

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS, ARTICLES. Latest copy date for No. 12 (of 24 June) is Monday 19 June (N.B. for contact column notices of all events occurring 27 June - 9 July).

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is Thursday 22 June. Come and help from 5 pm onwards. Also at folding session for Review no. 13 on Thursday 29 June.

GROUPS (U.K.) **Groups**

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, 2 South Road, Aberystwyth.

BELFAST. B.A.C. c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (correspondence only).

BRISTOL. Phone Dave, Sally or Bob on Bristol 554660.

CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queens' College, Cambridge.

CORBRY. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

DERBY. Anyone interested in forming group contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave., Derby DE3 3BY (tel. 368 678).

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

HASTINGS. Steve. 14 Markwick Terrace, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

HIGH BENTHAM. Ask at the 'Dragonfly' on Market Day (Wednesday).

HUDDERSFIELD anarchist group meets fortnightly in the 'Zetland', Queensgate at 8 p.m.

For further details contact Polytechnic Students Union, tel. 0484-41288.

LANCASTER anarchists 41 Main Road, Colgate, near Lancaster.

LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St., Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 5 Toronto Place, Chapel Allerton, Leeds LS7 4LJ (tel. 624096)

LEICESTER, c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester.

MANCHESTER Anarchist Organisation, c/o Jill or Jack, 21 Holmfirth Street, Longsight, Manchester 13 (tel. 224 3028).

NEWCASTLE upon Tyne, Black Jake, c/o 115 Westgate Road, Newcastle NE1 4AG.

NORWICH Anarchist Group meets weekly, contact Students Union, University of East Anglia.

NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St., (tel. 582506) for activities, or 15 Scot-holme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302).

OXFORD, Steve Bushell, Balliol College, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH. Carolyne Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.

READING University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

SHEFFIELD Anarchist groups, Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029). Mths. Tuesdays 7.30 for 8 pm at 10 Hanover Square, Sheffield 10. Discussion mths Sunday evngs. fortnightly. Also Student group (Box 15G; Black Cross secretariat (Box 18C); Syndicate of Initiatives (Box 15B), all at 341 Glossop Rd

SWANSEA, Don Williams, 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd., Maidenhead (tel. 062 2974).

WESTON-super-Mare. Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Rd., Weston-super-Mare, Som.

WILTSHIRE. Comrades in SWINDON wish to start an anarchist group (as well as existing Community Arts Group). Get into touch with Mike, Groundswell Farm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts.

WORCESTERSHIRE. Anarchists in Worcester, Malvern area please contact Jock Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storrige, Malvern, Worcs.

LONDON FEDERATION

Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4. (tel. 691 6533).

Anarchist Communist Association (ACA) c/o 182 Upper Street, London N.1.

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5 (tel. 359 4794 before 7 p.m.)

Dorking Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodway, Dorking, Surrey (tel 87814).

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Road, E.6 (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom. 84B Whitechapel High St. (Angel Alley) E.1. (tel. 247 9249).

Hackney Anarchists, contact Dave on 249 7042

Kingston Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon-Thames (tel. 549 2564).

London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St. N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swindon Street, W.C.1.

South London College, c/o Nick Higman, Students Union, South London Coll., Knights Hill, S.E.17 (tel. 670 3774).

KENT ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road. Sevenoaks: Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Road.

MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION

Secretariat: Sheffield Anarchist Group, Box 1A, 341 Glossop Rd., Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029)

NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION

6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton, Lancs. (tel. Bolton 38716). Mthly mtg., newsletter.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Aberdeen: c/o A.P.P., 167 King Street. Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Benneray St., Glasgow G.22 (tel. 336-7895). Also Port Glasgow.

Meetings

THE RIGHT TO KNOW. Librarians for Social Change/Aubrey-Berry-Campbell Defence Committee holding open mtg. Tuesday 13 June

6 pm at the Library Association, Ridgmount St., London, WC1. All those interested in the State's attempts to limit knowledge of its activities are invited to attend.

LANCASTER. Friday 16 - Sunday 18 June. Lancaster Anarchists conference at Clapdale Far Farm, near Clapham Village, Lancashire.

See FREEDOM 27.5.78 or write for further details to Lancaster Anarchists, 91 Main Road, Galgate, Lancaster.

LEEDS. Sat. 17 June, Conference of anarchists from Yorkshire and the N.E. to discuss organisation and cooperation in the area and setting up a Regional Federation. Starts 11 am

11 a.m. in Trades Club, Saville Mount (off

Chapelton Road), Leeds 7. Further details from Tony, 5 Toronto Place, Leeds LS7 4LJ (tel. Leeds (0532) 624096).

Mon. June 12th. "The Catering Scandal" Catering workers are trying to organise - but do the unions give a damn How can we help

Mon. June 26th. "Workers Participation A Load of Bullocks" We want workers control

London Workers discussions. 8p.m. "Earl Russell" 2 Pancras St. NW 1 Kings Cross tube. All workers welcome London Workers Bulletin No. 3 12pp. Workplace reports and ideas. Free on request. Box W, 182 Upper St. N 1

MANCHESTER. 'An Anarchist Approach to Housing and Planning'. M/cr Anarchist Organisation mtg. 8 pm in the Castle Pub, Oldham St. (off Piccadilly Gdns), Wed. 28 June

Literature

NEUTRON NEWS from NOWHERE (actually from East Anglia which is more afflicted than most places with military technology) with discussion on the nuclear resistance movement and on implications of high technology in daily life. 'Absolutely free' (but maybe they'd welcome postage stamp) from Libertarian Socialists, c/o Students Union, Univ. of East Anglia, Norwich, Norfolk.

ECOLOGY & ANARCHISM no. 1. Wide-ranging discussion of nuclear energy & arms, biological warfare, international reports, tables of effects of radiation, chemical contamination etc. in lay language. 10p (post 7p) from B.A.N.G. c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, Islington, N.1.

Press Fund

17 - 31 May 1978

BANGOR, N.I.: J.T. £ 10; LONDON SE5: J.L. 50p; DUNEDIN, N.Z.: C.J.M.: £ 3.67; EXETER: A.K. £ 3; KEW: H.H.H. £ 1;

Former Funds of CANTERBURY Anarchists: £ 3.50; SACRAMENTO: Proceeds from Fund Raising Dinner held by Italian Comrades, per J.W. £ 27.70; PORTSMOUTH: S.G.B. 35p;

TRONDHEIM, Norway: O.A.O. £ 2; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p;

EXETER: M.S. 50p; DARLINGHURST NSW: I.F. 68p; OAKLAND, CA: R.E. £ 5.45;

BRIDGEWATER, Mass: R.H. £ 2.70; NEW YORK: D.S. £ 5.50; FIFE: D.M. £ 2.50.

TOTAL: £ 71.25

Previously acknowledged: £ 473.02

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 544.27

LONDON. Br. Withdrawal from N.Ireland Campaign national mtg. Sat. 24-Sun. 25 June at Pax Christie Centre, Blackfriars Hall, Southampton Road, NW1 (Chalk Farm tube), daily start 10.30. Food provided. If crashpad necessary phone Keith (01-387 0694) well in advance.

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ANARCHISTS ARRESTED! pg 2



IN Northern Ireland the men 'on the blanket' fight for the right to be regarded as 'political prisoners'. In half a hundred countries around the world that is hardly a category that would seem even remotely desirable.

There are today - 33 years after a war for freedom or something - more military dictatorships in the world than ever before, nearly all ruled by colonels or generals who never fought any but their own people, nearly all established with the help of democracies (through international conspiracies like the CIA and the equally international arms trade) and maintained by the torture and execution of 'political prisoners.'

Especially true of South America, there the tradition of the Spanish conquistadores and the Inquisition dies hard. The original search for gold has changed to more mundane cash crops, as greedy traders in the commodity markets of the First World seek to corner the coffee and

tin, the rubber and wheat, beef, oil, uranium, or whatever will make them rich - and keep the people poor and humble and subject to an elite which knows better.

The CIA and dollar imperialism have successfully kept the Russians out of South America - which is why Soviet 'diplomacy' and militarism is now making such determined efforts to get into Africa - cynically using Cuban ground-troops to provide for Africans an on-going frying pan/fire situation. It was no coincidence that in the same week that General Videla, President of Argentina, was welcoming World Cup visitors to his 'land of peace and liberty', a Kremlin spokesman was describing Russia as 'a just democracy' as Orlov was led off to begin 12 years of prison and exile.

The anarchist analysis of power, as distinct from poney scientific jargon about dialectical materialism and historic processes, carries more weight as time goes by. The struggle is, quite simply, the people against every kind of State.

WHOSE CONSPIRACY?

THE state is a nervous creature. It is frightened when people stop playing the game according to the rules. It over-reacts when its workings are exposed. Even the revealing of the identity of its servants is cause for paranoia. The American variety can adopt a tone of moral outrage when it 'discovers' that its Russian embassy is watched. The British variety is terrified in case the politics of direct action are imported. Accordingly, conspiracies are conjured out of nowhere.

In the last few months a campaign of harassment has developed in Britain. Many comrades have been raided, for example the premises of Black Aid in Covent Garden. Now the pressure has been stepped up a notch. For obscure reasons of their own the British establishment is very touchy about 'terrorism'. It is proudly stated that Britain has no equivalent of the RAF, 2nd June Movement or Red Brigades. It must be easier to believe this now that the IRA is largely confining its activities to Northern Ireland where it can be safely ignored. The last flourish of armed struggle (except of course the IRA etc) was the Angry Brigade, which produced a frightened police response. Raids occurred right, left and centre, or, more accurately, on libertarians. A list of over 100 suspects was produced. Eventually a dozen people were arrested, and four of them convicted. None were on the list.

Now the pattern is recurring. On 24 May Ronan Bennett and Iris Mills were arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (see FREEDOM, stop press, vol. 39 no. 10) which enables the police to lift anybody they feel like (see also FREEDOM vol. 38 no. 10). Both Ronan and Iris were held under the PTA a year ago in Huddersfield. They were imprisoned, questioned, intimidated and then released without any charges being made.

This time the PTA was dropped and they are formally charged with 'conspiracy to cause explosions', apparently due to the discovery of 'chemicals and wiring' at the flat they had borrowed. No specific explosions have been mentioned.

Following this and a flurry of press hysteria, referring to 'major anarchist organisations' etc., the Special Branch have been busy in the London area. The cynical and disaffected have suggested that perhaps they feel a need to justify their existence (see centre). Whatever the truth behind this, several houses have been raided, including the premises of *Anarchy* magazine. A number of people have been held and then released. Taff Ladd is still in custody under the PTA. Taff was involved with Black Aid and was named as the official organiser of the demo last December (see FREEDOM vols. 38 no. 25 & 39 nos. 6 & 8). Ironically the *Guardian* recently carried an account of the Black Aid trials and said that they were pacifists.

At the moment Ronan, Iris and Taff are being held in Brixton Prison. (It is said that Iris cannot be held in Holloway, the usual prison for women, as there are no top security facilities there). Bail is being refused, as the police say that they will commit more crimes if released. Taff is sick with stomach problems. The three appeared in court today (Monday) and were described as 'idealistic persons who believe that they should take positive steps to overthrow society.' Which sounds fine to me, but the police see it in a sinister light. 'There are others at large with whom

they would associate.' Vague comments were made that 'Evidence will be of conspiracy with others to cause dangerous explosions. There is evidence of association. There is some documentary evidence. I would prefer not to disclose

it at this stage.'

Ronan was in handcuffs. There will be another court appearance on Thursday.

No doubt we can expect more raids and arrests as the net attempts to discover traces of this 'conspiracy'. Don't feel secure because you are 'innocent.' Your beliefs are quite enough for you to merit attention. Comrades are reminded that almost any piece of paper can be misrepresented. Address books are of particular interest.

A defence committee is being set up. *

DP

* Box 123, 182 UPPER ST. N.1.



Brief..

ANIMAL RALLY

AN animal rights march and rally in London on 27 May attracted about 700 people, and it was evident that the movement is growing increasingly militant. Groups present included the Hunt Saboteurs and Animal Liberation Front.

Ronnie Lee, who spoke for the latter, had been out of prison only four weeks, and got the loudest applause of all. He said that although things had been very quiet over the last few months a new offensive would soon be launched against animal concentration camps all over the country, and asked whether those who disapproved of illegal methods would have disapproved of attempts to rescue people from POW camps during the war. A number of speakers from the more 'respectable' groups openly expressed support and admiration for the activists like Ronnie, prepared to face physical danger and repeated imprisonment in the struggle for animal liberation: but how many will join them?

Rumours are circulating that the KGB was responsible for the death of the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld, by planting a bomb aboard a plane which crashed in 1961.

A man is being held for psychiatric tests after throwing a bottle at Prince Charles' car. He must be slightly confused; after all, if one is going to go to all that trouble, the bottle might as well be filled with petrol.

IN THE SHORT RUN

The Labour Party is even glad of its support from private enterprise which, short of pure socialism, is still necessary to protect the Labour government from the ever-encroaching Trade Union monopoly.

Economically, with the help of a geological accident off Scotland and loans from the World Bank, Britain is able to kid itself that it is not doing so badly, having, with the help of unemployment, held inflation in some check and produced, with that selfsame unemployment statistic, an argument against fresh wage claims and industrial unrest.

All these political and economic devices and diversions are successful in the short run. Human memories are in most cases very limited, and that the same problems and so-called solutions recur from time to time is clouded by the passage of years and by the illusions necessary for existence. As our controversial friend Blake said, 'Politics is something else apart from human life'.

Science fiction fanatics have given that the main human problem is to get off the earth before it a) pollutes itself to the extent that life is no longer supportable, b) runs out of sufficient food and energy for the human race, c) succumbs to some cosmic disaster of fire or ice. Without sharing in this relish for disaster it is possible to observe increasing signs that the real problems which face humanity are the long-term ones which paradoxically enough necessitate solutions or standpoints which in their wake will bring solutions to the short-term problems which seem to be the sole concern of parties, governments and states.

The relentless centralization, mak-

ing for larger units and easier exercise of power is one of the chief factors in greater and greater disasters. The tenuous extension of lines of communication between producer and consumer—with the intervention of the wholesaler and distributor and the promptings of the advertiser—has led to the frequent breakdown of supplying for needs and to the creation of artificial wants. Geographically this extension has made for the construction of networks of roads, airports and the conveyance of vulnerable sea cargoes with the consequent inevitability of frequent disasters. The pollution of air, land, sea and silence with the internal combustion engine, based as it is upon a rapidly diminishing resource, is a function which all parties, governments and states are pledged to maintain—as a short-term programme.

The assumed acceptance of the necessity of a complex and technological society has made necessary the provision of alternative methods of energy. With the unerring touch for fatality the energy favoured is from the most highly pollutant and unstable source—atomic energy, a source whose by-products and waste are indestructible. Such is the technological complexity of society and the methods it uses that we have elevated the scientists to the authority on their own subjects, since only they understand the subjects. Fortunately, or unfortunately, this very complexity makes scientific methods debatable—and vulnerable.

The utter unreliability of the computer manifest in its wide application of dictatorial powers is another symptom of the sickness of centralization.

Not only have our towns become the megapolis of Lewis Mumford's forecast but many are rapidly becoming the Nekropolis of his gloomier thoughts. The countryside is meanwhile fast becoming the sedulous ape of the factory—albeit in a field—whose handmaiden it is assumed to be. Food, one cannot say nourishment, is produced on conveyor belt lines under laboratory conditions.

Even with the addition of the multifarious chemicals the land of Britain is under-cultivated, relying as it does upon bulk production and an increase in specialist one-crop farming without the benefits of mixed farming. The deficiencies in fertility being made up by chemicals the superabundance of which are leached out into water-sources to add to the phosphates so generously contributed by detergents. The maximization of production and farms aided by mechanization renders the treeless, hedgeless production line of crops an

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'Yes, I'd certainly bring
BRING BACK THE
RACK & THUMBSCREWS...



...IF THERE
WERE VOTES IN IT!'

WHAT IS POLITICAL?

THE recent leak of a discussion document from the Tory right seems to show that they have learned nothing since the Industrial Relations Act, which tried to rob the unions of their power to negotiate outside the law. The bitterness generated by that Act has died down but is scarcely forgotten and now, here are these die-hards of the right unrepentantly planning to denationalise industries and break up mass pickets.

The leak came as a godsend to the Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, who expressed his concern at Tory plans for a political police. 'In this country' he said, 'I cannot emphasise too strongly that the Home Secretary is not a Minister of the Interior; he has no power to give the police orders on operational matters. What marks our society out from many others is that we have the rule of law, and the police are agents of the law, not agents of the Government.'

Is it unreasonable to suspect that Merlyn Rees' interjection in the row over the Tory 'blueprint for civil war' (in the words of Industry Secretary, Eric Varley) was precipitated by his long-standing unpopularity with civil libertarians, and most recently by his farcical performance over the role and size of the Special Branch, that well-entrenched and ever expanding political police? In parliament the other week Labour MP Robin Cook referred, among other things, to SB attempts to bribe a Scottish student for information about his colleagues' political views and to details of police files found in a factory occupation at Greenwich last year. A number of similar examples have been given by the State Research group, and the General Orders of the Metropolitan Police under which the SB are to be informed of all known political or industrial meetings and demonstrations and to follow up on arrests and court cases, were published by Time Out four years ago. During the debate Rees did his best to argue the impossible - i.e. that a police force dedicated 'entirely and solely to the perfectly proper purposes of protecting the security of the state and public order' and fighting 'political terrorism' (a role for which he had personally congratulated them) is not concerned with listing people for their political views or protests. (It is in fact believed that 3 million people have their names on SB files). In addition he showed a marked reluctance to explain what he and the SB meant by 'subversion' and gave the wrong figure for the number of SB officers. (Hansard had to be corrected later to show that the SB has grown by 1000 since the early '60s).

These unsurprising revelations follow a report by the Council for Science and Society, a body of scientists which,

though it has been rightly criticised for refusing to consider the situation in Northern Ireland, has at least broken media silence on the 'harmless weapons' (just another of those splendid euphemisms in which the vocabulary of repressive techniques excels) that are now available to Britain's police forces. These include not only the rubber bullets and CS gas used so widely in N. Ireland, but electrified batons to cause electric shocks, optical devices to cause epileptic fits and 'squawk' boxes which torture by sound beam. If Merlyn Rees continues to insist that the police are not the agents of government - and even though he may well be faced with great pressure from



growing police militancy and demands for a national force on the continental model - the fact remains that, as the CCS points out, it is impossible to discover whether British police have acquired 'harmless weapons' and under what circumstances they will be used. The continuing preposterous lack of public information on these and related matters can without question be attributed to the reluctance of the Home Secretary and his administrators to do anything to change the situation.

In this context the attack on Tory discussion of a strike-breaking police loses somewhat in credibility: how come that a police is political as soon as it is used to break up pickets but not when it is used to report on them? The implicit assumption is that somehow the realm of state security is above politics altogether (a concept which, in its explicit formulation, enters into the core of fascist ideology). But naturally no Tory will use such an argument. There is too much common ground between the parties, too much for both to lose, for either to take the verbal fireworks of the other to

heart or protest their hypocrisy, especially on the eve of a general election.

This common ground is not made enough of by the radical left, almost all of whose papers express greater general resentment about Thatcher than Callaghan. An article about the Tories in the June issue of the women's liberation paper Spare Rib gives an example. While it is recognised that there is little difference between the parties in the sense that the Labour party has been cutting public expenditure and implementing Tory policies, the article concludes that it is the Tories under Thatcher who are moving towards fascism. . . . True enough, through the ranks of the Tories runs a particularly vicious streak of blood lust which surfaces periodically in the pro-flogging issue or, most recently, once more, in the campaign to restore the death penalty, as well as in their - almost - total contempt for civil and human (let alone animal) rights where 'Marxism' is not involved. Yet, in a sense, these especially abnoxious qualities of a crumbling country-based squirearchy are more easily identifiable, more clear cut and

so less dangerous to their opponents than the more amorphous danger from the other side. Labour's social-fascist tendencies are diluted with the milk of human kindness; it disguises its drift towards total state control with 'progressive' support for economic rights, which are invariably imposed at the expense of others. (Remember that for Rees the police becomes political only when it is seen to be physically breaking up strikes).

The left still equates fascism, and certainly nazism, with racist policies and thus fails to realise that the heart of fascist ideology is the 'ethical state', a state which transcends every day reality, taking on a life of its own unrelated to politics or class and whose servants - just like the Special Branch - are not accountable to the public. We live today in the embryo of such a state, and it matters not who is in power. Merlyn Rees talks about security as an abstract, absolute thing, but no party wants a precise definition of the term 'state', 'public order', 'subversion', etc.

What a sad affair! The Tory right preaching liberty and protest to a middle
(cont pg 5) →

OUR friendly neighbourhood beat bobby, PC Wally Boot, very kindly agreed to give us his impressions of the recent Police Federation Conference. We are pleased to print this in the interests of mutual understanding.

Eldon Griffiths MP, our Parliamentary adviser, spoke eloquently about "rekindling the lamp of morality" in society and it was on this moving note that proceedings began with a minute's silence for "absent friends".

The main absentee on this occasion was, as we all know, ex-Lancashire Chief Constable Stanley Parr. Stan lost his job - as so many of us seem to have in recent years - for being too kind to his many civilian friends.

He lives just down the road from the conference venue and those of us who visited him were sad to see how this once towering figure has been reduced by the sneerers and do-gooders to a shadow of his old self.

Only a copper can really understand what it feels like to walk through the street seeing villainy at every turn but with no power to feel a collar or two. Of course, Stan takes the numbers of all the untaxed cars he sees - but it's not the same.

We all agreed there was too much violence. Only a firm hand can stamp on it. As Eldon said: "We need many more juvenile detention centres where the day starts at 6am, where there is plenty of hard work, a pretty basic diet, no television or visitors - and corporal punishment, under proper safeguards - for those who will not obey."

Eldon put his finger right on it. Some of us thought he erred a bit on the soft side - he didn't bring up barbed wire, roving dogs and minefields on the perimeter in case any

class, frustrated and afraid of the unions, will not hesitate to destroy the liberty of workers to protest. A Labour minister, upholding that right (Grunwick and the firemen notwithstanding!) will not hesitate to attack the Tory for wanting to create at the picket line what, under Labour, already exists elsewhere, inside, say, the Greenwich factory. In redirecting the criticism that has been levelled at himself, Merlyn Rees exploits that rich vein of British pride and complacency by declaring that in Britain, unlike other countries, 'we have the rule of law' - for all the world as though the law itself were not created and dictated by the interests of government.

It is this blind and powerful mythology of British liberty, used both in defence and in criticism of the political police, that must be exposed if we wish to show the reality behind it. And that reality, the drift to corporate fascism, we first have to analyse ourselves in greater detail than we have done so far.

GF

Note: Robin Cook is demanding a judicial enquiry into Special Branch activities. There are reports that a new department is to be set up at Scotland Yard combining the Special Branch, the A8 Public Order branch which deals with demonstrations, the uniformed and armed diplomats protection squad and the Anti-Terrorist branch which has been so idle lately (but no longer!) that it has been used at demonstrations. The Metropolitan Police describe these reports as 'speculative.'



Modern Copper P.C. WALLY BOOT (COMPLETE WITH DEAF AID)

thug should try running home to mum's home cooking. But he's got his head screwed on right.

Our President, Jim Jardine, gave us the news that 20 people a day were leaving the force. They are, it seems, being replaced by women. Some of the ladies are right little crackers and certainly brighten up the canteen. But taken all round, most of the lads agreed that when it comes to the rough stuff it's not the same having some slip of a girl beside you as having a bloke you know can handle himself.

Jim also put paid to the accusation that all coppers are "tools of the bosses or friends of the fascists." He said, without fear of contradiction, that "Insults of this kind are too stupid to answer."



The Charlie

We'll serve any government without fear or favour. All we ask is that society has a firm hand controlling it, no nonsense from do-gooders, a fair day's work for a fair day's pay and a lot more respect for the police than we've been used to lately. We'd like Britain to be great again, a disciplined nation marching together under the old standards.

And it's good to see some coppers are keeping up these old standards in the family. God knows that's hard enough to do with everyone you care to mention being against law and order. Law and order begins at home.

So the copper who said he'd knocked his 13 year old daughter down the stairs for calling his mates "shrimps" got a good reception from the floor and in the bar afterwards.

Police Conference Report



The Bow Street Runner

If more parents had the guts to act like that with their kids there would be a lot less violence in society, you mark my words. She may hate him today, but in a few years time she'll understand it's the best turn he could have done her. Girls with fathers like that don't mug old ladies or have abortions - they know what they'd get if they did.

Money came up, of course. We know all the stories about coppers being able to supplement their income by part-time work for their friends who run strip clubs and bookshops. Well, the public should know we don't all get those opportunities and we think it's degrading for a copper to have to sponge off his more prosperous friends.

We noted that the Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, didn't grace us with his company this year. The story going round the floor was that after the jostling he got from us last year he was afraid he might fall down the stairs.



The Peeler

LETTERS

Dear Friends,

For some time I have hung in the abattoir of indecision: should I write to you explaining the sadness I felt after reading Jack's article, or should I remain silent, personally denying the materialist lie? Like many I have felt the knives of this nihilistic age slash my sensibilities. I have seen men laugh at love and call each other by rat natures. But I never looked for the politics of science among anarchists. I never expected to hear an ally brand some group 'utopian' and to denigrate their ideas with the oft repeated phrase that they belong in 'cloud cuckoo land'. Have we too forgotten that cynicism is a weapon not a world view?

Jack turned his attention upon the flower people. Theirs, he wrote, was a "woozy philosophy" that is to be doubly condemned for its failure (does failure really make something bad and success make it good?). The movement collapsed we are told because it was based on nothing but "the natural rebelliousness of youth", for as the Sun-spun truths of the day tell us, such rebelliousness soon gives way to the equally "natural conservatism of age". I admit to a certain sardonic doubt where the intelligence of rats is concerned. But I am confident that were I to read this passage to even the meanest rat in London he would giggle at this absurd explanation. There was a time when the establishment explained the rebellion of its serfs as the work of psychopaths. And the unimaginative Party still has recourse to such excuses in Russia. Here in the land of liberty there are more civilized means of discrediting rebels. The paternal gauntlet slaps its stumbling foe with the so much nicer and understanding accusation of childishness or "the natural rebelliousness of youth".

The day that we are fooled by such phrases is the day that humanity dies. If hope, love and ideals are truly the stupid delusions of children, then we are delivered into the hands of darkness.

Anarchy is an ideal, and it comes close to the ideals of those 'childish' hippies. Anarchism is no less of a "woozy philosophy" but for all this, that anarchy has never succeeded does not make me despair and call it an infantile dream.

The superbly brilliant argument employed in attacking the hippies rings like an editorial from the Fleet Street hacks who have sold their reason for a condom. And since so many take their auguries from Fleet Streets vomit how can one doubt its truth? "The flower power gave way to the cult of violence. The Manson gang were the heirs of the Californian flower people" continues Jack. One might as well say that bombs, murder and hatred are the ultimate results of anarchistic ideals. Certainly Manson mixed with the flower people, but his violence was the product of a diseased mind. Quite simply Manson was a loon. His alternative philosophy of sadism and brutality was remarkable precisely because of its divergence with the flower ideal. That the symbol of the flower did not change the world over night, did not cause the hippies to "go

get their guns". Unlike the hypocritical left they did not say "we really believe in peace, but these guys push too much, so we execute in the name of the people", no, they held on to the soft parade. The dogs had been released, the world still hated her crazies, so the vision was surrendered and rock became centred on self doubts and the silent obedience of the men who talked but could not hear. Just like anarchism.

The failure of a movement does not make it irrelevant. For Christ's sake what do anarchists do but moan about the failures of Kronstadt and Spain? That early adherents flee the stage does not make an ideal false or ephemeral. Far from seeing the flower movement as an irrelevancy, I see it as the re-emergence of anarchism itself.

Anarchism is more than blunt statist opposition. It opposes competitive egoism and the materialist/consumerist analysis of man. The humanitarian and liberatory impulse is anarchism's gem. Other left philosophies have overlaid this essence with dogma and perversion. Anarchism has always maintained that it is an attitude of mind that is the fundamental enemy, not primarily the institutions formed by this attitude. Bakunin foretold disaster resulting from Marx's paternalism and materialism. Kropotkin believed that full humanity resisted the enslaving machine and the exploitative urge. Revolution ridicules fatalism. For to call an ideal 'utopian' is no criticism of that ideal, but an expression of personal capacity and motivation, it is a criticism of the self. The flower people crystallized this rejection of certain frames of mind. They ignored dogmatism, materialism, consumerism and economism. In a fresh and invigorating way the humanity of the revolution was reasserted.

The ideal of the flower power (peaceful revolution) was neither naive nor childish. It expressed a coherent and consistent approach to change. Institutionalized reform was dismissed: revolution had to be self made. Likewise revolutionary self-righteousness was opposed. Intuitively the flower people felt that the activist had subjugated himself to dogma. His humanity was subverted so that he revelled in hate marches. Rather than tell others the right road, the peaceful demonstration of alternatives was adopted. People who did not understand the message, who were blinded by the iron in their souls, were not despised but given a friendly smile. The hippies knew that political violence is oppression for it presupposes that someone has a monopoly of truth and thus the right to coerce others. The violence of the state and revolutionary alike are counter-revolutionary. Truth, the flower people said, is a human affair; it dwells as much in the means as in the end. The revolution founded on violence is the rabbit mother who eats the flesh of her children.

Some, I know, adore visions of the apocalypse. They praise the lonely executioner for the people. And secretly they would enjoy the feelings of justice that would well up in their hearts as they blasted Thatcher, Powell or Keith Joseph into oblivion. And who knows, after the revolution, the thankful people might show their gratitude with a medal. These men count up

the injustices for the day of vengeance. "Armed struggle" is their currency - for will the enemy not fight to the end? But the revolution will not be on the streets, it will be in men's hearts.

The flower symbolized harmony - harmony within ourselves, with others and with the environment. The wellsprings of creativity were to be released. The passions were to be freed. The egoism of capitalism was to be exorcised. The brutal world of exploitation had to be tumbled first by levelling this egoism, an egoism that turns everything it touches into lead (how many leaden pricks has the prostitute suffered?). Capitalist man fears love for it breeds uneconomic dependence. Men are things to use in the individual climb to comfort. The rule of the machine had to be broken: "It is a question of producing ourselves, not things enslaving us" declared the hippie situationists. The struggle was no longer for wages or control of the means of production, but for hearts and minds which are the real foundation of society.

The hippies said that the soul of man was dead. Floundering in the dark sea of misery, man could smell the rotting of his own intestines and as the stone finally dragged him down, he furiously pumped his legs at the nostril agony of his self crucifixion. Man's hope was music-joy of living. Money made us passive and content while all our lives we sweated and slaved to gain nothing but a shallow grave and a shallow life before it.

The task of self liberation is difficult, and some tried LSD or Lady weed to help them on their way. Such means are not dangerous in themselves, like sex and drink they have been misused: a rotten society condemns us to seek the least painful way to death. I myself do believe these drugs to be mind clarifying. Spinning acid makes the world glisten with dew drops in the myriad images of a fly's eye. But the unprepared or those who want only a good kick may suffer. Misuse? I do not begrudge the junkie his own death. "Most people don't die because they are already dead" bewail the walls of Nanterre. Misery can only be combated by the revolution.

The hippies then reformulated the problems and introduced many of today's struggles: they put humanity back into the revolution. Unfortunately the Marxists have not learnt, and even anarchists insist that they are what they are simply because they hate the state. Anarchists even stand against dreams.

If anarchism is the search for humanity, let us not laugh at dreams. Don't pillory brothers and sisters in spirit (for the hippie is more our kin than the Marxist). Too long have anarchists fed off the carcasses of old theorists and old deeds. Anarchism thrives today as much in the underground of the dispossessed as at Freedom Press. Purity of doctrine has caused anarchists to scoff at the flower people, the drug cult and the drop outs. It has fostered a superciliousness that borders on hatred. Yet the flower people discovered truths that have still not been considered. Primarily we must learn that personal revolution is the fount of social revolution.

WENDY

JACK ROBINSON.

WHO BUYS THE BOOKS

BERNARD Levin's column in *The Times* was recently devoted two days running to the question of censorship in public libraries in the London Borough of Lambeth.

It was not an unusual experience in the past to have a library refuse to buy a book on the grounds that it was "obscene", "too dear" or only of interest to an insignificant minority of readers.

But librarians retained a "professional" belief that they could preserve a classical liberal detachment in matters of, for example, religious or political controversy.

Levin's articles dealt with the fact that this pretence has been thrown aside by some Lambeth librarians who feel instead it is their duty to take a firm political line about what books are to appear on the shelves.

This line revolves, for the time being, around the question: "How do we fight the fascists in the library" What immediately springs to mind is invite a few round and bash them about the head with Lenin's Collected Works.

But what they mean is how can they begin to weed out books that take, in their view, a racist and/or sexist position.

Levin mentioned a book called "Africa Today" by B.W. Hodder. This book was banned - not to buy a book is effectively to ban it - because it presented the South African case for apartheid as well as the moral and political arguments against it.

Among other books to go the same way was one about Soviet persecution of religious minorities and one dealing with Soviet activities in Africa.

In Lambeth itself - Levin didn't mention this because he doesn't know - the librarians with the motivation and, more important, the power to direct this policy are known ironically as the "Gang of Five".

Individuals who cannot stomach the implications of their blanket censorship feel they must either keep their mouths shut or risk accusations of "fascism".

The "committed" librarians say that the local library should reflect directly the needs of the community and not get bogged down in vague generalities about "balance". In Lambeth particularly the community is a multi-racial one.

It isn't difficult to accept their point. But what is important is exactly who is to decide what these needs are.

Though they may have dropped the "detachment" of the old professionalism they still appear to cling to the superior paternalism that went with it.

They feel they cannot trust "ordinary" people to use books critically. They feel that black people are so lacking in pride and self-confidence that they can easily be scared away from their library.

If the wishes and the needs of the community are what the library should commit itself to then there is only one way - for the moment - to see that the books on the shelves reflect those wishes and needs.

All library book buying policy should be directed by the readers themselves - through a committee delegated by and directly answerable to the community of readers.

If the "committed" librarians cannot accept this and begin to bleat about their professional credentials and expertise then we can be forgiven for questioning the strength of their desire to use the library to help build a different kind of society.

It would be interesting to hear from library workers on the points raised in this article - and readers too.

Bookworm

CONT. FROM Pg. 3

easy prey to erosion and wind-blow. In the short run, maximum crops (and of what quality?); in the long run a desert.

The giant monopoly game of the Common Market assigns Britain a role as consumer of crops in exchange for the manufactured goods which every nation outside the EEC is seeking to produce for its own profit. Meanwhile the Labour government contents itself with rebuking Germany and Japan for being more successful in the manufacturing business than we are!

Every day one can find superabundant evidence of the minor and major disasters of short-term ideas (one cannot call it planning). The poisoning of children in American farmlands, the oil-entrapped sea-bird, the poisoned fish, the leucaemia patient, the scarred hedgerow with its ripped out trees, the oozy and pestilent Broads, the concrete ribbons slashing across the farmland, the pulpy bleached sliced loaf, the weed-blocked canals, the rusting railway branches. One could go on with this catalogue of horrors but if you would see the tombstones of this society, look around!

An election can cure nothing. A cynic once said, 'In the long run—we're all dead.' But in the short runs of politicians in quest of power we are just as certainly dead probably quicker, and certainly in a less dignified and quite likely far more painful manner.



"I WISH YOU'D STOP REFERING TO THE MEALS ON WHEEL'S VAN AS TIME'S WINGED CHARIOT."

MAYTIME IN SYDNEY

THE SYDNEY Anarcho-Syndicalists organised a demo on the First of May. Fifty people were present, it was a very peaceful march, we commemorated the 1968 Paris general strike, the 1968 upheaval in Czechoslovakia, wards followed a nice barbecue.

The 7th May was the official march. Again we were present. We marched in front of the march (which upset the bureaucrats!). 250 people were behind our red and black banner, and lots of black flags were shown. Later on, after the official march, we organised another demo, in front of the Darlinghurst police station, in protest against the rape of several women in police stations, as well as the bashing of the aborigines and gays. According to the T.V., 250 people protested, it was a very successful demo. Then we proceeded to the Town Hall, where Women Against Rape performed a show against rape.

From Monday the 8th to Sunday the 14th, again we demonstrated against the bashing of prisoners, and we ask that the maximum security block be closed. Several tents have been set up in front of goals, 20 vigils stay around. On Saturday we had 50 people who attempted to hold a barbecue, but two were arrested by the police. They were later released on bail of A\$120 each; solidarity prevailed and we managed to raise this money. 16.5.78

JEAN-CLAUDE

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to Governor Fuller or to President Lowell, if either would ask for them; but these worthies took exactly the same attitude as the anarchists, and for exactly the same reason. There were more things in the class struggle than were dreamed of in the philosophy of amiable liberals.

(p. 632)

Cornelia has, according to the plot, lived as a worker on but her six to nine dollars per week. Nevertheless, she retains a certain lingering faith in old Boston, up to a point. Her social connections do get some things done, and while her communist granddaughter Betty Alvin always seems to be from a more direct and frank generation, in fact one of the lessons the book offers is that such connections as Cornelia holds do rule. Old Boston will win, as Vanzetti had argued all along, unless a million workers are mobilized in time. The establishment rules through a network of reputations and rumors, and through class solidarity. The legalist approach will not prevail; the Boston establishment will only close its ranks. Only popular agitation and direct action afford any chance to upset the ruling powers. Only a conscious working class movement can offer the chance to save these two innocent lives. This had always been the centre of Vanzetti's project. Well before his arrest, Vanzetti had in all seriousness reproached Cornelia for telling fairy stories to the youngest child of the Brini family:

"No should tella children what is not true, Nonna. It plenty lovely t'ing what is real, plenty miraculosa -- how you say it, wonderfool. When you teach somet'ing true, is us'fool, too, but fairy is lika diavolo, like angio'li, superstizione, no gooda for teach."

(p. 85)

In an appendix to the book is presented the 1977 Proclamation of Massachusetts Governor Michael S. Dukakis, issued nearly on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. In that Proclamation, Dukakis stated that:

One could go on and on. The book is marvelous. This truly is one of Sinclair's finest works. I find it superior to his far better known book, *The Jungle*. I've read many, many books on Sacco and Vanzetti and, as indicated earlier,

this book seems better than any other to capture the feelings, thoughts, principles and emotions on both sides of the still hotly debated case.

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were Italian immigrants who lived and worked in Massachusetts while openly professing their beliefs in the doctrines of anarchism...

The atmosphere of their trial and appeals was permeated by prejudice against foreigners and hostility toward unorthodox political views... The conduct of many of the officials involved in the case shed serious doubt on their willingness and ability to conduct the prosecution and trial of Sacco Vanzetti fairly and impartially...

(p. 797. It is

interesting to note that Dukakis had earlier, on August 25, 1976 by proclamation revoked the 1637 banishment of Anne Hutchinson from the Commonwealth. Readers of Schuster's *Native American Anarchism* will recall Hutchinson as the first American anarchist.)

Dukakis proclaimed August 23, 1977 Sacco and Vanzetti Day and declared that "any stigma and disgrace should be forever removed" from their names. This caused a great hue and cry among much of Boston's current elite, particularly among the descendants of those who had blood on their hands. Peter Fuller, son of Governor Alvin T. Fuller who refused to step in and save the men, is currently "Boston's leading Cadillac dealer, as well as a racer of thoroughbred horses." He "called Dukakis' statement 'an attempt to besmirch a guy's record that we believe in and love, whose memory we cherish.' He added: 'We're sitting here today in the last building my father built, and it's the most beautiful car agency on the Eastern Coast and perhaps in the United States.'"* In 1978 Peter Fuller Cadillac-Olds moved from this wonderful car dealership building.

BILL NOWLIN

* From Howard Zinn's introduction.

(There is no paperback edition planned).

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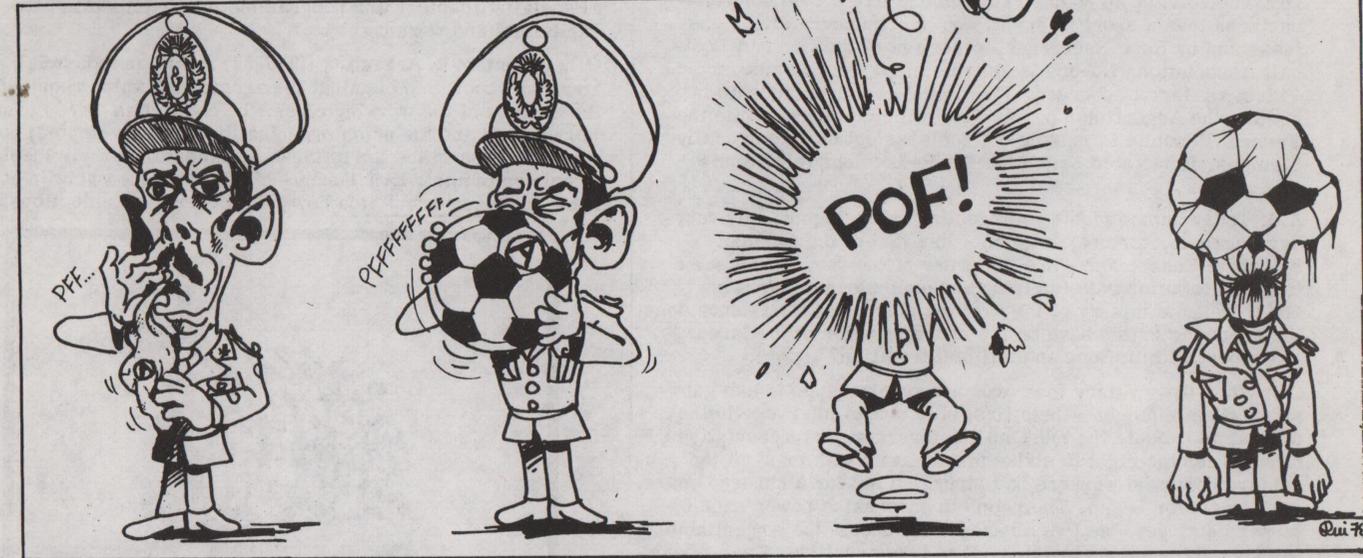
ARGENTINA 78

Mundial de Futbol

em campo de concentração

ON THE EVE OF THE

WORLD CUP



Inside ARGENTINA

THE publicist Osvaldo Bayer was born in Argentina in 1927. Until 1973 he was director of the political and military affairs section of the paper *Clarín* in Buenos Aires and, for four years, until it was banned in 1963, was secretary of the journalists' union. He was arrested and imprisoned for 2½ months. He lives with his family in exile in Federal Germany where the following interview took place with our comrade Alfred Marquardt - hence the references throughout to the FRG. Readers will not find it necessary to agree with Osvaldo Bayer's judgement on guerrilla activity to realise just how important and timely are his comments on Argentina today. The text has been translated from the German. - *Trans.*

AM: Osvaldo, on 26 March 1976 a coup d'état led by General Jorge Videla overthrew the regime of Isabel Perón. How did it come to this coup which, in its effect, resembles the fascist putsch of Pinochet in Chile?

OB: In Argentina the capitalist state tried out all possible ways of counteracting the people's demands for social justice and must have come to the conclusion they had failed: for nine years, despite applying a whole gamut of economic formulae to hold up the standard of living, the military dictatorship had only proved its impotence. Realising their failure, they seized on Perón, living in exile in Francoist Spain, to calm the agitated masses. There had to be someone with the support of the people but with no intention of altering the structure of the country. Perón was the right man, he had over half the people's votes. Yet he too failed: people - mainly the workers and the young - were no longer satisfied with demagogic speeches and charity. They wanted fundamental changes. And so the repression began. His death, nine months after officially taking over,

precipitated events. But during his short reign he had understood that there were only two ways: repression of the people or revolution with them. He chose the first way. Quite logical, for Perón had never been a revolutionary. But the world crisis of capitalism left him no space any more for diversionary tactics. His wife too - Isabel - despite applying stronger repression, could not overcome the crisis. There was only one exit still open: militarism. Videla embarked on the cruellest of all dictatorships in Latin American history.

AM: Argentina has a long tradition of bourgeois-democratic freedoms, but has also had the experience of despotic dictatorships. At the same time Argentina has a strong labour movement which can look back on a tradition which has had glorious moments.

OB: Yes, that's quite true. Last October something unique happened in the history of trade unionism in Argentina. Despite the present terror and open shooting of trade unionists, the workers risked a mass strike which finally compelled the military to raise wages by 43%. How come that a working class without leaders could put in motion a mass movement against the military dictatorship? Everyone has their explanation: the Argentine workers have a hundred year old tradition of struggle, dating that is from the last century when the anarchists founded the first syndicates.

AM: Today Latin America is firmly in the hands of various dictators. Special help for the putsch came from the CIA - thus from the USA. Now the American president Jimmy Carter has stopped arms deals with the Argentinian dictatorship.

OB: The aid from the North American and German banks to the Argentine dictatorship is the greatest this country has yet received. On the other hand it must be said that Carter's

action in withdrawing military aid because of abuse of human rights has so far been the only one taken by a government against the terror in Argentina. No communist, social democratic or christian democratic government, not once the Pope have raised their voices against Videla's murders. It isn't possible to speak of human rights in Helsinki or Bulgaria and stay silent about what is going on in Latin America.

AM: Now the World Cup is taking place in Argentina. Already the dictator Videla has tried to give western journalists the impression of a 'pacified country.'

OB: The World Cup seems rather more like a German-run business than a sporting event. Or, more accurately, a business run by Herr Neuberger, president of the German Football Association. No-one is as committed an apologist for Videla as Herr Neuberger. This world cup championship is costing the Argentinian people 700 million dollars. While the Federal Republic is making big business out of it, especially Siemens. It has sold Argentina the PAL colour television system ...

AM: Today human rights in Argentina are being abused every day. Arrests, torture, murder - like that of the German Elisabeth Kaesemann - are the order of the day. At the same time the inflation rate is rising and unemployment growing, and with it the misery of the working class. What influence does the economic crisis have on the reorganisation of the labour movement with its long and militant tradition?

OB: When the military took over - they always do it like gangsters after midnight - their first step was to intervene in the unions, to execute the most militant workers' representatives, to suppress the right to strike and do away with many of the achievements the workers had struggled for for a hundred years. And the terror began. The people's purchasing power sank by 50 per cent, yet - as I've already mentioned - the Argentinian working class stands together. It is indestructible. Even when their representatives are murdered and Peronist bureaucrats are put above them, it remains intractable.

AM: The persecution and attempted liquidation of the labour movement has already brought about the development of a militant wing. In the years 1968/9 - in the general context of Latin American development - a number of guerrilla groups formed. The ERP, the Peronist Monteneros, and various other small groups. What influence did they have within the labour movement; to what extent do they have resources to effectively attack Videla's reign of terror?

OB: With all its martyrs and its great courage, the Argentinian guerrilla movement had a negative effect on the democratic development of the country. It prepared the way for brutal militarism. The military could use the excuse of fighting the guerrilla movement to eliminate democracy in the universities and in the cultural field, in the labour movement and among the academics and in many other areas. It gave the military the chance to place the whole economic system in the hands of the international combines. Everything that had once been won over to democracy was lost again. In world history there is already the similar example of Spain in 1936: fascism reigned there more than 40 years and destroyed everything the people had achieved. The army and police win by violent methods, precisely because they are instructed in hatred and death. And they will go on winning until the whole international situation favours support of armed resistance against imperialism and its aides. Although through their actions the guerrillas gave positive support to a number of strikes, they could never really penetrate the labour movement. There are a number of reasons for this: the fear of repression from General Videla and his generals; the corruption of the Peronist unionists who deceived the labour movement and continue to do so, and in the last resort the support from Perón who, shortly before his death, sent the whole revolutionary Peronist youth movement and the Marxist guerrillas of ERP to the devil.

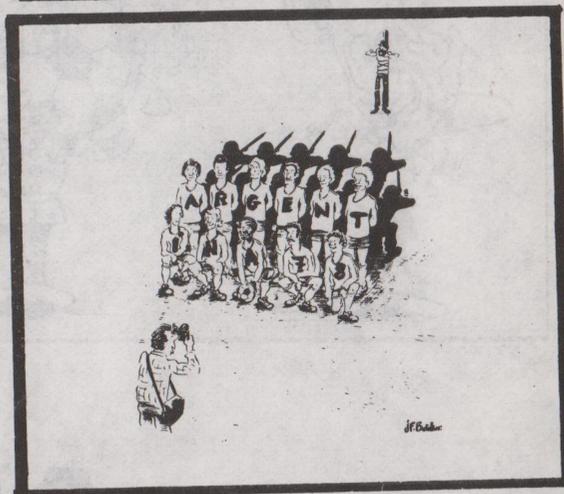
AM: Have the present social tensions in Argentina contributed to the development of the labour movement which, before Videla's coup was heavily pro-Perón?

OB: It must firstly be said that - and this is also according to Videla - the Argentinian labour movement is still in its majority pro-Perón. The military dictatorship has only interfered with the most militant syndicates, arresting and murdering its leaders and the workers' representatives in the factories and

workshops. It destroyed the most militant part of the labour movement and left only the corrupt and bureaucratic elements who rule the syndicates but, however, not the mass of workers. The labour movement has not had its roots in 40 years of anarchist ideology in vain. Despite the various repressive endeavours on the part of the dictatorship and trade union bureaucrats, wildcat strikes still occur, sometimes even mass strikes like the one last October among the railwaymen and Underground drivers. In a word, the Argentinian workers are now the only force that can neutralise the plans of fascist militarism.

AM: What function did Peronism actually have with its national socialist ideology and programme of participation between capitalists and workers?

OB: Peronism in Argentina (1946-55) meant an industrial, bourgeois movement against the agrarians, which required the support of the working class. To obtain this Perón passed labour laws and the union organisations were promoted; bureaucrats rose to the top of these organisations; their ideology is only reformist. Eva Perón - his first wife - wrote in her book *La Razon de mi vida* how the workers' organisations had



to be: "They must follow only Perón's directions; always oppose the anarcho-syndicalist and Marxist ideologies, for these have alien origins." Perón ended up with a tame industry, sheltering under the imperialist monopolies. The Peronist revolution ran aground. In 1955 it crumbled away under a military putsch that faced no resistance. In 1955 no more people went out on the streets to defend Perón than in 1976 they went out in defence of Isabel Perón.

AM: The destruction of Perón's power with the coup d'état of 1976 should have been underlined by his return to power in 1973. Although the unions were still largely Peronist and a lot of community groups had demanded Perón's return, when it took place the process of social disintegration accelerated. Does this - and the fall of Isabel Perón - mean that Peronism in Argentina has been economically destroyed?

OB: Isabel Perón was only the victim of the mafia that surrounded her: bureaucratic unionists, politicians of the extreme right, liberal administrators - for instance, Rodrigo - and a circle of exploiters who brought the country to bankruptcy in the space of a few months. But it must be said that the majority of workers remain Peronist, for however bad it was under Isabel Perón it is ten times worse for them now, and they look back on the past with nostalgia. Peronism isn't dead, and what it promised is immaterial; the political future of Argentina - despite present persecution and repression - lies with left-wing Peronism.

AM: Is there contact today between the old union leadership (secotrs like 'Empleados de Comercio' etc) and the Videla regime and how do you assess the future possibilities for rapprochement between the traditional union bureaucracy and the army?

OB: As I've already said, contact between the Peronist union bureaucrats and Videla is very close. As it was during the post-1955 military dictatorship. The Peronist unionists stay at their posts, they travel, are invited to the USA by the AFL, move about freely. But sometimes there are clashes. The

reactionary sectors are demanding from Videla a limitation to the power of the CGT through a change in the law on workers' associations. This means a clash of interests.

AM: What fractions are distinguishable within the labour movement (in relation to the dictatorship, the grass-roots, capital) What function and role does the CGTR actually have and does it provide a real alternative?

OB: Power, I repeat, lies in the hands of the Peronist union bureaucrats, who are supported by the headquarters in the United States, and who officially represent the labour movement at the ILO (they take part in congresses in the company of the dictator's representatives, a grotesque sight). The remainder, the genuine, most militant part of the movement is underground. And it truly proved its strength with the strike last year. The so-called CGTR, which is made up of genuine workers and leaders underground, has certainly organised some strikes. But in general they have been a spontaneous reaction of the workers to the heavy reduction in purchasing power and deterioration of working conditions. One of the first attempts at a decree was answered by the workers with a wildcat strike. To answer the question: the CGTR could provide a real alternative, but at a later stage when there has been a renewal of leaders and the military dictatorship is compelled to grant more freedom and to realise that nothing can be achieved through brutal repression.

AM: How far can international union solidarity for their Argentine colleagues be of help and what forms should it take?

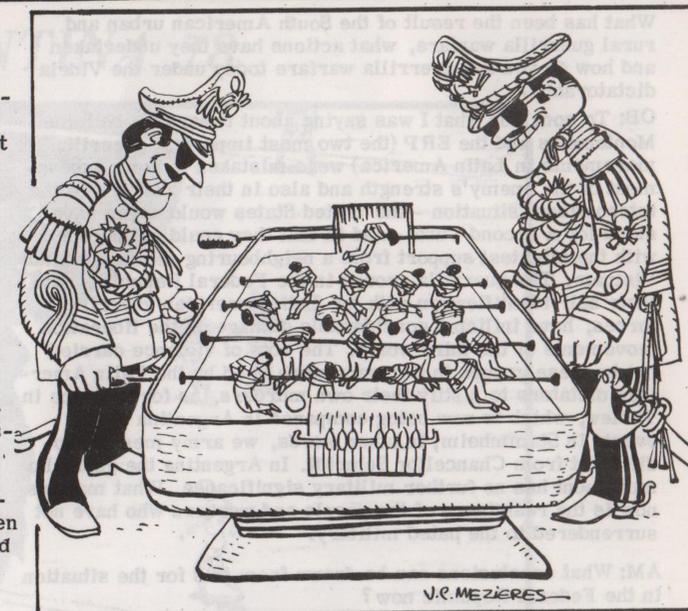
OB: Sorry if I have to smile rather sceptically at this question. What international solidarity are you referring to? Is there any at all? The USA supports the Peronist trade union bureaucracy, that is, indirectly the dictatorship; the DGB in Germany shamelessly supports the anti-worker dictator Videla. To give one example: the credit of the Bank fuer *Gemeinwirtschaft* - presided by Oskar Vetter - goes to the dictator (the grounds given for this offering of credit facilities reveal open cynicism). Or the statements of the IG-Metall leader Otto Kersten who praised the Videla regime in Buenos Aires. Or on the other side the words of Eugen Loderer in South Africa, dashing any hope of worker solidarity: no boycott because jobs in Germany would be at risk. Apart from isolated displays of solidarity by Italian, Dutch and Swedish workers - the latter refused to load arms onto Argentinian warships - the Argentinian working class fights alone and can put no hope or trust in the much heralded international solidarity. Of the communist world there is nothing to say: economic support for the Videla dictatorship by the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries is total ...

AM: You are very concerned in your work as journalist and writer with Argentinian anarchism. You describe yourself as a 'libertarian socialist' who sees the only solution for his country in a 'libertarian socialism with deep christian roots.' Can you say anything about the history of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism in Argentina?

OB: The history of Argentine anarchism is the story of the Argentinian labour movement. Nowhere in the world - not even in Italy and Spain - have anarchist ideals had as much influence as there. It is the history of their strikes and achievements during the last two decades of the last century. But it is also the history of brutal repression, which there has always been. The anarchists' struggle ended in the thirties and lost in importance to Peronism. I will speak frankly: anarchism and syndicalism have, in their ignorance of the workings of the state, pushed themselves into the background. The state fought them with all its might, and brutally, while it parleyed with and recognised the socialists. In 1926 an interesting document appeared in the paper *La Protesta*. In this one of the staunchest anarchist militants wrote:

"In 1926 the anarchist movement has little cause for rejoicing; the whole year has only seen a continuation of the crisis in activism and in membership which began with the disillusion with the clearly biological subversion initiated after the end of the war and the beginning of the Russian revolution ... Excluding the attentats, there have been only defeats in the field of proletarian struggle, a losing of ground gained over many years of hard struggle, new triumphs of reaction and treacherous reformism ..."

This was the beginning of the end. The anarchists fought and the socialists reaped the benefit. Anarchism remained



true to its concept of struggle - but without adjusting to the conditions of a new industrial social order.

AM: To what extent is anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism, which is reorganising in many countries (for instance Spain, the USA, Sweden, France, Italy, the FRG) relevant today for Argentina and how should we see the future?

OB: Anarchism, libertarian ideas always have a present and a future. For they are the clearest expression of freedom and solidarity, the only two concepts which - put into practice - do liberate people and enable them to live in dignity. In Argentina they have a future insofar as they form a critical presence on the side of those who suffer, are exploited and persecuted, and of all those who are of good faith in bringing an end to exploitation, misery, illness, illiteracy. Anarchists habitually isolate themselves, and they should do precisely the contrary: they should support all progressive movements and ideas.

AM: The anarcho-syndicalist union FORA (Federacion Obrera Regional Argentina) has always fought decisively against Peronism. What is the relation between anarchism and Peronism? Do you think the Marxists are right to reproach FORA for contributing to the creation of a division in the labour movement by its refusal to form a common union?

OB: What FORA has done in the past has deep historical roots and cannot be judged without an extremely careful analysis of the whole process. Perhaps during the Peronist period too much attention was paid to too many little anecdotes without analysing them and looking at their consequences. FORA - which barely exists any more - should now seek the unity of the Argentinian workers on a minimal basis. As in Spain in 1936 they must commit themselves on principle to opposition to the military dictatorship and fight shoulder to shoulder with all enemies of the hated regime. As far as the Marxists' criticism is concerned, they should first look to their own house; they have no unity amongst themselves, they are in fact hopelessly splintered. In any case they should keep their mouths shut considering that, on the grounds of close economic relations between the Soviet Union and Argentina, the line of the orthodox communist party offers not the slightest resistance to the dictatorship. And Maoism has been utterly discredited through its support for Pinochet. The International to which the Socialist Party of Argentina (Garcia Costa) belongs, and which is presided over by Willy Brandt, gives Videla shameless support. They are left in peace, while left-wing Peronism is hounded.

AM: At the end of the 60s "urban guerrilla groups" formed in many Latin American countries (Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina), to destroy the ruling regimes through military struggle, thereby aiming to 'liberate the proletariat.' Here in the FRG there are also groups (Red Army Fraction, Revolutionary Cells, 2nd June Movement) which adhere to the theory of urban guerrilla warfare as developed by Carlos Marighela.

What has been the result of the South American urban and rural guerrilla warfare, what actions have they undertaken and how do you see guerrilla warfare today under the Videla dictatorship?

OB: To conclude what I was saying about it earlier: both the Monteneros and the ERP (the two most important guerrilla movements in Latin America) were mistaken in their assessment of the enemy's strength and also in their analysis of the international situation - the United States would never have stood for a second Cuba - and in that they could not reckon with the slightest support from a neighbouring country, unlike Vietnam. The guerrilla groups in the Federal Republic, with their self-identification with the Latin American guerrilla forces, have inflicted considerable damage on the liberation movements of the third world. The acts of violence carried out by these groups in Germany were used by the Latin American dictators to justify their own murders, as for instance in Trelew, which is now being compared in Argentina to the events in Stammheim; in other words, we army men act no different from Chancellor Schmidt. In Argentina the guerrilla movement has no further military significance. What matters now is the resistance of the people and workers who have not surrendered to the hated military.

AM: What conclusions can be drawn from this for the situation in the Federal Republic now?

OB: I'm not the most suitable person to answer this question. But I believe that the way of violence vindicates only the fascists, who would make ever greater inroads into the freedoms which still exist in the Federal Republic. The citizens' resistance movements must be supported with ideas. One must be constantly on the watch against the dangers that threaten free people (sic). Above all it has to be pointed out that the living standard in the FRG is not the result of the free market and of the industry and intelligence of the Germans or the capitalist system, but of the open exploitation of those countries that are sarcastically termed 'underdeveloped.'

AM: The state terror of the Videla regime is presently supported by an organisation which half legally carries out murder attacks against left-wingers, unionists and the labour movement: the 'Alianza Anticomunista Argentina' (AAA - Anti-communist Alliance of Argentina). How long have these death squads existed, how do they work and who is really behind them?

OB: The Triple A and the so-called death squads are no other than organisms of the news agencies of the three armed forces and police. They are easily recognisable through their gestures, their appearance, their weapons, their cars, the absolute freedom of action they can enjoy. They are extraordinarily well-informed about the life and habits of their victims; no private person, only the police, would be capable of that. In Argentina the chiefs of police are also high-ranking officers who receive orders direct from the High Command of the Army or from the army units. Moreover, the upkeep of these terror-commandos is extremely expensive and comes out of the repression-budget. Official terrorism has existed since 1962, since the putsch against Fondizi; one of its first advocates was the Interior Minister Rauch, a fascist general and descendant of a German officer who, in the last century, was involved in the extermination of our Indians.

AM: Osvaldo, you yourself have been on the death lists of the AAA and like many other artists, writers and unionists, had to leave your country. Why were you and your family threatened by the 'death squads'?

OB: The reason my family and myself were exposed to death threats is my books, and above all the film *Rebellion in Patagonia*, the scenario of which I wrote. The film is about the massacre of 1500 anarchist agricultural workers who in 1921 rose against the exploitation of the big landowners. This massacre was a black legend that no-one wanted to stir up and fall out with the army, which in my country is a privileged caste.

AM: You have, as we already mentioned, been especially concerned with the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement in Argentina. Among other things you have written a four-volume work about the bloody defeat of a workers' revolt; about the *Rebellion in Patagonia* which has gone down in the

annals of the labour movement as the "semana tragica", the tragic week. It was also the subject of your scenario for the film of the same title which in Berlin in 1974 received the 'silver bear' of the Berlinale. What happened at that time in Patagonia?

OB: This Patagonian landworkers' movement carried out the greatest anarchist strike in the world, paralysing an area bigger than the Federal Republic. It was a model movement, courageous and displaying the greatest solidarity. It included German, Polish, Spanish, Italian, Chilean and Argentinian workers. For instance, the conduct of the German Otto Schulz was exemplary. He was shot on the farm La Anita in the foothills of the Andes and lies with 120 other workers in a mass grave.

AM: The film had a great success in Argentina, until it was forbidden, and so did your books which came out in large numbers. But the fourth volume didn't appear. Your publisher had to leave the country after being the target of a bomb attack and you too have been living since February 1975—with the exception of a three-month break—in exile in Federal Germany.

OB: True. The fourth volume should have appeared at the end of 1974, but there was no more time, the repression had got too bad. Now, after three years I've been able to recover the original manuscript and the book will shortly come out in Germany, far from my native land; but at least the work will now be fully published.

AM: Part of the function of state terror is to crush the culture of the labour movement, to obstruct the work of writers and artists and so on, to kill them or at least drive them into exile. In Argentina today is there still a culture not prescribed by the state, a sort of counter-culture?

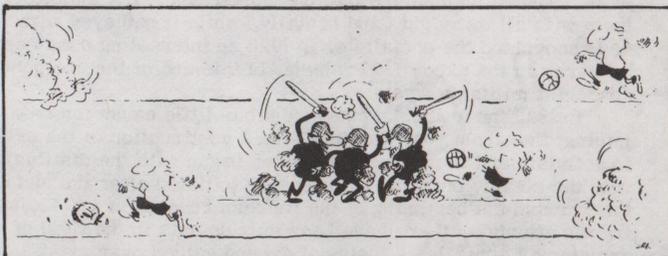
OB: Argentinian culture was killed off, and it will take decades to recover. The darlings of the military are now, as always, the mediocrities, or those who look only to Europe without recognising the true worth of their native land. The great jester of the dictatorship is Jorge Luis Borges, a famous writer who regrets to have been born in Argentina, always having felt himself an Englishman. He is proud of being racist, of despising the blacks and thinks the bombing of Vietnam was a good thing. He says of the military that they are cavaliers. The real culture has been destroyed with weapons and torture. The intelligentsia is either dead or abroad, the universities are like prisons. The only people there are those who see themselves as 'western and christian', or who can keep their heads down, even though they live through daily terror.

AM: What function should and can art have for the labour movement and how do you see your task as a writer living in exile?

OB: That's a question that could take a whole book but I will answer with a phrase: the purpose of culture is absolute freedom, and it's the purest way of obtaining such freedom. I refer to the freedom of people and their community, the people

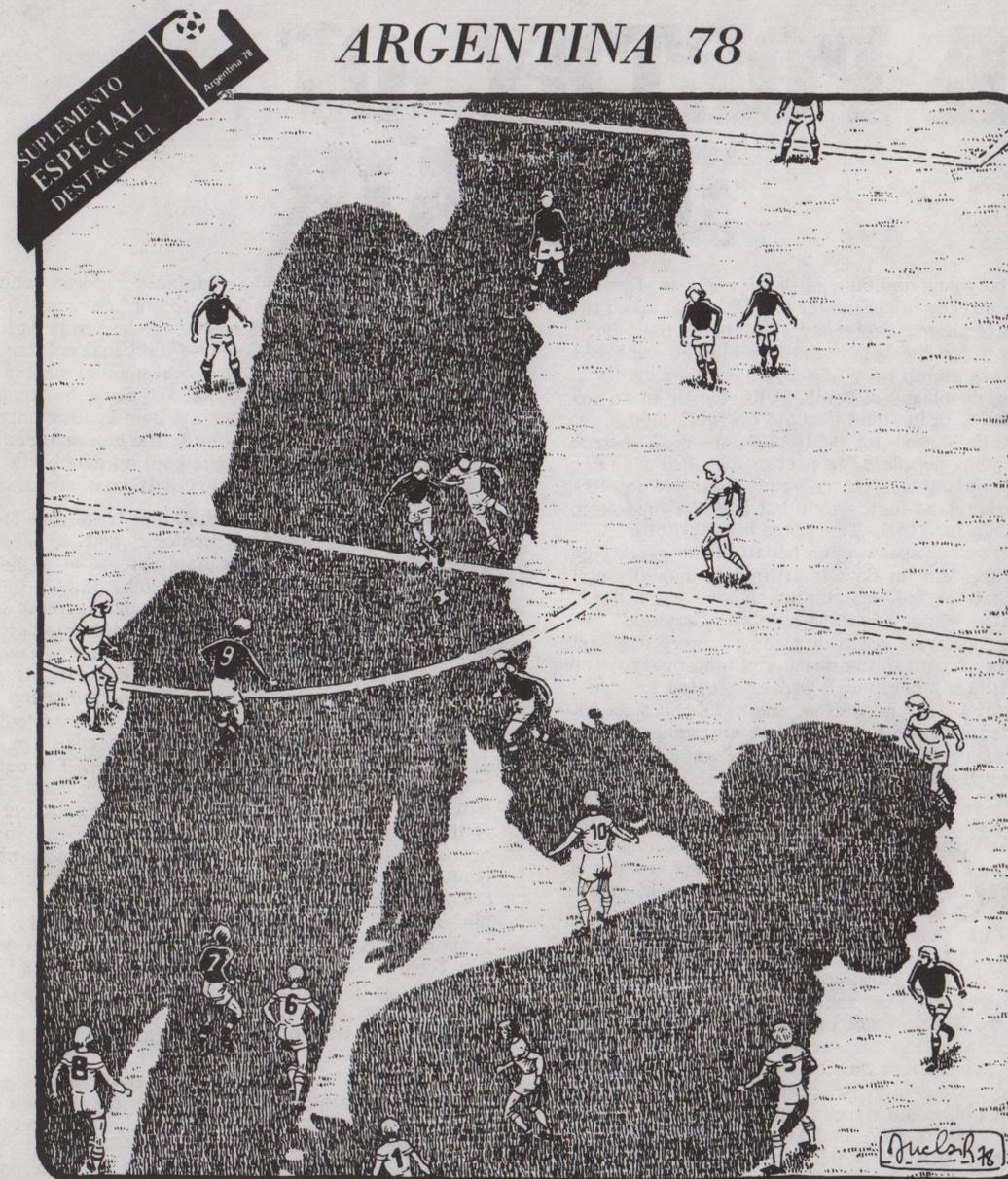
Exile is very hard, worse than illness, a hopelessness, a life with the certainty of no future, a daily torture knowing that there, brothers are being murdered, friends tormented. My task? To explain, to show who the murderers are in our country, and who abroad is selling them arms, whether they be christian democrats, social democrats or communists.

AM: Osvaldo, thank you for this interview.



Note Books published by Osvaldo Bayer: *Severino Di Giovanni - el idealista de violencia* (1969); *Los vengadores de la Patagonia Tragica* (four volumes, 1971-1974); *Los anarquistas expropiadores* (1975).

ARGENTINA 78



POETRY OF DESPAIR

(cont from page 14.)

sioners we are all victims and I feel this year we the common worker have picked the short straw to carry the cross. The Whitechapel exhibition is an extremely good walk around but its heart throb subject matter was corny when the Victorian Royal Academicians were churning it out. But too often men and women with little talent jump on an emotional bandwagon and a painting of Churchill, Stalin or the Grunwick betrayal succeeds only because of political audience participation.

Nicos Hadjinicolaou in his book *Art History and the Class Struggle* (Pluto Press, 1978, £5.70) goes to great length 'to destroy the bland assumptions that art as well as art history flourish in an air-tight hothouse cut off from society, that there is no distinction between revolutionary and reactionary thinking about art'. The book makes interesting reading but the fault that permeates all these types of books is believing that the subject matter is of more importance than the artistic act of creation. It is unfortunate that Hadjinicolaou places so much faith in the teachings of Mao Tse-tung when at this moment in time the Old Man and his little red book are out of favour and yet never gives a mention to Trotsky. By all means let the author say that he will ignore Plekhanov and Lukacs but Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution* (New York,

1957) is a detailed and reasoned argument against the Proletariat—and this is the lesson for Richard Cork at the Whitechapel and the Serpentine and Nicos Hadjinicolaou—in the words of Trotsky "no 'class culture' can be created behind the back of a class" for the printed and the visual arts are dictated by the economics and the industrial way of life of a particular class and the brutal truth is that all and any culture is no more than a rip off of an economic daily way of surviving. It is the pretty cross on the hot cross bun.

I stood within the Serpentine Gallery with Cork's 'Art for whom?' behind me and Sue Grayson's silhouette before me and before us seated on the grass in the fine raid with a small TV group were two of the Great Train Robbers and Buster Edwards smiled at us and we waved. But a week or so later I stood within that same gallery and there seated upon the grass, with a small American TV crew, was Danny the Red, Cohn-Bendit, and he smiled and I waved back and from Piranesi to Richard Cork, Buster Edwards and Danny the Red, one knows that they are all history's class actors who need the working class only as an indifferent audience.

ARTHUR MOYSE

THE POETRY OF DESPAIR

IT IS FINE to be young and sing of death and vine-flowering graves. To gaze at grey doom-wrecked seas or to stand in suicidal immobility among yesterday's eternal ruins. But the days are gone when the hypersensitive sixteen-year-old poet could drape his plump body in a Byronic cloak and trace his rhyming messages of death, with the tip of an un-blooded sword blade, in the dust beneath his well shod buckled shoes but the desire for death and universal destruction, preferably other people's, is part of the pleasures of youth. It is understandable; for the young lions are intelligent enough to understand their world but lack the muscle to move in for the legalised kill. Therefore the nihilistic answer is to destroy but speaking on behalf of the geriatrics I say to hell with the Murder Squads killing and moralising in the name of the State or the Proletariat. There was a time, between the Greater Wars, when the prints of Giovanni Battista Piranesi fought for pride of place on every university student's wall. Ay, fought to the death amid the overpowering overflowering William Morris wall paper, seeking to edge aside the Beardsley black and whites, the news photographs of the Hunger Marchers and the framed photographs of Mummy being presented at Court, Babs on Caesar the 'six year old' and the 'Old Man' seated at the wheel of a police-protected Number 11 bus serving out his class-ordained role as scab, strike breaker, blackleg and Defender of the Faith and the State. But Piranesi and Beardsley over the long years still hold their place for each man was a supreme artist and their work had the stench of death and corruption that makes it so acceptable to the young, 'comfortably off' and healthy.

Of Piranesi's life there is little of importance. He was born in Venice in 1720 and curled up his fine Italian toes in Rome in 1778. In his own lifetime his work sold well and in the matter of debate he argued and demonstrated to his own satisfaction that the architecture of ancient Rome was observably superior to that of the ancient Greeks. Piranesi argued his case with the librarian to the Cardinal Albani, Joachim Winckelman, who wrote while Piranesi drew but the debate came to an end in 1768 when Winckelman was murdered but I would argue, to form a trinity, that architecture does no more than reflect the politics of those who control the State. So be it.

Like or dislike Piranesi's politics, one thing cannot be denied the man and it is the brilliance of his brush and pen, and the prints, the drawings, the books and the antique sculptures are on display within the Hayward Gallery. Piranesi's gift was to create monumental ruins out of living buildings. Like the modern film makers Visconti, Pasolini and Fellini, he walked through Rome and turned it into a garden of death and desolation peopled only by tinted sophisticated shadows. They took man and reduced him to insect proportions and the huge blocks of ancient Rome rose not to heaven but to hell. In 1745 Piranesi produced his fourteen etchings of his *Carceri* group and the subject matter of these *Prisons* was such that Piranesi was shy of circulating them. He did not sign them and offered them at an artificially low price to bypass the fashionable trade. It was Thomas de Quincey in his 1821 'Confessions of an English Opium Eater' who started the fashionable theory that these prison drawings were the work of a character high on drugs, but they owed nothing to drugs and all to a well trained hand and a fine imagination. There is nothing Disney in these vast prison interiors with their high ramps, hanging chains and the shadowed engines of tortures. One should not attempt to read into any artist's work more than is on the surface yet one could ask, as of the work of Lewis Carroll, ? Piranesi's work was neither protest nor affirmation but a vision of a mindless authority manifest in stone and iron wherein man is but an alien captive moving in and out of the black shadows. God's insects.

Piranesi's vision of mighty and mindless authority influ-

enced many artists and architects and was echoed in Boullée's 'Project for a Metropole' designed in 1782. Magnificent on the eye, this vast cathedral to private greed with its ordered columns packed so tight that neither sun nor shadow could penetrate and like dust upon a marble tomb insect man is the only irritant. That and Sir John Soane's Bank of England interior, a Piranesi prison lacking only the chains. Not for them the Greek hymn to the sun and free man moving through his own ordered space but an existential world rejecting god, man, sun and the undisciplined winds.

And we move up the concrete ramps within the Hayward Gallery, for it is here, O my masters, that Piranesi in the twentieth century found his disciples, to view the major exhibition of the work of Frank Auerbach. Many a long year ago, fifteen or twenty?, I would walk the wards of fashionable Bond Street moving in and out of the galleries giving verdicts on the work on view and advising the dealers crouched over their gold leaf'd tills to keep taking the pills, when to unload a Piero Della Francesca, wholesale price of the Hockneys and if the mood took me a quick drawing of a 'genuine' Picasso or Sammy Palmer for some decent type left holding an unsaleable job lot of Action Paintings. The end of that Charity Walk was the Beaux Arts Gallery run by an elderly battle axe Helen Lessore. She had a magnificent eye for British regional painting and while most Bond Street galleries are no more than slop houses for anything that will make a profit Helen offered work that excited by its artistic merit. She it was who pioneered the Kitchen Sink school of painting that died the death profitwise for what sprig of a wealthy property speculator wanted a painting of one of daddy's Camden Town slums hanging on the gelled wall with the Piranesi, the Hockney and the Beardsley. Helen it was who gave Frank Auerbach his first one man in 1965, the year that the Bond Street mafia killed off Helen's gallery by tough commercial competition.

Auerbach's was ever a minor talent and his gimmick was to 'produce' images of building sites that in the end were, to me, nothing but painted bas-reliefs. Blacks and browns and greys churned up inches deep but they excited in their slight fashion. Here is his Hayward Waterloo, wall upon wall of the same inches-thick churned up paint but having exhausted his slight talent Auerbach has, as with so many British painters, sweetened the brew with bright sickly colours. The English failure, in that at the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition we have the work of Hamilton Fraser (and it is his poster that is advertising this year's RA Summer Exhibition) demonstrating the same fault with his sickly version of the work of the Russian master de Stael, who killed himself in 1953.

ART AND POLITICS STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE WORKING CLASS

Speaking on behalf of the workers, and who has a better right I cry holding my calloused hands up to the noonday sun, I feel that we are in danger of an influx of 'to the people'. In all honesty I find this business of trying to wean we the salt of the earth from BBC 2 TV, The Royal Ballet, wrestling, Nicolas Walter and Paul Johnson for or against God and 'a poem by Rick Ferreira' a slight pain in the arse when the alternative is a sincere display wallwise of the lower middle class eternal verities. Accepting that the Royal Ballet, Nick Paul and God v Iron man Logan and Giant Haystack appeal to our brutish class tastes then I hold that the exhibition arranged by Richard Cork of 'Art for whom?' (and the '?' is his) within the Serpentine Gallery and the exhibition of 'Art for Society' within the Whitechapel are that most ancient of modern social tragedies, the bleeding hearts of the middle class frantically in search of an audience. Be it prisoners, children, mental patients, coloured people or Old Age Pen-

(cont pg 13)

BOSTON

Upton Sinclair, Boston, Cambridge, Mass.: Robert Bentley, 1978. \$15.00. 799 pp. 32 plates. Introduction by Howard Zinn.

FIFTY YEARS after its initial publication in 1928, Upton Sinclair's novel of the Sacco and Vanzetti case, *Boston*, has been reprinted by a Massachusetts publishing house. Just a little over a year ago, I tried to find a copy of *Boston* but failed. It is "a gift to have it back," writes Howard Zinn in his introduction to this edition, for "there is a need to recall what happened, and to understand why *Boston*, classified as fiction, is so true an account of that case, that time, and so unsettling in its closeness to our case, our time." I would go so far as to say that I think Sinclair's book is the best book on Sacco and Vanzetti in English and it is indeed wonderful to have it available again.

The one-sentence summary of the book, prepared for the Library of Congress for cataloging purposes, reads: "A Boston dowager becomes involved in the social upheaval generated by the trial of Nicol Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti." Not the most exciting plot summary. In fact, were a longer abstract provided the plot would sound more preposterous than drear. A former first lady of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Cornelia Thornwell, is freed from a life in the shadow of Governor Josiah Quincy Thornwell by her husband's death. Cornelia becomes a "runaway grandmother" who drops out of sight and ends up working for about a year and a half in the Plymouth Cordage Works, by coincidence renting a room in the same house where Bart Vanzetti is also rooming. She takes a job sewing burlap covers for coils of rope. Thus she learns of the lot of the working class. Vanzetti explains to her his views of the class struggle.

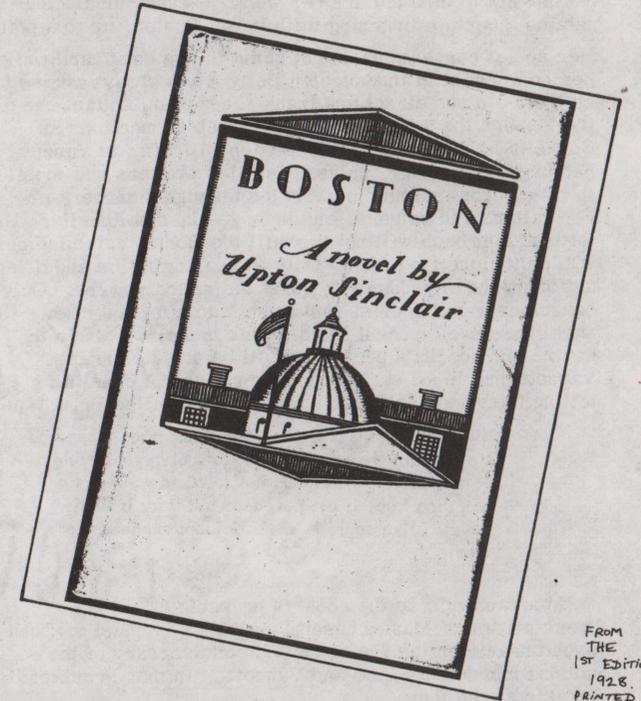
It is preposterous, but written to very well that it works. Sinclair uses this device to contrast the old Yankee aristocracy of Boston with the (largely immigrant) working class. He is at his best posing one against the other: the one more concerned with property and propriety, the other far more vibrant, vital, sensitive. Perhaps the most blatant of the contrasts Sinclair gives us centers on the last statements of Nick Sacco and the will of Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel. Sacco wrote to his son Dante:

So, Son, instead of crying, be strong, so as to be able to comfort your mother, and when you want to distract your mother from the discouraging soulness, I will tell you what I used to do. To take her for a long walk in the quiet country, gathering wild flowers here and there, resting under the shade of trees, between the harmony of the vivid stream and the gentle tranquility of the mother nature, and I am sure that she will enjoy this very much, as you surely would be happy for it. But remember always, Dante, in the play of happiness, don't you use all for yourself only, but down yourself just one step, at your side and help the weak ones that cry for help, help the persecuted and the victim because they are your better friends, they are the comrades that fight and fall as your father and Bartolo fought and fell yesterday for the conquest of the joy and freedom for all the poor workers. In this struggle of life you will find more love and you will be loved.

Judge Gary's will said:

I earnestly request my wife and children and descendants that they steadfastly decline to sign any bonds or obligations of any kind as surety for any other person, or persons; that they refuse to make any loans except on the basis of first-class, well-known securities, and that they invariably decline to invest in any untried or doubtful securities or property or enterprise or business.

(p. 672, Boston)



FROM THE 1ST EDITION 1928. PRINTED IN U.S.A.

A more subtle approach is employed elsewhere, though overall this is not a subtle book. It is crafted with a biting sarcasm which would be difficult to summon as well today. Published in the year after the executions of the two anarchists, Sinclair has infused it with a fire and bite directed against living persons still enveloped in the wake of the seven-year-long battle.

It is the feeling Sinclair gives it which makes the book. It is high drama of social import. This is not a superficial treatment, nor is Sinclair less than fully scrupulous in his reportage of even minor details. Vanzetti did not write the famous line about the "good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler" which lives in legend today; Sinclair lets us know it came from the pen of Phil D. Strong. We learn of the arguments of the individualist anarchists, who opposed revolutionary unions; Vanzetti was such an individualist. The fights between the factions on the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee are aired. Courtroom struggles and legal points are covered in detail.

Sinclair's fictional figure Cornelia Thornwell has left the cordage works well before her friend Bart is arrested and charged. She remains a rebel in her family, a pioneering feminist in Boston, but family pride and solidarity ensures her continued access to the highest social circles. Therefore we learn of the motivations and machinations which characterize the determined effort of the ruling powers to "get" Sacco and Vanzetti. The book is, of course, absolutely clear in its sympathies. It does not deny the anarchists their revolutionary militance in some attempt to depict the "saintly" Vanzetti. It tries to be as realist as possible, at the same time emphasizing the underlying class struggle:

Many of the group from New York, especially the liberals and the lawyers, thought that the crucial issue was the Department of Justice files. They started a clamor: "Open the files!" Several newspapers took it up. But this program met with strong opposition from the Italian anarchists. Could there be things in these files which Italian anarchists did not want to see upon the front pages of newspapers? The liberals got so far as to induce the Department of Justice to say that the files would be turned over

(cont pg 16)