

Freedom

Vol. 34 No. 19 12 May, 1973

UNION BANNERS FURLED

WITH THE TUC's May Day whimper out of the way the plans for the expected government talks with the Confederation of British Industry and the TUC were announced. No doubt many a banner was still left standing in a corner before being rolled up and stored away for the next protest blessed by the TUC. But accompanying these plans was the disclosure that ministers had already had preparatory talks with some members of the General Council of the TUC. These not only included the usual assortment of titled union leaders but those supposed champions of the working class, Hugh Scanlon and Jack Jones.

This disclosure does not surprise anarchists, for our criticism does not concern this or that leader but leadership as such. Secret meetings are inevitable, given the power structure set-up both within the trade unions and society at large. No matter how much we might dislike the turncoat Frank Chapple, leader of the Electricians and Plumbers, having descended to the position of the bosses' blue-eyed boy, his utterances now have, at last, an honest ring. He told his union's conference: Meetings, formal or informal, secret or otherwise, which break the deadlock between the TUC and the Government and pave the way for our members to be better served than they are now are welcome."

However, none of us should be so naive as to believe that secret get-togethers between union leaders and employers are not commonplace. The tip of the iceberg was exposed when the Cameron Report on two building site disputes was published in 1968 and showed that an executive member of the then Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, Bro. Mills, had met the employers and suggested ways and means and his co-operation in sacking shop stewards from the site.

We must always realise that union leaders have long forgotten what it is like to work for wages. Wage slavery is something for others. His interests concern the continuing system of exploitation by bargaining around a table with the employers or with whatever government is in power. The TUC never wanted to fight the government and their wage policies. Workers' opposition to these policies has been weak and those who made a stand gave up because their own leaders never really wanted a confrontation and other workers did not give the necessary support.

Having got over the first phase hurdle the government is seeking the TUC's co-operation in the all-important Phase 3. Added importance is now attached to this because of the approaching economic boom forecast from the results of a survey carried out by the CBI. Up until now this book has been

paid for by the wage earner in higher prices. These will continue but certain concessions, like threshold agreements, with wages linked to the cost of living, are expected from the government. In return wage norms will be set and agreements reached whereby hard won shop floor gains will be given up in exchange for dubious productivity agreements. Industry wants to make the most of its existing machinery and labour force and "get the most out of existing capacity by more flexibility in working practices." Profits are now increasing and this in itself is attracting higher investment. With the co-operation of the trade union leaders British capitalism is now approaching a very profitable period. As usual it is the very people who make these profits possible by their energies and skills who will be expected to accept this increased exploitation. The working class family will continue to experience the insecurity of the wage earner. The housewife will continue to have to make ends meet.

Although an important section of the working population is organised into unions their strength to change the present system is not used. Energies are diverted and used in order to gain wage increases, and important as these may be they have little effect on the power and economic relation-

ship within our society. Union leadership is an asset to the employers because under modern capitalist methods interruptions to production cause huge losses and an over-all framework of an agreement is vital to ensure industrial peace. Essentially, employers dislike bargaining at shop floor level. Here the pressure is direct and workers are more likely to be in control of the situation. Shop stewards are not remote but work on the tools and have the same interests as those who elected them to do a job of work. It is organisation at this level, which is not tied to union leadership but strikes out independently, undermining and ignoring the power structure in the unions, that should be encouraged.

It is no good expecting union leaders to serve our interests and oppose the government. They do not and could not organise and run industry to serve the community as a whole. Workers have to rely on themselves and organise at their place of work. Organise - and not just to oppose the slave agreements which will be made but to take over their own work places and run them without bosses, union leaders, and the government. The working class has the ability and the strength to do this; what is needed is the ideals to create the desire to work for and struggle for a free society. P.T.

If You're White

IT HAS taken the detention and release of an international journalist - Peter Niesewand of the BBC and Guardian - in Rhodesia to exemplify the position in that country. One hesitates to use any of FREEDOM's valuable space on Niesewand's case and the victory he has achieved by winning his appeal. He has received ample attention elsewhere and we wish not to begrudge him any of it, yet simply to point out that many, many Africans have been held without trial in Rhodesia for many years with hardly a mention anywhere.

The Daily Express calims that Mr. Niesewand's appeal decision shows the sense of justice still remaining in Rhodesia. It does nothing of the sort. The simple fact is that friends and influence are political considerations even Smith is aware of; he is certainly aware that he need not waste time playing the justice game with black people held in detention in Rhodesia's prisons and concentration camps -- and there are 136 Africans held, some for over ten years.

But, Peter Niesewand and his wife have suffered for their beliefs and he could have played it safe and had an easy passage - as all but a half dozen journalists do in Britain. His choice to report the activities of African guerillas and the Smith phobia over the question shows just how ultra-sensitive Rhodesia is on this issue. It rather makes one wonder if they would choose constitutional action if they were in the Africans' shoes. Rhodesia's fear of guerilla action is so obvious it has become useful to their enemy!

J.W.

THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE

ON WEDNESDAY 14th March there was a N.U.S. demonstration on the Embankment. The Special Patrol Group (S.P.G.) had been called in, like at most demonstrations when there is a chance things might get a bit rough, for they have been especially trained in crowd and riot control. I was cycling towards Parliament overtaking traffic, on the inside lane, congested by the demonstration. From in between two parked vehicles an S.P.G. walked out onto the road and we collided, he did not apologize and I told him to look out next time and it was his fault, he replied by saying it was my fault and accused me of stealing the bike I was sitting on. I told him it was my bike, and stop bothering me and clear off. He then had a freak-out. He put his arm around my neck and pulled me off backwards to the ground. His name was Ronald Lamerton, CO 593 of unit 4 S.P.G. Then another policeman joined in, a William Jones, CO 581 also of unit 4 S.P.G. (By the way this is the same unit as killed the two Pakistani boys.) They picked me up, twisted my arms, ripped open my shirt and threw me with great force onto the floor of a S.P.G. van which had just arrived. Here Lamerton either kicked or kneed me in my side and Jones pushed his hand into my windpipe so I could not breathe. The doors were closed and the two thugs got in with me. It was just by chance that someone I knew was walking on the pavement and saw some of what happened, and he was with his father and two friends. On the way to the police station, Lamerton told me I was not so strong, I had no one around, and he offered to take off his uniform off and have a fight with me, which invitation I declined. Jones told me, "You won't get off with this even if you're Ted Heath's son." The van arrived and I was taken from van to station with one thug on each arm, both being twisted around and hurt, but that seemed to make them happy. I was charged with assault and obstruction and released on £50 bail after a conversation on my political beliefs.

That evening after talking to the four witnesses I went to hospital for a medical report which said I had bruising on my left-hand side and on my neck, the injuries being consistent with the way I said I received them. A complaint was then made to Scotland Yard against these policemen.

On Friday 15th March I went to Bow Street with my mother, a solicitor, but the police asked for it not to be heard for they wanted legal representation, which is very unusual for a charge like this, and it was postponed due to lack of time till Wednesday, 4th April, which was later postponed. At the court Lamerton showed me injuries on his leg which are completely impossible to have got off the bike in the way he said he did, for there is nothing on the bike to have given injuries like he said, and I believe he inflicted them upon himself.

On Friday, 4th May the case was tried at Bow Street by a stipendiary magistrate Baraclough, an envious pompous tin-god. The police gave an untrue statement of facts, saying police cordons, driving back at it, hitting it, swearing at all police around, "absolutely hysterical". He had injuries on his right side, though he said Jones was standing on his right side in this imaginary cordon. The magistrate dismissed both charges after four hours of this play but said I was an "extremely negligent cyclist" and an author of my own trouble, and he refused to award costs to us, saying that legally he could not which is a lie.

I was lucky, having three witnesses in court, my mother a solicitor; I would have been found guilty without one of the two -- some justice. So much effort and time wasted due to authority. Those police may do that again to someone without witnesses or legal help and he will be found guilty, they are still safe to carry on their operations. That judge doesn't know what really happened, never can in cases of facts, for facts are different, yet he still

can judge on his self-made picture of the memories of others and the lies, and on this distorted, out-of-focus image will judge, whether the picture, not the events, is what he likes or dislikes and so act with all the authority he has accordingly.

I see no justice, just a gesture of authority and all that follows from this state of affairs. I am relieved, not satisfied. Anarchy will come one day.

Love
"Anna Key"

FOR THE GLORY OF FRANCE

"We are being treated like guinea-pigs on whom they can drop bombs for the glory of France." (Father of boy who died of leukaemia in Polynesia 1968.)

The people of Bikini who were children 20 years ago when the USA tested an H-bomb there have thyroid deformity.

29 of the 47 French nuclear tests have been carried out on France's guinea pigs in the Pacific. They are due for another dose of poisoning of food and water from radiation, and of social and economic life by fallout from thousands of military personnel swamping small communities. Unless world-wide protests can stop the French government before they commence this summer's series of nuclear tests on Murua Atoll, which has been used on several occasions since 1963.

GREENPEACE (3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1., tel. 01-837 3860) has organised a march from London to Paris, starting from the French Embassy, Knightsbridge on Sunday May 13th at 11.30 a.m. Contact Greenpeace for information on other activities leading up to day of international action June 3rd.

MH

Around The Galleries

ON MONDAY the 30th April one stood in the beautiful church of St. James in Piccadilly for a Special Service for Artists with the Lesson read by The President of the Royal Academy and the Address by The Very Revd. Eric S. Abbot K.C.V.O., M.A., D.D. and the Dean of Westminster prior to this year's opening of the Royal Academy Summer Exhibition. It is literally prayers before battle as Royal Academy bureaucrats, artists, hard faced dealers and drunken critics prayed to Christ for forgiveness before next week's cultural slaughter of the guilty takes place. But all things are with God and the Bond Street Art dealers.

For those with a social conscience there is the Environment Game at the Hayward Gallery mounted by the Arts Council, and it is a happy type exhibition that with a massed array of photographs and printed posters "explains the theory, stakes, ploys and gambits which are manipulating and corroding our environment". Everyone concerned with the exhibition appeared to be enjoying themselves and one doubts if anything will come of this State exhibition. I asked the usual naive and always pertinent question of "Who is paying for the exhibition?" and the answer to that surely is the flaw within all these high-minded State-organised soul-searchings, for they are not an answer but a small safety valve for the Establishment's breast-beaters. I respect

and honour the young people working within this exhibition but they do not appear to have noticed that their State allowed exhibition is mounted in one of the most ghastly State buildings that side of the river. And the very State that sanctioned the building of this huge concrete art warehouse, but a year or so ago, allows them to gather within it to protest at the 'corroding of our environment' It is surely akin to concentration camp victims being invited to discuss concentration camp reform before being taken to the gas chambers, for every failure within our society, educational, social, political is followed by a State-organised group of young po-faced people telling us where we went wrong and in Christ's name we know, for we live their faults in our daily living, and Centre Point still stands empty in the Tottenham Court Road and the homeless are still without a bed or a roof.

BUT all is not lost in the art world, for there is Allen Barker's structures and collages of pure colour. Within his structured work his colours change to each movement of our body and they succeed because they satisfy the mind's quest for peace. They are at Lucy Milton's gallery at 125 Notting Hill Gate, W.11.

PHONEY REALISM

And what can one say of Ludwig's Collection of Photo-Realism except to dismiss it without regret. Once

again Lawrence Alloway's name appears within the catalogue and we are back, at the Hyde Park Serpentine Gallery, with The American Embassy exhibition of a collective of third rate artists whose new (?) gimmick is to fill their canvas with an enlarged photograph and then paint over it in the manner of tinted photographs of wedding groups, cinema posters and the Andy Warhol factory produce. One man can do it as a gesture but a group is nothing more than third rate incompetence seeking a market. Richard Estes offers his painted photograph of an American Food Shop and states that one could not do the same painting from life. In saying this he has little knowledge of his own American art history, for while American art found itself in the raw vulgarity of its crude mass produced papers and became an art form in the work of men like George Bellows, Sloan, Shinn and Levine, it was the social realism of men like Hopper and Wyeth and the other mid-west American painters who created a recognisable American art. For they turned to their own society, its light, its shadows and its way of living and they recorded it on canvas, and this is what the boys of the school of photo tinting fail to do and this is why they are a third rate collective instead of good second rate individual artists.

Arthur Moyses

Letters

WOMEN IN THE CITY

Dear Editors,

I agree with 'CP and SC' as far as the first paragraph of their comments on the Weekly City Press goes. Of course the establishment is prepared to use us. Of course men who want to be in positions of authority will take advantage of the situation. Women are not a homogeneous group, obviously. But the standard left class analysis of society LEAVES WOMEN OUT COMPLETELY. 'The worker' is male (and white, and over 30). So this is no help in considering what is wrong with our lives today. (When are we going to have a different, libertarian, analysis and get away from Daddy Marx?)

The fact remains that I have more in common with the working class women CP and SC are concerned with (in terms of my daily life and other people's attitudes to me) than I have with any man! Women can make contact in other situations - through their children in particular. And I will quote just one instance - the work of Chiswick Women's Aid (for battered wives) to show that we are making contact with women who desperately need help. If we all went to work tomorrow, we would just be handing ourselves over to be more efficiently exploited (see the pamphlet "Women, the Unions and Work").

This article by CP and SC may serve a useful purpose in raising some people's awareness of the state's attitude. But I consider the further comments not only halfbaked from a Women's Lib. point of view but also halfbaked from a libertarian point of view. Women's Liberation movement is not there to be used either by supposed libertarians or by capitalists - neither are 'our' women (unfortunate phrase that) there to be introduced into Women's Lib. This strikes me as a capitalist attitude - 'it doesn't matter if you use other people if you gain by it'. And that doesn't get us anywhere. I've already shown that I believe there is a consistent view which includes both libertarians and women's liberation. There must be more discussion on our aims and on just exactly what we stand in opposition to. Let's hear more voices.

Yours,
Dundee. Alison Malet

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

Dear Comrades,

The current war game played by anarchists concerns two groups. Firstly the Revolutionary Anarchists wearing the armour of truth and armed with the sword of righteousness. Secondly the Philosophical Anarchists who stand practically immobile until approached whence they shiver and disintegrate into a pile of words.

One of the important facets of this game is that it is always played only by the Revolutionary Anarchists, who make all the rules and always win in the end. The odd thing about it is that it is becoming a cult, almost an obsession, and as an abiding interest it has completely clouded the players' visions to the point they have ceased to do anything else but play it. Witness the recent letter of Dave Coull and the oddly monotonous series of articles by Peter E. Newell.

It has been pointed out to me that there are two types of anarchist: those who get on with it and those who talk about it all the time, and these latter have nothing to do with whether one is a revolutionary or 'philosopher'. In fact, if you look at anarchist publications the 'revolutionaries' spend more time philosophising than the 'philosophers' ('revolutionaries' definitions).

So when I saw Peter E. Newell's thing appearing I hoped for something new though its title "Revolutionary Anarchism Its Aims and Principles" sounded like the usual load of cliché-ridden guff that comes from the ASA/ORA quarter. Sadly it was as expected, true to its title, simply 'Aims and Principles' (Another Platform).

Would it be asking too much for these so-called 'Revolutionary Anarchists' to actually get down to explaining to us, not their 'Aims and Principles', but what their Objectives are, and to state these in Performance terms. In other words, not, what you want to see happening and what you think ought to be done, but how you are going to do it, and what you have already learnt from what you have already done. Recruiting people of like mind might be psychologically satisfying for the lonely but it does not bring any nearer the change in activity on the part of ordinary people which, when it occurs, we will be able to say the anarchist revolution is happening.

Yours sincerely,
London S.W.2. PETER NEVILLE

FORUM

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM ITS AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

Internationalism

Revolutionary Anarchists are opposed to State militarism. They believe that, in the main, the State uses violence against its own citizens. This is, of course, obvious in dictatorships; but even in the "free world", there are many clear examples: when Ulster Catholics refused to accept second-class citizenship, they were, and still are, met with CS gas and bullets; when homeless people attempt to solve or, at least, alleviate their housing problems by squatting in empty houses and properties, they are often terrorised, persecuted, evicted and sometimes jailed by the authorities.

We, therefore, believe that the ruling classes of all countries are, in a sense, our enemies, just as the ordinary people are our friends. We oppose all wars between the ruling classes of all countries in their fight for profits and for territory. The only necessary "armed struggle" is when the oppressed people find it necessary to defend themselves from the exploiters by force; and then such conditions will always be imposed on them by the bourgeoisie and its State, in that it will never give up power peacefully. An armed struggle, as in Mexico, Russia, the Ukraine, Spain and elsewhere, of the people to defend their autonomous revolutionary institutions and gains is not the militarism of the State. Revolutionary anarchists are not absolute pacifists (we believe in resisting evil): we will not fight in our masters' interests, but we will most definitely defend our own! No war, but class war.

Anarchists are internationalists. There are anarchist movements and organisations, some quite large but many mostly small, in over fifty countries. There are also libertarian communist and specifically revolutionary anarchist organisations in a score of countries as well. We recognise that most of the problems facing the workers of this country and the world - poverty, insecurity, unemployment, housing shortages, pollution and many others - are problems which can only be faced by all the peoples in co-operation, by all the people concerned. We recognise the need for greater co-operation between libertarian organisations in the face of both a national and international enemy.

BOOKSHOP open Tues - Fri 2-6 p.m.
Thurs to 8.30 p.m.
Saturday 10 a.m. - 4 p.m.

Any book not in stock but in print can be supplied. Please add postage as in brackets. Remittance with order is appreciated.

- *1973 Peace Calendar: 50 years of War Resistance
War Resisters' League of U.S. £0.95 (8p)
- *Heroic Mexico: The Narrative History of a Twentieth Century Revolution
William W. Johnson £2.50 (21p)
- Ni Dieu ni Maître: Anthologie de l'Anarchisme
Daniel Guerin (4 volumes) £3.00 - the set (21p)
- Violence dans la Violence - Le débat Bakounine-Necaev
Michael Confino £3.00 (10p)
- *Apostles of Revolution
Max Nomad £0.65 (9p)
- *Harmonian Man: Selected Writings of Charles Fourier
Edited by Mark Poster £1.30 (9p)
- *The Essential Works of Anarchism
Edited by Marshall S. Shatz £0.60 (12p)
- Urban Guerilla
Martin Oppenheimer £0.25 (5p)
- *A Plea for Captain John Brown
Henry D. Thoreau £0.10 (2½p)
- *Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman
Edited by Alix K. Shulman £1.00 (9p)
- The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life
Richard Sennett £0.35 (4p)
- *Memoirs of a Revolutionist
Peter Kropotkin
Hardback £3.50 (21p)
- Deschooling Society
Ivan D. Illich £0.95 (6p)
- Celebration of Awareness
Ivan D. Illich £0.95 (6p)

Please send s.a.e. (9"x4") for our new booklist.

Will U.S. customers kindly note that the starred items * above are U.S. publications and may possibly be more cheaply obtained in the U.S.

FREEDOM PRESS in Angel Alley
84b Whitechapel High Street
London E1 Phone 01-247 9249

(Aldgate East underground station, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and turn right - alley next to Wimpy Bar)

WRITE FOR PUBLICATIONS LIST

PRESS FUND
Contributions

DOWN AGAIN:
26th April - 2nd May Inc.

Luxembourg. F.M. £2.00; London SW19. G.F.H. £2.00; In Shop. Anon. £1.02; Wolverhampton. J.L. 80p; J.K.W. 20p.

Total £6.02
Previously acknowledged £677.32
TOTAL TO DATE £683.34

Just as many of the ruling classes find it necessary to recognise common interests, through such organisations as the International Police (Interpol), economic organisations (the EEC or Common Market, or Comecon) and military alliances (NATO, SEATO and the Warsaw Pact), so we recognise that the interests which bind us to ordinary working people everywhere - desires for peace, freedom and a better future - shall be the basis for international solidarity, action and organisation. Nationally, and internationally, our watchwords are: EDUCATION, ORGANISATION, EMANCIPATION.

ABOLISH THE WAGES SYSTEM!
DESTROY THE STATE!
OVERTHROW CAPITALISM!
ESTABLISH A FREE SOCIETY!

(concluded)
Peter E. Newell

'HERE IS THE GOOD NEWS'

LAST YEAR a newspaper was started in America to feature nothing else but good news. If failed, some may say it was inevitable, and it was said that the paper even withheld the news of its imminent closure from its readers. Sometimes in digesting, regurgitating, chewing, swallowing and sometimes even vomiting the contents of the newspapers for the benefit of FREEDOM readers one feels oppressed and passes on some of the oppression, and one longs to pass on nothing but good news, or at least some optimism, form them. There was a comrade who regularly ploughed through the newspapers every week and produced a digest 'Out of this World'. He must eventually have committed suicide.

The BBC, oppressed by the weight of this perilous stuff, now produces a programme on the Third called "The Positive World". The first item I heard was on the positive aspects of the Watergate scandal, which are (stop me if you've heard this one) that it proves that there exists in the United States a free and fearless press which publicized the scandal. Incidentally, President Nixon made the point that it was the American political system which brought the facts to light. Happy is the country that needs no exposures.

The second BBC item was on the scientific improvement in space travel. This is all right unless you believe that space travel is a monstrous distortion of priorities and a mere exercise in rocketry or peeing up the wall. The third item was on Israel's jubilee. The only positive aspect they could stress on this chauvinistic progress was on music in Israel, an item given, moreover, by the most biased and reaction-

ary of the BBC's correspondents in Jerusalem, who has a snarling, rasping voice to match. Didn't the Jewish people have music before they had a country to fight for and a flag to steal land for? So much for the conscious attempt to be positive.

Newspapers have a vested interest in bad news. There is a morbid pleasure in reading of the misfortunes of other people. Firstly, it isn't you this time and there is added pleasure if it happens to the great ones of the world. Hence the barely-suppressed mirth about the Nixon scandal and the pleasure of the "Driving ban on judge with excess of alcohol" (Times 28/4/73) merely confirms our anarchist theories about corruption and fortifies our prejudices. But it is entirely negative.

Last week's catch of 'good news' was comparatively minor. A reformed bullfighter surrendered his sword; an American sight-seeing couple splashed blood over the walls and furniture of the White House; Princess Grace joined the ban on wearing the furs of animals threatened with extinction; a plan for a chalk quarry on the Kent Downs was refused planning permission; the British Ichthyological Society has suggested that anglers should remove the hooks gently from the mouths of fish returned to the water; the trade in Nazi souvenir weapons has been threatened by a wave of forgeries; and (in the local) a dealer in dog dogs for vivisection has been forbidden to own dogs for a year. These stories have all got a healthy British bias towards kindness to animals with a slight touch of British hypocrisy since some of the effects were gained by legal pressures.

The major 'good news' stories were relegated to the more obscure parts of the newspapers. The Free French Government has modified its law on national service. "These modifications," says *The Times*, are designed to prevent a recurrence of the widespread unrest and demonstrations among lycee and university students." Half the Italians asked in a public opinion poll whether they felt their present government would last or fall replied either that they did not know or that they did not care. (Such apathy is not necessarily a good thing.) Although Enoch Powell supporters may not believe it, the number of Commonwealth citizens in Britain declined last year in spite of the influx of Ugandan Asians. (Again this may not be a 'good thing' but such statistics would demolish racialists were they capable of reasoned argument.) A factory in Kirkby, Liverpool where a 4-week 600 worker sit-in took place last year to save jobs has been fortified by £3million redevelopment. The Chairman of the development company which took over the factory last year said unconvincingly that 'it was not true that Merseyside workers were generally militant. This had been proved since he became involved with the factory'.

The phenomenon we see here is the common newspaper habit of not finishing stories. Certain aspects of stories have news value (the sentimental stories about animals and children are part of this) but a complementary concern with tragedy, violence and action is also noticeable. Therefore a riot, a sit-in, a strike or a squat are given major space and pictures and no publicity whatever is given to the results (particularly successful results) of such actions. One particularly remembers the disappointment of journalists at a 'squat' when told that no violence was expected.

The second category of 'good' news detected is the phoney good news stories such as the assurance by the Minister that food

prices will 'virtually' not rise as a result of Common Market negotiations at which Britain fought for her rights to cheap food. A major weird good news story was the project for a second Suez canal which it was claimed would solve the Israel-Egypt conflict. The slow-developing good news or 'nemesis' news is guessable and quite often forecastable by readers of minor political weeklies, such as FREEDOM. They are quite often mixed in their implications, such as the abandonment of the London motorway box, the release of Peter Niesewand, and the possible reprieve of Maplin and are inevitable from the logic of the situation.

From an anarchist viewpoint it would seem that optimism, a seeking out of the good news, is a prerequisite, because it is part of the anarchist belief that man is capable of doing better things. At the same time it can be argued that pessimism, especially in regard to the actions of governments or people in power, is a useful safeguard against the possible abuses of power and the constant need to exercise vigilance. The Watergate scandal comes as no surprise to anarchists. At the same time, one should guard against an all-encompassing pessimism for, as Boorstin noted, there is such a thing as a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' and on an individual level people tend to react according to one's estimate of them.

One theory of anarchism which may seem to be wildly optimistic is that basically everybody is anarchist and that we live in an anarchistic society as far as family and personal relationships are concerned but an authoritarian superstructure has been built on this and has distorted behaviour to such an extent that the 'good' is lost sight of. There is something, although he may be describing his religious concepts, in Kafka's aphorism: "What is laid upon us is to accomplish the negative; the positive is already given."

Jack Robinson

CONTROLLING THE WORKERS

The National Workers' Control Conference was held at Nottingham University on the weekend of March 31/April 1. It was chaired, as usual, by Bill Jones, Transport and General Workers Union vice-president, who seemed anxious to move that it was not necessary to be a full-time official to be a union bureaucrat. Saturday morning was taken up by confused reformist speeches from the platform, of which Joan Maynard (NUAW) provided the best contributions. Several speakers called for employers to 'open the books' to prove that they couldn't meet pay claims. When the discussion was thrown open, an I.L.P. member pointed out that the latter demand was dangerous, as it implied that workers must accept low wages from a capitalist if he couldn't run his company profitably. He also pointed out that bosses already open their books to the Inland Revenue and succeed in deceiving their trained experts, so how many qualified accountants would the unions need to have living off members' dues in order to avoid being misled in the same manner. 'Don't open the books,' he said, - just go all out for higher wages, and if capitalism can't afford them, let's take over ourselves and have real workers' control.

One left group which I had never heard of before featured prominently in this and later discussions. This was the International Caucus of Labour Committees, a U.S.-based semi-trotskyist group whose platform seemed to be that the conservation movement was proto-fascist.

In the afternoon the conference split up into seminars on various subjects, previously arranged. There were some surprising omissions here, notably engineering; also there was none on white-collar workers, although several persons present had requested this on their entry forms and the ASTMS was strongly represented. Yet in the morning when Jones had called for a show of hands for each subject listed to estimate the sizes of rooms required, only three hands were raised for the docks seminar! (There was also no public services seminar, despite the hospital strike.)

The 'passenger transport' seminar was chaired by Jones who (presumably because he was a busman) chose to confine it to road passenger transport; thus the railwaymen had no seminar to go to. It was well attended, but the discussion revolved mainly around reformist schemes for shifting costs between fares, rates, and existing and new taxes! Very little was heard of workers' control.

In the evening, conference in full session heard further reformist confusion from more Institute for Workers' Control bigshots. During this session, a deputation from Fine Tubes strikers requested five minutes to make an appeal for their fighting fund. Despite a widespread protest from the floor, Jones did not call for a vote but refused to allow time on the grounds that he could put their case as well as they could, and that there was no time. Yet the following day a speaker was given five minutes in full session to speak on -- wait for it -- the Trade Union Country Club in East Grinstead!

On Sunday morning conference split into two panels. One on the Industrial Relations Act was chaired by Jones and comprised Grant (RSL), Hughes (IWC) and Ramelson (CP). These gentry took up most of the time repeating themselves ad nauseam, and little of original contributions came from the floor. Yet when an ILP member tried to join in to make a new point - namely that the fight for deregistration was not a fight against the Act, but a diversion from it in the interests of the T.U. officialdom - he was studiously ignored for an hour and a half on the pretext that he had spoken yesterday, and he fared no better in the afternoon full session. Yet one NCLC member had been permitted to make contributions repeatedly throughout the conference.

Earlier on in the conference attention was drawn to the hypocrisy of ex-Labour ministers like Benn whose present pontificating about workers' control ill assorts with their record in office. But the same charge can be laid at the door of a "Workers' Control" conference which is chaired in so high-handed a manner. When the next of such conferences assembles, the first thing delegates should do is insist on electing their own chairman!

A correspondent

ANARCHISM IN EAST GERMANY!

A past issue of *Anarcho-Info* (Frankfurt), internal bulletin for anarchist groups in Germany, Austria and Switzerland, published a report from the *Anarchistischer Arbeiter Bund* in (west) Berlin:

"We print the *Anarchistische Hefte* and send or sell these to comrades, pupils, apprentices and workers. In addition we distribute pamphlets or other revolutionary literature to schools... we try to contact pupils, discuss their problems and prepare joint actions with them.

Apart from that we have a cell in the East German Railway. Our group produces an anarcho-workers' paper, the *Drache*, which is successfully sold to our workmates."

The group lists the arousing of interest in anarchist ideas along with a wage increase.

New "Underground" paper being started in west of Holland, where none is published up to now. No defined political or ideological affiliations. Want advice and suggestions from groups publishing papers & would like specimens of mags. etc. Send to Hans Van Veluwen, Marktplein 11, Appeldoorn (Gld) The Netherlands.

THE RENT STRIKE on Tower Hill, Kirkby (Liverpool) is still going and more people are coming back on the rent strike since we had increases on our rates in April. The council are still sending out court orders to strikers each week. The court orders are getting sent back to the County Court with three words written on them: 'On rent strike'. This decision was taken at one of our weekly meetings on 2nd April.

What is likely to happen here is that the court will probably wash its hands of the whole affair and dump the whole problem back into the hands of Kirkby Council once again. As I'm writing this no one has had any reply from the court so at the moment things are pretty quiet.

Correspondent

New printing

Anarchist Classics Series
ABC OF ANARCHISM
—Alexander Berkman
Biographical Notes and
Reprint of *Freedom Press*
Edition with a new Introduction
by Peter E. Newell,
25p (post 3p)

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION by Vernon Richards

This is not a reprint of the work with the same title published by FREEDOM PRESS in 1953. It is a new and considerably expanded version which the author prepared for an Italian edition published in 1957, and recently published in Paris in a Spanish translation. Additional chapters deal with such important topics as the Militarization of the Militias, the Cult of the Organisation and of Personalities, the Rank and File's Responsibility. As well as a Select Bibliography, the author has contributed a 20-page Biographical Postscript in which he discusses the most important works that have appeared on the subject in the past twelve years. 240 pages 8½ x 5½ cloth edition £1.50 [p.p. 15p] paperboards £0.75 [p.p. 15p]

Order your copy now from Freedom Press

THE STATE — CAPITALIST CONTROVERSY

THE NATURE of Soviet society has been the subject of bitter debate for fifty-five years. Communists have always claimed that the "Great October Revolution" was a socialist and proletarian revolution; they argue that the system of society in the USSR is socialism, that the Soviet Union is a "Socialist State", and that the people of the USSR are "building communism". Opponents of the USSR quite often refer to the country as "Communist Russia". On the other hand, various Communist oppositionists and dissidents, particularly of the Trotskyist variety, talk of a "degenerated Workers' State", and refer to its rulers as the "Stalinist bureaucracy". Such varied and seemingly contradictory definitions are bewildering. Yet there is a further definition of the nature of Soviet society, which has persisted throughout this period. It is the claim that the system of society in the Soviet Union is "State Capitalism". Indeed, this definition has been very much in vogue in recent years, particularly among the so-called ultra-left and such groups as the International Socialists.

It is my view, however, that not only is Russia State Capitalist, but that this is an anarchist definition - indeed, the only logical anarchist definition. In this article I will attempt to trace the history of the phrase, and briefly explain what is generally meant by the term "State Capitalism".

* * *

To the best of my knowledge, the phrase "State Capitalism" was first used by Peter Kropotkin, in his pamphlet, *Modern Science and Anarchism*, first published by the Social Science Club, in Philadelphia in 1903, and later, in 1912, by Freedom Press.

In that work, Kropotkin points out that so long as socialism was understood to imply the abolition of the exploitation of Labour by Capital, anarchists and socialists marched hand-in-hand. They were, however, compelled to separate when the Socialists began to argue that all that could be done was the mitigation of that exploitation. Anarchists, on the other hand, work for the abolition of capitalist exploitation, wrote Kropotkin. Anarchists, he continued, aimed at the transferring of the land, mines, factories, means of communication and all the means of existence from the hands of the capitalists to those of the communities of producers and consumers - the people as a whole.

And in an important passage, he says:

BOOK REVIEW

LET US BECOME

CONSCIOUS OF OUR HISTORY

STUDIES IN CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY

by Herbert Marcuse
(Beacon Press, Boston, \$2.95)

"Marx's handling of the question of the origins of private property shows the pioneering new 'method' of his theory. Marx is fundamentally convinced that when man is conscious of his history he cannot fall into a situation which he has not himself created, and that only he himself can liberate himself from any situation."

STUDIES IN CRITICAL PHILOSOPHY is a compilation of - mainly - the early writings of Marcuse, and consists of *The Foundation of Historical Materialism*, 1932, *A Study on Authority*, 1936, which is really a small book in its own right, dealing with the ideas of Luther, Calvin, Kant, Hegel, Marx and others, it covers a little of the same ground as Rudolph Rocker's *Nationalism and Culture*, but without his clarity, Sartre's *Existentialism*, 1948, Karl Popper and the Problem of Historical Laws, 1959, and *Freedom and the Historical Imperative*, 1969.

Like Marx Marcuse is endeavouring to make men and women conscious of their history, so that they will cease to be at the mercy of it. Like Freud who hoped to make people con-

"As for the political organisation - i.e. the forms of the commonwealth in the midst of which an economic revolution could be accomplished - we entirely differ from all sections of the State Socialists in that we do not see in the system of *State Capitalism*, which is now preached under the name of Collectivism, a solution of the social question. We see in the organisation of the Posts and Telegraphs, in the State Railways, and the like - which are represented as illustrations of society without capitalists - nothing but a new, perhaps improved, but still undesirable form of the Wage System. We even think that such a solution of the social problem would go so much against the present libertarian tendencies of civilised mankind, that it simply would be unrealisable" (emphasis Kropotkin's).

Of course Kropotkin was partly wrong. State Capitalism is against mankind's "libertarian tendencies", but unfortunately it is not "unrealisable". He was more than right in continuing: "We maintain that the State organisation, having been the force to which minorities resorted for establishing and organising their power over the masses, cannot be the force which will serve to destroy these privileges". And when he said: "We arrive at free communism, whereas the majority of Socialists arrive at State Capitalism and collectivism".

* * *

Somewhat surprisingly, the controversy between Anarchists and Social Democrats (or State Socialists, as they are sometimes called) within the Russian Empire first appeared in, of all places, Georgia. Firuz Kaemzadeh, in his *Struggle For Transcaucasia*, mentions the existence, as early as 1905, of Anarchist organisations in Transcaucasia. And Paul Avrich, in his *The Russian Anarchists*, also notes the existence of Anarchist groups in the major cities of the Caucasus in 1905.

In Georgia, at the end of 1905 and the beginning of 1906, a group of Anarchists, headed by the well-known Anarchist and follower of Peter Kropotkin, V. Cherkezishvili, as well as Mikhako Tsereteli (Báton), Shalva Gogelia (Sh. G.) and a number of others, conducted a fierce campaign against the Social Democrats (both Bolshevik and Menshevik wings) over the State and the inevitability of State Capitalism, instead of free communism, following a Social Democratic "revolution" and conquest of political

conscious of their motivations, and so able to control their fates, and like Marx himself, he does so by expounding a complex theory which is unlikely to be comprehensible to most people, and is likely to appeal mainly to students and intellectuals.

There are some good things here and there. The pieces on Sartre and Popper are well deserved debunking jobs, though Popper at least is a fairly lightweight opponent. But I am coming to the conclusion that one has to be a special type of person to really relish the flavour of Marx and his disciples, just as one has to be a special type to appreciate Catholic apologetics, Hebrew wisdom, Zen, etc. These philosophies, attitudes to life and so on, do not have a very wide appeal. They are for the enthusiast, who cannot have too much of them. If they are to make a wide appeal they have to be oversimplified, this was the fate of Freudianism, and then much of the original content is lost, or so watered down as to be valueless.

The present writer regrets that he is fairly resistant to Marx, Marcuse and writers of this kind, which perhaps is a pity. We ought to become conscious of our history. The writer thinks he is already, without help from Hegel, Marx and the rest of them, but by oneself it is not too helpful. I am conscious of my past, and the past of my culture, but (I believe) that most of the people I pass in the street are not (though some probably believe they are), and I cannot change existing society by myself. Efforts to spread my consciousness to others have not been all that successful. Marx does not seem to have been very successful

power. During the period, 1905-1907, Georgian Anarchists in the Tiflis area published a weekly paper, *Nobati* (The Call), a daily, *Musha* (The Worker), and another daily, *Khma* (The Voice). These papers are mentioned, and quoted, in the booklet, *Anarchism Or Socialism* (Moscow, 1953), which contains articles, first published in 1906, by a certain Ko... (Koba), who later became J. Stalin. "Koba's" articles are poor in the extreme, but they do give the reader a useful insight into the controversy. The first four appeared in *Akhali Tskhovreba* (New Life), a Bolshevik daily published in 1906, which was suppressed after twenty issues; the rest were never published, but the first four were again printed - in a slightly revised, and improved, form - in a local Trade Union journal, *Akhali Droyeba* (New Times), at the end of 1906 and the beginning of 1907. The first version of the articles was published as an appendix to Stalin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 1.

Much of Stalin's articles comprise long quotations from Marx and Engels, purporting to show that, with the conquest of political power by the proletariat under the leadership of the Social Democrats (in this instance the Bolsheviks), commodity production will be abolished and production will be for need instead of for profit, and the State will "wither away". Stalin, however, chides the Anarchists for criticising the Social Democrats, and for suggesting that they are not real socialists.

Stalin quotes Kropotkin's passage in *Modern Science and Anarchism*, wherein he states that Anarchists arrive at free communism, and Social Democrats arrive at State Capitalism. The Georgian Anarchists, says Stalin, say the same thing. But, he continues, "We assert that everything the Anarchists say on this subject is either the result of stupidity, or a despicable slander". In a socialist society, he argues, "there will be no room for the so-called State, political power, with its ministers, governors, gendarmes, police and soldiers. The last stage in the existence of the State will be the period of the socialist revolution, when the proletariat will capture political power and set up its own government (dictatorship) for the final abolition of the bourgeoisie". Anarchist "accusations" to the contrary are "devoid of all foundation", asserts "Koba" Stalin. Time has, of course, been unkind to Stalin and the Bolsheviks. Obviously, the Georgian Anarchists were not as stupid as Stalin and his friends suggested! Indeed, Kropotkin was right: they established State Capitalism in Russia - not socialism or free communism, as advocated by the Anarchists.

(to be continued)

Peter E. Newell

either. I think we have all of us a long way to go still.

However this book should be interesting to those with a philosophical bent.

Arthur Wardo

SUBSCRIBE TO FREEDOM

Surface Mail & Inland

One year	£3.00	(£7.50)
Six months	£1.50	(£3.75)
Three months	80p	(£2.00)

Airmail

Europe & Mid. East	1 year	£4.00
The Americas	1 year	£12.50
India, Africa &c.	1 year	£4.50
Australia/Japan	1 year	£5.00

(six months pro rata)
2 copies £5.60 (£14.00) per year
(6 or 3 months pro rata)

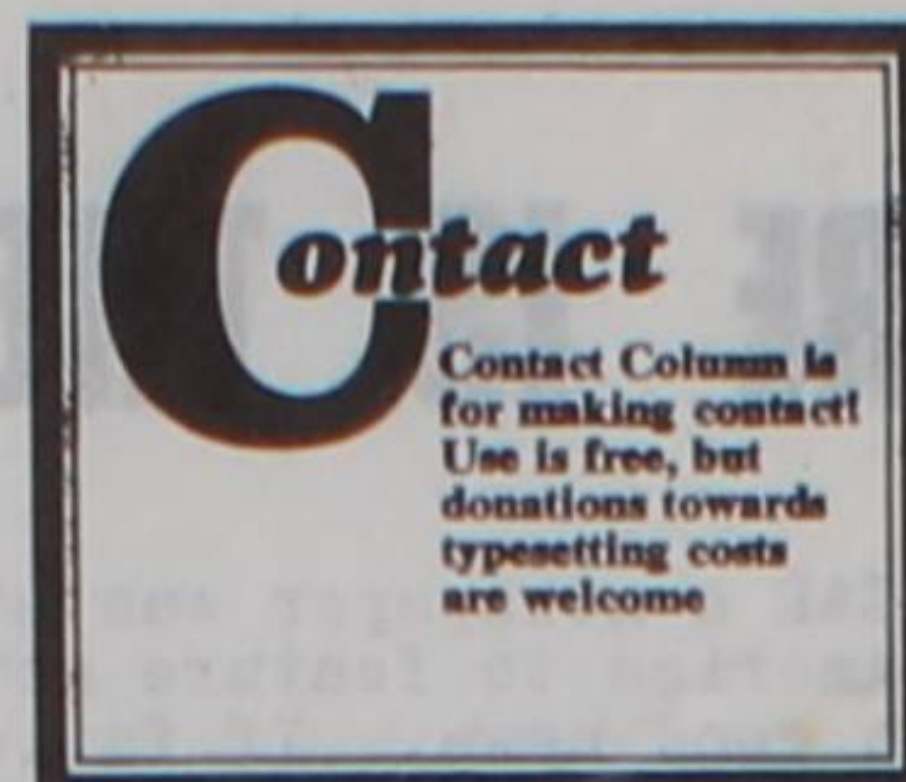
Bulk: 10 copies 40p (£1.00)

CONTACT COLUMN ... continued

GEORGE FOULSER is at present in St. Pancras Hospital and would like comrades to visit him. Ward 3. Visiting time 2.30 - 8 pm every day. Telephone 347-4411

Young man requires job - not everyday boring grind. Committed to non-violent revolution and would like to work towards this. Contact John Nightingale, 14 Northside, Clapham Common, S.W.4. (tel. 01-720 3827 any time

SATURDAY 12th MAY: STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE - March from Hyde Park to Lincoln's Inn Fields, start 4 p.m. Meeting 7.00 p.m. at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Various speakers



THURSDAYS 2 p.m. onwards. Help fold and despatch FREEDOM at Freedom Press

CORBY ANARCHISTS. Discussion meetings first Friday in every month at 7 Cresswell Walk at 7.30 p.m. Phone Terry at Corby 66781 for details of other activities.

CARDIFF DWARFS. Street Theatre and demonstration on Abortion and Contraception on "Population Day" - 12th May. Contact Ian Matheson, 45 Corporation Road, Grangetown, Cardiff, for details.

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION research group needs written evidence on the effects of electro-convulsive therapy, brain surgery and psychiatric drugs. All information will be treated confidentially. Send details to M.P.U., 97 Prince of Wales Road, NW5, 01-267-2770.

BELFAST 10 DEFENCE COMMITTEE. Support the 'Belfast 10' Rally and March Sunday, 20th May, meeting 2 p.m. Clapham Common, going to Brixton jail.

LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLE. Paper of ORA. May issue 5p+2½p post from 29 Cardigan Road, Leeds (also from Freedom Press).

KIRKDALE ALTERNATIVE DAYSCHOOL, Sydenham, has a few vacancies, 3½ to 13 years. Phone 874 6212 (evenings).

PICKET at Home Office each Sunday at 2 p.m. "Belfast 10" Defence Committee. Further information from Maureen Maguire, 86 Roslyn Road, N15, tel. 01-800 9392.

STOP THE FRENCH TESTS. Regular picket, and London-Paris walk 14th May-3rd June. Information from Greenpeace, Friends House, Euston Road, London NW1.

HEMEL HEMPSTEAD AREA - anarchists/libertarians interested in forming group please contact Roderick Parkes, 90 Queensway, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.

CARDIFF DWARFS are starting an anti-pollution campaign against the local steelworks, planning a street theatre and other activities and need help. Contact Ian Matheson, 45 Corporation Road, Grangetown, Cardiff.

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

LONDON ASA meetings - for details phone 226-0817. Black & Red Outlook always available, by post 5p+2½p from 3 Grange House, Highbury Grange, N5.

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION, SE London. Meetings will be held at 170A Deptford High Street, SE8 each Tuesday at 8 p.m. Mental hospital patients and ex-patients welcome. Contact Andrew Dewar above address.

PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL - RENT STRIKE: The second free festival commences in Windsor Great Park on August 25. Work preparing for it now started. Details: Bill Dwyer, 26A Elmbourne Road, London SW17 8JR.

MICHAEL TOBIN DEFENCE COMMITTEE. 265 Dale Street, Chatham, Kent.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE
54 Harcombe Road
London N16

Subscribers change of address: Please notify us if you can at least a week before operative date.

Mental Patients and ex-patients - Mental Patients Union meets weekly Wednesday evenings 7 p.m. at 97 Prince of Wales Road, NW5, tel. 01-267 2770.