

# VOTING CHANGES NOTHING

THE GOVERNMENT'S decision to call a snap election on the issue of "who rules the country" demands an appropriate response from the people of Britain. That response must show that we do not intend to play the parliamentary game of choosing between Tweedledum and Tweedledee any longer: a choice of masters is no choice at all. We must show that we will only be satisfied by control of our own lives, communities and the industry that rightly belongs to all of us.

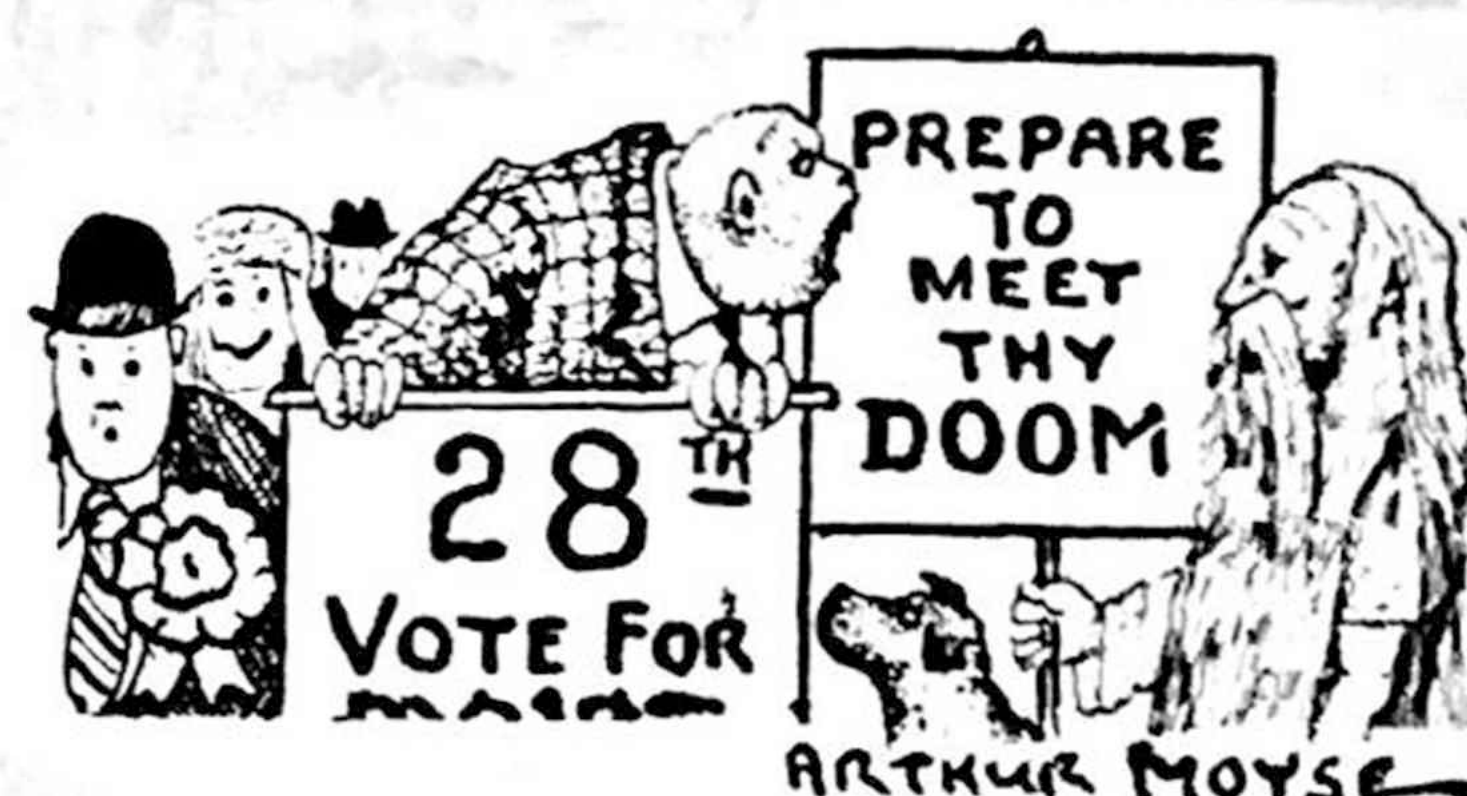
In the developing confrontation between the workers and the armed might of the State the leaders of the Labour Party have made it perfectly clear where they stand. Their hysterical response to the suggestion by Mich McGahey about making approaches to soldiers if they are used to break the miners' strike shows their fear of militant and independent working-class action. When strikers are shot down in the street the Labour leaders will no longer be able to hide their treachery behind a facade of legality and adherence to the "constitutional democratic processes". Their actions while out of power are merely a continuation of the actions of the last Labour Government: the wage freezes, the attempt at anti-union legislation, the pandering to racialism by immigration control, and all the rest. When capitalism is seriously threatened the Labour Party cannot even allow the meaningless radical rhetoric which it normally cultivates in its "left wing" when it is in opposition.

Despite the way in which the Labour Party has been discredited by its actions the bureaucratic and authoritarian organisations of the "revolutionary

Left" continue to cause confusion and division amongst militants by fostering illusions about the Labour Party and the possibility of bringing about radical change through it. The Communist Party is caught in the contradictions of its theory. By playing the parliamentary game and trying to influence the "left wing" of the Labour Party it betrays the struggles of industrial militants in a vain search for "respectability". It is time that those workers who look to the CP for leadership and organisation realise that the party does nothing but sap them of their industrial strength and divert them along the blind alley of parliamentary reformism.

As for the Trotskyist groups, despite their theoretical rejection of parliamentary politics and the Labour Party's support for capitalism they still flock to support the Labour Party at a General Election. No one who understands the nature of the Labour Party and the power structure within it can take seriously the ludicrous clichés about returning a Labour Government "committed to socialist policies", etc. The Labour leaders - like all politicians - are only interested in securing power and they certainly will not allow any "silly and dangerous nonsense", or internal party democracy, to frustrate their ambitions. Admittedly many people have illusions about the "socialist" nature of the Labour Party but the role for revolutionaries is to expose these misconceptions - and advocate revolutionary alternatives - rather than opportunistically pander to them.

The confusion of the Trotskyists was clearly illustrated by an article entitled "General Election V. Workers' Democracy" in *Red Weekly*, paper of the International Marxist Group, on 1st February. After exposing the sham of parliamentary "democracy" and contrasting it with the self-organisation of workers in France in May 1968 it correctly states that "we should denounce the election as a manoeuvre and a fraud", but it concludes that it would not be possible to boycott the election because at present in Britain "the struggle has not



"GUSTAV, I'M ASKING YOU AS A FRIEND ---SOD OFF"

yet reached that point". The confused reader is left wondering precisely why he should vote for a party committed to running capitalism in an election which is a fraud!

The only way to break out of the cycle of naive illusions in Labour followed by the demoralising disillusionment produced by a Labour Government which betrays every ideal it is alleged to stand for is to stop playing the parliamentary game and start to organise to take control of our work-places and communities. People's councils with everyone playing his or her part as an equal in the work and the decision-making are the real alternative to parliamentary politics. Our unions (at rank-and-file level), tenants' associations, etc. which at present play a defensive, reformist role can be transformed into revolutionary forms of social organisation.

The best answer to the Government's election "threat" is not to vote "critically" (!) for Labour, but rather to boycott the election and vote with our feet by occupying our work-places as a first step to their expropriation by the people.

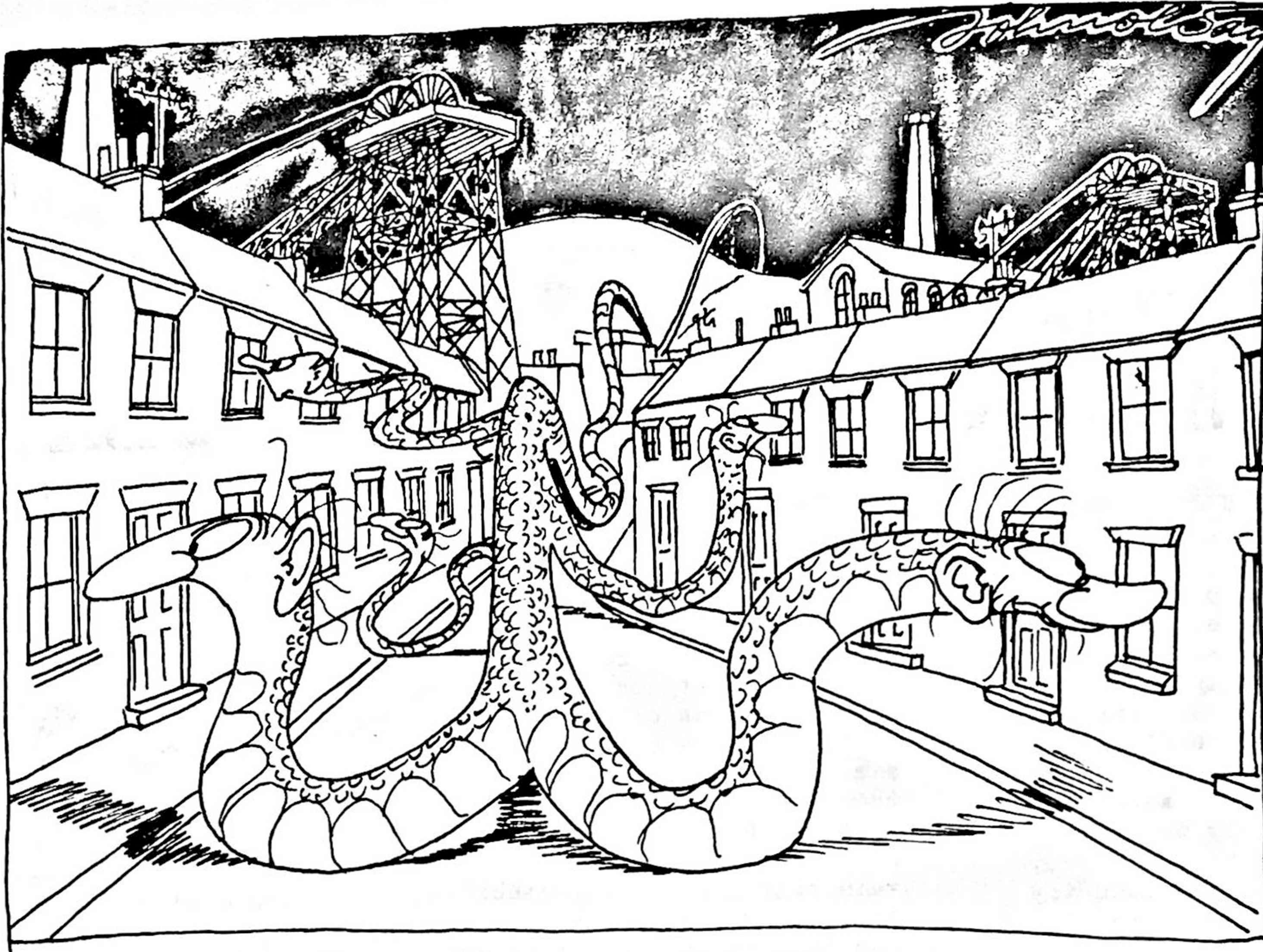
VOTING CHANGES NOTHING - OCCUPY !

T.P.



Three Neo-Fascists were charged in Milan with having organized 22 terrorist acts including the bomb explosion in a Milan bank in 1969. The 500-page dossier on the case does not specifically exonerate Valpreda. A report from the secret police says that some of the terrorist acts were the work of neo-Fascists posing as anarchists and that they were linked with a Fascist organization.





"I DON'T SEE ANY REDS UNDER THE BEDS"

# SAME OLD CHARADE

THERE IS NOW no doubt that Mr. Heath has used the miners' dispute to call a general election and therefore gain another term of office for his party. Although spokesmen for the Labour Party have welcomed the election - they can hardly do anything else - from a number of opinion polls it looks as though the Tories will win. But really this isn't so surprising because as we saw in France in 1968 De Gaulle was able to win another term of office after the May Days. Basically Mr. Heath's case will be similar to the General's and will be fought against the threat of "extremists" and about "who governs" the country. Indeed, the Tories' manifesto sugars the pill and even follows De Gaulle's promise of "participation" for workers in industry with representatives from the trade unions on the boards of directors. The whole approach is to get the support of "moderates" against the "extremists". The Tory campaign, as we have pointed out in these columns before, is not union bashing but a courting of the "moderate, reasonable" trade union leaders and their co-operation in setting wage levels and generally making decisions along with the employers and the government. This is the tripartite solution which is the real ambition of all states but is attempted and achieved both by the means of the kid glove or the iron fist.

We, as anarchists, are glad

that the National Union of Mine-workers' executive have rejected the government's appeal to call off the strike during the period up to polling day. But there is considerable support by Labour Party supporters for such a truce. These people sincerely support the miners but see the issue in political and governmental terms rather than industrial. They only see change coming from reforms from above rather than relying on the tremendous initiatives and direct action from ordinary working people. It is this aspect of the struggle that is important for anarchists. We can see that real changes in power and social relationship only come when people take part in these changes. It is not just a question of exerting pressure but seeing the industrial struggle as a springboard to the social revolution.

People should not, and we hope the miners won't, be fooled by the General Election. We believe that a change of government will not basically change a thing. Whichever party is elected they will have to settle with the miners. The Confederation of British Industry have already said as much and have put pressure on the government to use the Relativities Report as a basis for a settlement. So now we have both: a general election

and a basis for a settlement which has the backing of the most powerful supporters of the Tories. Mr. Heath and his government might have just reached the right compromise in that they will get back into power, reach a settlement and just avoid an economic collapse. It is true that the balance of payments is and will be in the red for a long time, but profits have been high and these will recover later in the year.

Our message is that the election is a charade which will alter nothing as far as the working class of this country is concerned. Miners will still have to dig coal while others will dictate the monetary value of that job. Class exploitation will continue under either a Labour or a Tory government. Either would use troops to break a strike or put down an insurrection which is the real threat and what the ruling classes all over the world fear most.

The general election will lower the temperature but anarchists have the task to show that the real power for social change and revolutionary potential lies with workers taking direct action not just for higher wages but to overthrow the existing social order and bring in a classless and stateless society based on mutual aid and workers' control.



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# POWELL'S BACK-ROAD TO POWER

ONE OF THE political 'sensations' of last week was the announcement of Enoch Powell, Tory M.P. for Wolverhampton (a safe seat) that he would not be standing in this election for his old seat although he was still a loyal Conservative. But he has often made it plain (since his sacking from office by Heath) that he has no loyalty to Heath and he thinks the forthcoming election 'immoral'.

That a politician's withdrawing from an election on the grounds of 'immorality' should be a surprise and sensation is a testimony to how low politics has sunk, but nevertheless a study of Mr. Powell as an opportunist (however 'moral') explains this surprising event.

Mr. Powell's chief characteristic is his logic, almost classical in its precision, a logic which, in these days of pragmatic and obviously opportunist politicians makes him seem virtuous whereas he merits Mr. Barber's definition of him as a 'fanatic', in his stupid and stubborn adherence to outworn theories based impeccably on distorted or selected facts.

His aberrations on the race issue are sufficient to give him a following; his equally grotesquely-founded objections to capital punishment spring from the same source.

The full logic of his election move is that the election will make no difference to the miners' strike. This, feels Mr. Powell, should be settled by deflationary economic measures - and to oblivion with Stage Three. Deducing from this that Heath will (a) be defeated or (b) stagger into office with a reduced and unworkable majority. Either way Heath is going to be discredited so E. Powell for party-leader in (a) or Premier in (b) is on the cards aided, of course, by a suitable (or providential) by-election.

Was it a deliberately designed coincidence that Mr. Powell's current book-review in the maverick-Tory Spectator was of a life of De Gaulle? Is Powell awaiting the call? Nevertheless The Sunday Telegraph touches us all with an anecdote of a Houses of Parliament policeman wishing Mr. Powell 'good luck' on dis-



"Obviously the heads of a priest-god of an unknown, ruined civilization and we shall never know his secret"

## LETTER

### LITERATURE

Dear Freedom,

If one strips away the obsessive commodity fetishism ("badly produced...the production is not perfect") and the factual errors of the eternal N. Walter's review /FREEDOM Vol. 35 No. 1, 5/1/74/ then what he has to say about the first two Rising Free reprints is as follows: "If you've been collecting free review copies of every libertarian publication for the last ten years, then you don't need any more."

This is clearly true. But since the purpose of our reprints is to meet an explicit demand for pamphlets which only a few smug early birds have got (i.e. "anyone who keeps up with the libertarian literature") the point is meaningless.

Yours,

Rising Free Collective

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solution. Mr. Powell replied, "There's no need to wish me luck. . ." 'Then the policeman, writes Alan Watkins, 'noticed Mr. Powell's eyes. They were nisted over with tears.'

You can't always believe policemen.

J.R.



# WOMEN'S LIBERATION

**HIDDEN FROM HISTORY** : 300 years of women's oppression and the fight against it. By Sheila Rowbotham. Pluto Press 1973.

**THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN** : The rise and decline of the women's movement in German Social Democracy, 1863-1933. By Werner Thönnessen. Pluto Press 1973 (both £1.50, paperback).

THE SUBJECT OF women's liberation is a very broad one, and requires a literature correspondingly broad in scope and style. Because of the specific oppression of women, their relegation to the background of history and culture for centuries, there are many literary gaps to be filled. These two books partly overlap in theme, but show notable differences in treatment of their subject. All the same, the publishers emphasise a conclusion common to both: that the fortunes of the women's movement will rise or fall with the fortunes of the working class movement as a whole.

Certainly both authors say a lot more than such a simple summary, as favoured by their "socialist publishers" and reviewers, would indicate. In the case of Thönnessen the thesis is backed up and prepared by extensive documentation of currents of opinion in and around the German Social Democratic Party. There are statements, conference resolutions, tables, statistics - all good reference materials, if perhaps more useful to the student of this particular aspect of political history than to anyone seeking to understand women's problems. The problem taken as central to the discussion is that of female employment, the situation of women at work and as part of the labour force. Thönnessen describes the attitudes adopted in reaction to the increasing demand for female labour: on the one hand, the "proletarian anti-feminism" of the Lassaleans and many others who "not only came out against female labour under the capitalist conditions of the time but favoured the limitation of women to the 'female sphere' in principle". This is contrasted with the two "basic assumptions" of the "socialist theory of women's liberation" summarised as:

"1. The achievement of economic independence from the male is a precondition for women's

liberation. The woman proletarian can only do this herself by going out to work. The capitalist tendency for female labour to increase, therefore, is simultaneously a tendency for the liberation of women from dependence on the male.

"2. In order to prevent female labour from increasing women's misery because of its necessary side-effects under capitalism, legislation must be introduced to protect women workers. The woman worker will only be able to join in the proletariat's struggle for liberation if she is protected against blatant exploitation."

Such a formulation will probably be enough indication, for libertarians, of the book's limitations. The development of the debate does not quite go to prove, in the words of the publishers, that "nearly all the problems posed by women's liberation today were discussed politically in the German labour movement at the turn of the century". But some useful points emerge. It is emphasised that the achievement of legal equality after the first World War was far from signifying emancipation, even in patterns of employment. The organisation "Workers' Welfare", which organised women as social workers, perpetuated discrimination with other means.

In Thönnessen's words, women were condemned as before to the politique du foyer, only the foyer was made a little larger. He shows, too, an awareness of some drawbacks of the "right to work" approach in his criticism (pp.156-7) of the Soviet Union for degrading women's liberation to a pretext for their exploitation. In the end he observes that "there is an intimate connection between proletarian anti-feminism and revisionism, just as there is between radical women's emancipation and orthodox socialist theory" (p.165). We might add that total women's liberation must be bound up with a theory which goes beyond orthodox socialism. For that, considerations other than the economism and work orientation prevalent in this book must be closely involved from the start, as integral parts of the theory.

Sheila Rowbottom's book is much broader in outlook as well as covering a wider sweep of

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history. Its author's commitment makes it an effective medium for conveying what women's liberation is about, in human terms. The treatment has to be selective, even impressionistic, in parts, but the outline of general movements is present along with highlighted episodes and individuals. The material is arranged in short chapters dealing with various topics -- birth control, trade unions, etc. -- as they occur and recur in roughly chronological order. Some of the early chapters recapitulate material included in Women, Resistance and Revolution (Allen Lane, 1972).

Oppression breeds the impulse to resist, and it is clear that women's consciousness of their position and refusal to be content with it is not a new phenomenon. At the same time, theorists who tried to understand social reality have usually felt that some discussion of women's oppression was necessary. The question central to this book - the relation between women's liberation and the class struggle, and between different forces for social change - is a complex one. It was certainly not solved by the founding fathers of socialism; for example, Engels' analogy between female oppression and class exploitation is convincingly criticised as "confusing" (pp.68-69). In the socialist movement, attitudes emerged at the turn of the century which "have had a curious longevity": one which "dismissed the family and sexuality as being irrelevant to marxism", the other seeing "the family as a moral absolute not as a changing social relationship" (p.73).

continued on Page 7....



# THE PSEUDO-REVOLUTIONARIES

AFTER MUCH rumour and, it has been claimed, some factional in-fighting, the "Healyite" Socialist Labour League has recently transformed itself into the Workers Revolutionary Party. This is rather like seeing a bad movie the second time round.

This writer can remember when, in 1944, the Trotskyist Workers' International League (not to be confused with another, but by then largely defunct, Trotskyist group called the Revolutionary Socialist League) transformed itself into the Revolutionary Communist Party (British Section of the IVth International). With around 200 members, the RCP was "led" by Jock Haston, George Hanson, Ajit Roy, Bill Hunter - and, of course, the indefatigable Jerry Healy. But by 1949, the Revolutionary Communist Party was wound up - under instruction from IVth International headquarters - and most of its members succumbed to the very unpleasant disease of "entrism". Unfortunately, it was not fatal.

Now, Mr. Healy presents us with the same old Trotskyist garbage in the guise of the Workers Revolutionary Party, which should not be confused with (if it still exists) the Revolutionary Workers Party, yet another "official" section of the Trotskyist IVth International, whose international headquarters is (or was) in Montevideo, Uruguay, and its British headquarters in a swell apartment overlooking Battersea Park. It should be noted here that neither the Workers Revolutionary Party nor the Revolutionary Workers Party are associated with the International Marxist Group (yet another "official" British section of the IVth International), the International Socialists, another Trotskyist group or the "Socialist Current" group, yet another "official" Trotskyist group.

\* \* \*

BUT WHAT differentiates the Workers Revolutionary Party from all the other "official" sections of the Trotskyist IVth International? Is Mr. Healy the only true disciple of Lev Davidovich, rotting away in that forgotten garden in Coyoacan, in the suburb of Mexico City? Is the Workers Revolutionary Party the only real revolutionary organisation? Indeed, is it a revolutionary organisation at all?

According to Mr. Healy it is. All the others - and that, presumably, includes the anarchists as well as all the other "official" Trotskyist groups - are only middle-class reformers, or "centrists". After all, do not the International Socialists put forward such reformist demands as a £25-a-week minimum wage and, not to be outdone by the I.S., the International Marxist Group demand a £35-a-week minimum? Of course! And are not the leaders of these groups, such as Mr. Cliff, Mr. Foot, Mr. Ali or Mr. Blackburn, bourgeois types completely divorced from working-class struggles? Of course! But what of the Workers Revolutionary Party? Are Mr. Healy, Miss Vanessa Redgrave and Mr. Banda horny-handed sons and daughters of the soil? Are they workers themselves? Need we ask? Does the WRP advocate, and organise for, a social(ist) revolution? Or is it just another typical capitalist-reform outfit of an extremely authoritarian, even totalitarian, type, which constantly mouths pseudo-revolutionary phraseology? Let us look at today's (24.1.74) Workers Press (daily organ of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party), though any issue would do.

Says the Workers Press: "The ever-deepening crisis of capitalism thrusts the working class into struggle, in defence of their

rights, their jobs, and their living standards. The miner is at the fore of that fight and in that fight is figured the taking of power by the working class and the establishment of socialism." Thus far, not too bad. But then the writer, a Mr. Roger Smith, continues by asserting that every miner who joins the Workers Revolutionary Party "...will be an incomparable fighter in the coming battles". And will he? In the "coming battles", what will the policy of the Workers Press and the WRP be?

"Make the Tory Government resign!" (slogan for the coming Sunday's WRP and "Young Socialists" demonstration).

"...create the industrial and political conditions to make the Tory government resign."

"An alternative leadership must be built in the working class around the Workers Revolutionary Party to lead a fight through the Trade Unions for the removal of the Tories from office."

So now we know what their "revolution" is all about. The removal of the Tories from office, and the return of a Labour Government, pledged, of course, to "socialist policies" (all the Trotskyist groups, including the "libertarian" Socialist Current group, are united in their demand for a Labour Government, and urge their members and supporters to "Vote Labour"). All of which is about as "revolutionary" as Harold Wilson's policies. And what does Mr. Healy and his WRP mean by socialism anyway? Just the same as what he and his Revolutionary Communist Party meant thirty years ago. What does the Workers Press mean by socialism? Just the same as the old Socialist Appeal (official organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party) meant nearly thirty years ago. Nationalisation! Without compensation, of course. When will they ever learn? Even Marx and Engels didn't believe such crap!

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THAT THE PRESENT capitalist system is crisis-ridden and corrupt, that it cannot function in the interests of the vast majority is self-evident; that the workers are alienated, - bossed and exploited is more than true; that capitalism should be got rid of, overthrown, we as anarchists do not deny; indeed, we have always affirmed it. But all of the various Trotskyist (or Stalinist) groups - including the so-called Workers Revolutionary Party - with their leadership concepts and their strings of "immediate demands" and reforms, and their State ownership (nationalisation) policies, instead of real common ownership (communism), do more harm than good. They are leeches on the backs of the workers, very little different from their right-wing counterparts of the Tory Party or the National Front. And the Workers Revolutionary Party, particularly, is, of course, tailor-made for the politically immature, for the politically ignorant, for those who want "action" and "excitement", but know not what.

Capitalism is a class-divided system; and within it struggle is inevitable. The working class, who are in the majority and create all society's wealth, own nothing but their ability to work, their mental and physical abilities, which they are forced to sell to the employing, capitalist, class (between one and two percent of the population). The capitalist class own and control the means of production. They also control the State, with its coercive agencies. In a period such as the present, even a wage



claim (such as that of the miners) comes into conflict not just with the employers, but with the State itself. The Tory Government, which at the moment of writing controls the State, represents the interests of the ruling, capitalist, class; but getting rid of the Tory Government, as the Trotskyists and others demand, will not solve the workers' problems; will not alter their subject position. A Labour Government, moreover, would act in much the same way as a Tory Government, as it has in the past - Trotskyist and Communist Party pressure notwithstanding. And, let us not forget, the Bolsheviks in Soviet Russia (well before the rise of Stalin) behaved no differently towards the workers. Once in power, they were equally, some would say more, ruthless as their predecessors. And Mr. Healy's hero, Lev Davidovitch Trotsky, was in implacable enemy of the workers and peasants (witness the Trade Unions, Makhno, Kronstadt, et al). If, by some peculiar quirk of fate, Mr. Healy ever obtained power, it is most unlikely that he would behave differently from his long-dead heroes, Lenin and Trotsky.

Having written thus, let us be quite clear about one thing: anarchists do not deny the need for revolutionary organisation, for a (self)-disciplined movement. Quite the opposite. We stand four-square for a social revolution. And, with Alexander Berkman, we say that the revolution "must be prepared", must be organised. What we do oppose is organisation which takes the initiative and control out of the hands of ordinary people, and gives it to permanent Trade Union officials, Parliamentary "representatives", or "revolutionary (i.e. re-

formist) leaderships" and Parties. In my view a revolutionary organisation is necessary to the extent that, at the present time, the working class has not as yet developed a revolutionary, libertarian, consciousness. But a revolutionary organisation must not "lead" the workers (as the Trotskyists attempt to do), but it can assist them, can act as a catalyst, as an instrument. The workers themselves, as a majority, must seize the power from the ruling class and, in turn, destroy the whole apparatus of bourgeois power, including the State. No one else can do that for them. Such preparations and organisation may take a long time or, given certain conditions within capitalism, be achieved in the foreseeable future.

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BUT it is quite possible that in the coming months, particularly if conditions for the majority continue to deteriorate, groups such as the "Healyite" Workers Revolutionary Party (or their Right-wing counterparts, like the National Front) may appeal to the politically-ignorant and immature workers who are looking for "revolutionary" or "romantic" solutions. But they should shun them like the devil. They should learn that the emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves, through their own organisations, workplace committees, Workers Councils, tenants associations and the like.

Forward to libertarian communism and anarchy; not Trotskyist (or Stalinist or Labourite) nationalisation and State Capitalism!

Peter E. Newell.

# RECENT PAMPHLETS

The Solidarity Group, which has recently been suffering from ideological and organizational difficulties, has been producing fewer new publications than before and concentrating more on reprinting pamphlets which are still in demand; but two recent items are worth noting.

Solidarity Pamphlet 43 Vietnam: Whose Victory? (25p), is the third version of Bob Potter's polemical study of the Vietnam War (the previous two appeared in 1965 and 1967 as Solidarity Pamphlets 20 and 25), and has been produced in the light of the formal cessation of hostilities. The text has been expanded and revised, and now represents the best existing account of what the Solidarity Group rightly calls the "imperialist" struggle in South-East Asia from the libertarian point of view.

For some reason, however, the Solidarity Group seems to think that it is alone in its position, alleging not only that "practically every Marxist group" but also that "not a few 'anarchist' ones" called for a Communist victory in Vietnam. "Not a few" is presumably sectarianese for "a very few", since it is difficult to think of any anarchist groups which ever took such a line. But then the Solidarity Group has always

wanted to believe that it discovered libertarianism all by itself and has disliked being reminded that it came a long way behind many other people.

The best thing is to let them enjoy their self-imposed isolation -- and also the curious situation in which they feel it necessary to add to the pamphlet an appendix explaining their disagreements with the author. In this "comradely discussion", as they call it, they push their particular political line according to which they "see the bureaucracy as a new type of ruling class", the Bolshevik Party as "a bureaucracy in embryo", and the Stalinists as "revolutionary counter-revolutionaries" (!), and in pursuing which they are really continuing the quarrel with the various sections of the Trotskyist and the wider Marxist movement which has kept the group going for thirteen years.

Nevertheless this pamphlet is well worth reading as an exposure of the regimes in both halves of Vietnam and of all the Marxist sects and parties which have had anything to do with the subject. Few of the actual arguments will be new to anarchists, but many of the facts will be.

Another new publication is the Solidarity Motor Bulletin

Number 1 (5p), subtitled "Ford Struggle 73", and describing recent rank-and-file activity in Ford factories all over the world -- Belgium, Holland, France, Germany and Australia. The Solidarity magazine itself has of course always contained much material relating to car-workers, and many readers will find it convenient to have it put together like this.

By coincidence a new Big Flame pamphlet, Five Months of Struggle at Halewood (20p), describes rank-and-file activity at one Ford factory last year, supporting the argument of a previous Big Flame pamphlet, Shop Stewards and the Class Struggle (5p) -- that the shop-steward organisation in the car industry is as much an obstacle to rank-and-file action as the official trade-union organisation itself (a point also made recently in Solidarity). Once more, the argument will not be new to anarchists, but it is good to have it documented.

It is curious how the Solidarity and Big Flame groups, working in similar areas and advocating similar ideas, might be living in different worlds -- they never seem to mention each other, even in anger, and it is difficult to realise that they are both important parts of the growing libertarian movement.

continued on Page 9...



# gay cabaret

A FEW LONE voices are presently being raised in the gay ghettos of London. Certainly not about social, political or legal harassments, but about the fact that the only sort of entertainment ever provided for gay audiences is drag female impersonators caterwauling through microphones in clubs and pubs.

There is a handful of apparently popular performers, one or two of these are tolerable, the rest are indifferent to awful. But all are continually booked by owners and managers anxious to attract a large, well-spending gay custom. The equation seems to be a simple one: that's what they want, so that's what they get.

This year a new sort of gay entertainer appeared on the scene. A rough and butch looking chap called é Scøtt who sings and recites his own songs and sketches, all looking at various aspects of the homosexual situation from the ageing queen to the young whore from gay clubs to school life. It is a form of entertainment more associated with night-clubs with the satirical boîtes of Paris or Berlin than with the straightforward, raucous belt of an English pub.

The average pub drag queen does a disservice both to the homosexual community and to his better equipped colleagues. For, of course, they attract a proportion of the allegedly straight followers, men and their wives. While the impersonator's material is dedicated primarily to jokes about homosexuality they simply confirm the general wrong view that

gays are really weird, spend their entire time sucking people off and in fact want to be women.

The arrival of é Scøtt gave some people pause.

It seems odd that of all things, gay liberation has not yet produced its own form of entertainment. Radical satirists have sprung up during the last decade dealing with politics and society, but no gay satirists have yet appeared.

The Campaign for Homosexual Equality, active in England, has produced its theatre and revue sub-groups, but so far all they have achieved is a sort of wan reflexion of a type of intimate revue that passed out of fashion years ago with an emphasis on "witty" lyrics and a reliance on the tunes of ancient musical comedies. Oh, yes, nicer than yet another drag act, but still closeted, still "smart" and "in".

But now -- thanks to the initiative of the London Anarchists an intelligent, politically-orientated gay cabaret has come into existence. John Olday the cartoonist, well known as cabaretist in Australia and Germany with his team mate é Scøtt have been well received and warmly applauded.

The Anarchists are well aware that the Cabaret of the Minorities would not, of course, be a hit in a pub and that the limited space of the International Libertarian Centre Iberico is not a first class frame, but -- the first two nights have shown -- London now has a platform for the growth of a completely new style of revolutionary entertainment.

Extract from an article by Roger Baker in International Man, published by Revolt, Åseda, Sweden.

WOMEN'S LIB...cont'd from P.4

Later, controversy within the Communist Party led to the advocates of control over reproduction being denounced as "sex-obsessed comrades" (p.154) and eventually to the subordination of "sexual self-determination as a revolutionary principle to a convenient technique for preventing hardship". "Birth control has been reduced to a reform which could help women to do more political work in the party". This is seen as being part of the defeat of sexual politics within the revolutionary movement in the twenties and thirties, of the theoretical and practical stunting of revolutionary politics.

Using such examples of the points made may give a distorted idea of the book's bias. In fact it contains a good deal of information from libertarian and feminist as well as socialist sources. It shows that many of the ideas, aims and controversies current in women's liberation today were already present in the early years of the century in the minds of some women and men who tried to put them into practice in their own lives. Although these may not have been as completely forgotten, especially in libertarian circles, as Sheila Rowbotham suggests (it is arguable that progressive ideas can hardly be entirely obliterated and collective consciousness turned back like a clock) it is good that they should be restored to wider currency in the modern context. Of course, ideas cannot remain now at the level even of the progressives of 1910, and must also be much more of a collective manifestation to be effective in bringing to women and men the power to change events.

The book does not -- and probably was not intended to -- present a clear-cut reply to the complex question indicated above. Its conclusion is that "the fortunes of the new feminism will depend on our capacity to relate to the working class and the action of working-class women in transforming women's liberation according to their needs". This is still rather a "them and us" formulation, falling short of the fully integrated viewpoint which is something we must go on working at. L.W.

## DESPOTISM TEMPERED BY DYNAMITE?

The new Spanish Prime Minister, successor to the despatched Admiral Carrero Blanco, has told the Spanish Parliament some political association will be allowed and that greater bargaining power will be accorded to workers; and mayors, previously appointed, will be elected. "Cat and mouse" persecution of conscientious objectors is also to cease, and it is reported that some Jehovah's Witnesses have been released from prison.

\*\*

A male lion who was appearing in "Robinson Crusoe" was withdrawn from the cast 'because his amorous nature got the better of him in full view of a capacity audience' (says the Guardian).

A group of senior pupils at the Voltaire lycee in Paris has taken out of the educational authorities' hands an experiment designed 'to bring the school curriculum nearer to real life' (says The Times). Now the pupils alone will decide by vote what they wish to study (says The Times correspondent Richard Wigg). Now the pupils alone will decide by vote what they wish to study.

A young Hungarian poet has been put on trial on a charge of incitement for distributing 'unauthorised writings' which detailed statements made by workers in the Red Star factories complaining of conditions (it has since been reorganised). The book was only circulated in manuscript.

## Prisoners' aid groups:

BELFAST NINE DEFENCE COMMITTEE  
88 Roslyn Road, London, N. 15.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 54 Harcombe Road, London, N.15. These young people serving 10 - 15 years' sentences are following courses of study and help is needed to supply books they need.





FILM

## DAWN OVER SPAIN

SUNDAY 17th FEB. at 7.00 pm

at the

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE  
CENTRO IBERICO

83 A HAVERSTOCK HILL LONDON NW3

side entrance by Steele's Road.  
tube Chalk Farm/Belzise Park...  
buses, 31 and 68.....

\*\*\*\*\*  
Film-show in aid of the SPANISH  
RESISTANCE FUND and BLACK CROSS  
POLITICAL PRISONERS FUND.

# Help Spanish Resistance

THE RESPONSE TO the Spanish Resistance Fund has been good. To all those who have given we thank you for showing your solidarity with our comrades in Spain. Many have fallen victim to fascist oppression and those who are still fighting to overthrow the Franco regime and continue with the struggle for a social revolution deserve our international support.

We hope that next Sunday's film show will be well attended and that we can further add to the fund with a generous collection. In the future we hope to organise other events from which we hope to publicise the tyranny which is Spain today, and to raise money.

Some comrades have written to us to say that they have written letters to the Spanish Embassy protesting about the death sentence on Salvador Puig Antich. Replies have been disappointing but this can only be expected. The protest letters have helped as the Spanish State is susceptible to public pressure as it wants to improve its image as a future member of the Common

Market.

One comrade has written to the British Ambassador to Spain. The Ambassador's reply regretted that he had no standing to intervene with the Spanish authorities. Our comrade writes, "However, if enough people send letters to various 'authorities' this might have some effect although of course they would never acknowledge this,"

Meanwhile in Spain the oppression continues. Four building workers have been put on trial before a military tribunal charged with assaulting police. During a strike in April last year at San Andrian de Besos one worker was shot dead and others were injured.

The Franco regime still relies on open repression to remain in power. The military and the police forces are the main bastions of support for Franco against the growing opposition from the Spanish people.

Help our comrades in Spain by sending a donation to the Spanish Resistance Fund c/o T.P. and P.T., Freedom, 84B White-chapel High Street, London, E.1.

# REVOLUTION?

## UGANDA

This "most powerful" country in the world because it depends on nobody, directed by the "most revolutionary" leader in Africa, General Amin, has stagnated into an atmosphere of fear and mistrust following the disappearance of numerous persons hostile to the regime.

The conomic situation is now critical. The price of basic consumer products has risen from 20-50%. A real food

shortage is being felt. Many mines have had to shut down through lack of spare parts for machinery. In fact the most active "industry" is the "Black" Market.

Amin has now found a new scapegoat to blame all his economic ills on. After the Israelis, the Asians and the British, it is now the turn of African refugees living in Uganda. Now the 200,000 people from Rwanda, Burundi and Sudan will have to leave the country at short notice. And their camps will be used to house the homeless, beggars and thieves.

# REVOLUTION?

## LIBYA

All women's hairdressers have been shut down because it is not healthy for men to touch women's hair.

From now on all passports must be in Arabic only.

The creation of ultra-modern factories for which there is no manpower, management or raw materials.

After these few examples of revolutionary measures, yet more:

Before the Commission for school programmes, Colonel Gadafy expounded the great framework of his political thoughts about education:

"...In all scientific subjects, physics, chemistry, philosophy or technology the teaching must be based only on divine power and the one creator. It is necessary that our students learn that behind the rain there is no natural phenomenon, but God.

"...The place of the woman is in the home because of her biological defects (virginity, menstruation, pregnancy, etc..) and psychological peculiarities (emotion, seductiveness and beauty) which are detrimental to her on a professional level. ...Equality of rights for women is inhuman. Women in Western countries have ceased to be women, and are now men...Equality of sexes is an absurd demand coming from those who want to stop any form of progress."

The Little Green Book (though thoughts and declarations of brother Colonel Noamar Gadafy) edited by the Libyan Ministry of Information has just been published. The fundamental thought behind this book is "the Colonel is directly inspired from the spirit of Islam, and he follows in the footsteps of the prophet Mahomet.

## NIGERIA

Following the declarations of Muslim chiefs that immorality and prostitution is the cause of the drought in the southern part of the country, a crowd armed with clubs invaded a town in the north-east and beat up all the prostitutes, and young unmarried girls. Giving in to this pressure of fanaticism, the emirs have given orders for all girls of 13 or 14 to get married and all prostitutes to leave the region.

(Translated from Espoir by D. & D.P.)



# VOTE FOR YOUR MINER!

ON FEBRUARY 30th you have a chance to vote for men to carry out an important job for society. Unless you fulfil your duty the business of the country cannot be carried on.

The candidates are all fully conscious of what is expected of them, and financial reward plays little part in their putting forward for this post. The responsibilities and hard work of this job they undertake on your behalf will find their reward in your appreciation.

Such is the shortage and obvious unsuitability of incumbent miners it has been decided by Her Majesty's Government to accept Nominations for such Candidates as come forward to go down the Pits to be chosen by VOTE of the electorate such persons as deemed suitable to the office to serve for not more than five years of shift-work; or less should their coal-getting abilities be deemed inadequate; or should they be incapacitated by pneumoconiosis, silicosis, maiming, crippling or any illness or injury consonant with the office; in such cases they shall be discharged from duties with inadequate pensions.

Candidates who are nominated may, if they wish, be sponsored by various political groupings who may (or may not) have some theoretical knowledge of the process of mining or some economic doctrine seemingly applicable to the colliery; this will be found of little use in the industry but will be no bar to candidates elected.

## PAMPHLETS...continued from P. 6

Yet another manifestation of this movement is Rising Free, which sells all kinds of left-wing literature at its bookshop (197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1) but which follows a more clearly libertarian line in its own publications. Rising Free Reprint 3, Organising for Workers' Power (8p), is a reprint of a Canadian translation of a French translation of an Italian essay by Adriano Sofri, written in 1968 when he was still a member of the Potere Operaio group and before he moved to the Lotta Continua group. The Rising Free group explain that they disagree with the author because of "his failure to make a clean break with Bolshevik models and expressions", and the text is certainly an argument with Leninism expressed in Leninist terms -- what may be described as libertarian Maoism. At its best it is a restatement of the old revolutionary syndicalist line calling for a "mass vanguard" ("conscious minority") to raise the consciousness of the working class.

Perhaps the saddest thing about the present libertarian movement is its need to re-argue problems discussed by anarchists fifty or a hundred years ago; but at least the problems are being argued

N. W.

The case in Portugal of the Three Marias was adjourned for a week after a ninety-minute hearing in Lisbon.

\*\*\*

Lord Greenwood, former Labour cabinet minister and previously prominent CND patron and now president of the Defenders of Essex, has been appointed to the Maplin Development Authority. The Defenders of Essex was set up to oppose the construction of the Maplin Airport complex. Lord Greenwood said, "Now I really regard myself as the watchdog on the board for the people of Essex."

\*\*\*

The Securities and Exchange Commission filed a suit to prevent a German business group from selling stock in a brothel to Americans. The S.E.C. claims that the proprietors failed to justify their claims that investors could get a 100% return within ten months.

\*\*\*

Appeals are still being made to save the life of Michael Abdul Malik (Michael X), condemned to death for murder in Trinidad. The legal point is being made that capital punishment is abolished in Britain and British Common Law was taken over by Trinidad.

West German police in Bonn claim to have captured 14 'members or

supporters' of the Baader-Meinhof group in 4 a.m. raids. One flat was broken into by blowing open the door with explosives, and elsewhere iron bars were used. They claim to have discovered sub-machine guns, sawn-off shotguns, pistols hand grenades and explosives. The grenades were of a type used by NATO forces. Another group (in Frankfurt) were alleged to have forged passports, dum-dum bullets and 'American tear-gas of a kind which is supposed to be used only in war'. Four offices of a left-wing youth group in Tokyo were raided by police and 73 people were detained on suspicion of killing two students of a rival group.

The secretary of Sir Oswald Mosley's Secretariat points out to the Evening Standard that William Joyce (wartime 'Lord Haw Haw') was expelled from the B.U. Fascists in 1937 and that Mosley and the organization cannot be held responsible for Joyce's later treason (for which he was hanged).

\*\*\*

Union officials of Allied Suppliers, Thorniebank, Scotland have blacked the handling of lentils. They claim that twenty tons have been held at the warehouse, while the price has risen from £138 a ton in June 1973 to £345 in November-December. Union shop stewards claimed that Allied Suppliers have been withholding stocks in order to get increased prices.



## IN BRIEF

An American Professor of Psychology told a conference of the British Small Animals Veterinary Association: "Man will use the animal as an instrument of warfare and a vehicle for espionage, insurgent groups will use it for bombing missions, criminal activities such as theft, robbery and even murder will be committed by especially trained pets in the employ of racketeers. . . ." Later he said "We can already implant minute electrodes into animals' brains to make them placid, angry, or to stop them attacking. It is only a matter of time before electrodes can be implanted into every part of the brain to make them do whatever we wish."

According to The Daily Telegraph student-members of NORWICH ANARCHISTS (among others) disrupted a services recruiting campaign at the University of East Anglia in Norwich. The students were planning a similar demonstration for Feb. 11 when a team from the Ministry of Defence would interview up to 20 women graduates for jobs in the independent intelligence branch of the Ministry'. Despite the demonstration eight students were 'successfully interviewed for careers in the Army, Navy and Air Force' (says the Telegraph).

\*\*\*

Mr. John Boardman, chairman of a Kent firm of house-builders, has gained a £200 a week increase in income by reason of the company's £3,900,000 year's profit up to Sept. 1973. Mr. Boardman said, "We have taken legal advice and are assured that the earnings do not conflict with Phase III."

\*\*\*

Mr. Ronald Bailey (says The Times), formerly of Shelter, has been appointed full-time organiser by the committee opposing the Cinematograph and Indecent Displays Bill. (This Bill is rendered moribund if not dead with the dissolution of Parliament.)

\*\*\*

Some of the more famous names in the French wine and spirit industry, like Dubonnet, Pernod, Noilly Prat, Cointreau and Benedictine, have decided to embark on a campaign against alcoholism. "Alcoholism does damage to the image of spirits -- far from bringing extra sales it restricts normal consumption."

\*\*\*

Archaeologists in Colchester have given an opinion that the town's preserved Mithraic temple could be just the public lavatories of the great Temple of the Roman Claudius.

Sancho Panza

## aldershot bomb trial

TWO MEN have been remanded in custody at Winchester Crown Court charged with causing an explosion at the Officers' Club at Aldershot last August, and conspiring to cause explosions elsewhere in the country with intent to endanger life. The two men, Michael Tristram of Great Yarmouth and Dafydd Ladd of Bristol, will stand trial on 12 February.

It will be remembered that the "bomb" at the Officers' Club in Aldershot consisted of a petrol canister which slightly scorched an outside wall of the club.

Does anyone know if a Defence Committee has been formed? T.P.

## army brutality in ulster

£1,000 DAMAGES have been awarded in the Ulster High Court to Mr. Jim Sullivan against the Ministry of Defence and the Chief Constable of the RUC. He alleged false imprisonment, trespass on the person, assault and battery, punishment and torture by the Army and police.

Mr. Sullivan claimed that the Army had treated him unlawfully in Belfast on 8 October, 1971. He said he was struck by a rifle butt and batons, kicked and trailed along the street, and urinated on.

So much for those who dismissed allegations of Army brutality as IRA propaganda. T.P.

THURSDAY 28 February SYMPOSIUM ART & REVOLUTION, Central College of Art, Theobalds Road, London WC1, at 7 p.m. Participants: Anarchist, Trotskyist, Communist, Maoist etc. followed by open discussion.

ANARCHIST WOMEN'S GROUP meets Mondays. Tel. 883 2457

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion mtg. first Friday every month at 7 Cresswell Walk, 7.30 p.m.

LIVERPOOL ASA contact May Stone C.32 Summerfield, Tower Hill, Kirkby, near Liverpool.

LONDON ASA tel.226 0817 for info.

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK - W. Allin, 9 Wood Road, Manchester 16.

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST FED write New Earth, 112 Thomas St., Dublin 8.

N.W. SYNDICALIST WORKERS' FED. membership enquiries to J. Moorhouse, 559 Didsbury Rd., Heaton Mersey, Stockport, Cheshire.

## Contact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays 2-8 p.m. at Freedom Press.

### INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE CENTRO IBERICO

83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (side entrance in Steele's Road) tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Park. Buses 31 & 68 - Centre opens at 6.30 p.m.

#### FEBRUARY/MARCH PROGRAMME:-

- \*1) Saturday 16 February 8 p.m. ANARCHIST CABARET (John Olday &c)
- \*2) Sunday 17 February 7 p.m. DAWN OVER SPAIN (film made in 1936 by the CNT)
- \*3) Saturday 23 February 8 p.m. GAY CHANSONS (Good Co. & J. Olday)
- \*4) Sunday 24 February 7.30 p.m. ARISE YE WORKERS (Dockers' fight, film made by Cinema Action)
- \*5) Saturday 2 March 8 p.m. ANARCHIST CABARET (John Olday and new company ?)
- \*6) Sunday 3 March 7.30 p.m. UCS SHIPYARD OCCUPATION (film made by Cinema Action)

ALL WELCOME - REFRESHMENTS AT MODEST PRICES - NO ENTRANCE FEE, but on dates 1), 2), 3), 5) a collection in favour of BLACK CROSS'S POLITICAL PRISONERS FUND; on date 2) also in favour of FREEDOM'S SPANISH RESISTANCE FUND; on date 4) in favour of CINEMA ACTION; on date 6) in favour of INT. LIBERTARIAN CENTRE /CENTRO IBERICO and CINEMA ACTION

LONDON SCHOOL OF NONVIOLENCE at Crypt of St. Martin in the Fields. 6.30 - 9 p.m. Mons. & Weds. each week. Mon. 18 Feb. "What Kind of Social Organisation?", Jimch Omo-Fadaka

NEW YORK : LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB 1974 LECTURES: Alternate Thursdays 7.30 p.m. at Workment's Circle Center, 359 8th Ave. (SW corner 29 St). Admission free. Feb. 28: Sam Dolgoff "The Spanish Collectives." March 14: Nuncio Pernicone "Errico Malatesta : The Formative Years." March 28: Sharon Presley "Anarchism and Feminism".

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION every Sat 2 p.m. at Robin Farquarson Hse, 37 Mayola Road, Clapton, E. 5 (tel. 986 5251). Meetint open to all mental patients & ex-patients, following by coffee & work group. MPU News No. 3 now out, 10p + 4p post.

DISABLED male (impotent) needs suitable books/magazines. Can-not pay. Can someone please help genuine case. Box no. 105.

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