just enough to feed himself, is not bound to feed the starving, and he who has not the necessary knowledge cannot be bound to heal the wounded or the sick. This lack of universality to any positive ethical precept emphasizes the importance of negative ones, for if natural and cultural differences are not respected and allowed to be, ethics cannot be impartial, and therefore ceases to be ethics.

One has pains to be convinced why, side by side with negative precepts, and as their logical counterpart, positive ones cannot be claimed to be equally binding and accepted. To tell the truth, to feed the starving, to help the weak, to defend the wronged, and so on, may seem a series of obvious musts. So indeed they are, but theirs is a moral, not an ethical quality. Their seat is the individual conscience, and they derive their authority from feelings of human solidarity and individual responsibility to destiny. However morally motivated ethical man may be, and however zealously he may try to put such positive precepts into practice, they are not ethical precepts. Ethics is concerned with society, and society, precisely because consisting of individuals, has other interests and activities to satisfy beside and before any moral preoccupation. There is no law of survival, or anything equally authoritative, to make moral life the one thing necessary or supreme good. Moral life must be for the sake of man, not vice versa, otherwise man becomes a means to an end, and that would be both unethical and immoral. Ethics is one with the health of society. It is meant for its good functioning and preservation, which are none other than those of its members. The inner harmony and balance of the social body being its main concern, ethics cannot command extravagant efforts on behalf of any purpose, however noble, allegedly scientific or God-revealed. Panmoralism, as one such purpose, may win the allegiance, but a whole society may not be expected to give its own. The scrupulous application of moral positive precepts demands unrelenting effort, for there is always somebody starving, somebody who is humiliated or insulted, wounded or killed, and while one particular case is attended to, others clamour for attention. A society organized for a moral purpose would soon see itself organized for the moral purpose, as the only one called and fit to fight for the good battle, which inevitably turns against other societies, and is no longer a moral battle, but a military war. Panmoralism leads to imperialism of the usual kind, as soon as it is organized and armed; defenceless and unorganized, yet strongly vocal, it leads to an imperialism of despair.

As it derives its validity from a rationally suggested universal consent, the ethical purpose is also rationally susceptible of universal application. As individuals may live in peace with one another by the not impossible, indeed beneficial, task of avoiding hurting one another, so could societies live in peace likewise. But if one of them pursues a moral purpose, which it wants universally shared or accepted, it has no choice but to impose it by force, making it immoral thereby as, with societies not less than with individuals, moral purposes must be indigenous or are not moral. Great capital is made against the ethical imperative of the incontestable fact that all its most persuasive and splendid precepts are absolutely useless against a will to flaunt them. Equally incontestable, however, is the fact that no determination of will, and no amount of power, can impose a moral purpose to a conscience that does not recognise it as such. If ethics is powerless, power is rightless, and both by definition. Right is not right if it does not appeal to conscience and reason, but resorts to might. Might disguising itself as right, as is its wont, invariably shows its true face by silencing and physically eliminating him whose reason and conscience cannot be cowed into self-betrayal and imposture. So let anarchism be stigmatized as impracticable and utopian, its voice in any society is that of conscience and reason, a far from indifferent factor of a society's health. It is indeed the voice of humanity, whose health is to be seen, if anywhere, in its not being divided within itself. Anarchism is a constant warning that might and right are incompatible, and that whoever thinks that he can promote right with might deludes himself not less than him who thinks that the proof of right is in victorious might.

G. Baldelli.

PRISON PANOPTICON

SURVEILLER ET PUNIR, by Michel Foucault (Editions Gallimard) 59 Frs.
PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR, Amnesty International Report. 85p

RECENT PRISON revolts in France and many other countries, including our own, are no doubt one of the reasons for the writing of *Surveiller et punir* (to watch and punish), a historical study of the development, through the theme of punishment in particular, of the "power-knowledge" structure in modern society. Michel Foucault believes that prison revolts don't necessarily have anything to do with "humane" or "inhumane" treatment, with comfort or hardship, but with the very concept of incarceration - a technological instrument for subjection of both body and mind that he calls after Bentham's penitential utopia, the Panopticon.

According to Foucault the power-knowledge spiral (power aiding the accumulation of information which in turn aids and reinforces power) can't be localised within the framework of state versus citizen or ruling class versus the others, but penetrates the whole fabric of society and can easily survive the mere destruction of political institutions, as history has shown. With the so-called age of reason punishment becomes "reasonable", no longer public mutilation and intense physical suffering, but the more politically and economically discreet prison sentence. Interest is transferred from the body to the mind; it is the beginning of a whole "technology of subtle powers, effective and economical, in opposition to the sumptuous expenditure of the power of sovereigns" and in which "the body becomes the prisoner of the mind". The Roman republican model that inspired the Jacobins is two-edged - constitutional liberties on one hand but military discipline on the other; the Senate and Forum but also the legions and camps. The lawless and colourful, dangerous but tolerant because inefficient world of Gil Blas becomes the centralised, disciplined, floodlit, all-seeing world of Bentham's Panopticon - the architectural form of the knowledge power mechanism symbolised by a circular building with a transparent watchtower in the centre. No more grills, chains or heavy locks but the inhibiting awareness in the prisoner's mind of an ubiquitous presence. No more instruments of torture but the glass cages of a menagerie open to the public gaze. No more autocratic fortress dungeon, but the laboratory, as democratic as a zoo, serving also as a data-gathering centre.

The prison is the purest form of the panopticon, but its application is far wider than that. Applied to schools it becomes a means of control over parents and schoolchildren alike (a child's absence from class providing the excuse to question the parents on life-style, resources, customs, piety, affiliations). Hospitals and charities gather information in the same way. Barracks, military academies, asylums, workhouses and fortress-factories are all a part of the panoptic world, articulated by a centralised and increasingly sophisticated police network, and whose main characteristic is its frightening intangibility, invulnerability. "We are less Greek than we think," says Foucault. "We are neither on the (spectators') benches nor on the stage, but in the panoptice machine itself." - an integral part of the works.

The threefold aim of this disciplinarian system Foucault describes as making the exercise of power as cheap as possible (economically by low costs, politically by discretion and relative invisibility); ascertaining that results are carried to their maximum intensity and are as drawn out as possible; and that knowledge-power is well linked to all its institutional apparatus (school, army, industry, medicine), thus ensuring in every field of life the docility and usefulness of the individual.

He traces this development not only to the "enlightened" philosophy of the eighteenth century but to massive population growth (and hence, the potential threat to state security of a restless floating population) and to increasingly complex and expensive industrial production with its consequent obsession with profitability. Thus the economic take-off and accumulation of capital parallels a form of political take-off - the ac-

cumulation of power-knowledge and management of human beings in as cheap a way as possible. The growth of parliamentary, representative government and a theoretically egalitarian jurisprudence responding to the notion of human rights, masks the subtle diffusion of essentially inegalitarian and disciplinarian "systems of micro-power" permitting the rise of a new ruling class.

Of course it was quickly realised how imprisonment in its ideological purpose of reform and re-education had failed. But to concentrate on this was to risk missing the point. Imprisonment was too useful, not only in colonisation or as slave labour, but in answering the daily needs of the control mechanism itself with its multitude of dependents. The political and economic demands of the working classes were disguised as criminal attacks on law and order. The penal instrument as a whole served to maintain "a state of permanent conflict" as well as to invent whole areas of illegality through its commercial and industrial arm. And here Foucault attributes to the Fourierists the first and boldest reaction to panoptism in their praise of the rebellious vitality and irrepressible spirit that could manifest itself through crime, which they also saw as the most eloquent expression of misery and oppression. The lessons of *La Phalange* (the Fourierist paper) were not entirely lost. In the second half of the nineteenth century they were revived by the anarchists who made the penal apparatus the central point of their demonstration of the political problem of delinquency; when they recognised that delinquency can be the most effective form of refusal of the law, and when they tried, not to make heroes of criminals in revolt, but to break the connection between delinquency and legality.

Foucault ends the discussion here. But one can easily see the twentieth-century extension of the panopticon to the penal archipelagos of which Russia provides one example, and Amnesty International's latest report a factual but vivid description. Reviewing it one can really only give a summary.

* * *

The 1960 Soviet penal code no longer recognises the existence of political opponents of the State. At the same time several articles relating to anti-Soviet activities like agitation and propaganda or "the circulation of fabrications known to be false" create thousands of effectively political prisoners who are subjected to especially harsh treatment. Bail is extremely rare. To A.I.'s knowledge no political defendant has ever been acquitted. The death penalty still exists for a variety of "crimes" (treason, terrorism and espionage, economic or violent crimes, violations of discipline by prisoners) and exile, banishment and "corrective labour" are characteristic sentences - often in practice alternative forms of execution.

A.I. claims the Soviet "corrective" labour system is entirely punitive. Infliction of suffering is regarded as necessary and "official policy makes mandatory that prisoners should be kept in a state of permanent hunger". The old artificial distinction between "working class" (officially identified with the new Soviet ruling class) and an "enemy class" is now officially dropped, but in fact *samizdat* (self-published) writers, dissidents and religious prisoners (it is estimated there are roughly 10,000 prisoners of conscience) are kept on strict regimes with especially low diets, coupled with especially hard manual labour. Very limited numbers of food parcels are allowed as privileges, though meat is forbidden and chocolate too, as this "leads to excitement". Farm work is also forbidden because of the impossibility of checking on prisoners' consumption of other and better food like milk and eggs while on the job! In strict punishment cells diets can be reduced to a tablespoon of salt and boiling water with 450 grams of bread every other day, and a little watery gruel and matchbox-sized piece of cod the next. Convicts in summer are known to have eaten large quantities of flowers and grass to stay their hunger pangs.

In this situation many inevitably fall ill and medical care is quite inadequate. Death is not uncommon. The 33-year old poet Yury Galanskov, for instance, sentenced in 1968 to 7

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small Indian communities. These sectors were, in great part, organized by groupings traditionally opposed to the Armed Forces. In the first place by the A.P.R.A., with its sections, its unions, its cooperatives.

For the Junta it was not a matter of confronting these organized bases, but of substituting a network of new organizations for them. This was to be the work of SINAMOS. Statute No. 18896 promulgated in June 1971 made it explicit: "...with the aim of encouraging the active and conscious participation of the national population in the duties required of it by social and economic development". Article 5 puts it precisely: SINAMOS must "foster the creative capacity of the population so that it can use its energy and its potentiality for its own development, with the support of the government; promote the organization of the population into dynamic, territorial or categorical wholes, of communal, cooperative or family nature; initiate and stimulate dialogue between the government and the national population to give direction to the conscious participation of the people in their fundamental decisions about their own reality, their own interests, and their own common interests, etc."

The general law on industries sets precise boundaries for the private sector, with regulations about the reinvestment of capital, the use of foreign investment, participation of workers in profits, about how new industrial cooperatives are to be set up, etc.

This package of measures, designed to provoke the enthusiasm of intellectuals - whether military ones, educated at CAEM, or civilian ones formed in extreme left groups - opens the way, if we are to believe some propagandists, to libertarian socialism.

The fact remains, however, that the behaviour of the workers has not ratified this socialism thought up in those centres of reflection (and power) which are the military schools - whether they are superior or not - and the universities - whether they are controlled by the extreme left or not. Strikes by trachers and miners have been broken by the military government with the aid of small trade unions manipulated by the communists (always following in the footsteps of a power they fear because it could sweep them away from one day to the next, and which they support because it serves their anti-

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years' labour for his defence of the writers Sinyavsky and Daniel, died after being refused the special food like honey he needed for treatment of an ulcer, and after being forced to continue working an 8 hour day. He was described as a "hooligan". Old and crippled people are reported to be assigned to hard labour and at times fall dead at their work. Anxiety to fulfil work norms brutalises team leaders while subjection to serious pollution in, for example, the plastics and amchine-tool workshops, adds to illness and injury. Nor is there first aid.

Severe punishment covers virtually anything - failure to fulfil norms, refusal to doff one's cap to prison or camp officials, hunger strikes, card-playing, even wearing carpet slippers or getting up 3 minutes late. There are accounts of brutal deportations from one camp to another (a drop of water obtained only through collective screaming while the train is passing through a populated area, prisoners losing consciousness. . .) Conditions have worsened through the intensification of hostility between prisoners and prison officers in recent years. Samizdat writings have increased together with mass hunger strikes in whole areas on certain State anniversaries or in defence of fellow prisoners. There are many cases of suicides and horrible self-mutilation.

But the most terrifying and arbitrary and - one might add - panoptic area of the Soviet penal system is the political abuse of psychiatry - a thing by no means unknown to the West either. Psychiatric hospitals (almost all of them on the sites of old Tsarist jails) could be sanctuaries under Stalin but their role has changed, and the presence of the KGB and NVD (both these police institutions share the inheritance of the Stalinist NKVD and the doctors are frequently also MVD of-

yankee strategy) and a monolithic press which acts as a chorus.

The fact remains that the military - and this would be the deep meaning of the recent change of President - have understood the failure of their particular plan of popular mobilization. What more can they invent?

As paradoxical and unlikely as it may be to the eyes of observers used to the power games in Peru, there remains the eventuality of a return of the A.P.R.A., but this time with the agreement of the Armed Forces. Doubtless the hatred between Haya de la Torres' party and the military machine, the two great candidates for power in the 30s, 40s, 50s and 60s, has remained deep, tenacious and bloody, but the oligarchy is moribund and the bourgeois reduced to a very small sector.

Against this background, the old aprist is saying: "It's our programme that the Junta is applying." And did not the present President, General Francisco Morales Bermudes, experience the pleasures of a parliamentary regime when he was, for a few months, Minister of Finance of Belaunde, the civilian President discharged by the Military? Is it not perhaps necessary to take into account the insane impatience of aprist military, who had been waiting for years, some for decades, for participation in power? Could not the rise of a troop of former aprists favourable to the new experiment, be foreseen at the outset of the military adventure?

Were there to be a rapprochement, an understanding, a redistribution of power, the Junta would at last find the instrument to mobilize public opinion - we would say the instrument for its regimentation - and the A.P.R.A. cadres would at last be found a use, which would seem to them a sweet revenge on their confusionist opponents on the extreme left.

About three years ago, talking to one of the oldest of the A.P.R.A. apparatchiks, the conversation came round to the eventual possibilities of an understanding between the Armed Forces and the Aprists. His painful, long time in coming, almost desperate reply was: "It depends on the circumstances... on the terms, and on the elimination of certain opponents."

Santiago Parane.

(Translated from the November issue of A - Rivista Anarchica by D. L. M. Santiago Parane's articles interpreting events in Latin America regularly appear in the Continental anarchist press.)

ficials) is all-pervasive.

A rigorous discipline is enforced in the special psychiatric hospitals. Convicted criminals are recruited as orderlies, ostensibly under re-education schemes, but themselves working in bad and degrading conditions, and sadism is common. Symptoms of "psychiatric illness" have been seen among other things in "an obsessive mania for truth-seeking", "wears a beard", "considers the entry of Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia to have been aggression", "thinks he must devote his life to the ideal of communism"! The old method of the "wet pack" - wrapping a person in long pieces of wet sheet or canvas and tying them tightly down for days on end, so that they often lose consciousness - is still applied, and there is widespread use for punishment of drugs like suphasin which induces a raging fever, stomach cramps and intense pain. Such a form of punishment takes us back to something approaching the "supplice", the agony of the old regimes. Not however as a ritual public display of the sacred power of the sovereign, but to cause the physical and mental disintegration in secret of an inconvenience. The present case of the Ukrainian mathematician, Leonid Plyushch, is one of many. Like the young student leader, Jiri Muller, far away in Czechoslovakia, forced to make jewellery all day in artificial light, refused the use of his glasses and Red Cross treatment, going blind and almost unable to walk, Plyushch is being destroyed. Here, truly, the panopticon has excelled itself but in so doing lost its original purpose - manipulation with intelligence, subtlety, discretion. We can only hope that amid increasing general repression such reports will be valuable, though no anarchist could be anything but sceptical about its recommendations for reform, or believe anything to be really effective but confrontation, non-cooperation and illegality on a large scale.

G. F.