

WE DEMAND TOO LITTLE

IT'S ALL too much. Before very long the news media will have us all in tears with the picture of capitalism in this country collapsing about our ears. But what it simply means is that the system can no longer make profits. All the economic pundits are scratching their heads (only to get splinters) in search of a solution.

Now that Labour has been returned to power Mr. Wilson, the prime minister, has spelt out the economic position of the country. As usual in these "backs against the wall" situations those in power put forward a call for unity, pulling together to get the country back on its feet. But the trouble with this is that a fair percentage of the population have spent most of their lives either just being able to get on their feet or flat on their backs. Now when its happening to companies, or rather they who are just going out of business, it's the end of the world.

However no one really considers those who will be without jobs. No one thinks about all the useless rubbish that has been produced in the name of profit. And no one thinks about all the boring, soul destroying work people have had to perform in order to earn a living.

Mr. Wilson said before the election, that there are "useful people". He is right, because so many people perform useless tasks or just live off the backs of others. Anarchists would include politicians in this category. We would suggest that they perform no useful service to the community that could not be performed on a voluntary basis by grass roots organisations. We don't need useless politicians, captains of industry, policemen, armed forces, lawyers, and those who perform useless jobs could work at useful ones.

Like Mr. Wilson, Mr. Heath, the opposition leader, has said that he welcomed the prime minister's call for "national unity". But Mr. Wilson's and Mr. Heath's understanding of "national unity" is a continuation of a system of exploitation. It means that the 'social contract' will be used by the government and employers to keep wages down.

Already, Mr. Jack Jones of the Transport and General Workers Union has called upon workers to restrain their wage demands so as not to put firms out of business. It is true that firms are having their difficulties but it is not the task of the working class to aid the survival of those who exploit them. The Oliver Jessels of this world have built up financial and industrial empires by using money and energy of others. The collapse of his insurance offshoot, Lon-

IT IS A sure sign of the success of a cause when the progressive left (or the stage army of the good) takes it up. For it is not until a cause shows some signs of success that such canny crusaders will take it up. In fact, when the 'compact majority' (as Ibsen labelled them) take up a cause it is a cue for the real radicals to realize that their work has finished. Indeed, the effect of the action of progressives is usually to botch, patch up or mislay the cause which was the focus of the original struggle. Nothing, in such cases, fails like success.

Something of this sort seems to be happening regarding Ireland. In the same week that activists in the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland movement, Albert Beale, Wendy Butlin, Chris Roper, Juliet Hornsby, John Hyatt and Gwyn Williams, have been charged with Incitement to Disaffection, the complementary Troops Out movement has announced a campaign meeting (Sunday Oct. 27th) in Trafalgar Square, backed by M.P.s (basking in a new Wilson victory) and the

ACCORDING to The Guardian the International Marxist Group denied stories telephoned in to the media that bombings at Guildford, two London clubs and the Tower of London were the responsibility of an I.M.G. splinter group. If, however, said the I.M.G. statement it was made clear that such bombings were the work of the provisional I.R.A. (which has not been claimed or proved) the I.M.G. "supported them". The Guardian does not make it clear if I.M.G. supports the Provisionals, the bombings or both.

don Indemnity and General Insurance Company, will not bring Mr. Jessel any hardship, but for families facing the continuing rise in prices, many will face such a prospect.

There can be no 'national unity' under a class system. 'National unity' tries to give the impression that we are all equal, that we all have a stake in the country to preserve, but for all who actually produce the wealth, they have no stake.

Mr. Jones wants restraint. The trouble is workers demand too little. It is not demands we should be making but the taking over of the land, so that enough can be produced and grown to satisfy everyone's needs. We should be taking control so that our labour will no longer be exploited for the profit of others. That labour can be used to benefit the whole of the community and not to enrich a few.

P. T.

OUT OF IRELAND

British Peace Committee --whose embrace in its pro-Communist days was the kiss of death. The rally is at Clerkenwell Green 2 p.m., marching via Fleet St. to Trafalgar Square, sponsored by a gaggle of M.P.s (where is the felicitous sponsor Wellbeloved?) including Stan Thorn, Wilson (William), Maureen Colquhoun, John Lee, Jeff Rooker and Joan Maynard.

The B.W.N.I campaign has decided to participate in this political rally and march.

Taking a cue from the shaky re-affirmation of Harold Wilson in office, it has been alleged that the prison riots at Long Kesh and Armagh and their associated riots were devised to put pressure upon the Wilson government to declare its intentions on Northern Ireland -- particularly upon the question of internment. Prison riots, like wildcat strikes need no conspiracy theory to account for their frequent outbreak; life in prison or in a modern mass-production factory provides enough motive.

Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the casual slaughters which, like the increase in bombings in Britain, is taken by some as indicating an increase in pressure. At the same time there have been some cooler looks at the situation in the national press; the key questions of the future of internment and even (in the Observer) the future of an independent Northern Ireland

... (cont'd on P. 8)

REQUIEM FOR SMALL WARS

IT IS understandable that the industrial disputes that make the front pages of the national press should be those that contain a political, religious or sexual interest. 18,000,000 workers stop work on the orders of Taric Ali, Jesusfreak refuses to join BMA, Harley Street downs tools, no-rice-pudding' cries beloved wife of George Simson, striking Ford worker, until-all-the-Ford-workers-go-back in an exclusive interview with the Daily Mail, the Telegraph and the Daily Express. I-love-Sandra says George and we-didn't-know-we-were-on-strike-until-we-saw-it-on-tele. In West London, women workers in a slightly hysterical refusal to work forced the manager of the factory to turn on the heating system a week or so before it was bureaucratically authorised and they won, for while the factory offices were snug and warm the work room was miserably cold and by the time their protests had gone through the required union channels the flowers of the following spring would then be blooming. Small and bitter disputes that only the courage of small groups of non politically aligned workers fight in the isolated foxholes of the industrial war.

It would be pleasant to accept the simplistic middle class myth that all workers are lumpenproletariat who spend the entire working day playing a thousand-a-side football in the firm's lavatory and for overtime stand outside the factory gate demanding more and more money, but the industrial pattern is more complex than that little comrade. It is the nature of our economic society that the working class must not allow itself to be divided, therefore there is a need for an overall union framework, but within that framework the working class must and do fight those battles that demand immediate solutions, such as heating for women workers in a cold factory, for unless we fight these small wars the frame will become our cage.

The bus canteen is closed at night on the orders of the manageress because she will not allow a coloured girl to work there on her own after, it is alleged, an irate driver threw a plate at a canteen assistant to draw attention to his order. So with a shortage of canteen staff and no canteen service on the meal break we drift in small groups of five or six to another garage ten minutes' walk away. It is there that the small scrawled notice states

that the 220 bus route will be curtailed on Saturday because of mob violence in relation to the bus crews. One makes one's solitary enquiry to learn that Middle Row garage is refusing bus services therefore Wandsworth is supporting them therefore Shepherds Bush, and one only learns because a plate was thrown, it is alleged, at a canteen girl. We are on the 27 route, and in Riverside Garage one sees the same small scrawled notice that because of mob violence we will not run our buses to Camden Town and points east. And the point in all these small ill-written notices is that the transport employers,

without publicity, support the workers for there is an unofficial agreement that if the workers work the same milage in the 'civilized' sections of the route we will lose no pay for not going into the badlands. There is no answer to the problem of this violence. The police have contracted out by stating that they cannot protect every bus crew and the officials detailed to guard the crews of the Saturday buses turned chicken and refused to die for London Transport and so the men and women took their own action by refusing to work the buses where the fists fly and the jobs use bottles to pay their fare.

VIOLENCE : Brutal --& Refined

These are the industrial wars that you will never read about yet violence is the action and not in Vietnam, New York or Hollywood TV but in the centre of our own cities, and the working class have to protect themselves by their own actions for the employer and the police cannot help them.

But for the academic and the common room revolutionary there is Carlos. The computer is the weapon of bureaucracy for it is not more than the high speed clerk tap-tap-tapping out figures figures figures and in the end it will not grow one more potato, but London Transport have spent a £1,000,000, or is it £100,000,000,000, on a new computer and the Dalston busmen, once Communist Party led by the honour'd Bill Jones, have refused to work with it. Housed at the Mansion House site it functions in a simplistic fashion in that every turn of the bus wheel sends a pulse to the computer screen and as the pulses add up tap tap tap on the screen the bureaucrat watching can tell, within yards, where the bus is on its line of route. You will still stand in the pissing rain, little comrade, for the bus that never comes because there is no staff for in the great economy drive the staff and routes were slashed to skeleton outlines, but a clerk in a warm dry office will know where the next far away bus is. If the money was spent on building buses there would be no need for computers to seek out the lone lost bus, but the bureaucratic academic mind loves artificial shortages for only in that sterile wasteland can they flourish. And with Carlos, Nato, CIA and the rest of these abbreviations they have coined another set for your unknown dismay and it

is NBA and it means No Bus Available. There is the tired joke of the irate intending passenger that over the years so many heartsick conductors have had to listen to as they pull onto the screaming bus queue, "Have you been building the fuckin' bus?" and NBA means yes, for our city transport system has now reached that 1984 stage when crews have to, literally, wait in the garage for the mechanics to assemble a canibalised bus for the crew to take it into service.

The women in the West London factory had to fight their own battle for a warm workshop. Busmen refuse, with non publicised agreement from the employers, to venture into the badlands of our cities when pub and dancehall turn out and the Dalston busworkers refuse to switch on the computer pulse in their buses, yet knowing in the end that that particular Big Brother will be built into the bus and beyond human hand. These are all small industrial wars fought in isolation and the two tragedies are that they should have to be fought and our communication from one foxhole to the next should be no more than a scrawled message pinned on a board and a plate, it is alleged, thrown at a young woman canteen counterhand.

Arthur Moyses.

The monthly Freethinker (6p. 698 Holloway Road, London, N19 3NL) has had to change its printer. Its original printer employed a compositor with very fervent religious views. He proceeded to censor The Freethinker, refusing to set certain articles and altering and omitting sections from others which offended his religious susceptibilities.

"I Disagree with what you Say..."

IT IS HARD to depart from stock attitudes, it has long been a left-wing stance that all lovers of liberty should rally to the defence of freedom of the press and that when the press (left, liberal and not-too-far-right) is attacked in its efforts to expound and expose the truth to the people such attacks should (unless the press is too far right or too pornographic) be resisted without question. This week our very successful contemporary Socialist Worker, organ of the International Socialists, has been hauled before the British courts for contempt and editor and publishing company have been fined £250 each and furthermore they have jointly been saddled with crippling costs amounting to an estimated £7,500.

The rightness of the judgement is questionable (but not literally, insofar as an appeal is ruled out), the nature of the offence is debatable since 'contempt of court' is a broad, catch-all, indefinable and, in this case, undefined offence in the usual totalitarian tradition of English law. If offence there was, it was to the dignity of the judge and the subsequent penalty is (as the Morning Star points out) out of all proportion to the resources of the journal concerned and likely to cripple (or kill) the Socialist Worker.

It is the occasion of the offence and choice of issue which moderates the sense of outrage and causes some questioning. During the trial of Janie Jones for blackmail (an unsustainable charge albeit) the names of the allegedly blackmailed clients were suppressed (as is a usual, if not invariable custom), Socialist Worker, in its traditional attack upon upper-class morality, divulged the names

of the two clients (hitherto comparative unknowns who have sunk back as far as we are concerned into deserved oblivion from which they need not have arisen).

This is not the only time the Socialist Worker has affronted with the distortions of its ingrown morality. Recently an issue featured a story of a Chelmsford girl who had been acquitted on a charge of theft from a store where she had been employed; that her father was a member of the local detective force was sufficient for the S.W. to put on the 'holier than thou' morality which disfigures the radical left.

Indeed the whole exposé school of journalism from which Paul Foot (Socialist Worker's editor) graduated is often guilty of the callous disregard of privacy and the lack of understanding of human frailty which sustains the whole of the 'yellow' gutter press to which they are professedly contemptuous. The truth is that Private Eye, in quest of circulation (like all newspapers) has jettisoned all values and attacks everything and everybody.

* * *

It is conceivable, and indeed

this is the stock attitude taken up, that this is a deliberate (although indirect) attack upon the freedom of the press. A pending case regarding the editor of Time Out (for possession of a kidnap gang victim's passport) is viewed in a similar light.

But it has always been the attitude of the anarchists that the vaunted freedom of the press was illusory, particularly of the popular press, and the minority press (such as Socialist Worker and ourselves) exist only by reason of the indifference (misnamed 'tolerance') of the establishment towards ourselves. ...but one step out of line and the always precarious financial structure of such 'free' press as there is, can be toppled.

As for the mass press, their belief in freedom (save their own, their proprietors' and their advertisers') is hypocrisy when one considers their suppression of important issues and their magnification of trivia. Is the left minority press to join in the other side of the pig-trough of personal tittle-tattle?

* * *

A second, broader issue arises from this case. It has for some time been a habit of radicals to raise funds for payment of fines and legal costs for almost all cases. One cannot totally demur at legal costs but sometimes it seems that the whole legal profession is subsidized by the prosecution of radicals. We know that the legal profession is the back-bone of the Labour Party but need one provide so much calcium? On the other point, of the payment of fines, we know that human flesh is frail but would not the spectacle of a great radical or radical institution prepared to suffer for its opinions provide a shining example? We have the inspiring example of Hugh Scanlon -- where it is still questionable just who paid that fine: his supporters, his rivals, or his persecutors?

Could not Socialist Worker fall back on some device, such as going bankrupt (it is already a limited company) or changing its name? Imprisonment never did a champion of liberty much harm -- ask Uncle Michael!

Jack Robinson.

THE WEEKLY newspaper of the Soviet writers' union denounced Playboy as 'especially poisonous branch of bourgeois mass culture'. "The magazine," say the writers, sought to "transform man into a spiritless, consuming animal".

P.S.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 10 - 16 October

LONDON: E.4: A. & S.G. 50p;
JARROW: M.B. £1.70; WOOLER:
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Part proceeds of picnic in Santa
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£35.40.

TOTAL: £ 45.01

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"ASK THE PRESS TO KEEP MY NAME OUT OF THIS CASE."

SYNDICALISM

THE MONATTE--MALATESTA DEBATE
FROM THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL
ANARCHIST CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1907

PART 1 THE CASE FOR SYNDICALISM PUT BY MONATTE

IT IS NOT my desire, so much, to give a theoretical expose of revolutionary syndicalism, but to show you how it works, and to let its deeds speak for themselves. Revolutionary syndicalism, contrary to both socialism and anarchism, which preceded it, has affirmed itself less by theories than by deeds, and it is in action more than in books that we must look for it.

One would be blind not to see the things in common between anarchism and syndicalism. Both want the complete eradication of capitalism and the wage system, by means of the social revolution. Syndicalism, which is the proof of an awakening of the working class movement, has recalled anarchism to the awareness of its working class origins; on the other hand, the anarchists have contributed not a little towards leading the working class movement onto the revolutionary path and to popularizing the idea of direct action. In this way syndicalism and anarchism have reacted one on the other, to the greatest benefit of both.

It was in France, within the framework of the C.G.T., that the ideas of revolutionary syndicalism were born and developed. The confederation occupies an absolutely unique position within the international working class movement. It is the only organization which, while declaring itself clearly revolutionary, does not attach itself to any political party, even the most advanced. In most countries other than France, social democracy plays the leading role. But in France, the C.G.T. leaves the socialist party far behind, both in numerical strength and in the influence it exerts. The C.G.T. lays claim to being the only representative of the working class, and has rebuffed all the advances made to it over the years. Autonomy has made it strong and it intends to remain autonomous.

This aspiration of the C.G.T. and its refusal to work with any political party has earned it the name anarchist from its many exasperated adversaries. No name could be more false. The C.G.T., wide grouping of syndicates and workers unions, has no official doctrine; rather, many doctrines are represented in it and are equally tolerated. There is in the confederal committee a number of anarchists, who within it meet and work with socialists -- of whom the majority, it should be noted, are as hostile as the anarchists to the idea of any entente between the syndicate and the socialist party. . .

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[In the 1890s] a number of anarchists, realising at last that philosophy was not enough to make a revolution, went into the working class movement which was giving rise, amongst those with eyes to see, to high hopes. Fernand Pellontier was the man who best personifies this development amongst the anarchists.

All the congresses which followed [that at Nantes in 1894] stressed even more the divorce between the organised working class and politics. At Toulouse in 1897 our comrades Delesalle and Pouget had the tactics of boycott and sabotage adopted. In 1900 the newspaper Voix du Peuple was founded, with Pouget as principal editor. At this time also, the C.G.T., just overcoming the difficult times of its birth, day by day give proof of its growing strength. It became a power which the government on the one hand and the socialist party on the other would have to reckon with.

As for the government, supported by the reformist socialists, it made a terrible assault on our new movement. Millerand, who had become a minister, tried to governmentalise the union, by making each Bourse a branch of his ministry. Agents in his pay were working within the organisation and tried to corrupt faithful militants. The danger was very great. It was averted by the

entente which arose between all the revolutionary fractions, between anarchists, Geusdistes and Blanquistes. This entente held together when the danger was over. The Confederation - fortified since 1902 by the entry of the Federation of Bourses by which working class unity was achieved - today draws its strength from within; and it was from this entente that revolutionary syndicalism was born; the doctrine which makes the union the organ, and the general strike the means, of social transformation.

But - and I emphasize this point to non-French comrades because of its extreme importance - neither the attainment of working-class unity nor the coalition of revolutionaries could have brought the C.G.T. to its present level of prosperity and influence if we had not remained faithful, in union practice, to this fundamental principle, which excludes unions of political opinions: only one union by profession and by town. The consequence of this principle is the political neutrality of the syndicate, which cannot and must not be anarchist, Guestist, Allemanist or Blanquist but simply working class. In the syndicate, divergences of opinion, often so subtle and artificial, are pushed into the background; so the entente is possible. In practical life, economic interests come before ideas; all the disagreements between schools and sects will not make workers have different economic interests as they are all subject to the same law of wage earning. This is the secret of the entente which reigns among us, which makes the strength of syndicalism, and which allowed it, last year at the Congress of Amiens, to proudly affirm that it was self-sufficient. . .

& ANARCHISM

But, if I am to consider syndicalism as a whole rather than talk further on its particularities, what compliments should I not pay it! The revolutionary spirit of France was dying, or at least becoming more apathetic year by year. The revolutionism of Guesde was, for example, only verbal, or worse, electoral and parliamentary; the revolutionism of Jaures was simply and frankly ministerial and governmental. As for the anarchists, their revolutionism was hiding superbly in the ivory tower of philosophical speculation. Among so many failings, and even by the effect of these, Syndicalism was born. The revolutionary spirit was reanimated and, for the first time since the anarchists' dynamite, the bourgeoisie trembled.

It is important that the proletariat of every country profits from the experience of the French proletariat. And it is the duty of anarchists to recreate this experience wherever there is a working class working for its emancipation. . . It belongs to the anarchists to form unions in the French way, a neutral union, or more exactly, independent. As there is only one working class there must be no more than one organisation of each trade, in each town. Only thus will the class struggle, at last free from little divergences and rival schools or sects, be able to develop its strength and make its maximum impact.

Syndicalism, proclaimed the Congress of Amiens in 1906, is self-sufficient. I know this has not been understood very well even by anarchists. What does it mean, however, if not that the working class, having come of age, intends to be self-sufficient and no longer to depend on anyone else for its emancipation. What anarchist could speak against a will to act so nobly asserted?

Syndicalism does not loiter in promising the workers an earthly paradise. It asks them to go and get it for themselves, assuring them that their actions will never be in vain. It is a school of will power, of energy, of fertile thought. It opens up to anarchism, too long looking in on itself, new perspectives and new hopes. All anarchists must come to syndicalism: their work will become more fruitful, their blow against the social regime more decisive. . .

NEXT WEEK: MALATESTA REPLIES

ANARCHISTS AND COMMUNISTS IN BRAZIL, by John W. F. Dulles. (University of Texas Press, £6)

ANARCHISM IN BRAZIL

WHEN ANARCHISTS want to learn about their predecessors, they naturally begin by reading about the movements of their own countries, then go on to read books about the movements of other countries. Thus in Britain and the United States we can read something about our own past; then fairly easily about France, Spain, Italy, and Russia; then with more difficulty about Germany, Portugal, China, and Japan. But Latin America is an almost closed book, except for the few who know Spanish; and Brazil is a yet more firmly closed book, except for the even fewer who know Portuguese.

The great merit of this major study by John W. F. Dulles, an American historian who is presumably no relation of the more famous (or infamous) John Foster Dulles, is that it makes the history of Brazilian anarchism available in English, at least as far as 1935; the main drawback from the anarchist point of view is its increasing concentration on the Communists as the story proceeds. (It is also very expensive, but that is normal nowadays, especially for a very large scholarly book with dozens of illustrations and hundreds of references.)

Anarchism was largely introduced into America, both North and South, by European immigrants. Latin America was colonised mainly from southern Europe, where anarchism was still stronger than other forms of socialism, and in Brazil the main immigration and resulting influence came from Italy. A Brazilian anarchist movement was established by Italian militants at the beginning of the twentieth century, though comrades from Spain and France soon joined them. (In describing this process, by the way, Dulles fails to mention the Italian papers produced in Brazil during the 1890s which were listed by Max Nettlau.) At first anarchists worked closely with other socialists and also with radical liberals, but gradually the Brazilian left separated into the same tendencies as elsewhere; what is significant is that for many years the anarchist tendency was the strongest.

Dulles describes the formation in 1906 of the Confederação Operaria Brasileira (Brazilian Workers Confederation), as a syndicalist rank-and-file organisation following the line of the French Confédération Générale de Travail, and its growing rivalry with the Confederação Brasileira do Trabalho (Brazilian Confederation of Labour), which was

formed as a socialist party organisation in 1912. As the COB became more clearly anarchist, the anarchist movement was joined by many radical in-

Revolution and the Russian Revolution

From 1917 Brazil experienced a revolutionary wave similar to those which affected most of the countries of the world at the end of the war. In July 1917 there were general strikes and near insurrections in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. The most influential agitators in this episode were anarchist leaders of the COB, and after the Russian Revolution they decided to go even further. In November 1918 they attempted to organise a revolution, but the leadership was infiltrated by police spies and the strike movement was smashed by the authorities. In 1919 a so-called Communist Party was formed, being joined by anarchists as well as other revolutionary socialists, and there were huge demonstrations on May Day and widespread strikes afterwards. In October 1919 a final attempt at revolution failed, and the anarchist movement was violently crushed. Industrial discontent continued, but it was contained by the authorities and also confronted with increasing reaction from the bourgeoisie.

From 1920 the anarchists began to move away from the Communists, as the truth about the Bolshevik regime in Russia became known. The final break came in 1922, when the orthodox Partido Comunista do Brasil (Communist Party of Brazil) was formed; at last the anarchist leaders who had tried to remain loyal both to anarchism and to the Russian Revolution were forced to choose, and in many cases chose the CPB -- indeed a large number of Brazilian Communist leaders were former anarchists.

Despite the split, the anarchists, joined the Communists in supporting radical military rebellions during the 1920s. But anarchist influence began to decline, and the main libertarian strength was the surviving syndicalist tradition in the labour movement; and even this was doomed with the formation in 1929 of the Confederação Geral do Trabalho (General Confederation of Labour) as a Communist front. The second half of Dulles' book mainly concerns the fate of the CPB, which be-

tellectuals, including well-known writers like José Oiticica and Fábio Luz, and during the First World War libertarian propaganda became increasingly successful.

came an important element of the Brazilian left but eventually collapsed for various internal and external reasons which are difficult to work out and tedious to read about. The anarchist movement struggled to maintain a separate existence, but played less and less part in the collapse of the left under the dictatorship of the so-called liberal and actually semi-fascist Getúlio Vargas during the 1930s. Following Comintern policy, the PCB formed the Aliança Nacional Libertadora (National Liberation Alliance as a Popular Front organisation in 1935, and both anarchists and Trotskyists gave qualified support. But left-wing involvement in yet another unsuccessful radical military rebellion in November 1935 led to the virtually complete suppression of all left-wing organisations.

* * *

Dulles ends his study at this point, and does not discuss the survival of the anarchists -- and especially of the anarcho-syndicalists -- in the underground left during the next forty years: a survival which is still maintained under terrible conditions. Nor does he really try to analyse the nature of the Brazilian anarchist movement or the reasons for its rise or fall. His book is almost entirely a dense narrative drawing on a close reading of primary sources, especially the periodicals of the left; his account of anarchist developments owes much to material collected by Edgard Leuenroth, a leading militant from 1904 until his death in 1968. The result is not so much a history of Brazilian anarchism as the basis for such a history. In particular it lacks the perspective of developments in the international movement, especially in the Iberian peninsula and the rest of Latin America, and also the perspective of the subtle relationship between anarchism, syndicalism, and other forms of revolutionary socialism. (Incidentally, there is nothing about individualist anarchism at all.)

N. W.

AFTER THE ELECTION

THE ELECTION has been and gone and, surprise surprise, we are all back where we started. Wilson is still Prime Minister, the Cabinet remains intact and we still have to get into work every morning to keep eating. The Prime Minister's first statement to the nation took the form of a warning against "excessive" demands on the national economy by the big battalions, whoever they may be. And his vagueness about what he means by this is deliberate, as it is bound to be now he has won the election and is more anxious to impress the power-houses of finance, the bankers, than he is to ensure the electoral support of working people. Before the election his speeches always held a "populist" and pro-working class slant, while never explicit, always inferred. Now National Unity is the theme and the virtues of restraint must be urged upon trade unionists in its interest.

Parenthetically one inclines to hope, as this essential characteristic of the Labour government becomes more obvious in the coming months, that those "anarchist" comrades who one's grapevine has intimated were ill-advised enough to vote Labour and compound the felony by urging this action upon others; one hopes that they will have the grace to acknowledge that theirs was a mistaken course. For my part I can assure them that if the Labour government refrains from holding the working class back in its struggle to maintain living standards, I will admit a mistake in withholding my support. I do not even require that they legislate in the workers' republic,

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS, &c. We go to press on the Monday preceding the Saturday date of each issue.

as I presume our Labour voting friends imagine they could do.

But with Mr. Wilson turning his attention away from wooing the electorate, a job he has had to spend over one month on this year, an amount of time he doubtless considers extravagant, and turning to the task to which he can devote his soul, fawning to the bankers and financiers to prop up a reformist government as the best check on an increasingly aggressive working class, we can turn our attention to the intrigues in the other conservative faction, the Tory party.

Their "Shall we sack him, shall we not?" debate has made a good press. Mr. Heath, as we have pointed out before, is the last fading remnant of the grip of the MacMillan faction on the Tory party. Mac has been dead for some years now, a statement I base on a diagnosis that he was three parts dead when I heard him speak in public fourteen years ago, in the heady days of his premiership. He had groomed Heath for political office and done him the further service of ensuring Douglas Home's selection as leader in 1963 in a contest for which Heath was a non-starter. Home as leader was never going to be a durable proposition, and with Heath now about to lose the leader's job Mac's faction is also about to lose its grip on the party.

Conjecturally one would record the opinion that Joseph's attempt to enlist the support of the puritan/moralistic/kill-joy element at large in the country and set it in motion as his carriage to the leadership of the party has ensured the failure of his attempt.

And further in passing, with the Liberals having got to their much vaunted "take-off point" and then gone back into the

hangar, there seems no reason other than severe paucity of replacements, why they should not dispose of the overdressed Jeremy. But this will no doubt occupy the press when the Tory leadership tussle has been resolved.

This series of charades is presented as a sort of bread and circuses technique, to divert people's attention towards the political front men and away from the real sources of power. Meaningful power in the capitalist system resides in the civil service, the finance houses, and the board rooms of industry, and potentially at the point of production in the hands of the people. An anarchists we can usefully deflect people's attention back to a realisation of this power and away from the illusion of power presented to them by the hacks of all parties and of none who have lately been offering us the world for a pencilled cross. Enough of the pantomime. Let us attend to the realities.

Tom Star.

in Brief

HOMELESS FAMILIES in London have increased by almost one-third in the twelve months 1973-4, according to the Department of Health and Social Security. The number of homeless families seeking temporary accommodation was 15,083 "and," says the report, "the average family now has less chance of receiving temporary accommodation from local councils".

The general secretary of the London Council of Social Service said that Londoners are becoming more isolated, more suspicious and have no community sense.

Lord Marples, who when Conservative Minister of Transport inaugurated the campaign 'Don't drink and drive', was banned from driving for a year after having excessive alcohol in his blood when driving; he is a winegrower and merchant and claims he always carries 'samples' in his car.

AFTER four-and-a-half years without trial (and without precise charges) 35 accused (including a London woman teacher) came to trial in Jamshedpar, India, on cases connected with the Naxalite movement. The case was put off for seven-and-a-half weeks.

THREE South African prison warders (two whites and a black) were sent to jail for 18 months for assaulting a black prisoner (who died) and causing 'bodily harm' to another.

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Out of Ireland

cont. from P. 7

have been sensibly discussed.

It is obvious that the long-range solutions arranged by the Conservative and Labour governments are not going to work. Also the financial drag of maintaining armies of occupation, prison camps and subsidizing Northern Ireland's finances will need to be considered in view of Britain's alleged economic crisis. It is ironic that James Callaghan, in discussing Turkey's position in Cyprus precisely defined Turkey's dilemma in terms applicable to Britain's position in Northern Ireland:- the impossibility of permanently subjugating an unfriendly people, the heavy cost of maintaining an army of occupation, etc., etc. Perhaps Mr. Callaghan was anticipating ?

The intensification of English bombings and sectarian murders may not be a sign of intensification of pressure but signs of individual desperation by powerless groups for a failure to achieve any quick 'victory' by either I.R.A. or fragmented Protestant groups. The irony of the elevation of Enoch Powell to a Protestant leader -- in such a mad background his unbalance will never be noticed. The fratricidal strife including the attempted killing of a Protestant and a Catholic (by whom?) because they accompanied each other on the way to work each

ANOTHER FRAME-UP?

The current Police Review reprints the heading from and comments on a leaflet distributed (by Commonweal?) after the Trafalgar Square police-riot of 1885, containing a poem by William Morris (A Death Song) commemorating the death of Alfred Linnell at the hands of the police. Police Review comments that it is a 'banal' poem by W. Morris and that such claims of police brutality are a usual thing and soon forgotten. They claim the leaflet was found at the back of paneling in a house at Camberley (probably planted) by a detective called Walters (probably an alias). In the same issue they print a list of serious injuries sustained by police in the Windsor pop festival ambush. There is no comparative list of uncompensated, uninsured innocent spectators.

It is reported in the Daily Mail (which would say anything) gossip diary that Reg Gale (formerly chairman of the Police Federation) has applied (among others) for the job of general secretary of the National Council for Civil Liberties.

morning. The death of Scots boys and girls in an English pub; they had joined the British army to kill and assist in killing anyone they were ordered to, presumably because of the lack of work in Scotland.

Meanwhile, the crazy trial of Judith Ward goes on with a vague mass of evidence, allegations of events for which Judith Ward had undoubted alibis, and amazing revelation that Judith Ward had been in the hands of the police but released. The whole incredible trial is witness to the failure of the police to procure any real evidence or leads in these motiveless, purposeless outrages.

The real tragedy of Ireland is that there is no sign of awareness in the workers of their power. They are being used for political and religious purposes in a battle which will have no result save the domination of one or other religious or nationalist clique. When Protestant and Catholic do unite (as in prison riots) and the working class do show their power (as in the boycott or with the Newry electricians) they are a force to be reckoned with. Divided, as they are by nationalist and religious bigotry, they are simply pawns in a game.

It should be not only 'Troops Out' but 'Parsons, Priests and Politicians out !'

Jack Robinson.

CONTACT

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

CAMPAIGN AGAINST A CRIMINAL TRESPASS LAW. Open Meeting 7.30 p.m. Tues. 29 Oct., Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. (Affects squatting, factory sit-ins &c.)

Nat. Secular Soc. public meetings Conway Hall, chaired by Barbara Smoker. Fri. 1 Nov. 7.45 Religious Education. Fri. 29 Nov. 7.45 Church School and Ghetto School (4 speakers per mtg). NSS tel. 01-272 1266.

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

CAMBRIDGE group. Contact Peter Silcock, 51 City Road.

CORBRY ANARCHISTS for activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Univ. of Warwick, Coventry, CV4 7AL

ANARCHIST FILM. Sun. 27 Oct. BBC2 "Open Door" programme. Anarchist attitudes to work, education, parliament, political parties, Special Branch, the army, N. Ireland and Pat Arrowsmith case

Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone St. London W.1. 7.30 p.m. Tube: Northern line Goodge Street

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers' Corner 1 pm Speakers, Listeners, Hecklers welcome.

INTERNATIONAL LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO. Sats & Suns from 7.30 pm. Disco &c. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd., 2nd door). Tube Chalk Farm.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures, Thurs. evenings 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center 369 8th ave. (SW cnr. 29 St.) admission free. Nov. 14 Irving Levitas, Anarchism in New England. Dec. 12 Don Georgokas and Leonard Rubenstein, Art and Anarchy.

Players wanted for London based Anarchist Football Team(s). Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

PORTUGUESE Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies anarchist publications, money & ideological support. Movimento Libertario Portugues Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2^o-E, LISBOA 1, Portugal.

Prisoners

PAUL PAWLOWSKI doing two years. Postcards to Paul Pawlowski, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs), Des Keane (5 yrs), Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for 1 letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, County Kildare, Eire.

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

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee. Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.

THREE now still held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France; and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori & Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

MANCHESTER S.W.F. Weekly meetings held. All enquiries to Sec., c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

ANARCHIST-Sydney Libertarian Self-Management Conference Jan. 8-12 1975 in Sydney, N.S.W. Australia. Agenda, proposals & contacts: Fed. of Australian Anarchists, Box 45 P.O., North Richmond, Victoria 3121, Austr.

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