

# NO CONFIDENCE IN CAPITALISM

ALL THE economic pundits are now forecasting hard times ahead. They are saying that with the approaching winter, unemployment will reach high levels. Comparisons are being made with the 1929 position of the stock market. However, share prices are not so important to the economy as they were then and the present fall in value of shares does not necessarily herald an economic collapse.

But there is no doubt that the capitalist system is passing through a period of, if not crisis, at least "gloom and despondency". Certainly in this country there is a lack of confidence. Inflation, recession, prospects of another general election, rumours of bankruptcies of major financial institutions, and plans for nationalisation are put forward as reasons for this lack of confidence. It is obvious that, unlike the punter on the horses, investors are only interested in favourites. However, if we don't know by now we never will: the capitalist wants his cake and to eat it as well. When they don't think profits are to be made then everything starts to close down. But when we examine the twenty companies that Mr. Benn, the Secretary for Industry, proposes to take over, we discover that among them they made £1,536 millions pre-tax profits in their last reported financial year.

In fact they all improved their profit levels from a 3 per cent for Unigate to a 120 per cent for I.C.I.

What is so sickening and two-faced about the champions of "private enterprise" who are now saying 'For God's sake lay off' is that they are quite capable of taking public money but abhor public ownership. They are legal crooks who continually rob and cheat in the name of private enterprise and profit.

One almost starts to have sympathy for Mr. Benn for his efforts at nationalisation. But it is obvious that his own party, faced with an all out attack from the press, from industry, from the Tory party and Aims of Industry, have already got cold feet and are watering down their state intervention plans. The trouble with the Labour Party is that it always "seeks the middle ground"; it is neither one thing or the other, because really it is only a coalition of interests, many of whom would easily find a place with either the Liberals or the Tories.

Many of Labour's supporters support the public ownership of industry. However, where anarchists differ on this question is that we oppose this because it brings another aspect of our lives under state control. Real public ownership can only come

about when workers seize for themselves their places of work. It cannot be given by the state but must be taken by ordinary people with a conscious desire for running industry by workers' control.

Both private enterprise and state control have failed to provide an equitable distribution of goods and services. They have failed to give people the control necessary to bring forth the enormous human potential which at present lies dormant and suppressed. Freedom from the state and economic slavery would release this huge potential enabling everyone to make the decisions that affect their lives.

Voting for a different party to administer the capitalist system at the next general election will not alter the lives of ordinary people. It makes little difference whether labour, liberal or tory gets in and it is equally of minor importance whether the industry you work in is under state or private control. The important thing is that while we still tolerate government, the state and employers, we will remain slaves subject to the periods of boom and recessions, employment and unemployment, surpluses and shortages. We should no longer tolerate such arbitrary power and authority over our lives.

P. T.

## DECLONISATION

### A STEP TOWARD FREEDOM?

PORTUGAL's decision to grant independence to its colonies in Africa is the direct result of 13 years of war waged against the Portuguese conscript army in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique by the nationalist movements (M.P.L.A., U.N.I.T.A., U.P.A., M.N.L.A. in Angola; P.A.I.G.C. in Guinea Bissau and FRELIMO, COREMO in Mozambique).

And, as in Vietnam, the war in the Portuguese colonies in Africa will also shortly come to a halt because the Portuguese state war machinery cannot any longer compel the youth of Portugal to go and fight, unquestioning, in Africa, particularly

after the military coup of the 25th of April, historic date on which the minds and the actions of the oppressed people of Portugal were allowed just enough freedom to understand the immorality of war, its inhuman price and gradually to develop the knowledge that Portugal was fighting a colonialist war in order to defend the capitalist interests of the western democracies in Africa.

It remains to be seen, however, if the African people, who fought against Portuguese colonialists in the so-called "liberation" armies, will be given enough freedom to understand

that, if they are not alert, their independence will quickly become a preserve of the new political leadership - the black bourgeoisie - to dictate and repress in the name of the State and the Nation. . .

Will the "freedom fighters" be given enough liberty to understand that, if they are not alert, they could have been fighting to permit the economic imperialism of Russia and China, cleverly disguised under "friendship pact with the Soviet people" or under the "revolutionary internationalism of

Continued on Back Page...



# THE CRIMES OF ITALY

**THE CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY** which the rulers of Italy have recently been indulging in have become notoriously well known to us through the sentence imposed on Marini, the trial of Valpreda, the murder of Pinelli, and so forth. The rulers' crimes, however, do not merely stop at personal attacks on the likes of the above-mentioned comrades, but extend to whole sections of the Italian nation.

Despite reports in the world's press that Italy is in a near-bankrupt state, there are still people in Italy who are a lot more affluent than those considered affluent people in this country. These include industrialists (Agnelli of Fiat, Cefis of Montedison, etc.) and the political classes (politics is a profession in Italy and a very remunerative one too!). The Italian Communist party must also be included in this affluent political class and are just as much to blame for the bankrupt state of Italy as any other party.

Who does this national bankruptcy affect? Obviously, the poor! In the first half of 1974 Italy imported more furs and perfumes than any other country in the world. At the same time there are over 4,000 comuni (local authority units) without running water, and 2,000 without sewerage systems; there are a million barrack-dwellings where infant-mortality averages 50 per 1,000, etc...etc...

How did this gross criminal disparity come into being? The outcome of the Second World War and the consequent attempts to industrialise the country are the determining factors.

At the end of the war the Allies institutionalised the mafia and also ensured the continuation of the fascist presence in the police force, the army and so on. A fascist purge was not carried out so as not to offend moderate opinion in the States and Great Britain. Who is then to blame for the misfortunes of Valpreda, the murder of Pinelli, and the incarceration of Marini? Do we send letters of protest to the Italian Embassy, or to the American Embassy and the British Foreign Secretary?

The USA in their kindness helped Italy with the reconstruction of the nation after the devastation of the war. Acceptance of the Marshall Plan was a condition of the political alliance between De Gasperi and Costa (then President of Confindustria) based on a comprehensive agreement covering the whole range of problems from economic policy to the financing of Government parties. These included the control of wages as the counterpart to a national economic policy aimed at keeping consumption as low as possible (for some sections of the population, that is!). This agreement also required the reorganisation of production on the basis of the uncontested power of management in the factory.

Helping to keep costs low so as to enable Italian industrialists to compete successfully in the European export markets (the basis of

reconstruction) was the very convenient massive unemployed labour pool in the South. The Southerners could be relied upon to emigrate to the Northern industrial towns and work for a mere pittance despite even worse living conditions, and the constant abuse from the Northerners. Southerners are still dismissed in Milan, Turin and Genova as being "terroni" or "peasants" by the Northerners. In fact, Southern immigrants are more welcome in foreign countries than they are in their own.

Industrialisation, as carried out in Italy, therefore, produced the economic "miracle" of Italy in the early 1960s. However, the industrialists, the politicians and the bourgeoisie benefitted greatly at the expense of the rest of the population, to whom the wealth of the nation should have gone.

The industrialists then proceeded to invest madly in the international money markets again at the expense of the Italian nation. The politicians continued to promote the industrialisation policy, even in the South. After all, it is the basis of their power! So-called attempts to help the South through industrialisation have also had drastic effects. The rate of immigration has actually increased since the initiation of Southern aid (through the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno).

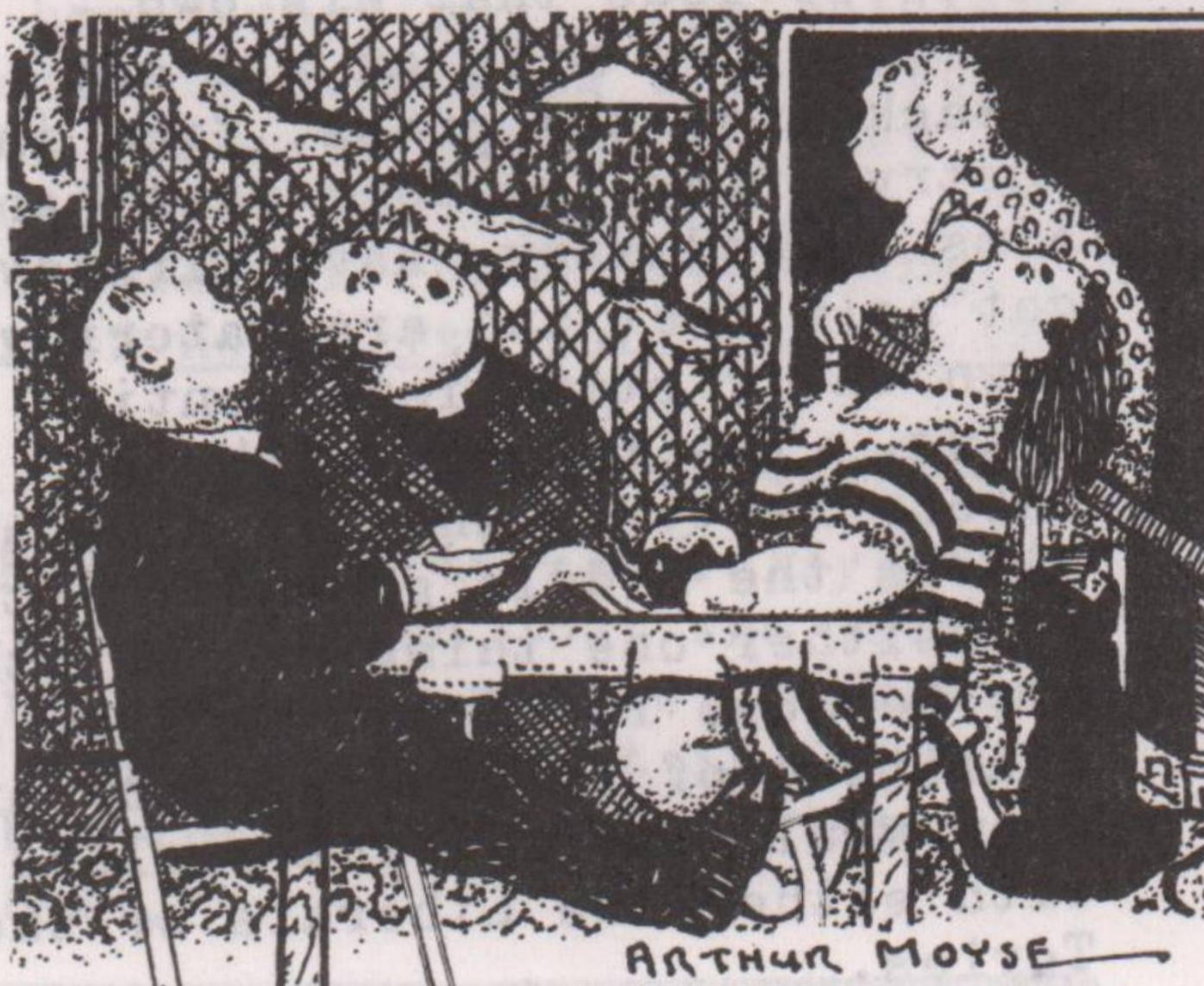
Therefore, the people who suffer are the

urban poor, and the rural inhabitants being forced to augment the urban poor in both North and South. Who gains? Agnelli of Fiat, Cefis of Montedison, Pirelli and other major industrialists. Also, the politicians of all parties. The difference between the two above-mentioned sectors is that whilst the industrialists can invest elsewhere, the politicians have to try and maintain their power whilst the basis of that power is disintegrating in Italy. Very conveniently, the fascist presence in Italy enables the politicians to distract the attention of the left-wing, and the activities of left-wing elements in Italy enables the professional politicians to distract the attention of the right-wing. However, since the fascists are more favourably to Western capitalist industrialisation, the policy of "opposed extremisms" is bound to favour the fascists.

This quest for the holy grail of Power thus has led to the economic misery of the Italian population (not the rulers), and the personal tragedies of our comrades Valpreda, Marini, Pinelli and many more yet to come. What solution can there be to this problem but anarchy? We are forced to reject the socialist based solutions for two reasons: (a) they too are after power, and (b) their theory is firmly based on the industrialisation process which is a major element in the misery of Italy.

VIVA L'ANARCHIA!

FRANCESCO



"HER SON'S TERRIBLY ALIENATED --HE LAYS IN BED ALL DAY SINGING WORK SONGS AND GOES TO PEACE MEETINGS WITH BRICKS IN HIS POCKETS."

I. F. Stone, the editor of I.F.S.'s Weekly, admitted that he suppressed (in 1938) a story of the oppression of the POUM by the Stalinists. Stone admits he was wrong to suppress the story but says, "I'd do the same again".

Lew Grade, the television magnate, announced the production of a six-hour television series on the life of Jesus Christ. The series will be sponsored by General Motors in America and the script will be by Anthony Burgess -- author of The Clockwork Orange.

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# Anarchism in Greece

INFORMATION on the anarchist movement in Greece is very poor and insufficient. However, we know from J. Kordatos, the historian of the Greek workers movement, that anarchist groups existed during the last quarter of the XIX Century in Athens, Patras and Pyrgos. There was in Patras, the principle port of the Peloponese, in 1877 a 'Republican League' composed of young anarchists and socialists, followers of Proudhon and Bakunin, who published a journal Democratic Greece; with the slogan "Revolution is the Law of progress". The anarchists of Patras also sent a letter to the Socialist Workers Conference in Berne, 26-29 October, 1876. They were on friendly terms with Andrea Costa, who had been their delegate at the International Socialist Conference of 1877. (For more information see J. Guillaume: L'Internationale : Documents et Souvenirs, 1864-1878).

It seems that the 'Republican League' was dissolved around 1878 because of police persecution, and in the Bulletin of the Jurassienne Federation of that year, a study of Greek socialism was published, with letters from the imprisoned anarchists of Patras.

Much later, between 1880 and 1883, there was, also in Patras, an anarchist group around K. Eliopoulo, who published a satirical journal Lantern, from 1880 to 1886. In 1886 the first Greek edition of Kropotkin's Appeal to the Young was published, in a translation by the socialist P. Dracoulis. Another translation of Kropotkin, this time Anarchism in Social Evolution appeared in 1887.

During the period from 1887 to 1894 there were anarchist circles in both Patras and Pyrgos. The journal Forward of 1876 was the paper of the Patras anarchists, and published anarchist texts by a lawyer, B. Kallionzi. Also circulated, in manuscript form, were translations of Evolution and Revolution by Elisee Reclus; Anarchism, its philosophy and ideal by Kropotkin; and God and the State by Bakunin\*. The journal New Light of 1898, a weekly published in Pyrgos contained translations of articles by J. Grave. In Athens, the second edition of the reformist socialist journal Socialist of 1896 contained writings of Sebastien Faure, Jean Grave and Louise Michel.

Other anarchist writings were published in Patras by unknown authors. These were: What the Anarchists Want, in 1897, The

### Present day:

\*God and the State was published during the colonels' regime in Athens, along with other, astonishing in the circumstances, Situationist, Marxist and Solidarity titles by "Dietknis Bibliothiki", Akadimius 63 (office 7-10), Athens.

Absolute Liberty of Man, The Spirit of Revolution and Hunger and Power, all of 1898.

In Egypt some anarchists worked amongst Greek speaking tobacco workers, like Vourzones, between 1894 and 1899. Anarchist tendencies appeared in The Worker, a Greek language journal published in Cairo. Amongst the typographers of Cairo, the Greeks Louzis and Hionis collaborated with the Italian anarcho-syndicalists Voza, Lotzi and Pitzoriti, who influenced the Egyptian typographers from 1907-1913, publishing at the same time the weekly Bulletino Tipografica from 1909-1914.

In 1908 at Volos, a little port in Thessaly, a worker, Kossyvas, made much propaganda for anarchist ideas, but in a very confused manner. There was also a Stavros Koulitsoglou, well known in Constantinople for his anticlericalism and antireligious propaganda. Koulitsoglou was the author of a little book published in 1912 called Down with the Mask.

In Athens in 1910 four or five intellectuals with anarchosyndicalist ideas worked amongst trade union members, but this did not appear to last for long. The existence of two or three anarchists in Athens between the wars was spoken of, but there is no information on the subject.

Among the rare anarchist publications in XX Century Greece there was a new translation of An Appeal to the Young by Kropotkin, published in 1917 and translations of Jean Grave's Workers and Machines in 1919, Kropotkin's Anarchism and Anarchist Ethics in 1927 and Intellectual Work and Manual Work in 1925. Yet a new translation of Kropotkin's An Appeal to the Young appeared between the wars.

The Sociological and Political Dictionary published in 1933 contained a number of articles on anarchists and anarchism (in particular on Bakunin, Kropotkin, Proudhon, Stirner, Grave and Reclus).

The Dictionary of Social Science, published between 1958 and 1965 contained a long article of eight pages on Anarchism, including a three pages article in favour of Bakunin, written by a non-anarchist!

--Translated from Noir et Rouge No. 31-32 by D. P.



# THE LISBON PICNIC PART 2

CONTINUED

FROM LAST WEEK

THE MAIN DIFFERENCES in the new life for the people are relatively minor in the grand scheme of things - apart from the removal of a brutal police force. Since the coup, shops rarely open on Sundays - shopkeepers seem to have taken this decision upon themselves and regard what they call "the English weekend" as their own particular perks from the change of regime. For the majority of the peasant population, occupied in fishing and farming, who took no interest in subversive politics, the chief irritant of the fascist regime was in their encounters with petty officialdom. Fishing licences were one subject of corruption. Algarve fishermen were forbidden to trawl for fish because the Minister for Agriculture said that the sea-bottom in that area was the breeding-ground for a variety of species. It was, however, discovered that he owned a fleet of trawlers in the Northern ports which, of course, reduced the objectivity with which he could make a pronouncement of this nature and, indeed, the coup saw him removed from office.

The fascists required a separate licence to be purchased for each variety of fish; for drift-net fishing; for pot-fishing (octopus); for a hand-line and for shell-fishing (molluscs). Since the coup, a single licence has sufficed, and the fishermen are happier with the arrangement.

Paradoxically, the peasant farmers may, if the liberating regime continues in power, find their way of life disrupted in a manner similar to the cultural harm visited upon the Third World countries by Western aid and technology.

Many of the farming people are illiterate, although those who wish to learn to read and write do find assistance of a somewhat unorganised nature. The chief form of transport is still the mule-cart - this suits the life-style admirably, and in any case the reading and writing section of the Portuguese driving-test eliminates many from car-ownership. Water-supplies are chiefly from wells, for areas outside towns and villages. The weekly mart and monthly cattle fairs are the occasions for buying and selling of stock, and of course the whole day is spent in the business.

Most arable land has the trees of Portugal peppered evenly upon it: almonds, figs, carabs, oranges, lemons, olives, grapes of course, cork groves. The latter two often have land to themselves, but in the other cases, crops are grown between the trees, which means harvesting often cannot be done by a "combine", but must be cut with a small machine about the size of a motor-bike and side-car, or with a scythe. The fruit crops are, by our terms, poorly picked. Many are not touched until they have fallen to the ground; otherwise, men are hired to shake the trees as the women move along picking the fallen fruit. Organising pickings is difficult, as the daily rates are necessarily low, because of the relatively low value of the crop, and there is no doubt that millions of escudos worth of fruit, especially olives are left to rot each year.

Yet to introduce modern farming methods into this scene would undoubtedly be culturally disastrous. All the chores of present farming life take an inordinately long time: there is the harnessing of the mule, the trip to the well - water for the household and the cattle, and the feeding and watering of animals; there is the barley and hay to be cut by hand - a process which is spun over several weeks; the sowing, by the scatter method; the tilling - with hoes of somewhat unique yet vastly aged design, and so on. With all this, there is no doubt that the people are far better placed and richer in all non-material factors than their agri-business fellows in wealthier lands, and it is from a left-wing regime that this way of life is threatened: the talk immediately concerned with gross national product, and the like, and a desire to please foreign bankers and diplomats - is a negative aspect of liberation that the various Ministries would do well to reconsider.

The new regime has to date not dared to tackle the stranglehold of the Catholic church upon the outdated customs which, for thousands of people, are definitely more constricting and dehumanising than anything meted out by fascist politicians. Indeed, a satirical drama played in Lisbon on June 9th featuring the chief figure of the roman catholic church in Portugal, together with Caetano and ex-president Tomaz was suppressed from the TV network because the junta felt that it was tackling a sensitive point too soon in its life for safety.

The Church has notably declined to make a public statement explaining its complicity in the reign of terror and repression of previous right-wing regimes.

The most noticeable indictment that can be made of the effect of the church on the peasant people is the situation of the Portuguese widow. There is a high incidence of cancer among male Portuguese, which may or may not be connected with political repression and terror - time will tell. Thus there are a large number of women condemned to dress in black for the rest of their lives, and forbidden entertainments such as listening to the radio, watching television, or paying social calls. Re-marriage is, of course, taboo. And a widow may not speak to a single man or widower, but may reply if spoken to by a married man. In the major cities this tradition, or imposition, is being broken down but only at the individual level, and the psychological pressures on non-conformists are considerable.

The plumbing of Portugal, in common with all Mediterranean countries, invites its cholera. Yet the "outbreak" of this disease alleged to have occurred shortly after the coup has never been satisfactorily explained. Those who believe the outbreak to have been the deliberate up-grading of a form of gastro-enteritis by a group of right-wing doctors may be proved right in time. It is noticeable that right-wing papers even in this country have given undue prominence to its "presence" - but of course one can never prove the difference between the honest journalistic circular and malicious glee. In any event, the tourist income of the country this summer has been badly affected - without sound reason, in my opinion. Spain has capitalised on the cholera scare, posting slanderous and misleading notices at border crossing-points, e.g., "Death in Portugal", etc., and thus keeping the tourists' wallets in their own country. Portugal's authorities have retaliated, following an announcement in the Spanish press about a disease of their own - much to the amusement of the Portuguese themselves who read, "Warning - death from measles"!

The sense of liberation is hard to discover. This is partly due to the length of time endured under the yoke of fascism, and partly uncertainty as to the security provided by the new provisional government. The change, I am told, is more marked in the cities. There, the higher degree of literacy, together with the sophistication that accompanies industrialisation, has led to a quick change in the dealings with council officials. The once-familiar procedure of waiting for hours in draughty corridors to see a senior official; of finally being denied the privilege and of bargaining with an official who is a "friend" of a more important official - the everyday trappings of fascism - all this is not tolerated anymore.

In the rural areas, however, the change is not so marked: the "friend of a friend" still rears his ugly head. It is doubtful whether the old system will ever be eradicated here, until a higher degree of literacy will enable the inherent shrewdness of the people to cope with forms of application and correspondence from government officials of the old school.

Literature has of course undergone a transformation since April 25. Books by "Karl Marx" are openly on sale, as is "The Guardian" among the many publications previously banned.

As a simplified generality, however, it might be said that the sudden political freedom has been too much to cope with, and since, under fascism, it was "communism" that was the most hated, feared and odious political philosophy it was possible to embrace, it is a natural reaction for people to turn to it now.

This reactive mechanism, which is out of character with true political leanings in many cases, has now caused further reaction from a nervous junta and its provisional Ministers. But the shambles of words; the shrieking dogmatism of the inevitable manifestoes; the daubed slogans; the thrusting right-hand communist symbol, a cross between a Churchillian V-sign and a raised fist; the confusion of ideas and the conflict of dialectics is itself part of the liberating process, and one can only hope that the whole seething movement will have the time to steady its direction and move on as a flowing tide.



## THE STRANGE CASE OF GEORGE LENNOX

ON the last Friday in April, 1967 one of the British Army's top rugby players was taken from a football field at Paderborn, W. Germany, by the British Special Branch and flown to Britain. There while in a house on the outskirts of London he was subjected to psychological torture which left him a mere shadow of his former self for several years.

The man's name was George Lennox, an army corporal who had worked for two years as a clerk at the British Army Fort Morbut HQ in Aden, during the emergency there in the mid-1960s. Fort Morbut was the place where many hundreds of Adeni detainees were tortured and brutally ill-treated by British Army interrogators. George Lennox knew of these tortures and when some of the facts were made public in a report issued by Amnesty International in September, 1966 this young soldier stood up alone and supported Amnesty when it came under attack from the British press and other sources.

When the first vicious press attacks were launched against Amnesty, George Lennox was stationed in Germany. His reaction was to write a letter to the Sunday Times in which he revealed a little of what he knew about British atrocities in Aden. This quickly led to a secret meeting between him and the Bonn correspondent of the Sunday Times to whom he gave a considerable amount of detailed information. But the Sunday Times, instead of publishing these disclosures, handed them to the War Office. Some weeks after this Geo. Lennox was visited by a sergeant major in the SIB (Special Investigation Branch) who tried in vain to get him to change his mind.

What George was unaware of at this time was that the sgt.-major's visit was part of a big attempt by the British intelligence and security services to cover up their atrocities in Aden. The Bowen Commission, which had been set up by the British Government in the wake of the Amnesty report had admitted that certain unnamed interrogators should have their actions investigated further. But the whole matter was quickly shelved; and it was to prevent any loophole being left open in the cover-up operation that George Lennox was kidnapped and tortured; and then discharged from the army -- with a certificate of exemplary conduct.

The terrible punishment meted out to George Lennox affected him greatly; but its effect was not permanent. By the Autumn of 1971 he was himself again; and during a big public meeting in London held in protest against British Army torture in N. Ireland at the time George told a very interested audience about similar atrocities in Aden. Soon after this Seven Days investigated George's story of his own tortures at the hands of the Special Branch and published it. But on the very day the story was printed George was picked up by the police in a London street, and the following day he was framed-up on totally false charges of the attempted robbery of a travel agents some months previously. George and his friends thought the charges

were ridiculous but nevertheless he was eventually found guilty - almost entirely on police evidence - and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. Since his jailing George has constantly sought to have an enquiry set up into the police activities involved in his wrongful arrest. And it is to help him to do this that we have set up a Committee - with the further aim of providing this worthy man of conscience with sufficient funds to allow him to make a fresh start in life on his release from prison in 1975. For anyone wanting to give donations or requiring fuller information please contact The George Lennox Support Committee, Oude Looiersstraat 22 Amsterdam, The Netherlands (bank account: Algemene Bank Nederland no. 541933108). But, above all, please send a postcard or a letter to George whose address is:  
George Lennox, No. 105505, H.M. Prison, Chelmsford, Essex, England.

--from Michael Tobin.

## IN BRIEF

The Turin daily newspaper Gazzetta del Popolo was published by its employees after the proprietor had closed it down. The workers had remained in occupation.

Gianfranco Bertoli, a self-styled 'anarchist individual' was sent for trial in Milan on charges of a bomb attack which narrowly missed the then interior minister Signor Rumor and the national police chief, killed four people and injured 48 others.

Italian right-wingers were believed to have planted the bomb on a holiday train which killed twelve and injured forty. Railwaymen are calling a strike and a go-slow as a protest.

Sancho Panza

## Bank-Manageritis

BANK MANAGERITIS is a disease apparently caused by the rat race in the British banking industry which takes its most acute form, regardless of sex, colour or religion, in the persons of bank clerks who aspire to be promoted above other peoples' heads to the position of branch or section manager.

This disease can be observed daily in persons working in large bank departments. They slowly develop fascist, corporatist mentalities (the employers call it "esprit de corps"), identifying their economic interest (wages, housing loans, professional status, pensions, etc...) with the interest of their employers (profits based on the exploitation of other people cleverly disguised as public service, the City's "invisible earnings", economic expertise, industrial investments, etc...)

During their self-propelled progress to promotion these individuals regularly "grass" on their colleagues in order to impress their superiors, quickly learn to become "yes-men", uncritical of any injustice, low wages bad conditions of work, compulsory overtime racial discrimination, etc., are not afraid to accept the favours dispensed by managers inspectors, and other elements of upper management with even more impressive titles.

More often than not, their ability to perform such servile acrobatics is not in any way related to a substantial IQ or any degree of wisdom, for absence of critical expression and lack of human feeling and solidarity with their colleagues are the primary qualities required by the banking industry to "produce" good and "honest" managers.

Employer-sponsored sports clubs, the National Union of Bank Employees and Staff Associations have their quota of bank clerks suffering from Bank Manageritis. They usually use these channels to propel themselves out of mass anonymity and to catch, through their activities, the management's eye as potential elements ready to be bought off into managerial positions.

They very often participate in various sporting activities (organisers, secretaries, fund managers, etc...) and their regular presence at the sports' ground bar on Saturdays and Sundays, at fetes, staff parties, fellowships, etc... are golden opportunities to mingle with managers, especially staff managers who hold the keys to promotion; these social "musts" are religiously observed by manageritis sufferers.

Up to now, the medical profession has, unfortunately, not found an antidote for this disease. It has its fair share of serious victims, in the shape of heart-attacks, nervous breakdowns, and other side-effects which seriously curtail the private lives, and parts, of "aggressively ambitious" bank clerks (senility, impotence, alcoholism, etc...) - anti-social ailments which are caused, according to the experts, by overwork stresses, worries, lack of confidence in jobs and positions for which they have been tailored.

Unable to understand the economics of human exploitation, how do these corporate wearers of bank ties react, when they are told by the management that, in the opinion of Securicor (the private guardians of British capital) every bank clerk has his price?

They react by condoning, in practice, such capitalist notions, allowing the management to operate a promotional cattle market of "buying and selling" staff on the basis of the comparative ability of the individuals caught up in the banking rat race to lick the manager's boots.

But if indeed the Securicor "experts" are right and every bank clerk has a price, then, so far this disease is concerned, both buyers and sellers are contaminated to the core by this anti-social aberration, because in order to sell out, someone must be doing the buying, dealing not as the City pundits would like us to believe "by gentlemen agreements", but indulging instead in "crooks agreements".



# LETTERS

YESTERDAY'S

BOMB...

Dear Friends,

"Yesterday's Bomb", exemplary in its general thesis, contained one significant omission. The Bomb and a host of other lesser social evils are not immaculately conceived; they are fashioned, often deliberately, through the action or inaction of that trusty appendage of the State, the Working Class to which the writer along presumably with most of our comrades, belongs. Far more plausibly than Louis XIV we can make the shameful boast, "L'Etat, c'est moi", and if it would be going a shade far to describe the State as the Incarnation of the Common People, we have at least already reached the Good Friday stage of Crucifixion even though as Anarchists we know that the ensuing Easter of Resurrection will purge our fellow workers of their state-guilt and equate our Social Revolution with the true grace of word made flesh.

I hope fervently this tentative reaction to a well-worn analysis will not shock or infuriate certain fundamentalist comrades of humanist faith. It is surely undeniable on any plane of thought that we are all responsible by errors of commission or omission (although, to paraphrase Orwell, some are more responsible than others). Without any doubt the Bomb is assembled by loyal members of the AUEW, Porton and Nancecuke are presumably organised on the approved pattern, and "militant" car workers continue to spew forth the endless thousands of four-wheeled boxes that defile our contemporary scene and threaten posterity with a "locust" plague of unimaginable proportions. The State, alas, is not Sartre's "Other People", it is all too clearly our unredeemed selves.

Yours in anarchy,

D. Sedley

London NW2

## THE IMPATIENT REVOLUTIONARIES

Dear Freedom,

Continuing the valuable discussion on 'anti-fascism' - I think T. Dance (July 27) was right to criticise Bob Potter (July 13) for assuming that

people would not be so 'gullible' as to fall for right-wing propaganda. After all there must be some rational basis to authoritarianism for it to have a wide appeal. Otherwise people must really be gullible sheep - which I don't think they are! The point for us is to separate the 'rational core' from the 'mystical shell' in order that we can relate our ideas and activities to people who might be inclined to the right.

On the other hand, Bob made the telling point that the strength of the right wing does not lie simply in the fact that they are able to demonstrate and agitate publicly. The strength of fascism lies in the fact that they are able to relate to many deeply held ideas and feelings of frustration. OK so it gets distorted into a nationalistic form but the starting point is quite meaningful for lots of people. And considering that the left very rarely relates to everyday life in a meaningful way, it's not surprising that the right fills the gap.

Bob correctly points out the farce of the right/left spectacle of the streets, while understanding the desire of people 'to do something'. However, I don't agree that real struggle, based on a total view, is not 'so glamorous'. Why not? Action, remember, is not reaction but creation. We have to engage in activity which is both meaningful, in terms of people taking the power into their own hands, and glamorous in that it really appeals to people, i.e. they enjoy it! Only in this way will we create a movement which will render redundant all manipulations of all fascisms, whether of the right or the left. But what this means exactly in terms of practical activity, I'm not sure -- perhaps other readers have some suggestions?

Fraternally,

Bob Dent.

Liverpool.

UNPOPULAR FRONT?

Dear Comrades,

Several letters in FREEDOM recently have grouped together the National Front, Enoch Powell, and H. J. Eysenck as apologists of racism. An interesting question is, why is Eysenck included?

I think there are three reasons for including him in left-wing blacklists.

1. The most obvious, but I believe the least important, Eysenck has publicly stated that Arthur Jensen's finding, that blacks in a certain area of

California are genetically less intelligent on average than whites in the same region, is arrived at by methods which would be acceptable in less emotive contexts, and should be seriously considered. He has said the same thing about J. B. Rhine's controversial findings with regard to telepathy. Now it is true that psychologists at least as objective as Eysenck have considered Jensen carefully, and have concluded that both his data and his reasoning are spurious. Nevertheless, the assertion that Jensen's work should be taken seriously does not make Eysenck a racist, any more than his assertion that Rhine should be taken seriously makes him a mystic.

The other two reasons relate to statements which Eysenck has made dogmatically.

2. He insists that individuals are important. For instance, reviewing a work of social psychology which detailed how 85% of subjects in an experiment had changed their behaviour in response to environmental changes, he chided the author with neglecting the most important question, what was it about 15% of the subjects which made them behave consistently. On account of attitudes like this he has been "accused" of individualism, which the masses-oriented left considers as bad as fascism, if not worse.

3. Some years ago, he studied the personalities of some Communists and some Fascists, and published the conclusion that although their opinions differed, their personalities were similar. The finding that left-wing and right-wing authoritarians are not greatly different may strike anarchists as so obvious, that confirming it was a waste of scientific manpower.

If I am right, that reasons 2 and 3 are more important in generating opposition to Eysenck than his cautious support of Jensen, opposition comes rather from the authoritarian than from the libertarian left, and this would account for the favoured method of intellectual opposition to Eysenck, which is to prevent him being heard. But the question is still not answered, why is Eysenck included in a list of undesirables in FREEDOM?

The answer is, I fear, that some of FREEDOM's more naive correspondents are being taken in by the "popular front" swindle, which has damaged anarchist movements in the past. Let the left sink its differences and proceed with consensus opinions and slogans, and we shall see again how the authoritarian left, with its greater resources of funds and fanaticism, can provide all the consensus opinions, and trick anarchists into fighting for authoritarian causes. Donald Room.



# ANARCHIST ACADEMICS

RECENTLY a self-described anarchist, a friend of a friend, said he had seen my ad for thesis typing and would I like to type what he coyly referred to as his "tome".

I said that I was trying to organize a home typists union, with a two-pronged approach: (1) higher pay, and (2) workers' control in the trade; that as he was an anarchist I would like to use his job as an opportunity to promote the latter idea; and that therefore I would negotiate a price with him if while typing the thesis I could reserve the right to comment in a footnote on anything I found particularly objectionable or particularly interesting.

I added that this wouldn't mean his thesis would be littered with dozens of my footnotes: I really only wanted to make the point to his colleagues that a typist should have the right to do this.

He looked uncomfortable and said, "I don't know that I like that idea. Of course, I would want to have a final say on it."

I said that I would acknowledge responsibility for any of my footnotes.

"I'm not too keen on the idea."

"Don't you think a worker should have the right to express an opinion on the job he's working on?"

"Yes of course, but I would consider this my work. No, I don't think so." And after a 10-minute struggle with either his conscience or his wish to be agreeable he repeated, "No, I don't think so."

Later he protested to my friend that he had worked for 8 years on his thesis and didn't want it changed.

Of course I hadn't suggested changing it, only adding a few footnotes that would be identified as the typist's. But it wasn't this fear (which he knew was groundless) that bothered him. If his thesis is ever published it will contain a lot of footnotes by some scholarly editor, possibly an introduction and even some slight changes in the text - and only in the last instance will the editor perhaps observe the formality of giving him a final say. And Mr. X will be delighted about the whole thing.

No, what gave him the willies was the violation of convention implied by my suggestion, the prospect of a typist, who's supposed to be an unseen executant, suddenly becoming a visible personality on his pages, even for a paragraph.

He might object that unlike a scholarly editor I know nothing about the subject of his thesis, Russian history. True, but a thesis isn't just an organized collection of facts. Unless on a narrowly technical subject, or written by a total pedant of the Nicolas Walter type, it's also supposed to contain ideas. (In fact, I even saw an idea in a N. W. article, once.) And much though I resent the need to point it out, typists are as capable of thinking as the people they work for. They are much more capable of spotting class bias in a work than is any scholarly editor. Most of the theses I've typed which discussed society at all contained class bias.

Why should a typist put into print (the bound typescript of an unpublished thesis is its final version, and in that sense is the equivalent of print) a statement that insults her, without being able to protest in print? And why on earth should the person she's protesting against have a final say on her protest?

But even this consideration is less important than the right of creative participation by any worker involved in production. If Mr. X's thesis contained nothing that inspired in me the least inclination to comment one way or the other, that right would still stand, and that's what he denies.

Academics may play with different-coloured ideological counters, but they all play the same game: formalized, exclusive scholarship in a setting of rigid hierarchy. Try to overturn the board and see how quickly the red-and-black player links arms with his blue, red and pink opponents.

Proletarian and lumpen-proletarian anarchists, why do you go on fraternizing with the middle class? - feeling obliged to call them "comrade" and "sister" just because they call themselves anarchists, wear denims, talk about the working class, write "radical" theses and join "radical" professional organizations. You feel guilty about your resentment and envy of them, thinking that to express it would divide the movement, thinking "After all, at least they're trying to change things".

The division already exists in society. They profit by it, you lose. And they're not trying to change things - not in any way that matters. Do you think for a moment that they consider you their equals or

want you to have an equal place in society and equal responsibility?

The next time they turn up at a meeting, ask what they've done lately to reduce vertical division of labour and unequal status at their workplaces. Have they so much as made the gesture of suggesting, for example, that the cleaning staff participate in decision-making?

If they haven't, they're just fucking about politically. They want to have it both ways, and they'll cripple your organization with their unconscious hypocrisy.

To the anarchist academic - as to any other professional - workers' control is a beautiful idea for all those remote workers out there in factories. But suggest a measure of co-responsibility with his own subordinates, and just watch him squirm: "I'm not too keen on that idea...no, I don't think so."

KP

## Information

THE TWO MEN appealing against their conviction for involvement with Kenneth Joseph Lennon, a police informant, in a robbery had their application for leave to appeal dismissed by the Lord Chief Justice. L.J.C. Widgery said that it had not been proved that Mr. Lennon was a true "agent provocateur". He said, "That he was a police informant is beyond doubt. I think it right in these days of terrorism that the police should be entitled to use the effective weapon of infiltration. It must be accepted today that it is a perfectly lawful police weapon in proper circumstances." He went on, according to the Guardian: "Common sense required that if a police officer or informant infiltrated a suspect society he had to show some enthusiasm for the aims of the society if he was to maintain his cover for more than five minutes. He had to tread the somewhat difficult line between showing enthusiasm in order to keep his cover and becoming an agent provocateur and actually causing offences to be committed. "We have no reason to believe Lennon did overstep the line."

A youth supposedly involved with Lennon in a 'prison break' had his sentence quashed recently. Lennon was murdered 'by persons unknown'.

Sancho Panza.



# STREET INCIDENT — BELFAST

Lower Ormeau Road, about 4.30 pm  
Sunday, July 21st, 1974

AS WE TURNED out of a side street to walk along the Ormeau Road, ahead of us we saw a British Army jeep stopped. There were three youths of about 15 or 16 spread-eagled against the advertisement hoardings. There were three soldiers with guns guarding them, and one soldier in the jeep.

We looked behind us and saw there were two more soldiers following us down the road, we crossed to the other side of the street, about 25 yards from the arrested people. As we took the next turning off Ormeau Road, one of the soldiers who had been following us approached the centre youth and punched him at least once hard in the belly, so that he bowed forwards, and then kicked his legs from under him. The boy was apparently spread-eagled against the wrong bit of hoarding and was made to move about a foot to the right. He turned round and was ordered to "get back to the fucking wall". This was all witnessed by the other two boys, who had to remain spreadeagled, powerless to

## DECOLONIALIZATION from P.1

the Chinese people", to control politically the new African states of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, in order to be supplied on the cheap with scarce raw materials and equally scarce ideological support, by the seekers after world "socialist" leadership.

We welcome the coming end of Portuguese economic, cultural, religious and military colonialism in Africa. We greet the African people for the solidarity they have shown with their brothers' struggle for freedom. We hope that the independence of the Portuguese colonies will not be an excuse for those who suffered so much at the hands of Portuguese racialists to indulge in racist revenge against innocent white civilian people, who went to Africa as they could have come to England -- as immigrant workers.

The enemy are those who ideologically accept "apartheid" in South Africa and the racist regime in Rhodesia. Only when those two cancers are removed from the African continent will the African people be able to stand up and fight their own oppressors: the Bantas, the Amins, the Kenyattas, the Gowans and other political leaders who have made a mockery of the concept: Africa for the Africans.

Claude

help their friend. Then there followed a chain of abuse, screamed by one of the soldiers at the top of his lungs at one of the other youths, who we think must have said something.

This is what we heard distinctly:

--One more word from you and I'll fill you in, you bastard ...cunt.

--I'll get you, they'll find your body under a bridge.

--I'll tell you this, I'll get you before I leave here.

--We don't need your fucking photographs.

Had the boys replied it seems likely they would have been beaten even more.

The soldiers did not detain the boys. After about five minutes they drove away, shouting indistinct insults, having vented a little of their pent-up rage for the time being.

This happened on a main road in broad daylight. The soldiers seemed to be making a show for each other of how tough they could be. The incident was remarkable for the overwhelming air of normality surrounding it.

From a Belfast correspondent whose anonymity naturally needs to be preserved, but who thinks "it might help people in England to understand why it is impossible for the army to bring peace".

## **C**ontact

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press, followed by get together with refreshments.

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers' Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcome.

ANARCHIST WOMEN's group meets Mondays. Tel. 01-883 2457

BLACKBURN anarchist group. Contact (by letter) Keith Sowerby, 150 Shorrock Lane, Blackburn BB2 4TT, Lancs.

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE and CENTRO IBERICO - Sats & Suns 7.30 Disco. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Strele's Rd, 2nd door) Nearest tube Chalk Farm.

Some London Anarchists meet socially at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St. London W.1, Sundays 7.30 p.m. (don't ask at bar) Tube: Goodge Street.

EVERY SATURDAY Mental Patients Union 2 p.m. at 37 Mayola Road, Clapton, E.5 (tel. 01-985 5251). Information on activities elsewhere from same address.

PLAYERS for London based Anarchist Football Team(s) required. Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

ANARCHO-FEMINIST NETWORK formed at anarchist conference April. We'd like to make contact with our sisters everywhere A-F Network, c/o Unity Press, E. 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10003.

ANARCHO-FEMINIST ANTHOLOGY - we are collecting material for an anthology of anarcho-feminism. Arlene, c/o Arlene, c/o Siren, 713 Armitage, Chicago, Illinois 60614 USA

Would the Ruislip Federation of Anarchists please ring Fred or Gill: RUISLIP 72345

PORTUGUESE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT needs books, pamphlets, free copies of anarchist publications, money & ideological support. Movimento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2<sup>o</sup>-E, LISBOA 1.

ARTHUR MOYSE's ironically wounding, lamentably laughing, dreadfully beautiful, evil flower garden. \$2.50 (£ 1) from IDEA Publishing House, c/o Matsuki Building, 1-464 Higashiokubo, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo. All monies to help future publications of Tokyo Anarchist Group.

HOUSEWORKER'S HANDBOOK, articles, cartoons, poems, comments on Women's Work. \$1.00 c/o Legorn & Warrior, Women's Center, 46 Pleasant Street, Cambridge Massachusetts 02139, USA

WILDCAT. First issue 31 Aug. Launching party Saturday 31 August at Seven Dials Social Centre, 27 Shelton St., W.C.2. starting 7 pm. Disco, Cabaret, Wine & Admission £1. Yearly subscription to WILDCAT will be £ 2.50. Box 99, 197 King's Cross Road, London WC1

Terry Phillips wishes is to be known that he is no longer associated with the group producing WILDCAT.

GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.15. Needs donations to supply study books for these long-term prisoners.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs) Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

11 held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Georges Riviere, Lucio Urtubia Gimenez, Pierre Gilbert and Carnaud Chastel at: Prison de Fresnes, Paris, and to Ariane Gransac Sadori, Jean Helen Weir, Ann Annie Playen, Anne Urtubia, Daniele Hass and Chantel Chastel at Prison de Femmes, Fleury Merogis, Paris.

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