

# AFTER VIETNAM

ACCORDING TO the *Daily Telegraph*, (28.4.75), an Irish nun who has been working in South Vietnam for seventeen years said of the American evacuation of Vietnam "This last rush to the United States is the stupidest thing I have ever seen. [They're] evacuating children for cuddling and prostitutes for sleeping with. They're rushing like bulls in a mist." The hasty evacuation of Americans, their dependants and some of their sympathisers and collaborators bears all the hallmarks of unconsidered action and will doubtless engender hatred in South Vietnam and some bad feeling in America.

One realises that the civilians and many of the lower rank soldiers are expendable, and indeed, whether one believes or disbelieves atrocity stories already appearing, civilians and lower-rank soldiers are unlikely to suffer physically from the exercise of power by the conquering 'liberation' army. The majority of citizens live lives of such unpolitical usefulness that they are unlikely to be involved in resistance activities. Such was indeed the case in Nazi-held Europe; it is inconceivable that less than 80% of the population 'collaborated' to the extent of carrying on in their usual occupations. Without that habitual and expected 'collaboration' the Nazis could not have maintained their brief power.

American reaction to this defeat (for such it is) is not surprising. Worried by inflation and unemployment many Americans are reacting sharply to acting as host to these by no means innocent victims of a war sponsored and supported for too many years by a succession of American presidents (of both parties). 'Go Home Gooks' is a frequent cry echoing former protesters' 'Yankee Go Home' and ignoring American pretensions to be a haven for political refugees.

The possible acceptance by Britain of

some refusees (some have already arrived in overcrowded Hong Kong) would pose a dilemma both for the militant Left and the National Front. It would be interesting to see a probable reversal of roles.

There has been some unjust criticism of the left for drawing attention to America's flagrant desertion of her allies after the self-same left had villified America's participation in the war. ("Trog" of the *Observer* was guilty of this fault. He drew a protester-type viewing the departure of American refugees from Vietnam. He is surrounded by signs - "Vietnam :: GET OUT!", etcetera. He is shouting "Heartless Bastards!" at the television screen.) This 'heartless' desertion of former allies (regardless of their worthiness or unworthiness) is not unknown in war and is one of the grim facts of military necessity. The desertion of the Kurds by their allies is the most recent example; the Americans deserted the Cuban cause when the Bay of Pigs venture failed; the British were accused (rightly) of deserting many of their allies in the last war, leaving many to the rigorous regime of Stalin's

Russia. Poland, for whom the war was ostensibly fought, finished the war with tracts of territory in the hands of her old enemy, Russia.

This double defeat of America carries in itself the danger of a growth of right-wing extremism in the U. S. with echoes of 'betrayal' and 'appeasement'. Already the apprehensive domino theory is being put forward by the fearful but this seems to be merely a logical extension of the communist-conspiracy theory with communists under every bed in Asia. The Vietnam war like many 'communist' causes has been nationalist in its impulses. Its aims and achievements (up to now) have been reformist. The Vietnamese have successfully ridden the two horses of communism: the Chinese and the Russian.

It remains to be seen which brand of national communism (if any) the victorious Vietnamese will accept. Perhaps like many national liberation movements the Vietnamese will play both ends against the middle.

Whatever happens it is a problem for the authoritarian Left to find a new cause to follow and a new enemy to hate. The broad simplicities of the Vietnam war will not survive the complexities of rebuilding Vietnam, in which we wish the people luck.

And they will need it. From being the puppets of America, it will probably be their further fate to be a discussion point between Russia and China, whose undoubted assistance will no doubt have to be paid for. But there never was a good war or a bad peace.

Jack Robinson.

## STRIKING AT A USELESS INDUSTRY

IF THE STRIKE of "stable lads" at Newmarket achieves nothing else, it will at last have shown up the sort of relationship that exists between trainers, the "punters" and the jockeys on one side, and those employed to look after the horses on the other. Despite what has been written in the national newspapers, this relationship seems to be, if not a feudal one of lord and serf, then at least a nineteenth-century one of master and servant. One can imagine the racegoers when they realised that their afternoon's racing might be interrupted or stopped by a sit-down

of "stable lads". The same was true of jockey Willie Carson, who after being dragged from his horse called upon the "punters" to deal with the strikers. This they did. It was these people who turned the race meeting into a "riot" by their bitterness at the thought of these "stable lads" depriving them of an afternoon's sport.

It has been very noticeable that the reports on the strike appearing in the national press are mostly written by the horseracing correspondents. Obviously their views about the dispute are coloured by the type of job they do. They all repeat the Newmarket Trainers Federation statements that they can't pay more than they have already offered. And that if they give in now "there won't be a single horse trained at Newmarket in five years' time".

The striking "stable lads" belong to the Transport and General Workers' Union who are demanding a £4.70 a week increase. The trainers have offered £3. Brough Scott, racing correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, writes that "no more than half of Newmarket's

The American intervention in Indo-China began as an experiment in counter-insurgency and deteriorated into one of the most brutal wars of attrition in modern history. Both sides committed war crimes, but the brutality of war was greater because of the guerrilla tactics used by the North Vietnamese and the American counter-measures.

According to the Indo-China Resource Centre in Washington, the total casualties, dead and wounded, from January 1961 to January 1975 was 5,773,190. Excluding American casualties, this was rather more than 10 per cent of the population of South and North Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The dead totalled 2,122,244, including 56,231 Americans. In comparison, Britain's armed forces lost 305,770 in the Second World War.

Only approximate figures are available for civilian casualties, and they are obviously incomplete. From 1965, South Vietnamese casualties alone totalled 1,540,000, of whom 440,000 were killed.

Before the final collapse, the South Vietnamese authorities estimated that 55 per cent of the population,

about 10m, were refugees. The number of orphans was thought to be about 900,000.

The United States air forces flew 1,899,668 sorties and dropped 6,727,084 tons of bombs on Indo-China. In comparison the Second World War was a minor operation. The combined British and American air forces dropped only 2,700,000 tons of bombs on Germany.

Apart from bombs, the United States air forces dropped 19m gallons of defoliants in South Vietnam. According to the National Academy of Sciences, 3,500,000 acres were sprayed, the equivalent of Northern Ireland. The effects could persist for 100 years or more.

A Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee also reported that 47,489 canisters of silver iodide were dropped on Indo-China in attempts to modify the weather.

Every kind of aircraft was used, from B52 bombers and carrier-based fighter-bombers to helicopters and pilotless reconnaissance planes. About 8,000 aircraft were lost, including 4,600 helicopters.

The total military budget, from 1965 to 1974, was \$141,300m. A further \$28,684m was spent on aid.

700 lads are in the union and only 30 % of the total came out on strike, and Newmarket is far the strongest TGWU training centre". The "lads" get £35 a week for a seven-day week, but a bonus is gained if your horse wins. This is fine if you work with a good horse, but as any "punter" will tell you, many horses never even get a place.

The TGWU policy is to recruit everyone they can get. Certainly in the normal industrial sense, the "stable lads" need organisation. Their lot has only improved because other workers' standards have risen, not because the trainers are a good lot. They, like any other employer, as in business to make a profit. They charge the owners of horses they train a fee. An owner can win thousands of pounds, but obviously none of them are short of money; they own horses in order to indulge a fancy.

Horse racing may no longer be the sport of kings, but it certainly belongs to the rich, if not the idle rich. It also gives many a working man and woman a pie-in-the-sky hope of winning a fortune. But like any industry - and horse racing and breeding are an industry helping our balance of payments - it's there to make a profit. Those "stable lads" who haven't joined the union or are not striking might see themselves in the future as jockeys or trainers joining the privileged side of the industry. Others might, as one racegoer in the grandstand was reported as saying, "[not] want a job in racing, they just want anything that keeps them away from a factory bench".

That, in itself, is an indictment of our present system. Certainly the regular visitors to the grandstands at Newmarket know nothing of factory benches. But it's this attitude, this relationship of keeping your place which still prevails in horse racing. Indeed it prevails throughout our economic system, except that this type of action was thought to happen only in the cities and factories. Those messy, dirty places where the great unwashed live. Here at Newmarket at least we thought everyone knew their place.

Well, the trainers can be forced to pay up, if enough give their support. After all, the others will get the increases the strikers have fought for. The action of the television workers in refusing to cross the picket line last Friday is the sort of solidarity needed, but if the TGWU really meant business they could stop all racing.

However, as with much employment in our present capitalist society, horse racing is a useless activity as far as it concerns the community. No one would watch horse racing if it wasn't for the betting. There are plenty of people who enjoy working with horses who could find more useful employment at riding stables, which at least give people pleasure. But horse racing is a rich industry, made so because people like a bet or think they can win their way to an easy life. Remove the chance of winning money and horse racing is finished.

P. T.

# POLICE AND COUNCILS

OVER THE last two weeks (to May 1st) there has been a series of events.

After a four-day trial at Inner London Crown Sessions, three squatters were sentenced on 28 April to six months imprisonment (suspended) and ordered to pay a total of £270 costs. They had been involved in the debrick-ing of a house for a homeless family.

Two CID men from Arbour Square police station who had been present at the trial were among 8 policemen who, accompanied by a dog, made a ludicrous search of two squats (including the office of the squatting group) in Stepney on April 30th. They arrived saying they were looking for stolen property, then said they were looking for a gun, and finally "for a stolen gun". Floorboards were taken up but nothing found.

The local police may have also been irritated by complaints from squatters to M. P. s and to A10 over police racism locally. In Poplar, Bengali tenants have suffered a series of assaults over the last six weeks, and the police have refused to do anything. In Stepney, police arrested three squatter Bengalis for grievous bodily harm on the evidence of two white youths, and refused to listen to any of the West Indian, Bengali or white (squatter) eye-witnesses.

Also on April 30th there was a brutal eviction of a squatting family in Poplar. There had been an attempt by bailiffs on the 23rd, which had been foiled by over 25 people. Limehouse police had refused to be involved on that occasion. However, on the 30th at least six police accompanied bailiffs in an early morning raid on the squat. Constables H334 and H240 dragged the women and children out of the flat by the hair, throat, and with arms twisted behind their backs. The two women and four children were forced out without the opportunity to take anything from the flats, and were left shivering in light clothing and without shoes. So hasty was the operation that the flat was on the point of being padlocked with a year old child still inside. (Other police involved in the eviction were constables H342, H305 and H386, and an inspector from Limehouse station.) Afterwards a squatter who had been at the scene was picked up and held for two hours before being released without being charged. The flat was resquatted.

Tower Hamlets Council continue to refuse to talk to Corfield Street squatters (see FREEDOM 29 March). The co-op have asked the council for another empty block if the council want to demolish Corfield Street (for which there is a plan to clear the site for a community centre). In an open letter to the Leader of the Council the co-op declared their intentions: "... Corfield Street Co-op has been set up by a group of people whose one

thing in common is that they were without a proper home... The objectives of the Co-op are, in the short term, to maintain their position as squatters in Corfield Street and to open negotiations with the Council in order to obtain the block on a lease/agreement with a view to renovating it. In the long term, we intend, with financial assistance, to renovate the blocks ourselves to a standard at least equal to that of surrounding blocks and to live in the premises at an appropriately reduced rent.

"We believe that the present housing situation is out of control. Homelessness increases every year and conventional housing policies can be seen to be a total failure. The effects of this have been to destroy traditional East End society by forcing people, particularly young people, to leave the area and the danger is that Tower Hamlets will become an underpopulated area with an increasingly older population. One way to stop this is by housing co-ops, whereby people take control of their own futures by occupying some of the hundreds of empty properties which exist in the borough and which the Council leave to rot simply because they are unable or unwilling to renovate them, even on a temporary basis.

"... we now hear, since the demolition men moved in, that there is a plan to demolish Corfield St. and Finnis St. and to build a community centre for local people... It was a twist of fate that we chose a street which local people wanted demolished in order that they might have a community centre on the site. We would like to stress that we have no wish to deprive them of their centre. We are prepared to form our co-op elsewhere in the borough if the Council were to make available some of the mass of empty property that they own..."

Tower Hamlets Council admit to having over 1,300 dwellings empty (and over 2,000 empty GLC properties in their area.

All but two of the tenants in the blocks surrounding Corfield Street have signed a petition supporting the squatters.

Greater London Council bureaucrats are evicting six groups of squatters from mobile houses and flats in Tower Hamlets, contrary to present GLC policy in the area. The six are from a list given to the GLC while squatters were negotiating for rehousing or rent books.

Stepney Squatter.

[We have seen copies of statements by two Bengali squatters whose families have been subjected to the attacks mentioned in para 3 of this report. Both families had been moved out of the GLC flats in which they had squatted in Tower Hamlets into other GLC properties in Poplar. --Eds.]

# ONLY ONLY EARTH

NEARLY ONE YEAR ago, in June 1974, there was, in Stockholm, a conference on the politics of survival. As far as can be seen, the concern expressed and the pointing out of the dangers have had little effect upon the activities of the administrators of human affairs. Poisonous substances still continue to be applied to land, sea and air, and radio-active substances still to be accumulated and imported for processing.

The Friends of the Earth published a book on the conference\* which made the telling points that all the water on earth is as a drop of water to a hen's egg (the condensed atmosphere is many times less) and the thin mantle of soil is in like proportion. A combination of these elements is what man and his living environment is. Man is by far the most numerous at the earth's table and is engaged in depriving many of our fellow creatures of a seat at the table. Also many of our fellow humans are constantly undernourished.

When we were not so numerous, the impact of man on his environment was small. The flat earth of infinite boundaries was a source of infinite resources. We still behave as if the earth was not round and very finite. Even so, the collapse of earlier civilisations was preceded by the collapse of food sources. Will the increased impact of man on this unique and delicate planet result in man following the dinosaur into oblivion, the fate that now threatens the largest mammal, the whale?

Two threads of human development, one of creative beauty, love, co-operation; the other of greed, power and cruelty, must be disentangled and understood if the enormous power of a technology allied to privilege, greed and power is not to gravely threaten our tenancy of this planet.

Our use of technology is bound up with a shambles of financial usury and power which are preventing a sane use of that power. The decaying walls of society are stuck together by oceans of paper bills and bank notes.

Many modern dinosaurs that mesmerise mankind are being revived to continue their dangerous and irrelevant existence. In Britain one such dinosaur, British Leyland, where the brain on top seems to be as small as that of its extinct predecessor, is to have its existence extended. This is a prime example of big is ugly, and there is to be no radical change in line with new conditions. The obsolescent transport system is to continue to be serviced, and juggernauts manufactured for roads and fields. There is no suggestion that their products be adapted to a world of scarce resources, expensive fuel and the change necessitated by the failure of agro-industry to deliver the goods.

At a time when much is being said about Common Market agricultural policy and the iniquitous Dr. Mansholt, the Common Market is proposing to spend large sums on persuading British greenhouse growers to dismantle greenhouses for which they had a 40 per cent grant to erect. This sort of craziness is just the craziness of a market-based agriculture. In reality, however, it is to some extent intent on industrialising the peasant farmers of Europe in a way in which the British have developed over many years, as the following figures for 1937 show:

YEAR 1937	Output per worker £		Wages per hired worker (shillings weekly)	Acres per worker	Livestock units per worker	Output per acre £	
	Gross	Nett				Gross	Nett
Great Britain	240	200	30 - 36/-	33.8	10.3	7	6
Denmark	180	155	23 - 26/-	15.7	8.4	11	10
Netherlands	150	120	23 - 30/-	9.0	4.9	17	14
Belgium	110	100	18 - 22/-	7.4	3.4	15	14
Switzerland	110	100	27 - 29/-	7.1	4.3	17	15
France	90	90	20 - 28/-	11.6	2.8	8	8
Germany	70	70	18 - 23/-	7.9	2.8	8	8

Table compiled by P. Lamartine Yates

The significance of the above figures is that they purport to show the efficiency of British agriculture (pre-war) over that of our European neighbours. We see that the agricultural worker in Britain tilled three times as many acres as his European counterpart but his OUTPUT PER ACRE was the lowest of any. There was also an orientation towards livestock husbandry, as can be seen from the fact that in Great Britain many more units of livestock were served by each worker. Livestock are processors of food rather than primary producers, although as part of the symbiotic process, they contribute

to fertility. Therefore we see how agriculture was, between the wars, adjusted to the industrial scene, and that higher output per man is not at all necessarily the same as high output per acre.

A propos of this determination to develop agro-industry at all costs, in a recent agricultural supplement to the East Anglian Daily Times, a representative of a chemical combine lamented the failure to improve yields by new plant strains because many were disappointing in that they did not have long-lived resistance to disease. His solution was, of course, more pesticides, herbicides and chemical fertilizers.

This, of course, is the grand illusion of the green revolution that failed to materialise. Why has it failed to materialise? Because the whole concept ignores the basic fact that successful vegetable growth depends on variety and balanced communities of living things. What happens when chemical fertilizers are used on monocrops for a long time? The soil becomes largely devoid of organic content and more and more fertilizer has to be applied. The single crop also attracts pests that find it the sole host for their attentions: these pests are largely slain by pesticides which also slay their predators; the few remain to breed, resistant to the pesticides and with no predators, and a more powerful chemical has to be found.

Therefore, apart from the other by-products of industrial farming such as the destruction of hedges and trees, the residues of all the substances pollute the water courses and ultimately present a danger to man himself.

Vast, scarce, resources are required to produce nitrogen, potash and phosphates, while the wastes of agro-industrial livestock present a hazard that should be an asset. Western man is also at the end of the food chain, particularly as he consumes vast quantities of livestock and, predator that he is, receives back that which he lavishes with great abandon on the fields and animals in his care.

In France, an analysis of poisonous substances used in agriculture, found in human and cow's milk was carried out. The pollution by lindane, dieldrin and aldrin, heptachloride plus eponide DDT in human milk is horrifyingly high, higher than in cow's milk. Reasons for this concentration are the small quantity of milk given by women and the infrequency of their lactations, and, being at the end of the food chain, their consumption (particularly in the West) of large quantities of animal protein

The possibility, therefore, is that our food will be a source of a whole range of agro-industrial induced diseases.

Alan Albon

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\*The Stockholm Conference - Only One Earth.

# EMILE POUGET —

SABOTAGE, according to André Tridon, was originally a slang term and designated work carelessly done, literally kicked about with wooden shoes. While the practice was not new, the development and systemisation of methods of industrial sabotage undoubtedly owes much to Emile Pouget, who wrote in his *Almanack du Père Peinard* in 1897, "I am an anarchist; I want to spread my ideas; I already have the bistro; I want something better." The nature of some of his ideas became apparent that same year when he attended a syndicalist conference held in Toulouse and remembered the threat issued by Guérard, head of the railwaymen's syndicate, two years previously when the government had threatened to introduce a bill making it illegal for railwaymen to join a syndicate: "With two cents worth of a certain stuff, used by one who knows, a locomotive can be made absolutely useless."

At the 1897 conference, Pouget gave currency to the work sabotage when, after M. de Selves, the prefect of the Seine, had refused delegates from the Syndicate of Municipal Workers leave of absence asked for in order to attend the conference, a resolution was passed protesting against his attitude. Pouget opposed the passing of the resolution and advocated sabotage:

"We would gain more by doing something definite than by merely protesting; instead of submitting to our rulers' whims, we should return blow for blow; we should give one kick for every slap. Remember the fear which was struck into the capitalists' heart when our comrade Guérard told us how a worker at an expense of two cents could prevent a fast train, even with a double header, from pulling out of a station. I present the following substitute for the resolution before the house:

"The congress realising that it is futile to blame the government, which is only discharging its duties when it tightens the screws on the workers, directs the municipal workers to commit depredations to the extent of 100,000 francs in the various services of the City of Paris in order to repay M. de Selves for his veto."

The congress voted down the motion but appointed a committee on sabotage and boycott which defined sabotage and described its various applications and finally presented a resolution on boycott and sabotage:

'RESOLVED, That whenever there arises between employers and workers a conflict due either to the employers' exactions or to the workers' initiative, and a strike does not produce results satisfactory to the workers, the workers shall use boycott or sabotage or both according to the rules laid down in this report.'

This resolution was passed unani-

mously and at the Paris conference of 1900 sabotage was once again endorsed by 117 votes against 76; three forms of sabotage were distinguished:

1. Active sabotage which consists in the damaging of goods or machinery.
2. Open-mouthed sabotage ("la bouche ouverte") beneficial to the ultimate consumer and which consists in exposing or defeating fraudulent commercial practices.
3. Obstructionism or passive sabotage which consists in carrying out orders literally, regardless of consequences (Work to rule).

The Bulletin of the Montpellier Labour Exchange for 1900 gave advice on sabotage to engineers, joiners, garment workers and agricultural workers. Barber shop assistants in Paris in 1902 extracted the yolk from eggs, filled the eggshells with caustic, and used them on 2,000 out of 2,300 barbers' shops. This was done as part of their struggle for a weekly rest and shorter hours, the "badigonnage" (smearing up) being done at night. As a result they won a weekly rest long before parliament passed a law making it compulsory in every trade. The badigonnage

caused damage estimated at 200,000 francs to their employers' premises.

The fertile mind of Pouget, described somewhat euphemistically as the CGT's "technical expert", was ever at work, and together with Sebastien Faure he delivered addresses on the subject of "technical instruction as revolution's handmaid", though some extracts indicate that Pouget may also have consulted with his old friend, the "king of electricity", Emile Pataud:

"The electrical industry is one of the most important industries as an interruption in the current means a lack of light and power in the factories; it also means a reduction in the means of transportation and a stoppage of the telegraph and telephone systems..." "How can the power be cut off? By curtailing in the mine the output of the coal necessary for feeding the machinery or stopping the coal cars on their way to the electrical plants. If the fuel reaches its destination what is simpler than to set the pockets on fire and have the coal burn in the yard instead of the furnaces? It is child's play to put out of work the elevators and other automatic devices which carry coal to the fireroom..." "To put boilers out of order use explosives or silicates or a plain glass bottle which thrown on the glowing coals hinders the combustion and clogs up the smoke exhausts. You can also use acids to corrode boiler-tubes; acid fumes will ruin cylinders and piston rods. A small quantity of some corrosive substance, a handful of emery will be the end of oil cups. When it comes to dynamos or transformers, short circuits and inver-

sion of poles can be easily managed. Underground cables can be destroyed by fire, water or explosives, etc., etc."

As editor of the CGT newspaper, *Voix du Peuple*, Pouget now had something better than the bistro to spread his ideas, and in its issue for May 21, 1905 it was pointed out that a walkout of all the workers was insufficient to cripple an establishment as long as all the machinery was left in perfect condition. (Pouget was no mere machine-wrecker; his advice on rendering power stations ineffective was given in order to ensure that efforts to restore power would be unavailing even when the government used troops for the purpose.) The same idea inspired the following advice in *Voix du Peuple*:

"The first thing to do before going out on strike is to cripple all the machinery. Then the contest is even between employer and worker, for the cessation of work really stops all life in the capitalists' camp. Are bakery workers planning to go on strike? Let them pour in the oven a few pints of petroleum or of any other greasy or pungent matter. After that soldiers or scabs may come and bake bread. The smell will not come out of the tiles for three months. Is a strike in sight in steel mills? Pour sand or emery into the oil cups."

## KING OF SABOTAGE

Similar advice was given by A. Renault in his pamphlet on *Syndicalism and the Railroads*: "We must select among the expert workers a few comrades who, knowing every detail of the machinery, will find the weak spots where an effective blow can be struck while avoiding all stupid destruction of material."

The sabotage methods used by the French railroaders impressed Bill Haywood of the IWW during a visit to the country and the IWW newspaper, *The Industrial Worker*, not only advocated sabotage but provided an impressive list of acts of sabotage carried out by the capitalist class, "the exploiters who are loudest in condemnation of sabotage when it is used to benefit the workers". The adulteration of medicines and foodstuffs by manufacturers was quoted as examples of capitalist sabotage and, on a larger scale, the following:

"Capitalists cause imperfect dams to be constructed, and devastating floods sweep whole sections of the country. They have faulty bridges erected, and wrecks cause great loss of life. They sell steamer tickets, promising absolute security, and sabotage the life saving equipment to the point where hundreds are murdered, as witness the *Titanic*. The *General Slocum* disaster is an example of capitalist sabotage on the life preservers. The Iroquois theater fire is an example of sabotage by exploiters who assured the public that the fire-curtain was made of asbestos. The cases could be multiplied indefinitely."

So, too, could the various methods of sabotage practised by workers in various trades and professions. At a Bank Clerks Congress in Paris it was decided that all possible evidence of crooked dealings taking place in financial establishments be gathered and the incriminating evidence kept on file for publication whenever they were pressing claims for better conditions. Open-mouthed sabotage was widely practised, as André Tridon relates in his book The New Unionism (New York, 1913):

"Besides denouncing abuses, workers are instructed to correct them whenever it is in their power. Wineshop workers must refuse to dilute the wines, cooks must use so much margarine that it becomes as expensive as genuine butter, grocery clerks must never shortweigh the customers, apothecary clerks are not to recommend expensive proprietary drugs when an inexpensive substitute would do as well, nor must they limit when filling prescriptions any high-priced but necessary ingredient whose cost is borne by their employer."

In 1909 a confidential circular was sent out to employees in the postal and telegraph service in France detailing action to be taken in protest against the dismissal of 650 post office workers. It explained how to cut off live wires without running the risk of electrocution and stressed that signal wires should not be tampered with so as not to cause disasters on the railroads.

Pouget, the lecturer on "technical instruction as revolution's handmaid" had done more than any other man to evolve a system of what might be called scientific sabotage. His colleague Pataud was nicknamed "the king of electricity"; Pouget himself well deserves the title of "king of sabotage".

Henry Bell.

#### Notes:

During his trial in 1918 Bill Haywood addressed the jury on the subject of sabotage as reported in the Chicago Daily News, August 13, 1918:

"Sabotage is not the disgraceful and cowardly thing that the government attorneys would have you believe. It protects humanity. It prevents adulteration of foods and materials... The adulteration of silks and woollens is the sabotage of the capitalist class. By word of mouth as well as by deed the industrial workers can prevent such sabotage, I don't approve of the Mickey Finn powders and the stink-bomb kind of sabotage. During the New York hotel strike I preached another kind: 'Give the patrons extra large portions of beefsteak and potatoes. Load up their plates...' The New York World carried an editorial about our sabotage. 'If this be sabotage,' said the editorial, 'give us more of it!'"

(Quoted in The Industrial Worker, December, 1972.)

The guild socialist William Mellor in his book Direct Action (Parsons,

1920) quotes examples of non-violent sabotage as practised by the CGT and the IWW without acknowledging the source and then goes on to remark: "It is extraordinary that the Labour Movement should not have explored the possibilities latent in its possession of these perfectly peaceful forms of sabotage." The borrowing of and deformation of syndicalist ideas and practices has a long history.

Examples of non-violent sabotage during the stoppage by Protestant workers in Ulster last May occurred when troops were ordered in to operate oil and gas plants: "When troops arrived at one plant they found that labels on storage tanks were changed and stop cocks were replaced with other fittings. . . disruption of storage tank markings and the removal of stop-cocks resulted in hundreds of thousands of gallons of paraffin and diesel oil being pumped into the tanks of the commandeered petrol stations. Consequently, hundreds of cars which had been tanked up after a considerable wait in long queues spluttered to a halt. Disruption tactics at the gas plant created even more confusion. Troops who had moved in with detailed plans of the equipment were baffled by the way they found the system and found they couldn't operate the machinery. They had to approach the depot's management officers for assistance." (Sunday News, Belfast, April 6, 1975.)

H. B.

## BUREAUCRATIC SABOTAGE

HAVE YOU ever felt that there are too many bureaucrats controlling your life, based in your local town hall and also at Westminster? Do you consider these bureaucrats to be naught more but useless parasites? You must have asked yourself both of these questions at some time or other or you wouldn't be reading this paper.

Whilst I can offer no solution to the second of the above-mentioned national ailments, the first of these can be handled "at a stroke" (Rt. Hon. Ted Heath, M.P., 1970). We, the people, can produce so much work for our local planning departments that both they and the Department of the Environment can be stretched to breaking point.

Applications for Town Planning permission flood into our town halls all the time. What most people do not realise is that you do not actually have to own a piece of land to apply for planning permission on a particular site. Furthermore, no matter how ludicrous an application may sound the planning department has to treat the application seriously.

Here is an example of the procedure which could be followed:

1. Go along to your local planning office and ask for (a) an application form for town planning permission,

and (b) a Section 27 'B' notice. The 'B' notice is merely a form which you tear into two separate pieces. One half is served on the owner of a particular piece of land you are interested in, telling him that you have applied for permission to develop his land. The other half goes to the local authority to prove that you served the notice on the owner. If the local authority owns the land you just fill in both sides and hand them both to the local authority together with your application form and plans.

2. Having acquired (a) above, you have to choose a suitable application to make. This is the opportunity to make a political point. Since town halls as presently used are useless socially, how about "change of use from town hall offices to community centre with indoor gymnasium, meeting rooms, crèche, and other facilities". Or maybe "change of use from stock exchange offices and trading floor to central London recreational complex". The variations are endless. Some can be serious, some can be bogus.

3. Since both these examples would be substantial departures from the Development Plan (now an obsolete document which every borough has as a handy excuse for refusal) the application would have to be advertised -- the local paper and a public enquiry

could follow which would be an excellent opportunity for propaganda. The public enquiry could result if many people objected to the proposal.

4. If either the local authority refuses the application or they acknowledge receipt and then do not determine the application within two months of the date of receipt, you can appeal against the decision to the Secretary of State for the Environment. Details of how to do this are kindly supplied by the local authority. Your case will then be heard by an inspector representing the Secretary of State. This has three advantages as far as we are concerned: (a) the local authority has to prepare a case against your appeal, which takes considerable time; (b) the Secretary of State is already overloaded with appeals -- pressure of this sort could be the straw to break the camel's back; (c) the public can attend the appeal hearing and represent themselves on issues concerning them -- another marvellous opportunity for making a political point.

5. There are hundreds of local authorities throughout the country, most of which are short of planning staff, and the Secretary of State's inspectors are overworked in all districts of the nation. Numerous such complicated

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Dear Friends,

Continuing the Ik saga, I'd like to strike a pose halfway between B. H. Moseley (12 April) and S. E. Parker (26 April), because they both seem to me to make certain false judgements.

Moseley's description of what happened to the Ik is fine, but his analysis is awry. He is quite wrong to compare the Ik to a society of conscious, deliberate egoists (Stirnerian egoists), as Parker says: the Ik are not conscious egoists but egoists by default. They are the victims of imperialism at its most obscene; their world was transformed by an enormous external authority which they could neither understand nor fight. They were forced, all at once, to live by farming, when their patterns of thought, their abilities and their social organisation were built around hunting, and on top of that their "farm land" was all but barren. In this situation, Ik society has, to all intents and purposes, collapsed. Turnbull stresses this at the beginning of Chapter Seven: "There seemed to be increasingly little among the Ik that could by any stretch of the imagination be called social life, let alone social organization." In other words, the "egoism" of the Ik is a purely negative reaction, a symptom of a society that has found it impossible to adjust to new conditions.

The question is, why was adjustment impossible? It is obviously not simply a question of the nearness of death by starvation, as Moseley suggests. Other societies survive (and flourish) in situations of death: I am reminded of the slogan "War is the health of the State".

#### BUREAUCRATS... cont'd from Page 5

applications (i.e. complicated for them to process) and subsequent action as advised could bring at least one section of our bureaucratic overlords to a crashing standstill.

However, for such action to be successful there are several requirements. The first of these is hard work and time to spare. Maybe an agency could be set up to advise and prepare appeal cases, and so forth. Secondly, merely to destroy is not enough. We must be ready to present an alternative - maybe alternative plans for an area demonstrating how we do not require so many parasitic "experts" - or an "alternative council", i.e. the whole community. Finally, there must be interest by enough people.

If any of you are interested please write to me via FREEDOM or Direct Action. If enough people show interest I should be extremely glad to organise a conference in which work committees can be set up and the actions to implement initially can be decided upon. Or I see nothing wrong with independent cells working on this and similar schemes.

Abba Crombie.

# LETTERS

This is because the state is a type of organisation which is supremely adapted to operating in such circumstances of war and death. In the last war, Londoners faced death every night during the Blitz, but "life went on" because the forms of social organisation had been evolved which took the fact of frequent deaths into account.

Ik society, however, was not structured in such a way as to be able to cope with the changes forced upon it, because those changes undermined the very assumptions upon which that society was built. Previously, the Ik way of life was constructed around a nomadic, hunter/gatherer existence - and as Turnbull says, "hunting and gathering, even in a marginal environment, are neither as hard nor as precarious as they seem". Then, in a matter of a few years, they were shut out from their traditional roaming grounds, made to settle down and scrape the soil. Starvation itself, when it faced them, was a quite new type of experience. There was thus no way in which they could cope as a society with this situation, because their society had been specifically constructed for a quite different situation. They had no experience which to draw. Because they

#### COMMUNITY COUNCILS

Dear Comrades,

I'm not sure whether libertarians have been considering action over the formation of community councils but it would appear that here is an opportunity for us to demand full scale consultation of the people over decision making.

Ideally a community should presumably be of such a size that every member could meet for discussion. This would imply the possibility of a verbal referendum. However, as the communities under discussion may include 10,000 people or over, a paper referendum may be necessary to obtain people's ideas. In Edinburgh a group of libertarians has decided to carry out a petition survey supporting the right to a referendum to determine the constitution of community councils. We will also be attempting to formulate proposals concerning the methods of procedure for community councils. These have to be submitted to the council of office in one's locality before 25 May 1975.

Though referenda may reveal reactionary tendencies, if their scale was adequately extended to include for instance the Third World, I doubt if the Western powers or any other power could carry out the kind of exploitation already in existence. History has shown that 'So-called Bolsheviks', capitalists and fascists fear consulting the people as a whole. When politicians are reduced to spokesmen and paperwork co-ordinators with no power over

could not reconcile social reality with objective, environmental reality, they disintegrated into selfishness.

The crucial thing, then, is the form of social organisation. Here I'd like to take up a point made by Parker, when he condemns the concept of "society" as just another "spook" for mystifying people. OK, I can't put my finger on society, it's not a tangible object, but can S. E. Parker put his finger on his Ego? Of course there is such a thing as society: it is the sum total of interrelationships between a collection of individuals, it is the total process of communication between them, the process whereby they arrive at a notion of the world and their place in it and whereby they organise themselves accordingly. The Ik had certain types of relationships, certain forms of communication, a certain notion of the world, which were incompatible with the situation which was forced upon them.

If Parker is not yet convinced, let us observe that he wrote his letter in English. He speaks and writes in English because of the society in which he was raised, and as a result of communicating in English he must form his concepts in terms of English. This means that his possible range of conceptual thought is very definitely and strictly limited. It means that he is familiar with a certain range of concepts, but that there is a literally unimaginable range of conceptual thought which is closed to him, because the English language cannot deal with it. No one is denying the existence of the individual - I love myself far too dearly to do that - but we can recognise that the individual is a social being, shaped and moulded by society, while valuing the individual for the unique thing it is (for each individual's social environment is unique).

What I have tried to do is to demonstrate that Ik society is a tragic illustration of what happens when social forms cannot cope with a new situation, forcibly introduced from outside. Just as there is a limit to the range of conceptual thought of an individual who deals in terms of a particular language, so there is a limit to the flexibility of any particular form of social organisation. The lesson for us is that we too seem to be heading for a major change, in that our high-consumption society is based upon the use of fast-dwindling resources. We must make sure that our own forms of social organisation can cope with the post-affluence situation, and it seems to me that the forms of social organisation most likely to cope are those advocated by anarchists, with an emphasis on decentralisation, local autonomy, community, and co-operative individualism. If we continue as a society to place our trust in the monolithic, centralising, hierarchic structures of the state, however, then we will find ourselves with social forms which cannot deal with the new situation. In that case, perhaps we would go the way of the Ik.

Yours,

Durham,

Martin Spence

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## Letters

others, social evolution will be taken out of the hands of parties, individuals and power structures and become an organic force of liberated human energy.

Yours brother,  
Andy Molony Anderson.

Edinburgh.

## IN BRIEF

A GROUP called 'Communists for Europe', supporting the Common Market, claims 200 members. The group points out that the Italian Communist Party recognises the 'reality' of the Common Market and is represented at Brussels; the French Communist Party, the group says, is "gradually coming to the same realization".

CHINESE MAOISTS are said to approve of the EEC and NATO because of the necessity for Europe to provide a counterpoise to Russia's aims in Europe.

A pay dispute by British prison officers kept about 7000 prisoners confined to their cells.

TONY SMYTHE and Brian Richardson, who, according to the Guardian's "London Letter", resigned from the National Council for Civil Liberties' executive when that body applied for money from the Home Office's Voluntary Service Unit, were re-elected by popular vote to the executive. The policy of applying for a Home Office grant has now been dropped, says the Guardian.

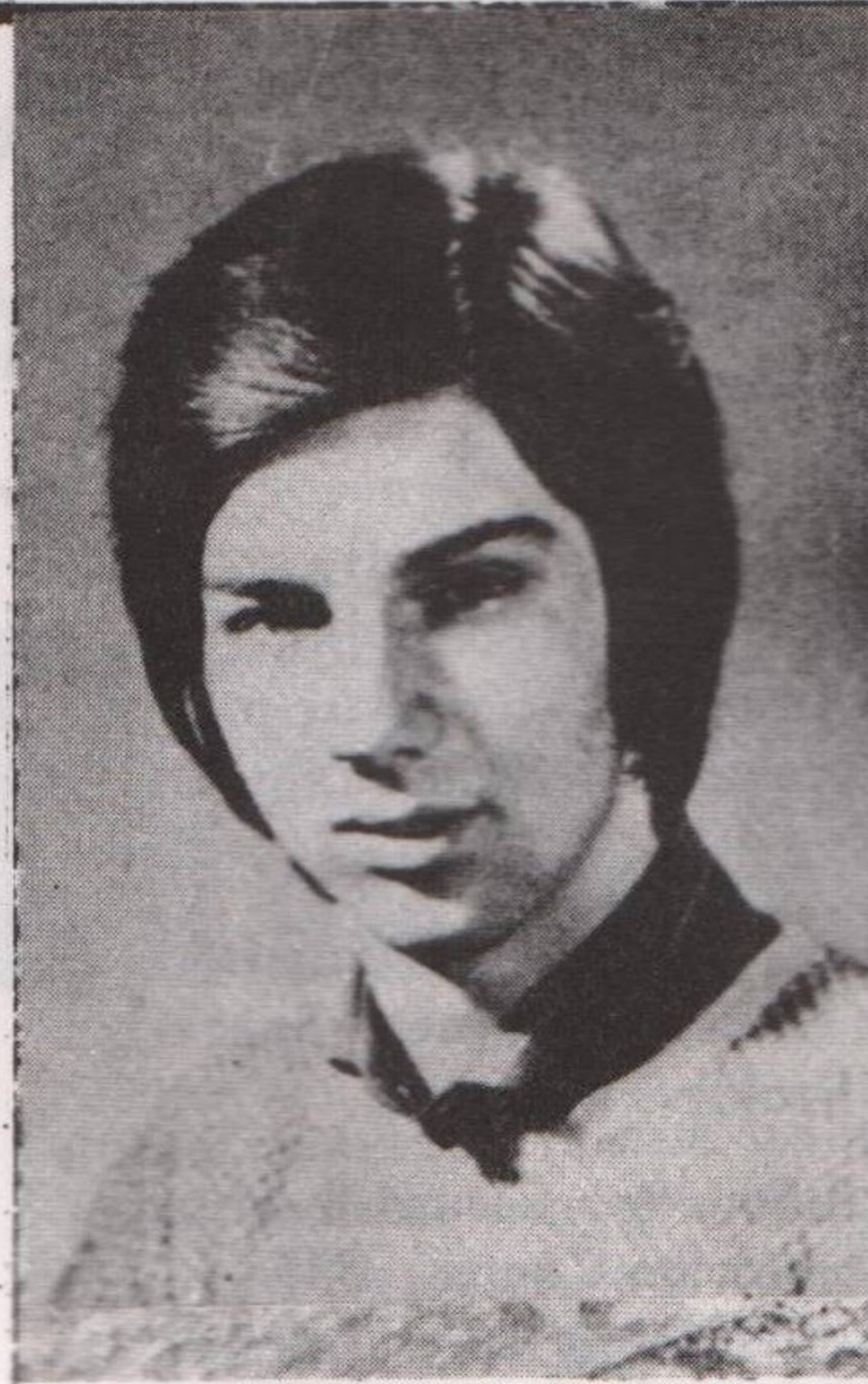
PORTUGAL's Socialist Party 'won' the election but the Army's decision to keep power makes the victory hollow. The Communist Party also decided to exclude the Socialists from May Day celebrations. Groups to the left of both were excluded from the election anyhow. The Guardian man in Lisbon reports the anarchists demonstrating at a Spanish airline office about conditions in Spain. The correspondent claims, however, that the anarchists were attacking Alitalia in error.

SUPPORTERS of the Baader-Meinhof group held hostages at the German embassy in Stockholm demanding the release of 26 prisoners, a plane to safety and a sum of money. An attaché was killed in a scuffle. The Bonn government refused to negotiate so the group killed a hostage, blew up and set fire to the embassy; one of their number committed suicide, one was fatally injured and the other five were captured.

A LEFT-WING lawyer who it is claimed by three judges 'supported the Baader-Meinhof group actively' has been barred from defending them in their trial on May 21st.

ANDREW LLOYD of Leeds has been charged with an offence under the Incitement to Disaffection Act. This is based upon distribution of the leaflet produced by the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign which is already the subject of 14 prosecutions in London

Sancho Panza'



## Fascist/State Violence

ON APRIL 16th, 1975 an encounter between left-wing students and members of the neo-fascist MSI ended in the death of one of the students, Claudio Varalli.

Claudio Varalli (shown dead on the road) was shot seven times by the Avanguardia Nazionale member Antonio Braggion (shown in the insert) at point-blank range. Braggion was later stopped by a policeman. His gun was confiscated and then he was set free. This incident was followed by demonstrations and rioting in Milan by members of various extraparliamentary left-wing groups. During the demonstrations, Giannino Zibecchi

was run over by a carabinieri truck and his head was crushed.

In Firenze on 19th April a demonstration concerning the above two deaths resulted in the death of Rodolfo Boschi, a PCI (Communist Party member, who was shot by one of the riot police. It was later claimed that the policeman was merely replying to shots from the direction of the demonstrators.

The parliamentary parties are deeply concerned about what effect these deaths will have on the regional elections in June.

Francesco.

## MARINI SENTENCE CUT

THE SENTENCE of 12 years imprisonment imposed on the Italian anarchist, Giovanni Marini, for his supposed killing of a member of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano (M. S. I.), has been reduced to 9 years by appeal-court judges in Salerno, the scene of the fight in 1972 which resulted in the subsequent death, from knife-wounds, of Carlo Falvella. More significantly, the judges changed the verdict of the trial proper from voluntary homicide to unintentional homicide.

This was due to new evidence introduced by Marini's defence lawyers, on the post-mortem examination of Falvella. The first report on this examination stated that there were two mortal blows to the heart and one glancing blow -- a second report stated that there was only one blow to the heart and two glancing blows.

The first report would give credence to the verdict of voluntary homicide by Marini (provided one believed that he struck the blows, as the judges in the first trial did) whereas the second report would reduce the whole incident to a common-law fracas, in which a verdict of unintentional homicide would be appropriate.

The doctor who carried out the post-mortem was called for cross-examination and confirmed that the second re-

port was the true one (two glancing blows and one mortal one), that the first examination had been carried out under the pressure of agitation by Salerno's neo-fascists in the hospital itself.

The result of all this was that the judges did change the sentence; but at the same time they removed the extenuating circumstances of provocation by the neo-fascists which was part of the original verdict. As a result of this, two of the other participants in the fight, the anarchist Francesco Mastrogiovanni, and the neo-fascist, Giovanni Alfinito, who had previously been absolved of all guilt in the affair by the entire "will to kill" being placed at Marini's door, found themselves sentenced to a year in jail for taking part in a common-law fracas.

Obviously the judges were trying to defuse the political content of the Marini case by reducing the incident to nothing more than a punch-up and spreading the blame equally, and obviously they were under pressure from what was happening in the streets outside the court house - left-wing and neo-fascist demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, but their refusal to pay any heed to the rambling rhetoric of the neo-fascist lawyers, or to ac-

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## THE RIGHT TO SAY 'YES' OR 'NO'

THE CYNICAL use of the referendum by this Government to reunite its party under the pretext of a desire to see a basically democratic decision on the Common Market, will probably lead to the referendum becoming a permanent, if rare, feature of British political life. (This despite much wailing and gnashing of teeth to the effect that it must never be allowed to happen again, and should not be taken notice of anyway.)

To some of us the referendum will be a non issue with abstention as the obvious response. Others of us may hesitate... Common Market apart, Government opportunities apart, could the referendum in itself constitute a possible first step towards a more basically democratic society? As a new feature of British political life could it rouse people from their supposed apathy (and I say "supposed" because according to a recent EEC survey Britain was the second country after Italy to be most dissatisfied with its present "democratic" institutions); but then if so, would it arouse them in the direction of "progress" or "reaction", both of which possibilities have occurred elsewhere?

The questions involved are many and complex. Obviously the Government has seen fit to wrap up this, its first and probably last referendum, as a generous gift to the public, having first recommended them to receive it with all due docility and gratitude. But to judge from the experience of other countries, it would seem the potentialities are uninspiring, even were the initiative for a referendum to come from a popular rather than government source, as is possible in Italy and Switzerland. While, for obvious reasons, comparisons with other countries can be misleading, they can also help identify some of the problems more clearly.

One of the best arguments against the use of referenda is supplied by France. There, although under Article 11 of the 1958 Constitution Parliament can propose a referendum to the President, the initiative has so far been firmly, and sometimes very dubiously, monopolised by the latter. De Gaulle and Pompidou always interpreted this power of referendum in the spirit of France's deeply ingrained Bonapartist traditions - that is in plebiscitic terms, as a personal vote of confidence in themselves, irrespective of the questions thrown up at the public. Thus it could come to pass, as in 1969, that two quite different questions (reform of the Senate and regionalisation) were both to be answered by a single Oui or Non, on the clear understanding that the result would be interpreted as a personal victory or defeat for the Head of State. So someone who disliked De Gaulle but liked region-

alisation, or liked De Gaulle but suspected his motives for reforming the Senate, was faced with an absurd choice. As a consequence the public has grown more, rather than less apathetic to this form of consultation, while executive prestige and power have been reinforced by it at the expense of Parliament. Nor is there in France any more than in Britain, an immediate likelihood of popular initiative for referenda.

In Australia there have been 32 referenda from federation in 1901 to 1974. Most have been on constitutional issues, but also, for instance, on questions of conscription (during the First World War), on the suppression of communism (which was rejected) and in 1967 on the proposal that aborigines should have rights as human beings (which happily was accepted!). The results of the referenda as a whole show they have helped guarantee constitutional immobility, and do not appear to generate any enthusiasm, in part no doubt through a natural conservatism, in part because they are usually organised on clear, opportunist party lines.

In Switzerland, on the other hand, where some 200 referenda on a federal level have been held since 1848, lack of interest is not apparent, perhaps partly because in a country of marked religious and linguistic differences, the referendum is seen as a question of national survival. Here the voter's don't have to wait for the issues to be put, but can propose them on the strength of 50,000 signatures. The result, as described by one commentator (H. Finer) again shows a cautious and sober attitude, though, with an average turnout of above 50 per cent, not an apathetic one. The Swiss seem "anxious for liberal political rights, severe to murderers, unfriendly to centralisation, in favour of tariff duties, occasionally anti-Semite... steadily austere... in relation to the payment of public officials, and unenlightened regarding public health measures".

But in Italy where a referendum can be held on collection of 500,000 signatures, the result of the divorce referendum last year was seen as a significant victory of the Left, and has encouraged the quixotic Radical party, which specialises in charging the windmills of government on behalf of civil liberties, to call for no less than eight referenda on abrogation of the old Fascist laws still in existence. \* (This campaign is now being carried on by a new offshoot of the party, the League of 13th May, in liaison with the weekly *l'Espresso*.) However, they are still a long way from succeeding, and it is arguable whether the divorce referendum really proved anything but a desire to keep divorce.

British parliamentarians see referenda as a threat to their already tarnished sovereignty. But M.P.s who believe they "represent" a people less capable of thought than themselves resemble those worthy court gentlemen of old, flushed out of Parliament by Pride's Purge during the English Revolution, who wrongly hoped and believed the lower classes of the Rump would prove to be totally incompetent.

Anarchists have more faith in the sense and competence for (self) government of the "sovereign people" than any parliamentarian. M.P.s' jobs, after all, depend on the illusion of their superior and disinterested powers of decision making. But the referendum is a highly dubious weapon. On one hand it is hardly likely to rid us of central Parliament as we know it today. On the other it could well serve to strengthen the arm of government. And there is also the very real possibility that a referendum decision, based on perhaps only a narrow majority, but interpreted as indisputable because directly of the people, could more mercilessly suppress minority considerations than a controversial parliamentary law.

A recent Fabian tract (no. 434, "the referendum reconsidered") rejects the whole idea of a national referendum and instead proposes a series of parliamentary reforms. These include a shortening of parliamentary sessions, fixed terms of parliaments (removal of the right of government to call an election at the most favourable time to itself), the public financing of parties, a Bill of Rights, and American style primaries, according to which, in safe constituencies the people and not the local party selection machine, would make a choice between different candidates of the same political colour.

Suggestions of this kind are like aspirin prescriptions for chronic invalids... and the use of our money to finance their rotten parties and party newspapers tastes like a bitter pill indeed! Nor can they begin to cure the real problem of artificially representative institutions, any more than a national referendum does.

There may be more to be said for local referenda like those being held in France on the proposed construction of nuclear power stations. But not much. Only active and direct involvement can lead to fruitful debate and meaningful results. True, even at "parish" level, anarchists and semi anarchists from Godwin on have tended to suspect the tyranny of a majority vote. Yet Godwin himself recognises that on some occasions there is a need for arbitration of contro-

# THE NEW CONSERVATIVE ORDER

AFTER THEIR 're-think' on fundamentals, and their search for 'first principles', the Tory Party has been only too happy to espouse the cause of 'freedom'. A freedom, of course, of purely economic form. The revival of the Right in this country owes nothing to a moral revulsion against the warfare state, nor to the unavoidable injustices of the welfare state, but rather the indignation of self-interest against all interference with the private accumulation of wealth and the pursuit of profit.

The lip-service paid to 'freedom' by Conservatives does not, of course, extend to the wider political and social spheres. Their unquestioning acceptance of authority in all but the body economic remains an open contradiction to their rhetoric of liberty. Yet even this selected concept of *laissez-faire* is qualified. Freedom exists for the entrepreneur to compete and exploit. For the employed worker, however, no such freedom exists. To get more pay and better conditions, he is forced to ask,

REFERENDUM . . . from Page 9  
-versies, and as controversies persist in arising, what is the fairest way to deal with them? A Calabria threatened by excessive steelworks and a Scotland by oil give us examples of places where the majority decisions of genuine "community councils", as they have been called by a Scottish reader, could have resulted in the greater success of minorities to decide their own life style and environment within a larger framework. In Scotland, had there been a federation of open, autonomous parliaments at local level, mini-Witenagemots or whatever the Gaelic equivalent might be (!), and had they been properly equipped to decide for themselves how to deal with the effects of the "black black oil", it is self evident that exploitation and systematic destruction by outside interests of these local communities for the greatest good of that mythical yet tyrannical greatest number, could have been substantially reduced. Certainly far more effectively than by resorting to petitions and demonstrations outside the offices of already well oiled officials and their American clientele. . . with a Secretary of State voicing empty regrets at a cosy distance after a comfortable lapse of time, etc., etc.

But we have arrived at another issue, and I have consumed enough space as it is.

G. F.

N. B. It now transpires that the Italian Minister of the Interior, Gui, has circularized all communes in Italy to tell the mayors to send the signature sheets back to the referendum organizing committee. The campaign leader, M. Panella, has accused Gui of breaking constitutional law. But this is to be expected. The Christian Democrats know full well how much they have to lose from a (likely) "Yes" result on abortion.

G. F.

with his demands kept within agreed-upon norms, and his actions circumscribed by law.

What twisting of language is it when 'libertarians' can speak of freedom, yet believe whole-heartedly in the values of elitism and hierarchy in all fields of social life? It is one thing to believe that such things are necessary, inevitable, or even desirable, but to say that such opinions are those of 'libertarians' is a debasement of meaning, even for politicians skilled in the art of euphemism.

Law and order remains the dominant Conservative issue, after economic 'freedom'. The sovereignty of parliament, the reverence towards monarchy, nationalism (even within the EEC), and belief in a strong defence force, are other priorities that blatantly belie Tory notions of libertarianism - except, of course, for those enjoying the fruits of the *status quo*, for whom money and power do buy a kind of freedom.

Their need for a new image, and their frantic scraping of the ideological barrel in the cause of electoral expediency, resulted in the production of The New Conservatism. The champions of classic Liberalism, aided by miscellaneous Ink Street luminaries, Patrick Cosgrave of the *Spectator*, Aims of Industry, and the Milk Street Mafia, have cornered the market at Central Office, hiring and firing (very unfreely) to get the balance Right. Policy committees are busy rationalising the sudden mass conversions, while the leadership are translating the theories of Selsdon Man into alluring prose.

The fact that, in the course of expounding their new-found philosophy, these deluded charlatans have quoted approvingly from the work of Friedrich Hayek, should not persuade us to dismiss out-of-hand the very important contribution to political thought made by this man, and its relevance to anarchist critiques of power. *The Road to Serfdom*, for example, is a penetrating attack on the totalitarian nature of State socialism, but his warnings about the planned society and the dangers of collectivism, apply with equal force to the dreamers of the Right, also busy constructing their corporate utopia.

(Though its conclusions again are not anarchistic, *Law, Legislation and Liberty* can be read by anarchists to advantage, being a very concise and profound guide to basic principles of law, definitions of freedom, and, especially, concepts of order, with miniature essays on fundamental questions brilliantly argued.)

The ultimate *raison d'etre* of authoritarianism - the true ideology of Conservatism - is the collapse of society into chaos. I do not understand how anyone can seriously believe that the society we are now living in is not chaotic, confused, and disintegrating before our eyes. It does not remain the prerogative

of advocates of law and order to point out that we are living in a permanent state of breakdown - which they deliberately misterm 'anarchy'.

Whereas, however, the authoritarian demands more law, in the mistaken belief that this produces more order (though it might, in his strictly limited terms of reference), the anarchist demands not only less law, but ultimately no law, realising that only through voluntary co-operation of men can genuine order be realised.

Although the authoritarian personality wants to think otherwise, both history and logic demonstrate few things so clearly as the futile utopianism of equating law with true order.

Law does not prevent crime; neither should it be expected to. Law is concerned with the punishment of those actions legislators designate as criminal, with its definitions based upon, at best expediency, and at worst a combination of belief in power and self-interest disguised as altruism.

The state, with its laws and police, does not and cannot eradicate crime. Indeed, the state is not interested in the abolition of crime: it needs it, in order to justify the continued existence of its institutions of control. Government will manufacture crime, through new definitions of legality, if ever the old definitions proved unnecessary. If crime did not exist, it would be necessary for the state to invent it - and it does.

Most important of all, of course, is the fact that the state is the very apotheosis of violence and inhumanity. Its employees rob, cheat, lie and kill - the latter on a scale that no 'criminals' could ever hope to emulate. And this is inevitable. It is the nature of authority so to be.

The Rise of the Right lies not with the strength of their ideas, but the strength with which they hold them. People command only as long as others obey. The tragedy for them is that, like the conqueror leading his captive by a rope, they themselves are bound by their illusory freedom to command. The tragedy for the rest of us will come when, too late, we realise that we could have done more than merely acquiesce, by default, in their resistible rise.

Brian P. Boreham.



--"I never see you in church, my son."  
"I never see you down the mine, Father."

# 'KING' COURTAULDS

LAST MONTH Lancashires' textile unions called an industry-wide one-day strike on a day on which they knew well over half their members would be laid off work anyway. Even so they lost their nerve at the last moment and instead decided to call for a demonstration in London of mill workers already laid off from their mills. Courtaulds, the textile giant, even paid the wages of its workers who went --not surprising, perhaps, since the aim of the protest was to get the Government to limit the import of foreign-produced cloth.

What we are now seeing is the product of years of 'rationalisation' and centralisation, in which the industry has been brought steadily under the control of a few large major companies. The current textile union leadership under Joe King, General Secretary of the National Union of Textile & Allied Workers, a pro-Communist and believer in 'scientific management', has collaborated in this centralisation of the textile industry with all its consequences of redundancy, short time and higher work loads for mill operatives.

In the three years 1970-73, according to a recent study of Courtaulds<sup>(1)</sup>, the company cut the number of its UK labour force by 17,000, a job loss of 12.3 per cent. At the same time there have been big profits for most manufacturers in textiles. Last year Courtaulds declared profits of £ 116.3million, a rise of 70 per cent on the previous year. Indeed, periodic slumps may help companies like Courtaulds by eliminating competitors and making unions agree to more rationalisation of the industry, thereby holding wages back while work loads increase.

Capital intensity has not meant an end to low wages, according to the recent CIS report, "Courtaulds employees are among the lowest paid in the UK". While in 1974 Courtaulds' profits averaged £ 1,460 per employee, more than double the figure for 1971, the average annual wage per employee was £ 1,545, but this figure includes the earnings of the highly-paid management, thus obscuring the low pay to women and trainees. The wages of adult women averaged out at £ 1,032 each in 1974, and other women including trainees got an average of £ 657 in the same year. Now even as the shadow of redundancy hangs over many mill jobs, Courtaulds' shares have doubled up to 121p in the last few months.

The unions in textiles have a long history of class collaboration, and all the problems of the industry tend to get solved on the employer's terms. We had an example of this recently when the Rochdale Alternative Paper (RAP) supplied three local textile unions - NUTAW, the Amalgamated Weavers Association and the National Union of Dyers & Bleachers - with documentary evidence of blacklisting by Courtaulds. The evidence referred to four cases of blacklisting by Courtaulds in the North West, and in one case a copy of an application form used by the Ashton Bros. mill, of Hyde, was supplied. This showed that this Courtaulds mill asked the specific question, "Have you ever worked at Courtaulds, Skelmersdale, previously?" (Courtaulds, Skelmersdale is a mill noted for a high level of militancy.) The unions have been aware of this for 3 months, and as yet RAP has had no concrete response to indicate that the matter has been taken up with Courtaulds.

## SHOPFLOOR SYNDICALISM TODAY

What the more militant mill workers are up against in the unions is a leadership which sees the work force as being totally subservient to the interests of the organisation, both in the mill and the union machine. Consequently, in any dispute the union bosses automatically take the management side. Essentially, then, the struggle in textiles is largely over the issues of the differing interpretations of 'rights' and 'obligations' within the organisations. The union officials and their committees see the duty of membership as being to obey their instructions. On the other hand, the rank and file militants believe that the union officialdom has an obligation to back the membership. Thus the sacking in 1974 of a militant at Intex (ICI, Ashton), also resulted in his expulsion from the union. Much the same thing happened after the Arrow Mill sit-in in 1971 at Rochdale, and the campaign for shop floor representatives in the mills of Rochdale and Oldham revolves around the issue of whether the representatives should be controlled by the union officials or by the members. This dispute, then, is a fundamentally syndicalist one in that it's about an attempt to ensure that the union is a genuine expression of the aspirations of the members, and not the tool of a self-appointed clique.

This problem of rank and file control is now increasingly seen as the root of most industrial disputes both between union bosses and their members, and managements and men. Huw Beynon for instance has shown that a vague notion of 'workers' control' underlies much shopfloor activity in relation to the job situation and production line, even if for most people concerned it is usually a fight over issues which stare them in the face. However,

at its most developed level, says Beynon, "this has produced an ideological conflict over who runs the factory and why, to a questioning of the essential nature and purpose of production within a capitalist society".

Some writers, like David Silverman<sup>(3)</sup> and D. Roy<sup>(4)</sup> have argued that many workers already have a high level of control over their job situations through the strategies they employ to control output - "job fiddles", "restrictive practices", etc. Silverman in fact argues that "such action may usefully be regarded as a defensive strategy which increases job security, prevents competitive conflicts between workers and by increasing the unpredictability of their actions to the management, enlarges workers' control over their environment".

If anarcho-syndicalist theory is ever going to develop in this country and become meaningful, then we must examine from the inside the real life situations in which workers find themselves today. To do this properly we should start with the study of how the world of the worker is perceived as a meaningful lived experience, and how as a result individual workers act within their world and attach "meanings" to it. This kind of approach to the English labour movement is long overdue, and is vital if we are going to grasp the essentially elusive nature of English syndicalism and consequently develop a theory recognisable to workers according to their terms of reference and meaningful interpretations of their world and not expound a sort of cook book syndicalism which had more relevance when Mrs. Beeton was a lass.

North West Workers.

<sup>1</sup> Courtaulds INSIDE-OUT, CIS ANTI REPORT No. 10 (1975)

<sup>2</sup> Huw Beynon: Working for Fords (1973)

<sup>3</sup> David Silverman: The Theory of Organisations (1970)

<sup>4</sup> Donald Roy: Quota Restriction & Goldbrick-ing in a Machine Shop.

## 'GREEK GIFTS'

'Beware Greeks bearing gifts' is the warning from Radical Alternatives to Prison in their report released on Community Service Orders.

Despite initial scepticism, this scheme is seen by legislators, the Home Office and workers in the field to be a considerable success. Whilst RAP feels that "as an alternative to prison, the scheme is indisputably the most encouraging step forward in penal thinking and action in this country for a long time", they point out that "it is essential to see that one welcomes community service fundamentally because it is nicer than our prison system".

RAP comments that "the violence and coercion of a prison speaks for itself and both sides know where they stand" and that this is not the case with Community Service Orders. "Community Service can be looked on as that much more insidious in its approach and as a result should probably be resisted that much harder."

RAP questions whether Community Service presents any real service to

the community in that the values behind the scheme do not relate to the 'client's' background: "If, as at present, a scheme attempts to establish a meaning to life for a person, then it should be quite clear to all involved 'whose' meaning it is that is to be imposed". Only when this is understood will we know that "we have a genuine effort to put the individual into society and not society into the individual".

IT IS absolutely necessary that the next revolution not be limited to the big cities. The uprising for expropriation must be generated, above all, in the countryside. Without counting on the revolutionary elan that could in a period of effervescence, radiate from the cities to the villages, we must begin today to lay the groundwork in the countryside.

Kropotkin (1879)

# UNKNOWN REVOLUTION

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 The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921, by Voline. Hardcover, New York: Free Life Editions; paperback, Detroit & Chicago: Black&Red/Solidarity, 1974, 717 pp. Available from Freedom Bookshop for £ 2.95 (postage: 37p.)  
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The original French version of Voline's classic anarchist history of the Russian Revolution was published by The Friends of Voline in Paris in 1947, two years after its author's death, and was reprinted by Pierre Belfond in 1969. The book has also appeared in Italian, Spanish, German, and Japanese translations. An incomplete English version, translated by Holley Cantine, was published in two volumes in 1954/55 by Freedom Press and the Libertarian Book Club but has been out of print for several years.

The present edition, in one large volume of over 700 pages, reproduces the Cantine rendition while restoring the omitted sections. These (translated by Fredy Perlman of Black&Red) consist of an introductory survey of the Russian revolutionary movement from 1825 to 1917 and a few shorter passages later on. It is thus the first complete edition in English. It omits Cantine's short preface to Volume 1 of the Freedom Press/Libertarian Book Club edition, and also the unsigned editor's preface to Volume II. But it includes the biographical essay on Voline by Rudolf Rocker and the fine photograph of Voline by Senya Fleshin (the Nadar of the anarchist movement) as well as 29 additional illustrations, two useful maps, and a new index (prepared by Richard Ellington, who also assisted with the typesetting). Oddly enough, there is no acknowledgment to the Libertarian Book Club, which not only sponsored the previous English edition but also provided financial assistance for the present volume.

Voline's book is the most extensive and important anarchist history of the Russian Revolution in any language. It was written, as we have seen, by an observant eyewitness who himself played an active part in the events that he describes. Like Kropotkin's famous history of the French Revolution, it explores what Voline calls the "unknown revolution" in Russia, that is, the social revolution by the people as distinguished from the seizure of political power by the Bolsheviks. Before the appearance of Voline's book, this epic story had been little

The army of Makhnovist rebels was organized on the basis of three fundamental principles: voluntary service, election of officers, and self-discipline. Voluntary service signifies that the army was composed only of revolutionary combatants entering it of their own free will. The election of officers means that the commanders of all the parts of the army... had to be elected or accepted by the rebels of the different units or by the whole of the army. Self-discipline signifies that all the rules... were drawn up by committees of rebels, then validated by general meetings, and were rigorously observed under the responsibility of each rebel and each commander.

-- History of the Makhnovist Movement (P. Arshinov, 1928).



**Nestor Makhno**

told and largely unknown. A leader of the Decembrist revolt of 1825 declared that "history belongs to the people, not to the tsars." By the same token, revolution belongs to the people, not to the politicians. Accordingly, the Russian Revolution was much more than the story of Kerensky and Lenin, of Social Democrats, Socialist Revolutionaries, or even Anarchists. It was an explosion of mass discontent and mass creativity, elemental, unpremeditated, and unpolitical, a true social revolution such as Bakunin had foreseen half a century before.

As a great popular movement, a "revolt of the masses," the Russian Revolution needed an historian like Voline to write its history "from below", as Kropotkin and Jean Jaurès had done for France. As Jaurès once remarked, "it is the whole immense multitude of men who are finally entering the limelight." Such was the case in Russia from 1917 to 1921, when the country underwent a vast social upheaval embracing every area of life and in which ordinary men and women played the most essential part. The same is true of the Spanish Revolution of 1936/9, which was similarly neglected until Gaston Leval and Sam Dolgoff (following Vernon Richards's earlier work) began to fill the gap with their Espagne Libertaire and The Anarchist Collectives.

Russia and Spain, indeed, have experienced the greatest libertarian revolutions of the twentieth century, revolutions from below, decentralist, spontaneous, and egalitarian, not led by any party or group but the work of the people themselves.

The most striking feature of this "unknown revolution" has been the decentralization and dispersal of authority, the spontaneous formation of autonomous communes and councils, and the emergence of workers' self-management in town and country. Indeed, all modern revolutions have seen the organization of local committees -- factory comm-

itees, housing committees, educational committees, peasants' committees -- in an explosion of direct action by workers, peasants, and intellectuals on the spot, by the people themselves running their own affairs in city and village. In Russia the soviets too were popular organs of direct democracy until reduced by the Bolsheviks to instruments of centralized authority, rubber stamps of a new bureaucratic state.

In rich detail Voline documents the creative efforts of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals to inaugurate a free society based on local initiative and autonomy. Libertarian opposition to the new Soviet dictatorship, above all at Kronstadt and in the Ukraine, receives particularly extensive treatment. He presents a deeply sympathetic account of the Makhno movement, yet not without pointing out some of its negative aspects, such as Makhno's heavy drinking (which made him violent and intractable) and the formation of what some regard as a military camarilla around Makhno's leadership. (Voline, it has been noted, broke with Makhno over the Organizational Platform, and the resulting antagonism never completely abated.)

The book, however, is not without shortcomings. In discussing the historical antecedents of the Russian revolutionary movement, Voline mentions the great peasant and Cossack rebellions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries only in passing, failing to take account of their decentralist and anti-statist character. For all their "primitive" qualities, the risings of Razin and Pugachev were anti-authoritarian movements for a decentralized and egalitarian society. Moreover, Voline omits the anarchists from his chapter on the 1905 Revolution, although it was in 1905 that the Russian anarchists played their first important role and emerged as a force to be reckoned with. (Voline, it is worth remembering, was an SR at the time, not converting to anarchism until 1911.)

Furthermore, though dealing with the social revolution, his analysis of mass movements needs amplification. There is little serious discussion of the worker and peasant movements outside their role in Kronstadt and the Ukraine. The book also neglects the Individualist Anarchists and the role of women in the anarchist and revolutionary movements. Surely the activities of women -- on bread lines and picket lines, in strikes and demonstrations, on the barricades and in guerilla units, in winning over the soldiers and their male and female workmates, in creating free schools and day-care centres, in their overall drive for dignity and equality -- form a major part of the "unknown revolution" with which Voline was so deeply concerned.

Yet we must not conclude on a negative note. For The Unknown Revolution is an original and impressive work. It is a pioneering history of a seriously neglected aspect of the Russian Revolution. With the partial exceptions of Arshinov's history of the Makhno movement and Maximoff's history of the Bolshevik repressions, there is no other book like it. It should be read by every person interested in the anarchist movement and the Russian Revolution.

Paul Avrich

EAST END JEWISH RADICALS, by William J. Fishman. (Duckworth £ 6)

# EAST END RADICALS

BOOK REVIEW

THIS BOOK appeals to most people because it is a pioneering description of the life of the Jewish immigrants in the East End of London before the First World War; it appeals particularly to us because it includes a pioneering description of the anarchist movement among them during that period. There is far too little reliable and readable information about the remarkable episode when more than 100,000 Yiddish-speaking refugees, repelled by the persecution in the Russian Empire and attracted by the opportunity for a new life in the United States, landed in Britain on their way West and made temporary or permanent homes in the slums of our large cities. This was one of the most significant but most neglected of the many waves of immigrants which have played such an important part in our history, and one of the most significant and most neglected aspects of it is precisely the brief existence of anarchism as the ideology of the social movement which flourished between 1870 and 1914.

Anarchism has never been very strong in Britain, but it is nevertheless something of a shock to learn that in those days Jewish anarchism was stronger than native anarchism. At the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam in 1907, the two were separately represented, and whereas my grandfather Karl Walter reported the existence of seven or eight groups in the "English movement proper" and the publication of a regular paper (*Freedom*) with a circulation of 1,500, Rudolf Rocker reported the existence of eleven groups in "the Jewish movement in England" and the publication of a regular paper (*Arbeter Frint*) with a circulation of 2,500. This striking comparison does not appear in *East End Jewish Radicals*, but what does appear there is the story of how such a comparison could be made.

Bill Fishman is a senior research fellow in labour studies with special reference to the Jews at Queen Mary College in the East End (not far from the Freedom Press), and he has spent an enormous amount of time and trouble on his research into the origins and growth of the Jewish anarchist movement in this area. He was not the first scholar in the field, but most of the previous literature on the subject is either too impressionistic to take at all seriously or too academic to take in at all easily; and he will not be the last scholar in the field, for his own book deliberately opens up many new lines of inquiry. But he does deserve special recognition for what is a particularly valuable and peculiarly attractive work.

The first hundred pages describe the background of Tsarist Russia and Victorian England, with their various forms of racial persecution and social oppression, and the development of what he describes as "a *shtetl* called Whitechapel" during the late nineteenth century. This is the least original part of the book and, although it is a necessary introduction to the rest, it might well have been shorter to let the rest be longer. The next hundred pages describe the creation of a social movement among the East End Jews by such men as Aron Lieberman, who began the first viable Jewish trade union in England, Morris Winchevsky, who began the first viable Jewish socialist papers in England, and S. Yanovsky, who became the first really able propagandist in the movement and who gave it a clear anarchist emphasis during the 1890s. This is the most original part of the book, and it might well have been much longer. The last hundred pages describe

the climax of the movement, under the domination of Rudolf Rocker, the German gentile who became the leader of the Jewish anarchists during the decade before the First World War.

This is the most generally interesting part of the book, but also the most widely familiar part of the story -- especially from *The London Years*, an English edition of the relevant sections of Rudolf Rocker's autobiography, published in 1956.

Everyone who knows Bill Fishman knows his love for the East End and for the men -- and women, for women's liberation was practised as well as preached -- who created and sustained the movement which he has done more than anyone else to rescue from oblivion. He has worked from first-hand knowledge of the area and from the first-hand memories of surviving participants, from contemporary records and later memoirs, from letters and diaries, and from pamphlets and periodicals. The great bulk of such material is closed to most of us, since it is written in Yiddish, but he loves the language almost as much as he loves its speakers. He conveys this love through his vivid translations of splendid passages from his sources, just as he conveys his love of the East End when he takes people on tours of the streets and alleys where his heroes and heroines lived and died. His straightforward narrative draws the broad outlines of the struggle against the economic establishment of employers and wholesalers, above all in the sweating system of the garment industry, and also against the religious establishment of the traditional institutions of Judaism. At the same time it draws a detailed picture of the friendships and quarrels, the meetings and fights, the strikes and lock-outs, and the dramatic events like Jack the Ripper and the Siege of Sidney Street which punctuate his tale.

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As usual, the movement began as a series of mutual aid experiments with practical rather than political aims. The first Jewish workers' organisations Fishman has traced is a Lithuanian Tailors' Union founded in Whitechapel in 1872, but it collapsed within a few weeks, and its leader Lewis Smith, who had come to London from Poland via France, moved on to the United States where he became a well-known labour leader -- a standard pattern throughout the period, most of the prominent Jewish socialists in the American trade union movement coming from or through London. The first viable organisation was the Hebrew Socialist Union, founded in Spitalfields in 1876, whose leader Aron Lieberman was an intellectual from Lithuania.

Lieberman came to London in 1875 to work with Lavrov, the Russian emigre who led the moderate socialists in the populist movement, but he soon turned to his own people in the East End. He was a propagandist as well as an agitator, and the Union held public meetings with a general free-thinking socialist line. Indeed at first the freethought was more important than the socialism, and the Union got into more trouble for its attacks on the rabbis than for those on the employers. (This was a recurrent pattern later, linked

with the fact that many of the Jewish socialists began their political careers as rebels against the powerful religious establishment -- see Bill Fishman's article on this aspect of the movement in the *New Humanist* of March 1975.)

The Hebrew Socialist Union collapsed at the end of 1876, and Lieberman returned to Europe. For the next four years he worked to form an international Jewish socialist movement, producing a few issues of a Hebrew paper *haEmet* (The Truth) during 1877, before being imprisoned in Austria and Germany; he returned to London at the end of 1879, lived in poverty and frustration for a few months, then moved on to America in 1880 and committed suicide as a result of a sexual misadventure: he was just over thirty years old.

Rocker saw Lieberman as the "father" of Jewish socialism. He was an eclectic thinker, wishing to unite the Marxist and Bakuninist wings of the socialist movement and calling for an idealistic revolutionary populism. He displayed personal and political defects, and everything he tried to do came to nothing, but he should certainly be remembered as one of the pioneers of socialism tending to anarchism who was active in this country.

Even if his vague vision failed, Lieberman left a more tangible legacy to the Jewish movement because the brother of the woman for whom he shot himself was a brilliant young man whom he had converted to socialism -- Morris Winchevsky, another intellectual from Lithuania. In 1884 he produced the *Poilshe Yidl* (Little Polish Jew), which was the first Yiddish socialist paper but did not last, and in 1885 he began the *Arbeter Frint* (Workers' Friend), which was more clearly socialist and did last -- for nearly fifty years. At the same time a permanent organisation had emerged. A Society of Jewish Socialists began an International Workers' Educational Club in 1884, and the latter became patrons of the *Arbeter Frint* and in 1885 took premises in Berner Street and changed its name to the International Workingmen's Educational Association (also called the International Workingmen's Club). In 1886 -- a few months before *FREEDOM* began -- the club took over the *Arbeter Frint* and turned it into a weekly. The structure for the movement was settled: the club provided the physical focus, the paper the intellectual focus, on and off for the next thirty years.

The socialist agitation which swept Britain during the late 1880s involved the East End Jews in many ways. There were repeated attacks on the old evils of the sweating system, and on the social and religious leaders who refused to take the strong line against it which was adopted with more freedom (and hypocrisy) by Christian and Liberal gentiles. There were frequent demonstrations against rising unemployment, including "synagogue parades" on the model of gentile "church parades" from 1889 -- marches of unemployed

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# EAST END RADICALS

Continued from

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men and women, with socialist leaders, into religious services, an ingenious form of direct action which sometimes involved sit-ins and riots in the churches and synagogues.

More serious, the tendency represented by the match-girls' strike of 1888, the threatened gas-workers' strike of 1889, and the great dockers' strike of 1889, spread to the Jewish workers in 1889, when there was a garment-workers' strike involving thousands of men and women and closing scores of workshops. This first large-scale industrial action by the immigrants was successful, which led to wider union organisation, higher circulation for the *Arbeter Frint*, and deeper interest in socialist ideas. Stick-makers' and boot-makers' strikes, involving hundreds of Jewish workers, followed in 1890, and so did a shorter garment-workers' strike. There were many setbacks and reverses, but the Jewish labour movement had emerged as a serious factor in the wider British labour movement and in the wider Jewish society of the East End.

## SOCIALISM INTO ANARCHISM

In 1890 the British socialist movement finally divided into separate anarchist and social-democratic fractions, the split being symbolised by the fate of the Socialist League and the paper *Commonweal*. The same phenomenon occurred in the Jewish socialist movement, being symbolised here by the fate of the International Workingmen's Club and the *Arbeter Frint*. The celebration of the fifth anniversary of the former in 1890 was attended by all the leaders, and also by such prominent outsiders as William Morris and Kropotkin, but it was followed by a rapid break precipitated by Yanovsky, who came from White Russia via the United States in 1890. At the beginning of 1891 the anarchists defeated the social-democrats in the struggle for control of the club and the paper. The social-democrats, joined by Winchevsky, began a new paper, *Die Freie Welt* (The Free World), which was followed in 1892 by the *Vekker* (Awakener); but Jewish social-democracy did not flourish in London, and its leaders went one by one to the United States, where it was stronger than anarchism.

Yanovsky led the anarchists for a few years during a difficult period -- the era of the anarchist bombs -- despite his difficult personality, through his determination and his great ability as a writer and speaker. In 1892 the *Arbeter Frint* was forced to suspend publication for a few months and the club and paper lost their premises. In 1894 Yanovsky gave up the struggle and returned to the United States to edit the *Freie Arbeter Shtimme* (Free Workers' Voice). For a time the anarchists barely managed to survive, despite good work by such men as Woolf Wess and Abram Frumkin. The club and its lively meetings continued, but the paper declined and suspended publication again in 1897. Frumkin went to France, and Wess went to FREEDOM. But in 1898 the *Arbeter Frint* was revived under the editorship of Rudolf Rocker, a twenty-five-year-old German anarchist who had been involved in the Jewish movement in England for only a few years but who had successfully edited a paper called *Dos Freie Wort* (The Free Word) for a few months in Liverpool.

Rocker became the leader of the Jewish anarchists in London through his work as journalist and lecturer -- financed, it should be re-

membered, by the tailoring work of his life-long companion Millie Witcop. At first his leadership failed to establish the paper, and it was suspended again in 1899 and in 1900. A new paper, *Germinal*, was founded to replace the *Arbeter Frint* by appearing less frequently and arguing at a higher level. The old paper reappeared for a time in 1901, and then itself replaced *Germinal* in 1903. The anarchists opposed the agitation against Jewish immigrants and also exposed the old evils of the sweating system. Gradually the movement was established on a firm basis once again. There was a large-scale conference in 1902, the reappearance of the *Arbeter Frint* in 1903, a huge demonstration against the Russian pogroms in 1903, the reappearance of *Germinal* alongside the *Arbeter Frint* in 1905, a peak circulation of 5,000 for the *Arbeter Frint* in 1905, the opening of new premises for the Workers' Friend Club in 1906, and a great garment-workers' strike in 1906. The latter was a failure for the strikers but a success for the anarchists, since Rocker and the *Arbeter Frinters* were acknowledged as the political leaders; they had their reward in another great garment-workers' strike in 1912, which was a success for the strikers and probably the time of Rocker's greatest fame.

But within a few years the movement which had taken nearly half a century to build up was destroyed. A few months after the First World War began Rocker was interned as an enemy alien, and many other leaders were arrested. In 1916 and 1917 many of the young men were conscripted or imprisoned for resisting conscription. In 1917 those who were attracted to proletarian revolutionism were impressed by the Bolshevik regime, while those who were attracted to Jewish nationalism were impressed by the Balfour Declaration. Anglo-Jewish anarchism was dispersed into the orthodoxies of Communism and Zionism, and eventually the East End fell into the hands of the Labour Party, The *Arbeter Frint* continued publication for several years, but Fishman spares us the miser-

ies of the decline and fall of the movement. There is still in existence a Workers' Circle which remembers the good old days; and a meeting held in the East End in September 1973 to commemorate the centenary of Rocker's birth was attended by the old who knew him as a comrade and also by the young who knew him only as a name. But the movement he led died for all practical purposes sixty years ago.

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"Why this dramatic end in 1914," Fishman asks; but he is unable to provide a simple answer. One which he does not mention but which should be considered is the position of Rocker himself. As was suggested in the introduction to the Freedom Press edition of Rocker's pamphlet *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* in the *Anarchist Classics* series, his eminence and influence were bad for him and bad for the movement. Like Kropotkin, he had far too much power among people who are supposed to have rejected power; like Kropotkin again, he eventually abused his power by supporting a world war; fortunately, like Kropotkin yet again, he was repudiated by his former comrades when he forgot his principles. Yet there is no doubt that the damage had already been done long before. He depended on the anarchist movement among the East End Jews; but it also depended on him, and without him it disappeared.

Fishman, perhaps rightly, does not go into such questions. And, surely rightly, he does not go into questions of theory -- though it would have been interesting for non-Yiddish readers to know more about what the papers and pamphlets of the movement contained. But above all this is a labour of love which brings to life a brave and beautiful experiment just when people want to know about it. The fathers ate sour grapes, and the children's teeth have been set on edge. After seeing the Soviet Union and the State of Israel, they want to look at better ideas, and here are some of the best that were tried not so far away or so long ago. At the very least, after reading *East End Jewish Radicals* it is impossible to walk in the streets and alleys around the Freedom Press without feeling a sense of loss.

N. W.

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# G.A.R.I.

OVER ONE year has now passed since the Spanish banker, Sr. Balthazar Suarez, director of the Banco de Bilbao in Paris, was kidnapped on May 3 by anarchists of the GARI (Groupes d'Action Révolutionnaire Internationaliste). After the initial hue-and-cry, the French authorities seem to have got cold feet at the realization that the French Left would not let them appease Franco (but then, even within the State machine, many officials have sincerely liberal leanings and still view the Franco regime with distaste, if only because it was established by the overthrow of the Spanish Republic).

So at present we have a situation where the investigation, at the hands of examining magistrate Alain Bernard - whose initial moves included communicating lists of names and addresses to the Spanish police, enabling them to make many arrests - is at a standstill. After Sr. Suarez had been freed against £ 300,000 ransom money, and specific assurances from the Spanish authorities as to the fate of anarchists and other political prisoners in Spanish gaols, eleven people were arrested as being GARI militants, and authors of the kidnapping. All eleven have now been freed on "conditional liberty" (i.e., they must report to the police), including Octavio Alberola, a Spanish anarchist who has long been active in organising resistance internationally against the Francoist regime, and who it was feared might be extradited by the French authorities as a sop to Spanish "indignation" over the so-called impunity of Basque militants in France. He was finally released early this year and is, like the others, awaiting the magistrate's decision as to whether proceedings should be started against him. Evidence against the eleven is in fact slender, apart from money which was found on some of them. This, it is claimed, was part of the ransom money paid by the Bank of Bilbao to secure the release of Sr. Suarez. The accused retort that they were never aware that the bags they were carrying contained money; they thought they were carrying propaganda for the Spanish underground.

It now seems most likely that magistrate Alain Bernard (the senior examining magistrate in the Paris court, and an old hand at political investigations) will use to the full the possibility he has under French law of putting off making his mind up - probably until the case becomes automatically closed...after some 10 or 15 years! This is not as unlikely as it sounds, as other comrades have in fact found themselves in just the same position in past years. This solution offers the further "advantage" that these militants will presumably have to keep quiet as long as the threat of a major trial and further custody hangs over them.

It soon became clear that this "first eleven" did not in fact include the GARI "leadership" as had been claimed at first by the police; nor did their arrest in any way stop the GARI from pursuing its attempt to draw attention to the fate of anarchists in Franco's gaols, and so prevent further executions from taking place, like that of Salvador Puig Antich. A series of bombings against symbolic targets (the Tour de France, and its myth of the "sporting fraternity" which transcends politics - but not commerce; pilgrimage coaches at Lourdes, banks, and a Spanish consulate at

Toulouse) made headlines in French papers during the entire summer. At the last mentioned target, however, three policemen were hurt, one of them seriously, and the police decided they needed fresh culprits. A large-scale operation was launched in the whole of South-West France, against known Spanish libertarian individuals and organisations, who were often brutally interrogated, and in some cases deported. The police promptly arrested Pierre Roger, who was on conditional liberty, awaiting trial on arms possession charges; he was now charged with taking part in a bank raid attributed to the GARI, and he has been kept in Toulouse gaol since that time.

The police made no real progress (in their eyes), however, until the middle of September, when they arrested four people: Victor Manrique, Jean-Michel Martinez, Mario Ines Torres and Michel Camilleri, in whose possession they claim were firearms and explosives, and who were charged with taking part in several bombings carried out by the GARI. They were further charged with "attempting by force to substitute a new authority [i.e. the GARI] for the lawfully established one [i.e. the French State]", which means that they are to be tried by the "Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat", a purely political court whose members (half from the military) are appointed by the Minister of the Interior, and which was originally set up to deal with the Algerian insurgents (fittingly enough, it was later used against the "ultras" of the O. A. S., who wanted Algeria to remain a French dependency). Charging them with this offence automatically entitled the police to hold them in custody for eight days before they were brought before a magistrate (under the French system, the magistrate then decides whether to charge them, and takes over all further interrogations, which then can be held in the presence of a lawyer).

This special treatment at the hands of the police did not lead to the four being granted political prisoner status in gaol, however, and they protested against this, first by refusing to answer the magistrate, and then, at the end of last year, after a scuffle with warders, by going on hunger strike. By this time, they had been joined by four other militants: José Maria Condom Bofill, arrested in October after he had been to watch the trial of two Spanish anarchists on arms possession charges, and then transferred to Toulouse; and Floréal Cuadrado, Raymond Delgado and Jean-Marc Rouillan, arrested in December in Rouillan's car, in which police found a quantity of arms, ammunition and explosives (Delgado and Cuadrado claim that they were only being given a lift by Rouillan, who says he was only involved in transporting the arms to help a group who had contacted him for that purpose; Cuadrado was, in fact, later released on conditional liberty).

All nine prisoners (seven in Paris, and two in Toulouse) were to be tried before the "Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat", and they demanded that their treatment in gaol should reflect this. What they were asking for, in effect, was that the provisions for the detention of political prisoners, known as the "special regime" of custody, be applied to them. This includes better eating and reading facilities, more outside visitors with less tight supervision of conversations, and the right for co-defendants to meet in a special room during the day. Conversely, this leads to those who benefit from such conditions being cut off from the other prisoners, both physically and in the sense that they are seen to be a "special kind" of prisoner. There was in fact some argument as to whether what the nine were asking for was really worth fighting for, es-

pecially as none of the eleven arrested in May had agreed to ask for such special treatment. It should be pointed out, however, that the eleven were not going to be tried by the political "Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat"; that they had always claimed to be innocent, and were indeed released after a comparatively short time (in French terms: preventive custody often lasts several years), due to lack of any serious evidence against them; whereas the four arrested in September, in particular not only admitted the charges, but had decided to defend their actions politically.

All such discussion, however, was pushed into the background when the hunger strike got under way, and the problem had to be faced of giving adequate support to the strikers. But it goes some way to explain why support was decidedly luke-warm in many sections of the French libertarian movement - along with the fact that many anarchists felt that the later bombing campaign tended to give consistency to the "bomb-happy anarchist" image, and rejected it on those grounds, whereas they had been quite prepared to support those accused of kidnapping a Spanish banker.

Ironically, support was forthcoming from the Left-wing daily, *Libération*, whose main contribution so far had been a front-page article at the end of May, suggesting that the eleven anarchists imprisoned a week earlier had been infiltrated by an international organization of fascist "agents provocateurs", the "Paladin Group". This, while characteristic of the Maoist group which controls *Libération*, behind its open "democratic" front, drew a sharp rebuff from the broadly libertarian (and widely circulated) weekly, *Charlie-Hebdo*. For once, *Libération's* would-be Vishinskys had bitten off more than they could chew, and they had to apologize, going so far as to state privately to some comrades that the author of the original article had himself been found out subsequently to be a right-wing agent provocateur!

Be that as it may, *Libération* was the only national publication to support the hunger strikers. GARI sympathisers tried to attract attention to the strike, by putting a smoke bomb in the Navy Museum (signed, "The Kronstadt Sailors"), or by blowing up the statue of Saint Louis (the French king Louis IX, whose popular image is that of a benevolent law-giver and judge) inside the Paris inns of court. But the French State was able to delay answering their demands as long as it wanted to, no doubt with an eye to discouraging any further demands. The strikers stated that their demands included support for the struggle waged by all prisoners for more decent conditions, but, after some six weeks, they were content to accept the compromise whereby they were granted all their essential demands, without being officially given the "special régime". Floréal Cuadrado was released shortly afterwards.

Meanwhile, four Spanish comrades, who had been held in Barcelona since the end of June, after magistrate Alain Bernard had passed information to the Spanish authorities, were sent down by the Public Order Tribunal for periods of 5 and 10 years, on charges of "subversive propaganda" and of "attempting to reorganize a banned organization" (i.e. the CNT). [See FREEDOMS 22nd Feb. to 15th Mar.] And, of course, many more Spanish comrades have since been arrested, some charged with offences carrying the death penalty.

A fund-raising show was organized in solidarity with those arrested, both in France and Spain. Despite the lack of publicity, and the

# THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

BLACK OR RED or. . . ?

THE LATEST batch of publications from Black & Red of Detroit includes a poster that will infuriate women's liberationists: it consists of a series of interviews (all spoof) with women who are the first to enter previously exclusive male work areas, such as Gail Garrot, big city cop, and Sally Sheis, the first woman shit-shoveler for the Freidan-Steinem Manure Company. The poster also contains, however, a serious message, presented as part of a leaflet seized by the police from a woman revolutionary who is awaiting interrogation by Gail. The message reads: "Although women constitute an especially oppressed group under capitalism, ultimately their goals are no different than any other sector of the population - the abolition of the wage system, destruction of the political state and the end of all authoritarian relationships and institutions. For women to continue a struggle within capitalism as a special group, seeking merely to achieve the alienated status of men, not only is foolish on the face of it, but continues the spectacle of rival groups competing for the crumbs of a decadent society. Only total revolution will bring about the liberation of women - all else perpetuates their enslavement."

Simultaneous with this, Black and Red have issued a reprint of the Solidarity pamphlet, "The Irrational in Politics", by Maurice Brinton, which is much concerned with the exploitation of

G. A. R. I. . . . Continued from Page 15

awkward date, just before Christmas, over 2,000 attended in the Paris Mutualité. The profit (some £ 1,000) was all taken up by lawyers' fees and expenses.

These comrades can be freed only if we can go on helping them, and raising their case publicly. Solidarity is essential at all levels.

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The article above was written for us by one of the editors of the French anarchist magazine, LA LANTERNE NOIRE, mentioned in "Through the Anarchist Press" in the last issue of FREE-DOM. We hope to have copies of the magazine available soon in the bookshop. Write to us for details. We have several of the folders of satirical sketches and drawings on the theme: "ESPANA", contributed by well-known French caricaturists. They cost £ 2, and all profits will go to the GARI defence fund.

THE TYPIST APOLOGIZES (again!): to Arthur Moyses for crediting Epstein with Einstein's Theory of Relativity in "Around the Galleries" Vol. 36 Nos. 16-17 (26 April).

sexuality in politics, with analysis along Reichian lines.

On the industrial side they have produced two pamphlets attacking the conservative role of trade unions. One is an account of a wildcat strike at Dodge Trucks in Detroit, June 1974, which criticises in equal measure the union officials for doing all in their power to stop the strike, and the Marxist-Leninists in the plant for trying to take the unions over (which entailed not criticising the unions).

## "NEVER WORK"

"I just don't want to work," moaned one of the Dodge Truck workers during the first few depressed days of the return to work. . . . The unions' role in suppressing this "revolt against work" is the theme of the second essay in the second pamphlet, "Unions against Revolution". This is a reprint of an article by J. Zerzan which originally appeared in Telos magazine; and the major article in the pamphlet, "Unions against Revolution" by G. Munis is a reprint of a translation from the French. Although Black & Red acknowledge the source of their translation, they seem unaware that the original French text (published by Eric Losfeld-Le Terrain Vague, a well known publisher of surrealist and erotic texts, in August 1968 just after the French trade unions had made their counter-revolutionary nature plain) consisted of two essays: the one by Munis translated here, written in 1960, and the other by Benjamin Peret, one of the foremost Surrealist poets, which first appeared as a series of articles in the French anarchist paper, Le Libertaire, in 1952. According to the preface in the French edition Peret's articles were the result of a close collaboration between Peret and Munis, and Munis's essay is a revision of the articles prepared with Peret's help, but actually realised by Munis after Peret's death. Both Munis and Peret were well-known Trotskyists, so presumably the publication of Peret's articles in Le Libertaire must correspond to that phase in its history after the Second World War when it was (as I recall reading somewhere) "taken over" by Trotskyists. Their Trotskyism, however, was highly heterodox (it shows in Munis's view that state capitalism in Russia started with Stalin, and in his analysis of the Spanish Civil War - he was the leader of "the Spanish section of the IVth International") and belongs to that strand of political thought which seems to fluctuate between a very renegade Marxism and "libertarian communism".

The non-doctrinaire (?) position of Black & Red is indicated by the last publication in this batch, "To serve the Rich". As this is an "Eat the Rich" pamphlet, you can see that the title is not so much a reversal of the Maoist tag "Serve the People" as a revolutionary cannibalist slogan. It is, in fact,

a recipe book with such dishes as Bourgeois Bouillabaisse and Split Priest Soup (perhaps the cruellest recipe is for Hearst patties).

## SITUATIONISTIC

In the past Black & Red have published a translation of Guy Debord's "Society of the Spectacle" and some situationist-style pamphlets. Now, Free Life Editions, who recently published the complete translation of Voline's "Unknown Revolution" (reviewed by Paul Avrich elsewhere in this issue) in conjunction with Black & Red, and who have also published other anarchist books, have announced that they will publish a translation of Vaneigem's "Treatise on Living for the use of the Young Generation".

Situationism seems to have "caught on" in the U. S. A., particularly in California, that playground of the ideologies, and there doesn't seem to be the same antagonism between anarchists and situationists as exists in Europe. The American situationists seem to be repeating the pattern of mutual exclusion and criticism as occurred in Europe, and to be employing a fairly impenetrable Hegelian vocabulary. Two recent emanations from Berkeley claim to be part of "a Phenomenology of the Subjective Aspect of Practical-Critical Activity".

Meanwhile, back in England the main activity of our situationists seems to be the translation (or rather publishing, as the translations seem to have been done some time ago) of classic texts of the Situationist International. Christopher Gray has published selections of the major articles from the Internationale Situationiste magazine, together with some historical notes, under the title, "Leaving the 20th Century"; and John Fullerton and Paul Sieveking have finally published their complete translation of Vaneigem's "Treatise" under the title "The Revolution of Everyday Life", over here as a Practical Paradise Publication. Presumably this is the same translation as will be published by Free Life Editions under the "Treatise..." title (the same translation of a portion of the first part of the book has already been published under both titles in the U. K. and the U. S. A., to add to the confusion).

## HEIL HEGEL

Debord and Vaneigem are worth reading for their critique of modern consumer-culture (if you can arrange a few weeks free of work and booze) but the latest bearer of the Situationist banner in France, Jean-Pierre Voyer, reads like some bizarre Hegelian joker parroting what have become the clichés of 1968. His latest book, "Introduction a la Science de la Publicite" reads like a flashy imitation of Situationist style without any engaging content, except the spectacle of intellectual narcissism.

D. L. M.