

FREEDOM

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TEN PENCE

CHOOSE YOUR POISON!

THE RESULT of the EEC Referendum is known before one sets down these words in ink. The result is increased exploitation, increasing insecurity, progressive loss of liberty for all sections of the population - not only the working class. The problem is not only economic but sociological and political, with technological growth demanding (and getting) new institutions and adaptations to cater for its depredations and ambitions.

The pollsters and psephologists have been at work assessing the result and at the time of writing they prophesy 51% for staying in, 30% for getting out and the rest as 'don't knows'. It is typical of the failure of scientific technology (of which poll predictions are a branch) that such forecasts are often incorrect. With the perverseness that is the problem and pride of humanity, people (a) tell lies to pollsters (b) say what they think they should say (c) refrain from partaking in a foregone (as forecast) conclusion, or (d) partake of the 'band-wagon' effect by voting for the 'winning' party. Indeed, the people of Norway were, like the British, told to vote for entry by both the Government and the Opposition. The result was -- a vote against entry. What are we to make of a Government which issues, at enormous cost, three pamphlets: one the argument for a 'Yes' to the EEC; one a 'No'; and a third giving the Government viewpoint which is, naturally, 'Vote Yes'? We shall see.

One cannot say it has been an enthralling campaign. Indeed, it seems to have been boring beyond measure. It

would not be surprising if the abstentions (from sheer indifference) reached great proportions. Great enough to make the result insignificant. In any case, since when was 51% sufficient of a majority to make any proposition effectively and co-operatively workable? Presumably in a "democratic decision democratically arrived at" the losers like all good democrats will obey cheerfully the will of the majority.

The question of working within the Common Market is an economic decision already made, which is seeking to make itself politically legitimate. The discussion on the Market has been boring because, in fact, the arguments produced for going in and coming out, arguments mainly centering on food and jobs, could statistically both be correct since they are based upon guesstimates and forecasts which require entry or withdrawal to prove their validity. Because these arguments, to use a modern swear-

word, are so 'materialistic' they are unable to fire anybody's imagination.

Alas, the only issues likely to spark off any response are the nationalistic, chauvinistic rubbish about imaginary 'sovereignty'. This patriotic piffle is used by both left-wing Tribunate socialists and the right-wing Powellites and National Fronters who say "No" to the Market. The stalking-horse of humanitarian internationalism is used by pro-marketeters. The distinguished 'pro' contributions of John Wain and Yehudi Menuhin in the Sundays are the kind of idealism which is being exploited by those in whose interest the EEC is being thrust forward.

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In this welter of words we have been in danger of getting lost in a dark wood of 'sovereignty', 'subsidies', 'community', 'market', 'standards of living', 'growth', 'world trade', 'agricultural policy', 'national identity', 'way of life', 'decision-making', many of the words highly emotive and deprived (by both sides) of whatever meaning they still had.

Now the decision has been made (or has it?) one can coolly look back on history, and since the national unified state is a comparatively recent introduction compare the thoughts of contemporary anarchists on the forcible or voluntary unification of countries like America, Italy, Germany and Russia. Rudolf Rocker in his Nationalism and Culture

Continued on Page 2

COMPULSORY MOTHERHOOD

CONSIDER A certain individual dissatisfied with his prospects, who decides to make a name for himself as a Member of Parliament. He gets to Westminster, but only just. The seat is precarious, and from the uncomfortable insecurity and obscurity of the backbenches this Honourable Gentleman begins to brood upon the need for a public relations exercise prior to the next elections. You never know. They can be called at any time these days.

Our MP seeks the advice of a colleague. What's the position on Private Members Bills? Let me think... says his friend. Legislation's pending on Dogs who persist in being dirty, but nothing yet on Bird Droppings or Cow Pats on public footpaths - though they've got round to banning Bulls from fields. You might be able to do something about Porcupines now one or two have been spotted on Salisbury Plain...

Tsht, this is a serious matter, says our Honourable Member. It's Glasgow I have to worry about. There's not much animal life around there as far as I know. But there are a lot of Roman Catholics. In fact they gave me quite a shock last polling day. A paper showed a picture of my Tory opponent with a group of nuns calling Labour's position on Abortion immoral. How would you like that if you were fighting a marginal seat with a strong Catholic vote and it happened to you?

But there you are, says his friend. There you have the answer. Ban abortion.

Well, I don't know, sighs our MP. Catholics are on the losing side all the time nowadays. I see in France that the delectable Simone Veil has actually been liberalising abortion. In fact, you can get it on demand up to ten weeks. The Italians, now they have divorce, are clamouring for abortion too, and a Rome court's just ruled that illegal abortion is unconstitutional! Dozens of other European countries and the USA have abortion on demand. Apart from that it's International Woman's Year. And now, just to keep men in the picture, I hear there's some talk of liberalising Rape. It's a bit frustrating being an MP for orthodox Catholics nowadays.

Come, come! says his companion. Abortion's just the thing. All you need is a little subtlety. Gen up on the Infringers of the 1967 law. There are always some Infringers and Exploiters about. Then make an Amendment. You'll find co-sponsors and supporters right away. Plenty of righteous and eloquent Tories, as you know, and some on our own side too. As for the women, apart from Elaine and Jill, they might get a bit hysterical, but they're a tiny minority and

Continued on Page 2



The Reluctant Voyer

"Want to come in for a vote, darling?"

COMPULSORY MOTHERHOOD from P1

will be easily outmanned on the Select Committee.

Ach, I don't know, says our perplexed Honourable Gentleman, dubiously scratching his head. Can't say as I've ever thought much about Abortion in the past, to be quite honest.

Since when did that ever matter? exclaims his friend. You can leave the publicity to the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children. They're very competent. All you have to do as a progressive Labourite is to stress the theme of Exploitation in the Private Sector. You can't go wrong. Look at all those poor innocent lasses from abroad, and all those twelve year old kids.

That's how one morning in International Woman's Year, after the second reading of the Abortion (Amendment) Bill, a young woman can sit up in bed and rub her eyes and blink with surprise and a creeping sense of disquiet. She realises, like some of the "progressive" press perhaps, that she has been lulled into a false sense of security by all the discussion about ending abuses in the private sector. But suddenly, somehow things have got turned round the wrong way. Abortion's not all right any more. But Rape is. Well, well.

Unfortunately, though, it isn't. Our - by now haughtily indignant - MP may dismiss talk of a return to the back streets as "sheer fantasy" but he doesn't explain why. He may advise us to "await the considered report, and

CHOOSE YOUR POISON, from Page 1

criticises from an anarchist viewpoint the unification of states which were the logical forerunner to the present step of the unification of Europe. He writes: "The delight of the modern bourgeoisie in the unified state is so great merely because it opens an outlook for their policy of exploitation such as a federation of small communities could never afford. For the material interests of small minorities in a country, the unified national state has always been a blessing. For the freedom of the people and the shaping of higher forms of culture it has always been a misfortune."

Later Rocker writes of the internationalism of capitalism. "Capitalism today breaks through all frontiers of the so-called 'national economic fields' and works ever more unequivocally for a condition of organized world economy... our present economic system has not a single national vein in its body, just as little as the economic systems of the past, as economics in general."

The unification of states was a prelude to their war-making careers. The unification of Europe under the EEC could be a prelude to the intensification of a trade war, a shooting war or the war against the individual by the super-state.

Whatever the results of the referendum, to the individual they merely offered a choice of poisons. There are antidotes.

Jack Robinson.

hopefully, the redrafted and sophisticated (sophistical?) Bill" before deciding on so rash an action as a protest campaign. Yet the consequences are becoming increasingly clear. Quite simply that a woman would find it extremely difficult to get a legal abortion in this country because

- of reducing the grounds for abortion to ambiguous phrases like "grave" and "serious", which leave doctors little choice, under threat of a five year jail sentence or unlimited fine, but to play safe and refuse abortion to any but the most obviously risky cases,
- of requiring extra qualifications for doctors involved, i.e. that the two doctors approving an abortion should not be in practice together and that one of them should have been qualified for five years,
- of limiting advice and information to registered doctors and government approved bodies, thus ruling out genuine as well as ungentle help,
- of preventing any foreigner who has not conceived in this country from treatment here.

To quote Time Out, the new Bill would "bring a return to a pre-1967 situation when rich women could afford to buy abortions disguised as other operations. The less wealthy had to rely on dubious and dangerous backstreet operators and the poor on often fatal do-it-yourself methods. The new Bill could reduce safe legal abortion by two thirds, but no law will ever stop the practice. ... In Britain the death rate from legal abortion in safe, sterile

PRISON KILLS!

RAP (Radical Alternatives to Prison) publishes a monthly newsletter. The May issue recapitulates the tragic life and death of a 25-year old man, severely handicapped by brain damage which had resulted from an accident five years ago. "Early in 1974 he was gaoled for several months on each count for a number of petty thefts. On appeal this sentence was suspended. At Woodford Crown Court on July 8 he was given six months on a charge of forgery. This, plus the suspended sentence, gave a total of four years. Stephen found this hard to understand... Most prisoners and officers recognised him as harmless and childlike and treated him in a good humoured manner. However, after a disastrous confrontation with a particular prison officer, he was beaten up and segregated. Six hours later he was found hanged by a sheet." The conduct and outcome of the inquest caused 175 prisoners to take the courageous step of signing a petition demanding an inquiry, to which the Home Office has so far failed to respond except by the sudden transfer of the initiator to Wandsworth and withdrawal of his

conditions is lower than that for giving birth. Yet a predominantly male Parliament could pass a law which will actually jeopardise the lives and health of women".

Apart from this, according, for instance, to a gynaecologists' report (The Times, 20th May), more than 82% of abortions in England and Wales on British women are in NHS hospitals or in charitable unprofitmaking nursing homes. The best way of eliminating abuses, it said, was simply, and evidently to improve facilities within the NHS

But that still leaves a problem. Our MP's marginal seat and all his nuns, threatening to vote Tory. What should one suggest? And then how about those distraught souls in SPUC, suffering as they obviously do from some acute form of existential anguish? The passionate and obscene path of dogma has led them to forget the particular for the Absolute, ignoring the too clearly living for the sake of the True Value and Sanctity of the unknown, unconscious, just Fertilised Egg. What is all this crap about True Value and about Sanctity? Should we not rather concentrate our respect upon the already conscious personality? Are there not moments when a choice between life and Life has to be made? Clearly yes, and it is intolerable that such a choice should not be left to the individual to decide.

Julia.

** A NATIONAL Abortion Campaign Demo will be held on Saturday 21 June. Assemble at Charing Cross Embankment 2.30 p.m. to leave at 3.30 p.m. for rally at Speakers' Corner.

privileges.

The issue also contains a letter from a prisoner in Finland, sent in Anarchist Solidarity to tell them of prison conditions in Finland. He is serving a ten-year sentence (for what he does not say) of which he has served five years in three prisons and is now in a work camp for the remainder. He says, "In Finland, prisoners have holiday rights when half the sentence is served, but I don't have the right to go on holiday as the authorities regard me as a political prisoner and dangerous to the state". The comrade states that there are about four million people and five thousand prisoners in Finland, and the way he works it out is that "We five thousand prisoners are the foundation of the system and we also keep 200,000 officials employed... and including families about 420,000-430,000 people."

Readers who think it a good idea to get some radical alternatives to prison injected into the present system can get into touch with RAP at Eastbourne House, Bullards Place, London, E.2 (phone 01-981 0041).

At the General Meeting on Tuesday, June 24, Michael Zander will speak on "Diversion - an alternative to the criminal process", at 7 p.m. in room 15, first floor, Friends Meeting House, 173 Euston Road, London NW1.

MC

GAS-CLOUDS OF CONFUSION

THE BRITISH PRESS has been making a meal of the run-up to the Baader/Meinhof/Ensslin/Raspe trial. In the wake of the Lorenz kidnapping and the blowing up of the West German embassy in Stockholm, they have been happy to print any sensational items which they can link with the Red Army Fraction, without submitting them to critical scrutiny. Take as an example the "mustard gas attack" story. On May 13th the Guardian's Bonn correspondent reported:

"Fifty-three steel bottles each containing a litre of mustard gas have been stolen from ammunition bunkers in a military training area on the Luneburg Heath... There are fears that they may be in the possession of terrorists. A West German terrorist group threatened at the weekend to attack the city of Stuttgart with Soviet SAM-7 missiles, bombs, and mustard gas, unless an amnesty was granted to all political prisoners.

"The trial of the Baader-Meinhof group of urban guerillas is due to open in Stuttgart on May 21. In a letter to a Stockholm newspaper three days ago, a group calling itself the Siegfried Hausner Commando threatened to murder Princess Christina of Sweden, her husband, and the Swedish Minister of Labour, unless their demands were met... Siegfried Hausner was one of the terrorists who attacked the West German embassy in Stockholm... He died of injuries received when part of the building was blown up."

Four days later, under the headline "Poison gas piles up", which made no explicit link with Baader/Meinhof, the story had changed somewhat:

"Left-wing political extremists were at first suspected of having broken into the depot and taken the gas to blackmail Bonn into releasing four anarchist leaders whose trial on murder and robbery charges begins next week.

"Police in Luenburg [sic] investigating the theft said their latest information indicated the thieves were not terrorists."

Note how the Siegfried Hausner Commando have disappeared from the story, and how the "urban guerillas" have transmogrified into "Anarchist leaders", without any mention of their being Baader, Meinhof, Raspe and Ensslin. The whole story was exploded several days later in a small item in the Daily Telegraph:

"A scare about reported theft of mustard gas from a German Army depot in Lower Saxony may have been due to a miscount, Herr Klaus Bolling, chief Bonn Government spokesman, said yesterday... Two weeks ago legal authorities announced that 53 canisters of mustard gas were missing from a depot at Munster... A few days later the number of lost containers was reduced to two. Authorities explained that there had been an error in accounting."

Which leaves us with the Siegfried Hausner Commando. It is obvious from the first report that they were operating in Sweden rather than West Germany, and another Guardian report, this time from their Stockholm correspondent about the group who attacked the West German embassy contains a possible clue to their identity:

"There are strong impressions on the part of the police that there are still terrorists in the area. Apart from warnings from the German police, there were the statements delivered to news agencies in Stockholm on Thursday by someone who was clearly acting in concert with the terrorists inside the embassy."

Quite probably the "West German terrorist group" is one or two people sending messages to the Swedish press.

The Hypothesis behind reporting of this kind is of a well-organized conspiratorial network responsible for all acts of terrorism. The theory goes that Baader, Meinhof, etc. are using their lawyers to pass on instructions to the rest of the "terror-gang". For example, the Daily Telegraph, April 28th:

"Ulrike Meinhof, fanatical woman leader of the anarchist Baader-Meinhof gang, is said to have smuggled a message out of her Stuttgart jail cell ordering her followers still at large: 'Attack consulates'."

The atmosphere thus created, besides providing that little frisson of Gothic terror so beloved of readers of the bourgeois press, is designed to facilitate the passing of repressive legislation, such as is now being pushed through the West German legislature to emasculate the defence of Baader, Meinhof, Raspe and Ensslin. No evidence of messages such as that reported by the Daily Telegraph being carried by defence lawyers has been brought, but Baader's lawyers have all been suspended from the trial for "suspected complicity" with the "criminal gang" (this is one of the new laws, and it is the dispute over it which has caused the delay in the trial). What really seems to have riled the authorities is the smuggling out by one of the defence lawyers of an interview with the defendants, which was published in Der Spiegel. Other laws being introduced include a German version of "turning Queen's evidence". Any political prisoner willing to testify against their comrades will be given a large sum of money and will be "enabled to build up a new existence". Finally, the right to private conversation between defence lawyers and their clients is being taken away. If the lawyer is thought to "support the political movement" the interview will be supervised by an "independent judge".

The theory of co-ordinated terrorist attacks scarcely stands up under the evidence of the only two actual attacks.

The Lorenz kidnapping which was efficiently thought-out and executed, whatever one may think of its morality, was concerned almost entirely with releasing members of the Second of June Movement, not Baader, Meinhof, Ensslin, etc. The Stockholm embassy attack was a completely stupid and suicidal manoeuvre, entirely different in strategy to the Lorenz kidnapping. None of the people involved in it were on the list of people suspected by the German police of carrying out the Lorenz kidnapping, and none of them were known to the authorities as even suspected members of the Red Army Fraction. The only common denominator of these people is their involvement in German radical movements of the late sixties and early seventies. It is significant that one of the people involved in the recent shootout with German police in a Cologne carpark in which a policeman and Werner Sauber (alleged member of the R. A. F.) were killed, was Karl Heinz Roth. Roth was leader of the student movement in Hamburg in the sixties (at the same time that Rudi Dutschke was leader of the SDS) and despite a certain amount of trouble with the law over leading prohibited demonstrations, he completed his medical studies and became, first an assistant at the University Clinic in Hamburg, and later a surgeon at the Emergency Hospital in Cologne. He also wrote quite a number of essays, and two books, one of which, The Other Workers' Movement, was an attempt to write the history of the German working class movement from the point of view of the workers, and not from that of their organizations, and was the subject of a good deal of serious discussion. The fact that such a person should involve himself in armed struggle, can't be entirely explained by saying "naive romanticism" or "adventurism". It must tell us something about "the most liberal democracy in Western Europe", as the BBC's German Correspondent described the Federal German Republic, in Gordon Carr's very superficial and error-strewn programme on the Red Army Fraction, "By Violent Means".

The confusion of the British press ("terrorist group", "Left-wing political extremists", "urban guerillas", "fanatical woman-leader of the anarchist Baader-Meinhof gang", "anarchist leaders", "ultra-leftist underground terrorist organisation", all used to describe what is supposedly a single phenomenon) is a consequence of their unwillingness to analyse what is going on in Germany, to go beyond the official line, to question governmental "information".

The Guardian of May 24th published another load of tendentious governmental "news" about an international anarchist conspiracy in Switzerland, but more of that in our next issue.

D. L. M.

CARS HEADING FOR CRASH

DESPITE mounting unemployment, workers are still taking industrial action both to maintain their standard of living against continuing inflation and to prevent further loss of jobs. A reminder of the latter is the Imperial Typewriter factory at Hull. Here, workers have been in occupation for over a hundred days. The company announced that the plant would be closed, but the workers there are aiming to interest the government in a similar take-over to what was achieved at Meriden.

But in recent weeks it has been the strike at Chrysler's engine factory at Stoke, Coventry that has hit the headlines and brought down the wrath of the Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson. The unofficial strike is for more money, over and above the £8 already offered by the company. The executive of the engineering unions has appealed for a return-to-work, but those on strike have shown at their mass meetings a near unanimous determination to fight the company to the bitter end.

As in many strikes where the company involved is a multi-national, threats of closing or of altering investment plans have been made. The chairman of the convenors, Bob Morris, has declared that they would rather face unemployment than give up their struggle for a wage increase.

Certainly Chrysler face a difficult situation, because the same £8 offer to all their British workers was rejected at Linwood in Renfrewshire. In addition the Linwood workers would have received an extra £2.50 to bring them up to the Coventry plant's rates of pay.

Mr. Wilson made it plain where he stood in the dispute: this sort of action would not force the government to intervene and make a take over as with British Leyland.

Of course, there are many who would favour such creeping nationalisation and would claim it as socialist and that they were on the road to the millennium. Anarchists do not share this view. The question of nationalisation and indeed of all state intervention forms a fundamental difference between anarchists and socialists, of whatever variety. In contrast to the socialists, who see everything being imposed from above by those in control, anarchists see this control being exercised from below, by the people themselves.

Industrial action, in itself, does on numerous occasions show that control can be maintained and decisions taken by all involved. The object of such action might to some be of little importance, but the general climate of determination to maintain living standards does pose a threat to the capitalist sys-

tem. While the 'traditional left' wants to channel this discontent into purely monetary demands with the added slogan of nationalisation, anarchists would seek to extend the economic demands of workers to a revolutionary demand of who should run and control industry and in whose interests.

DAGENHAM DOORHANGERS

The strike and occupation by these 40 men at Fords is now over six weeks old. This dispute is not one about money but is a question of how many men will operate the line. Fords, according to The Observer (25 May), want a showdown with these "agitators", because there are, in management's view, too many men doing too few jobs. A picture of the card playing, football kicking, lazy British worker, so often portrayed in the Daily Telegraph, comes to minds. But very few of the working class have the opportunity to work at the job they would like to do. Many skilled craftsmen now find themselves in boring repetitive jobs while those without a trade get their pleasure from squeezing all they can from the employer for the rotten jobs they have to do to get a living.

Fords can well afford to force a showdown, since with the falling demand for their cars they have waited and picked the manning issue for a confrontation. In the past, as management has admitted, the big demand for their products had meant that they did not want a stoppage and so, they say, they gave in to workers' manning demands.

While the doorhangers, whose action has put 5,000 other workers out of work, have voted to continue their stoppage "indefinitely", they also decided to let their full-time union officials handle future negotiations. Such a decision opens the way for the sort of compromise which will mean a victory for management.

Indeed with the overall crisis now facing western capitalist economies, those who own and, more importantly, those who control industry are seeking a way out which will mean less workers doing more work. For them it is a period of re-organisation, of rationalisation, for when demand starts to rise again.

In the past mounting unemployment has been resisted by traditional methods of strikes. However, another tradition runs through the history of the working class, that of occupation. The advantages to the workers are plain. It puts those in occupation more in control of the situation. Machinery cannot be worked by management or moved out. Decisions, because of the mass involvement rather than just picket duty outside the gates, can be made by all. It also

means the supplying of food, bedding etc. and as such brings in every member of the family. In fact the whole household could move in.

In other words, occupations are a beginning as to how the rest of society could be run and organised. The present day occupations are certainly defensive but they pose a much bigger threat to the system of exploitation than the ordinary strike. Occupations have led, like those at Triumph Meriden, near Coventry and the Scottish Daily Express, to the formation of co-operatives. However, in the process a number of jobs have been lost and those on the shop floor have little or no control. Indeed, productivity has increased. Although increased productivity is not a bad thing per se, it depends on why and for what purpose. There is no doubt that some hungry capitalist management would like his own work force to be so motivated.

But increased productivity and indeed all processes of manufacture should be based on the needs of the community and not, as at present, on profit for a few. The few co-operative factories are still subject to the same laws of profit and loss in the capitalist market. One co-operative's success in a capitalist economy could mean another's failure. They are isolated 'success stories' in a general struggle against closure and resulting unemployment.

It is this struggle that is so important and the tactic of occupation is but one method in the armoury of weapons which workers can adopt. But industrial struggles have to go beyond those of wages and jobs. No politician or socialist grouping or party of the 'left' will admit or believe that workers can organise, run and co-ordinate the distribution of goods necessary to satisfy the needs of the community. For them, that is the job of experts - those in authority, those in power. Anarchists believe that people can organise their own lives both of work and for all their other needs. We do not think that any class has a depository of expertise, but that the mass of people have the ability to run society for the common good. At the moment, the vast majority of workers see their problems being overcome by increased wages, but equally knowing that, come a few months' time, they will be no better off. This treadmill which wage slaves are trapped on can only be discarded if workers want freedom and control over their own lives. The struggles now taking place, and especially the occupations, show that there is some desire for change; that despite the adverse economic conditions, workers are not going to knuckle down. Anarchists must show that workers need not do this, but can, because of their position in society - that of producer - abolish the system of exploitation that now keeps them in wage slavery.

KENNETH MELLANBY's Can Britain Feed Itself is the sort of book I like; well reasoned, concise, comprehensive and without superfluous matter.

The main argument is that the present population can be fed adequately on the present acreage of land providing that we make certain changes in the diet. Mellanby argues that the present level of meat production and consumption is both unnecessary and unsupportable in the context of world food shortage. The preface starts:

"Britain is faced with many problems in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The most serious of these is food. We can economise in energy, and do without many luxuries, but without enough food, of the proper quality, our population cannot survive. We know that we import nearly half of our food, and that our imports are becoming scarcer and more expensive. We may not be able to pay for imports if our financial position worsens. There may be no surpluses in the rest of the world, where many millions are underfed, even if we can pay the bill."

'ENOUGH IS ENOUGH'

Apart from the health hazard that our high level of protein consumption presents, as Mellanby points out, it contributes to the health hazard of malnutrition in other parts of the world. The restricted wartime diet actually resulted in a higher level of health than has been achieved before or since; this in my view was also achieved by a more positive health education. If this had continued to form a basic part of the National Health Service it might well have become a true health service.

In spite of the fact that we now produce more food than ever in our history, we import more than 50% of our requirements at a cost of £3,500,000,000.

It is however misleading to talk in financial terms owing to the fluctuating value of money, and therefore the arguments are supported by reference to acreage, tonnage and population.

Arable yields have increased dramatically since 1945. The use of fertilisers and chemicals has tended to produce a much higher average crop. Personally, I am not so sanguine about the possible effects of these items in the long run as is the author. There needs to be much more independent research divorced from the vested interests and apart from the economics of low-manpower farming. One must be forgiven for being sceptical about conclusions of experts in view of their mistakes in many fields. In the spheres of agriculture and health particularly, perhaps different attitudes may produce different, more positive, approaches. The destructive approaches are often the result of purely financial considerations. I am sure that in questions of both health and agriculture there is a vast body of knowledge that certainly works in practice.

In his reference to organic farming Mellanby says its advocates often overstate their case. This is true, but I would remind him that people who are dismissed as cranks were warning people about the dangers of excessive sugar eating years ago.

Britain's annual food consumption per head of the population in 1973.

	Total	Home produced	Imported
Meat (beef, pork & mutton)	95 lb	71 lb	24 lb
Bacon and ham	22 lb	10 lb	12 lb
Poultry meat	27 lb	26 lb	1 lb
Eggs (number)	240	240	5
Milk	310 pts	310 pts	nil
Cheese	13 lb	7 lb	6 lb
Butter	18 lb	4 lb	14 lb
Oil, fat, margarine	38 lb	6 lb	32 lb
Sugar	106 lb	33 lb	73 lb
Wheat flour	142 lb	80 lb	62 lb
Potatoes	215 lb	206 lb	9 lb
Tea and coffee	13 lb	nil	13 lb

As can be seen from the above table, we produce most of our meat and all our eggs, milk and poultry. However, this production is supported largely by imported feeding stuff (becoming scarcer and more expensive). All our requirements in energy and fertilisers are also imported, though this proportion is relatively small compared with our total fuel consumption. The probability is, as has already been pointed out, that much of this consumption is superfluous and could easily be replaced by home produced cereal production.

The diet suggested by Mellanby has long been advocated by food reformers. In addition, fruit and green vegetables, very appropriate to small and intensive production in Britain could also replace much animal protein, with benefit. Mellanby points out that Britons consume

2lbs. of sugar per week. As this includes many who do not eat very much of it, this large consumption is the worst feature of the British diet. Apart from its cost in dental and other ill-health, it unbalances the diet so much that the calorific value of the diet does not relate to its protein content.

As Mellanby points out, with a good mixed diet it is difficult for the normal adult not to eat enough protein, especially when highly processed foods like sugar and white flour are avoided.

USE OF BRITAIN'S LAND

Land classified as Grade I, II or III, suitable for growing arable crops, amounts to 22 million acres. There are also 24 million acres suitable for grazing, of varying quality. As grass can only be used by herbivorous animals they will continue to play their natural part in British agriculture. A warning, however, that the continued loss of 50,000 acres per year of our best land (to building) may eventually hazard our ability to feed ourselves.

The tenor of Mellanby's book seems to suggest that our agriculture should be more orientated to our own and world needs in line with a socially-motivated activity rather than a market one. He says that if some foods are scarce, rationing should be introduced "to ensure fair shares rather than rationing by price".

The change in Britain's position vis-a-vis food supplies is not the only one. The manufactured goods with which we purchased our food can now be manufactured universally, therefore there will be much labour available maybe to reorientate our agriculture towards a more labour intensive one.

I can recommend this thoughtful, well documented book, and it is worth quoting the last paragraph:

"Not everyone will agree with my point of view. We still have those who demand more and more productivity, and consider that their standard of living may be measured by their beef consumption. At the other extreme, we have some so-called "ecologists" who want to go back to the simple life, and to the agricultural techniques of the dark ages. The first group would ruin our environment, the second condemn most of our population to starvation. Neither solution is necessary. We need an efficient farming system, producing the foods that are needed to sustain the health of our population. I believe that with proper planning, a little self sacrifice by the more carnivorous, and a joint effort by all sections of the community, we can build a better fed and more beautiful Britain in the future."

Alan Albon.

WE DARE !

Dear FREEDOM,

As a member of the Anarchist Workers Association, and as an occasional reader of your journal, I have often thought of writing to you to express disagreement with articles that find their way into your publication. However up to now my hostility has not been matched by a belief that the effort involved in putting pen to paper would be worth while. I cannot allow however your article on the Anarchist press (Review Supplement 24-5-75) to pass unchallenged. I don't propose to engage in a lengthy polemic with D. L. M., the very existence of the A. W. A. is a living historical contradiction to the ideas of that ilk. Anyway, points:-

1) Peace News and Undercurrents are not Anarchist publications by any definition, even yours. Libertarian Struggle is because it is the democratically controlled organ of an organisation which is moving towards a revolutionary libertarian communist society and whose members fight to spread the ideas of anarchism and libertarian organisation in the working class.

2) To say that Libertarian Struggle had a few paragraphs criticizing the British Anarchist Movement (sic) is an under-

LETTERS

statement of our position. We criticize the traditional anarchist movement because:- a) its organisation has always been undemocratic and elite controlled in practice; b) its organisation was inefficient; c) the movement failed to identify with the toiling masses; d) the movement has failed to develop a body of theory capable of standing up to criticism, or being used to criticise other political theories; e) the movement has failed to break with liberal ideas and counter revolutionary forces such as pacifism, "freedom of speech", and religion; f) finally, the modern movement never was a movement in that it never broke out of its small circle of cranks and middle-class pseudo-intellectuals.

3) The O. R. A. had "Left Tendency" which turned to Trotskyism. This happened because O. R. A. was a developing body of people, not a stagnant clique. Some members of the tendency disguised their Leninist beliefs and tried to use the tendency as a means of liquidating the organisation. This did not succeed, but it put us back a long

way. In the long run however the experience may have made us stronger. The "Left Tendency" was a birth-pang of a new revolutionary anarchist movement, a movement which is growing.

4) There has been no "polemic" with Nicolas Walter, some comrades have merely pointed out that his statements are mostly jealous slanders. The Organisational Platform of the Libertarians and Communists was written by anarchist revolutionaries who fought in the only important anarchist movement in the Russian revolution, the Makhnovschina; a movement destroyed by the armies of the Leninists. N. W. is an arm-chair revolutionary* who accuses the Makhnovschina revolutionaries of being Leninists themselves.

I could go on. If my comments seem harsh it is because this rubbish makes my blood boil, and in that state I must resort to writing naked truth.

Publish if you dare,
Yours
John Morgan.

*Who went to prison for criticising Wilson aloud. Perhaps he took his arm-chair with him! EDS

IWW and Anarchist Press

Fellow workers,

With regard to your article "Through the Anarchist Press" in the review supplement of the May 24th issue of FREEDOM.

Firstly, though there may be anarchists in the IWW, the IWW press and membership is not a part of the anarchist movement, nor is our press part of the anarchist press.

Secondly, our local publication, The Industrial Unionist, is not an "IWW offshoot", but an IWW publication, as it states clearly in each issue.

You can check our position and attitudes toward anarchism by reading the policy statement on page 44 of our Constitution, which is available from Freedom Bookshop or from the above address, price 10p plus postage.

We would appreciate it if you could make this position clear to your readership. I'm sure we can both see that there is no value in being misleading, albeit unintentionally.

Yours for the Works,

Elaine Godina, Secretary
General Organizing Committee/IWW,
116 Chadderton Way,
Oldham, Lancs.

A GOTHENBURG feminist group is taking retaliatory action against kerb-crawlers. When accosted, the women throw sour herrings and water bombs into the cars.

IN BRIEF

AFTER five years' imprisonment, the trial of Mary Tyler and other Naxalites (Maoists) in West Bengal is due to commence June 2nd.

BILL DWYER, joint organiser of the proposed Windsor Pop Festival, was jailed until August 24th (calculated to keep him in until the day after the proposed commencement of the festival) for breaking a temporary injunction (granted to Windsor residents) forbidding him to promote, advertise the Pop Festival to be held at Windsor from August 23rd. (Advt.) The National Council for Civil Liberties has called attention to the fact that a Thames Valley police spokesman gave evidence in this private action.

A STAGED protest against prosecutions under the Incitement to Disaffection Act (1934) was foiled at Bradford by the temporary closure of the Army careers office. Later, the protestors went to the local police station and confessed to the offence of 'possession' of 'seditious' leaflets. Due note was taken.

PRESIDENT Giscard d'Estang is considering hiring more waiters for the next Elysee Palace press luncheon after the disappearance of thirteen pieces of heavy gold cutlery after the press corps' last visit.

A YOUNG midwife has been dropped from a training course for health visitors in Milton Keynes because she has publicly identified herself as a lesbian. An American airman, after many years service, is challenging the right of the forces to dismiss him after his admission that he is a homosexual.

THE Sunday People distinguishes itself by publicising Mrs. Queenie Robinson (no relation) who has "the unique distinction of being the first woman to stuff a bunch of live ferrets down the front of her dress". It further comments, "Her husband stuffs ferrets down his trousers. . . It is a growing sport among the nation's ferret fanciers."

THERE HAS BEEN a quarrel about a secretly-taken 'pornographic' film of Hitler and Goering, taken by the SS for future use. The State Government of Bavaria has claimed ownership. The new owner, who obtained the film from South America, wishes to exploit it commercially and has already had offers.

FORTY POLICEMEN were disciplined for taking tins of food from a lorry which overturned on the M5. Between four and five tons were taken, police cars were used to ferry the food and police radio called in other police cars to share the loot. The Director of Public Prosecutions 'cleared' the policemen (i. e. he took no action) and chief constables were criticised for taking disciplinary actions of fines and demotion in view of the 'clearance'.
"Sancho Panza!"

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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

USA American police chiefs are thinking about accepting 'gay' cops in the Californian force after the passage of a Bill legalising adult consensual acts. The Californian police is very worried about this. It says the morale of the force will be "completely destroyed".

"Before the Bill's final passage," reports The Observer, "members of the Senate were, literally, locked up in the Capitol for six hours to preserve a quorum so that the State's Lieut-Governor, Mervyn Dymally, could fly back 1,000 miles from Colorado to cast a tie-breaking vote. Some Democrats had cracked at the last moment under right-wing pressure and the vote was deadlocked for the first time in a decade at 20-20."

Los Angeles' police department describes homosexuals as "immoral, abnormal, perverted, degraded, emotionally sick and... liable to turn against friends, family and country". Fundamentalist ministers agree, saying the ruling is a "plot to undermine home and nation".

AMERICAN researchers and geneticists have succeeded in breeding "totally nude chicken ready to march straight into the oven".

But, reports the British organisation Compassion in World Farming, there are difficulties which have caused the Connecticut researchers at the University to terminate their effort. "... they are too damn cold," says a University spokesman, "they just shiver and huddle into a corner to try and get warm, even at room temperatures."

TOKYO A Japanese anarchist died under police interrogation recently after being arrested after a bombing incident. Anarchists in Japan are currently being subjected to intense persecution by the government.

FRANCE The Meinhof-Puig Antich group have threatened to kill the French minister of Justice, Jean Lecanuet. The Minister has refused to release Basque nationalists from jail in France.

SPAIN According to a correspondent of The Times, it is now certain that the ultra right wing Guerrillas of Christ the King, the anti-Basque terrorists, are directly linked with the Spanish police. The Guerrillas have been machine gunning and bombing business establishments, educational institutions and bars throughout the Basque region in both Spain and France. "I have," says the correspondent, "seen an official document, supplied inadvertently by the Ministry of Traffic, confirming that a car used by the Guerrillas in one of their nocturnal raids belonged to the General Security Agency."

The spiral of violence and the extent of repression is said to be comparable only to the years immediately after the Civil War.

Spanish police manning a road block in San Sebastian in the Basque country fired on a car full of women and children, critically wounding an elderly West German woman. The rifle shot is said to have been fired after the car had stopped. Meanwhile, in Madrid and Valladolid some 30 people, including lawyers and professors, have been arrested for anti-political activity.

SWEDEN Despite overwhelming popular opposition, the Swedish Parliament has approved legislation on a sweeping nuclear reactor programme. This will make the Swedes the biggest per capita consumers of nuclear power in the world. The latest opinion poll shows only one in ten Swedes in favour of the expansion of nuclear power.

In France, following an anti-nuclear demonstration in Fessenheim, a man and two boys have been charged with being in possession of explosives. Now eighteen communes of the Belfort region have created anti-nuclear defence committees after the Army, without any prior consultation, has decided to build a nuclear missile station in the area. Land has been expropriated from the local inhabitants, and woods chopped down. The "Pluton" missiles are said to be as powerful as the Hiroshima bomb. This new "Maginot line" has so far cost four thousand million francs. The "Plutos" aim directly at Federal Germany, Switzerland and Luxembourg.

In England the verdict of an inquest on the death of a worker at Windscale nuclear fuel plant reports that the cause of death, after three exposures to radiation, was acute tracheo-bronchitis and bronchial pneumonia after a malignant disease of the bone marrow (myelomatosis).

W. GERMANY Some 250,000 petrol pump attendants have received messages, via the oil companies, from the Federal police, asking for help in hunting down terrorists. The police ask the attendants to spy ("keep a watch on") suspect customers and note the colour and number plates of their cars so that the police can check up on them. In their "Note to service station employees" the police give tips on terrorist hunting. A look out should be made for objects like tools, soldering irons, electrical equipment, chemical products, weapons, dummy guns. Police collaboration is said to be high in West Germany. Rewards for information concerning the Lorenz kidnapping exceeded 50,000 DM. A union leader has said the garage attendants will do their duty in defending the democratic order, but that the police won't expect them to become deputy sheriffs.

The Minister of the Interior, Maihofer, has presented a report according to which the number of terrorist acts in 1974 (104) was double that of the year before.

G. F.

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Contributions 15 - 28 May

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TOTAL to DATE £654.30

ANARCHIST CITY

CHRIST LETS GET MOVING DEPARTMENT

1. Upwards of a quarter of a million people will be attending this years Windsor Free Festival.
2. Not a few of these will at least be receptive to the ideas of FREEDOM and ANARCHISM

Some of us have decided to build an ANARCHIST CITY within the festival itself.

So far we have two tents, a lot ideas and lots of faith. We need people who are prepared to act on ideas:

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MEETINGS

A. S. NEILL Assn - working meeting at Life Span Commune (near Sheffield) June 6-7-8. Bring bedding & food. Kids welcome. Details of membership & weekend from Ray, 7 Manor Road Extension, Oadby, Leics. (Our aim to secure greater freedom for children & support projects which share this aim.)

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH Bike Rally & Demo Sun. 15 June County Hall 2.30 p.m. to protest at inadequate provision for cyclists.

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, 1 pm Speakers' Corner Speakers, listeners, hecklers welcm. Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/Int Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd, 2nd door, Tube Belsize Pk/Chalk Fm) from 7.30 pm -discussion, snacks. MANCHESTER. SWF weekly mtgs. Enq. Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M1 7DU

Friday 6 June. Up Against the Law Benefit (The General Will, Bradford Theatre Extraordinaire, Latimer Rd Street Band) N. London Poly (Prince of Wales Rd) 7.30 pm. 65p.

Wed. 11 June Ban Hare Coursing. Lobby of MP's 2.15 at House of Par. (J. E. Hicks, Animal Action, 73 St. Mary's Tce., Hastings. (Hartfield 627) July 26-Aug. 22. 'Connections' - live, work, play, learn together, write, think at Laurieston Hall, Castle Douglas, Kirkcudbrightshire, Scotland. Send sae for details.

PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

REDESIGN : Print - how to do it yourself Would anyone who has a copy and no longer needs it get in touch before end of June with Brian Fleming, Blairfield Farm, Birkhill, Dundee

LIBRARY WORKERS contact Martin Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex CB10 1AW with view to forming a network

POEMS & SONGS wanted from all over world for Abolish War Encycl/ Anthol. Anarcho-Pacifist, Antimilitarist, Antiracialist, also CO's Tribunal Statements. Any lang. Mark Wm Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church Street, London SE5.

WINDSOR Free Festival, The People's Festival, on again for 9 days from 23 August. Needs your co-operation. ADAM FREE, BM/Loving, London WC1V 6XX

GROUPS

Libertarian Group-Abergafenni. Anyone interested in one contact 31 Monmouth Rd, Abergafenni.

Anarchists in Harrow area interested in forming group please write to Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Grds., Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB.

CORBY anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick. DUNDEE, Brian Fleming, c/o Anarchist Society, Students' Union, University of Dundee, Dundee. Angus.

EDINBURGH Box Gibson, 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel 031-2263073) GLASGOW Gerry Cranwell, 163 Gt. George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow. PORTSMOUTH Rob Atkinson, 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants, N. London Anarchist Workers Assn. write BCM-N. Lon. AWA. LonWVIV 6XX NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Rd. Christchurch 4 (tel. 496 793)

PUBLICATIONS

ANARCHISM LANCASTIRUM No. 3, 8p+post from AL, 16 Kingsmill Avenue, Whalley, Lancs, or Freedom Bookshop DIRECT ACTION No.7 out now. Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. Manchester M1 7DU or Freedom Bookshop, 5p + 5½p INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST (IWW) No.3 From Freedom Booksh. 10p + 5½p or from Organising Committee, 116 Chaderton Way, Oldham. (Greater London Local ring Watford 39124)

THE MATCH! U. S. Anarchist Monthly News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. \$3.00 per year from PO Box 3480, Tucson, Arizona 85722. Or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy 13½p p.f. ROADRUNNER. radical Christian mag. for struggles & celebrations of revolution. Sub, £2.50 12 issues, £1.25 for 6 Single copy 15p (+ 5½p post from Freedom Booksh.) Issue 58 out now - on Caribbean, Xian Left, poems on Middle East, Islam. Still some no. 56 Giant Health Issue left.

WILDCAT no.8. 15p. Sub £2.50 a yr (monthly). Cheques to Alternative Publishing Co. Ltd., Box 999, 197 Kings Cross Rd., London WC1

CONTACT

PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219089, H. M. Prison, Heathfield Rd. London SW18 3HS. Letters, postcards.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1. Needs funds for books.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILAN. The postcard we mentioned in Freedom, addressed to Marini in prison and with greeting in Italian, is still available from Freedom for 5½p (our postage to you) plus a donation for the Defence.

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday, 19 June, Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding and informal get-together.

OCCUPY — DANISH STYLE!

Since 15 January 1975 the printing works of UNIPRINT on the outskirts of Copenhagen has been out of operation as a result of the workers' direct action. UNIPRINT is part of a big publishing concern owned by Kaj Winther, comprising Winther Publishers Holding, Winthers Forlag, Winther Greeting Cards and Uniprint. In addition Kaj Winther partly or totally controls a Swedish publishing house, Forlaget Gefion; two Finnish companies, Oy Vihdekitjut and Oy Finnbooks; the West Germany publishers I H Verlag, and a Danish mailorder books firm Forlaget Horisont Kolportage.

The UNIPRINT section is a highly developed printing company with an output of approximately 12 million books per year - 'popular' literature such as Westerns, crime novels and romances. These 65,000 books a day are turned out by 66 workers (typographers, lithographers and binders). The following account of the occupation is supplied by Pressbanden, an anarchist group who have just published the first issue of "Notes from Denmark", intended to inform other anarchist publications and organisations on events in Denmark.

*

TODAY UNIPRINT -- TOMORROW
YOU

The sequence of event started when the management declared that the company had to close down because it was unprofitable. 38 workers were to be fired soon and the rest within 5 months. It soon became apparent that Winther wanted to transfer production to Sweden, where paper princes are lower, for one thing, which would immediately result in a 10% increase in profits.

As soon as the workers got the information they declared a strike, in order to use the few remaining months of production to put pressure on Winther. Soon a blockade on Winther's production was organised in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Britain, France and Germany.

Instead of the conventional walk-out, which means that the workers split up and are unlikely to keep in contact, they went each day to the factory, not working but having meetings, discussing the action, organising information and support, etc. Very soon a widespread network of supporting committees was formed, spreading information in the streets, organising public meetings, and all the time collecting money for the support of the strike.

Two weeks later, on 28 January, after fruitless negotiations between the

workers, the union and the owner, the company went into liquidation. Immediately the workers changed their action into a 24-hour occupation, in order to prevent the owner from removing machinery and part-finished books.

PROFIT, PROFIT and MORE PROFIT

Meantime, the workers had got hold of the company's accounts and were analysing them to see if there were any basis to the claim that Uniprint was unprofitable. The accounts were an incredibly complicated set-up, but it appeared that Uniprint itself was a 'healthy' company but that, as part of the Winther concern, it had been charged a lot of expenses paid normally not by the printers but by the publishers - such as copyright, sales and administration expenses, freight, etc. Further, the rent of the premises was too high compared to standards. And there was a large account for interests --- Uniprint was borrowing money dearly but lending it very cheaply. All in all, Uniprint was supposed to supply the Winther publishers with books, not taking any profit itself but leaving that to other parts of the concern (for tax reasons, probably). Any way, it was proved that it would be possible to run Uniprint as a profitable company without cutting down on the number of workers employed.

POLICE INTERVENTION

Around five weeks from the start of the strike, on the evening of 18 February, the police rolled up in force in front of the factory. This was the first time in 40 years that the capitalists had gone as far as getting the police to interfere in a labour conflict. The workers were given half-an-hour to leave. As they had from the outset declared that they did not want to get into physical fights, they left, well covered by a film group and the press. They set up an information stand in front of the factory, and patrolled the area to prevent the entry of strike-breakers and the removal of material.

Three days later, between 3 and 4 thousand people demonstrated in front of the Ministry of Justice in protest at the use of the police in this situation. The minister, a Social Democrat from the newly-established Social Democratic government, was asked three questions:

- 1) Did the Minister of Justice have knowledge of the police action?
- 2) Was this the first move from the Social Democratic government, in a situation of wide unemployment -- to throw the police at the workers?
- 3) Was the Social Democratic govern-

ment going to continue this policy, at the workers' expense, to strengthen the right wing in parliament?

The Minister of Justice answered the first question with a 'No', and refused to answer the other two, referring to his first answer. Anyway, he added, he saw this not a police interference in a labour conflict, but as an intervention in an illegal occupation of private property.

POLICE END ACTION

Thereafter, the workers established an intermediary headquarters in a former inn in the neighbourhood and kept on patrolling the factory, negotiating with the owner and his lawyers, and travelling the country addressing information meetings.

The next big event was on 14 March, the date set by the owner as the ultimate for a possibility of 24 workers returning to work. The workers didn't fall into this trap of splitting them up. All 66 men returned and occupied the factory from 7 in the morning until they once more were thrown out by the police around 7 in the evening; this time some being dragged out, as they didn't want to leave.

*

This episode marks the end of nine weeks of action, as since then the workers have declared themselves as unemployed and started taking unemployment insurance money.

Since 14 March the fight itself has stopped, though information groups of workers keep travelling the country. But by now (early May) most of the supporting committees have stopped their activities and nothing much is heard from Uniprint.*

Parts of the machinery (book-binding) have been sold and moved away, but the rest is still there but the rest is still there, not being operated except for the EDB section, run by a staff of former foremen. Very few of the workers have found other jobs, which doesn't necessarily imply that they have been blacklisted as rumour has it, but probably is due to the general employment situation.

It seems that the blockade of Winther production is still rather effective throughout Scandinavia, even though 'unofficial' -- the whole action being 'illegal' according to labour agreements. Winther has tried to get his books printed in Poland, in East Germany and in Spain, up to now, it seems, unsuccessfully.

Anyway, due to the action and the

HOW TO OCCUPY

blockade, none of his books have been printed since 15 January, but from his large stocks of old material he has been able to supply the shops with a continuing flow of books - old, though - and there could still be stocks left, as the normal return percentage for this kind of stuff from the shops is around 50-70%. In other words, out of a number of books printed, only 30-50% is sold, the rest going back into stock, some of it being sold later as special offers, e.g. 2-in-1 editions in a new cover, etc.

THE LESSONS

There are several aspects in the Uniprint action which cause us to pay so much attention to it, as they could be showing a change in the workers' ways of fighting in Denmark.

These aspects are:

- A. Instead of striking by leaving the factory, which means that you leave most of the initiative to the capitalists, and that the workers get split up and are unlikely to stay in touch, the workers at Uniprint stayed at the spot throughout normal working hours, which made them a joint unit so much harder to attack, and enabled them to create that base of support which made this action strong.
- B. Later, when the risk of an immediate close-down was just around the corner, the workers occupied the whole thing, agains taking the initiative and making it impossible to touch any of the machinery or semi-manufactured products.
- C. The action has proved what a joint solidarity, both within the factory and in the population, signifies in the creating of a powerful fight.
- D. The importance of the striking workers controlling and spreading the information. Even when this action was only partly, and mostly unsatisfactorily, covered in the press there has been a lot of 'news' circulating, directly written and published by the workers, giving it a whole new dimension. Further, the workers formed information groups travelling the country near and far to make speeches, address information meetings and discussions, all in all giving you a direct and non-corrupted information supply.
- E. The importance of a directly workers-controlled organization of the action. Because any union in this country will be very unlikely to support you in cases like this; they have a lot of deals with the capitalists, a 'duty of peace', and their own privileged position to take care of. Mostly, actions like this one will have to fight not only the capitalists, but just as much the unions.

Still, this case is different on that point too, as the union, 'Grafisk Kartel', which is an amalgamation of three unions - typographers, lithographers and bookbinders - in fact have supported

'Pity the Poor Immigrant'

A SEVENTH MAN, by John Berger and Jean Mohr. (Penguin - Pelican Original, £1.00)

THIS BOOK is described on the title page as "a book of images and words about the experience of migrant workers in Europe". This method of compiling the book seems to be much more effective than a rational collection of facts which are then analysed and described to the last detail.

The photographs are interspersed with poetry, with prose, and the frequent quotes (but not too frequent) from Marx. It describes the dreams of either toiling peasants or unemployed labourers in countries such as Turkey, Yugoslavia, Southern Italy, Spain, and Portugal. If only they can migrate and earn enough money they can return and set themselves up in a small business or build themselves a home, etc....

The dream then turns to a nightmare. The capitalist scroungers of Europe realise this will to migrate and work for lower wages than the local workers in less desirable jobs than the local workers would wish to do.

Photographs of trendily-dressed Ger-

the workers of Uniprint quite well, even more unusually as the workers have kept the initiative to themselves all the time.

There are reasons for this [support] One is that these skills as a whole are in a very pressed situation, a result of the change in methods of producing printed matter, with a tendency to eliminate these skills. Another is that 'Grafisk Kartel' is recently established, so they would want to show a radical face, the more so because Uniprint workers managed to create a lot of publicity around the action right from the start, and were powerfully organised with strong friends among other graphical workers and in the supporting committees.]

F. The action was from the start overrun by different 'left-groups' willing to take over the leadership and run the action, but they were all told that of course they were welcome to lend a hand in the practical tasks, but any decision was to be taken by the workers, and no-one else could be given any position of influence, whatever. A very strong stand to have taken, and very important -- as had some outside group taken over, probably the fight would have faded into discussions concerning the construction of the revolutionary party and whether Trotsky was a revolutionary or a betrayer, etc., etc., which would immediately have ended the fight.

man doctors giving medical tests to Turks *en masse* in Istanbul, and other trendy affluent Germans giving the Turks trade tests to see whether they are suitable for migration, show both the lengths to which the capitalist scroungers will go to find cheap commodity labour and the disdain in which these treacherous dream builders hold these poor workers.

The prospective immigrants are so desperate that they are willing to put up with endless humiliation. This is probably the first time anyone has seen them naked, never mind *en masse*. Also, they are labelled like animals with felt pens (thank goodness it was not a brand).

The "lucky ones" then go to Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and Britain. They find a strange new world where they (a) cannot understand what is going on entirely (b) find they are kept apart and despised by the local population, (c) find the trades they were tested for are mostly obsolete.

Most of the emphasis is on the treatment meted out to the immigrants in Germany and Switzerland. This emphasis is thoroughly deserved since these two countries are notorious amongst immigrants for their barrack dwellings, shift sleeping, and State indifference to conditions of work and life thoroughly unsuitable for good Aryan workers.

Academically, the highlight of the book is an analysis of what work life does for the immigrant. The authors describe the normal person's awareness of a lifetime as being like a space around and yet within the person, within which elements of past and future are free to mingle with the present. When the person suffers a loss (e.g. his friends, family, etc...back home) the past becomes fixed and the future withdraws. For the immigrant, as for the prisoner, this process goes a stage further with the past and future locking together against the present.

In Britain conditions for immigrants from Europe are no longer as repressive as they still are in Germany and Switzerland. This is because in Britain the coloured immigrant community are the new pariahs. However, the feelings of loss for a lifestyle and the locking of past and future against the present are still manifest in one group of Italian immigrants that I know of in the North of England

My father often goes out for a walk in the Northern industrial town in which my parents live. He meets many friends, also taking a walk, and their conversation is basically about what they did in the village before they left and what they will do before they return.

Continued on Page 11

BOOK REVIEWS

The one element which the book ignores is the effect that the wives and children have on the male immigrant worker. Whilst he continually wishes to return, the wives like the better living conditions and ability to clean the house "after work" rather than toil being a continuous process. The children talk in English around the home and laugh at the values and traditions of their parents. The tragedy is that these values and traditions are no longer relevant back in Southern Italy and these people do not realise this.

Some acquaintances of mine have attempted to return to Italy. Some have stayed but have found they had to work under even more repressive conditions. Others have found it unbearable and returned "home" to northern England. The reason for this is that in northern Italy, where most of the work opportunities lie, the southerner is thoroughly despised both by fellow workers and their employers. The southerners are criminals, mafiosi, apt to get excited, they're peasants, and have you seen their homes?

A Seventh Man does highlight, simply but effectively, how this dream of the migrant is a hopeless one. His return home is usually in the form of long holidays at most. The reason for this is that not only is the immigrant exploited by Western capital but his country is exploited too. To my mind, a good example is the case of Italy. You will remember that when the Italians wished to impose import controls, the French and Germans got extremely annoyed. Italy is one of their largest markets. Western capital has concentrated development of manufactured goods for export (to the detriment of agriculture) in a small part of northern Italy, and through this westernization the country has become a consumer society par excellence.

The one hopeful chink of light that I have observed is a proposal by various of the left-wing press (e.g. L'Europeo) to leave the EEC and concentrate trade on a Mediterranean Community. This has met with great protests from the Northern industrialists. Whilst replacing one bureaucratic mess with possibly another is not altogether desirable, the realisation that the present system merely exploits Italy is very important.

Unfortunately, the Seventh Man does not suggest any solution apart from the general idea that society must be changed so that people are not constrained to emigrate.

What is required is action both in the country of origin and in the "host" country. In the country of origin the exploiters have to be given short shrift. As far as we are concerned this can only be done through elimination of the State. If it was not for the State, the large multinationals would be incapable of operating. In the poor regions of Italy, for instance, political consciousness has been suppressed for a long while and this must be awakened in some

People's Democracy

THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, by Paul Arthur (Blackstaff Press, Belfast)

* *

"CONTEMPORARY HISTORY embarrasses a writer not only because he knows too much, but also because what he knows is too undigested, too unconnected, too atomic. It is only after close and prolonged reflection that we begin to see what was essential and what unimportant, to see why things happened as they did, and to write history instead of newspapers." (R. G. Collingwood: Speculum Mentis: The Map of Knowledge, London, 1924.)

...

With the quotation that introduces this book I found myself in full agreement as I had done with an observation contained in the preface by Bernard Crick...

"Student politics is, indeed, in my opinion, to be characterised by most of the things its critics say of it: as a style of politics it is both too abstract and too passionate, too much in a hurry, too much committed to abstract ideas of "The People" but often too lacking in knowledge of or sympathies with the actual aspirations of ordinary people. Young, inexperienced, impatient and transitory: the professional politicians' nightmare, not so much because of threat as of irrelevance and unreliability."

The fate of P. D. proves, if proof were needed, that "umbrella" movements blow apart very easily and that any political pressure group impelled by mindless activism and misguided idealism, obsessed too with the idea that it is capable of providing political "leadership" (it frequently criticised the communists for the latter fault), becomes involved, sooner or later, in the headlong retreat from reason and the flight from reality so characteristic of fascism. The present role of P. D. as apologists for the green fascists of the Provisional IRA is one that fits PD like a glove. Serious political analysis and the working out of a coherent political theory based upon reality and the development of appropriate tactics and strat-

manner. For this to be achieved our comrades abroad need all the help and solidarity we can muster. Thus the parasitic, capital-devouring industries will be replaced by self-sustaining worker-controlled economic activity based on need, and not on an American's, a German's, a Briton's or a Russian's profits.

In the host countries the indigenous workers must realise the immigrant workers' struggle must be allowed to develop in everybody's interests. Incidents such as the Leicestershire Asians strike of last year are a disgrace on the whole British labour movement which when it comes to immigrants drops any facade of egalitarian pretence.

Nino Staffa.

egy are matters that never disturbed the minds of the PD leadership very much, nor was any serious attempt ever made to understand the mentality and attitudes of the Ulster Protestants - a much maligned, misunderstood and, by the PD, misrepresented, community.

One point not referred to in this book is that all of the leaders of PD, Fanell, McCann, Devlin, Boyle and the rest of them were outsiders in more than one sense. Not merely were they students lacking, and failing ever to establish, contact with working-class bodies; none of them came from Belfast, and some sociologists may in future explore this phenomenon and at the same time note how many leading extremists from both sides of the political divide came originally from rural areas. Maire Drummond of Provisional Sinn Fein, Ian Paisley, John McKeague and many others have their roots in the countryside, and Belfast throughout its history has probably imported more political demagogues than any city of comparable size elsewhere.

What will interest readers of FREE-DOM are the references to anarchists and anarchism contained in the book, but the author's knowledge of the role played by anarchists is extremely superficial. Small in number though the anarchist group in Belfast was, it was certainly not inactive though its activities were not necessarily connected with PD. An anarchist banner was carried on the Burntollet march and, carried by an anarchist, headed the survivors of the march on their arrival in Derry. One of the first victims of army thuggery to be framed on a charge of disorderly behaviour and imprisoned in February 1970 was an anarchist, and before the year was out your correspondent was arrested on a charge of impeding the army during riots, held in custody for a week (owing to an unfortunate hitch in securing bail) and later fined. The period on remand was relieved by visits from other anarchists who usually adopted assumed names for the purpose.

1970 was an eventful year for anarchists as two of them had been fined in February for taking part in a picket organised by PD to protest at the unloading of cement from Dutch boats at the fishing port of Ardglass. The cement was being transported over the border where cement workers were on strike. Throughout 1970-71 anarchist and syndicalist literature was sold in Belfast but these activities were brought to an end in August 1971 when internment was introduced and gun-fights in the streets made travelling to meetings a hazardous business. John McGuffin's book Internment gives an account of what happened to those arrested during the initial sloop, but arrests continued throughout the month and consequently your correspondent found himself in the compound at Palace Barracks in Holywood. An account of the interrogation procedures being carried out at the barracks appeared in FREE-DOM early in 1972*

The most immediate and lasting result of internment, so far as PD was

Continued on Page 13

MY RADICAL FOREBEARS

SOME PEOPLE become radicals, or socialists or, perhaps, communists by accident; through struggle, through public meetings or by picking up a book in a NAAFI canteen such as, say, Robert Tressall's The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists or William Morris' News From Nowhere. Others are said to be "born" rebels, or were born into a family of rebels. I was born into radicalism.

None of my family, on either side, were dedicated revolutionists; but, in their own ways, they were all something of rebels and radicals.

My grandfather on the Newell side was born in 1840, and died in 1926. He came from Thetford in Norfolk of peasant stock. The Newells of East Anglia go back for hundreds of years. A few seem to have prospered. And there is a legend that a wealthy Newell in Lincolnshire paid six poor widows a certain sum of money every year to keep the local village well in good order. Anyway, my grandfather left Thetford when he was sixteen (on his birthday, some said), and walked all the way to London. Ultimately, he finished up at the World's End - that is the poor end of Chelsea. He became a building worker and then a stonemason; and, just before the turn of the century, he worked on the building of the now famous, but unsafe, Albert Bridge. He was an early member of a building workers' trade union and, though he never held any kind of office in the union, he was always quite active. In 1900, following the death of one of his sons (he fathered eleven children) in South Africa, in the Boer War, he went up to Westminster and smashed the windows of a number of "posh" patriotic Men's Clubs, and shouted "Murderers!". He seems to have escaped arrest. His second wife (my father's mother) was the daughter of a dairy farmer - from Islington!

My grandfather on my mother's side came from Midhurst in Sussex, which when he was born around 1870, was still feudal, with many aristocratic households and armies of servants. His name was West - there are scores of West families in that part of the country - and the Wests were village artisans. Those who did not learn a trade usually went into "service". My grandfather left school at the age of nine and within a few years he, too, went into service. He became a footman. Later, he became a butler to Lord Lascelles, the cousin of Queen Victoria. He once told me how he was probably one of the earliest workers to use a telephone. He conveyed the news - from Buckingham Palace - to Lord Lascelles of the birth of Prince Edward, later to be King Edward and, soon after, the Duke of Windsor. Service of "The Crown", however, soon radicalised my grandfather. He realised what a

useless lot the "royals" were. And he spoke particularly of the Earl of Bacleau, whom he said was the most "foul-mouthed" man he had ever heard - and my grandfather could always swear with the best of 'em! He then left service, went to London where he first became a baker's roundsman and, like grandfather Newell, a trade unionist, and, later, the secretary of an early Friendly Society - which was quite an achievement for someone who had left school at nine. Politically, he moved well to the left of the Liberal Party, calling himself a radical. That was in the days of the SDF, and the early ILP, but before the founding of the Labour Party. His wife came from the Midlands, and her father worked in the Salt Mines (yes; we had them in England), near Birmingham. She, too, had been in service, but soon rebelled, and left.

* * *

My father was born in 1896, and like most children of those times, was sent out to work within days of his fourteenth birthday. He was apprenticed to engineering, and subsequently became an electrical engineer. Even at fourteen, my father became interested in political activity and arguments. (His first love was always football; and he was a first-class amateur player.) Around 1910, a small group of dedicated marxist-socialists would, on a Saturday evening, put up a platform - complete with Red Flag - just under the gas light opposite the Mission, at the World's End. And their speakers would proclaim international revolution, and the overthrow of the capitalist system. They were called "The Socialist Party of Great Britain". My father would listen; and he usually agreed with what the speakers said. On another corner, quite often there was a second platform. It belonged to the "Anti-Socialist League", its aim being to counter the "pernicious doctrines" of socialism. In those far-off days, there were people who actually considered the SPGB to be a danger to established capitalist society! Most of the workers, like my father, generally opposed the anti-socialists - sometimes quite violently. Indeed, despite what people are told today, politics (and life in general) was far, far more violent than it is in Britain today. Though my father sympathised with what the SPGB spokesmen said, unlike his son forty years later, he never joined the Small Party of Good Boys. He always wavered between the Labour Party and the Communist Party, joining both at various times.

Soon after the end of the First World War, my parents went to live in South Wales. My father got a job as an engineer at the Anglo-Persian Oil Works in Llandarcy. He became an active member of the Electrical Trades Union and, later, was the ETU representative

on the Swansea Trades Council, which was somewhat surprising, since many Welsh workers - in spite of their alleged internationalism - were, I suppose quite naturally, hostile towards English workers. They said that they were taking Welsh workers' jobs (a cry that we have heard, in other contexts, many times, and in many places, since). Unemployment was rife in the valleys at that time. And the conditions under which the miners of South Wales toiled and existed during the early 'twenties affected both my parents considerably. Never a week went by that they did not see a dead or injured miner taken from the pit, or hear of someone's husband having been killed. And where my parents lived, there was no ambulance. An old bus was used as an ambulance; a bus to take football supporters to Swansea on a Saturday - and as a hearse! Since those days in South Wales my parents have had (my father is no longer alive) a healthy hatred of the ruling class. Their profits have literally come from the blood of the working class. As time went by, and after his return to London, though he was active in the General Strike of 1926, my father's views mellowed somewhat; and during the last World War, under the influence of two well-known Communists, the Carritts of Covent Garden (not the market), he followed the CP "line" and continually called - after June, 1941 - for a Second Front. This gave rise to heated arguments at home, as my mother consistently opposed the war from beginning to end, even to the point of refusing, at the Tribunal, to undertake any war work. Later, as the war dragged on, both my mother and my father associated with an anti-war political group which was called Commonwealth. They joined a group based in the Prince of Wales Drive, near Albert Bridge, Battersea (London), where we lived.

* * *

Of my rather rebellious family, only my mother survives. She was born in 1897. She is not, and has never been, an anarchist, but she would accept the general description of libertarian socialist. At thirteen years of age, she shocked a family gathering by saying that she did not believe that there was a god. This remark evoked much displeasure, not so much for its content, as for the fact that, in 1910, females - and particularly ones of thirteen years of age - were not supposed to have opinions, let alone express them publicly. At sixteen, my mother supported the suffragettes, saying: "Why shouldn't we women have the vote?" She has told me since that she never really had much sympathy for the rich women who campaigned for the vote (for rich women, of course!). It was merely her way of asserting herself in a period when women's "lib" was almost unthinkable. Coming under the influence of an older

The HAPOTOC MANIFESTO

MOST OF MANKIND lives under the cruel heel of oppression. We see this in the mass exploitation and regimentation of all those who labour with limb or brain. We see this in the domestic slavery of women. We see this in the caging of millions of prisoners in jails and concentration camps. And, above all, we see this in the large-scale use of torture by corrupt ruling classes and brutal governments.

Oppression was born with the emergence of social classes, private wealth, the domination of women by men, order-giving ruling cliques and order-taking working masses, the pyramid form of social organization, and state machines in the Middle East some thousands of years ago. And it will be ended only when state/class society itself is ended and replaced by a higher global libertarian social order in which oppression of man by man will not be possible.

The highest form of state/class society is the fascistic and imperialistic nation-state of today. This has a machine-like social system in which the means of production, trade unions, education, and government are being welded together into a corporate state capitalist whole. Running this social machine is a controlling aristocracy of technocrats, reactionary trade union leaders, captains of the financial system and industry, statesmen, and leading managerial bureaucrats.

The controlling aristocracies which rule every nation-state in the world are the chief enemy of oppressed mankind. It is they who have built the huge arsenals of mass destruction and brought mankind to the verge of total disaster. It is these incompetents who are to blame for all our sufferings and frustrations.

We stand on the threshold of great things. We possess the know-how and the means to totally alter the world in our favour within a short space of time. Already it is possible for us to contemplate the long-term harnessing of all available resources within mankind's natural homeland, the Solar System. Even now we can foresee a time when our liberated humankind will eventually link up with other planetary civilizations in inter-stellar space which have long ago left behind the primitive and barbaric conditions of life which which we are still burdened with.

A great and magnificent future full of hope and promise lies ahead of us. But our way forward is blocked by a social order which is a prison for us and by power-hungry ruling classes forever seeking to keep us prisoners of their system.

Within the prison of their system there is no future for us - only a servile and meaningless existence filled with frustrations and the heartpangs of a worthless and aimless life. But together we, the oppressed and long-suffering working masses of the Earth, can burst through the bars of the corporate nation-state.

This is the great historical task of our time. It is a task which we already have the strength and the capacity to carry out. But it is also a task which can only be undertaken by ourselves. For only we alone can liberate ourselves from the many yokes which bind us to a frustrated, trivial and unwanted present.

HAPOTOC is a grassroots libertarian organization with roots reaching ever deeper into the fertile soil of the working masses, the prisoners in jails and concentration camps all over the world.

We start from the belief that prisoners and prisons form an integral part of class/state society, and that they will cease to exist only when this viciously competitive, corrupting, and demeaning social jungle is made a thing of the past. And in working for the freedom of prisoners we at the same time challenge the right of the state to jail ordinary fellow human beings, particularly when the real criminals and terrorists of our times, the imperialistic statesmen and their human tools, go unpunished.

We are totally opposed to dictatorships of every kind, including those of the misguided authoritarian "left". We want to throw open the gates of all prisons. Above all, we want to smash our way out of the cage of existing society - the destroyer of our present, the cause of our frustrations, the source of all the evils which beset us.

We in HAPOTOC call upon all those wanting to devote their lives to the finest cause in the world, the cause of human freedom, to join us - today. With HAPOTOC you will find a sense of purpose, a refuge of comradeship, and a future filled with hope and meaning as together we force open the floodgates of human liberation - with absolute certainty of the rightness of our cause, of the truth of our libertarian vision, and in the sure knowledge that we are going to succeed in our grand and worthy aim.

The HAPOTOC Collective.
P. O. Box 10638
AMSTERDAM
The Netherlands.

My Radical Forebears

woman friends, my mother welcomed and supported the Russian Revolution, though she never actually became an English "Bolshevik", unlike her friend who, incidentally, later became a quite wealthy court milliner and, at the same time, remained a Communist until her death a few years ago at the age of seventy-five.

During the 'twenties and 'thirties, my mother became the first and, for very many years, the only woman in Britain to sit on the committee of management of a Friendly Society. As I mentioned above, she opposed, quite openly, the last war from beginning to end; and what she said about our "Great Leader", Winston Churchill - even at the height of his supposed popularity - is almost unrepeatable. Unfortunately, my mother has always had one great political blindspot: ever since 1926 she has been a consistent, but very reluctant, Labour voter. She votes for the Labour candidate --

"to keep the Tories out" -- rather like some "anarchists" we all know, and then condemns everything that a Labour Government does once in power! At one time, she knew Ramsay MacDonald, whom she always refers to as Ramsay Mac.

It is not surprising, therefore, that during the last war I also joined the Communist Party, only to leave it again in complete disagreement less than eighteen months later. Soon after, I began to read the writings, first, of Leon Trotsky and then of Peter Kropotkin. I was influenced partly by the anarchists (mainly by Philip Sansom) and partly by the SPGB (by Tony Turner.) I, like my father and grandfathers, became active in the trade union movement for many years, having been a shop steward and an official of the UPW. After many years in the SPGB, I left and became an anarchist (some of my marxist friends say that I have always been one), and a libertarian communist /socialist.

I suppose it's in the family.

Peter E. Newell.

book review

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY... from P. 11

concerned, was that it saw the beginning of their association with the Provisional IRA. This somersault surprised many people but, as I have intimated, was not really surprising, as the PD never did have any coherent ideology. Evidence of this is supplied by Kevin Boyle (p. 46) who felt that the demands for workers' control in industry was not necessarily revolutionary, although it was socialist. This, mark you, from an organisation which also claimed in some measure to be following in the traditions of Connolly. The pamphlets and booklets on workers' control which were being sold by the anarchists might have enlightened some members of PD if they had been less big-headed and less sure of their own importance.

Henry Bell.

A lecture by Geoffrey Ostergaard to the Commonweal Trust Conference on 'Gandhi Today', at Cheltenham, 17 May 1975.

A BROAD assumption underlying this conference is that, in some way or other, Gandhi's life and work are relevant to our own concerns, here in England today in the year 1975. Most people would think this a highly questionable assumption. For them, Gandhi is little more than the name of a dead politician who led the struggle for Indian independence and who, as a result, earned his place in the history books as the Father of the Indian Nation. To those few of us who are pacifists, Gandhi is, of course, a much more significant figure, and there is no great difficulty in justifying the assumption of his relevance today. For most Western pacifists, I think, the justification would take the form of presenting Gandhi as the pioneer and practitioner of the technique of nonviolent resistance. From this perspective, the significance of Gandhi's life and work lies not so much in the particular historical struggle in which he was engaged as in the way he conducted it. Gandhi showed, it can be argued, that national liberation can be achieved without armed struggle and, more generally, that there is a valid alternative to violent conflict and war -- the nonviolent alternative, 'war without violence'.

Gandhi, perceived as the Father of Nonviolent Resistance rather than as the Father of the Indian Nation, is undoubtedly still relevant to us today. Living as we all do under the omnipresent threat of thermonuclear annihilation, the search for a functional equivalent of war remains the first item on the agenda in any programme for human survival. Only slightly less urgent is the need to perfect and to popularise a technique whereby all those minorities and groups who experience oppression can struggle to resist and to overcome that oppression nonviolently. To the extent that Gandhi provided insights into, and lessons in, the nonviolent resolution of conflicts of all kinds, his message is clearly universal in its scope and remains of abiding significance.

OTHER DIMENSIONS

Having said that, I want, however, to go on to suggest that this typically Western pacifist way of looking at Gandhi is misleading. It is, so to speak, a one-dimensional view of Gandhi which seriously underestimates his significance and, in addition, hinders the task of presenting his message as relevant to the concerns of the present generation. A more rounded view of Gandhi would, I believe, bring into focus other aspects of his life and work and present a picture which is more appealing than that of the Father of Nonviolent Resistance.

The major source of the error in the typical pacifist view of Gandhi lies, I think, in the misconception that his essential contribution was the development of a technique -- a technique of conflict resolution. It is generally recognised, of course, that Gandhi was an exponent of principled nonviolence. That is to say, his technique differs from that practised by those who, on occasions, adopt nonviolence on pragmatic grounds, because they lack the means of violence, or because they feel that in the circumstances in which they find themselves violent action is inappropriate. The difference between principled and pragmatic nonviolence is the difference between what Gandhi called the nonviolence of the strong and the nonviolence of the weak -- the difference which prompted him to coin the term 'satyagraha' to replace the older and, from his point of view, misleading term, 'passive resistance'. Nevertheless, even when it is recognised that Gandhi's nonviolence was based on principled grounds, it remains a misconception to think that his main contribution lies in the development of a technique. The proper way to conceptualise Gandhian nonviolence is to think of it, not as a technique but as a whole philosophy of life, a complete vision of what is involved in being human and living in human society. In so far as a technique can be found in Gandhi, it is a technique firmly embedded in a philosophy of life and one that cannot be abstracted from that philosophy without the danger of misrepresenting what Gandhi was all about. There is also the danger of undermining faith in the idea of nonviolence itself. If nonviolence is treated merely as a technique, it becomes in effect a weapon -- a weapon to be used to

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GANDHI & THE

prevent war, or as a substitute for war, or, more generally, to wage conflicts. The question then immediately arises of whether or not this weapon is really efficacious. If the weapon is employed and turns out not to be effective - in the sense of not achieving the immediately desired results - the inevitable and natural reaction is to reject the weapon as useless. Its users then relapse into apathy or turn to other weapons -- the weapons of violence. Nonviolence as a philosophy of life, however, does not lend itself to such treatment. A philosophy of life is based on a metaphysic and involves a commitment to certain values, a commitment rooted in faith rather than in what can be rationally or scientifically demonstrated. In that respect, it is not the kind of thing amenable to empirical proof or disproof. Rather, it is an existential expression of how one chooses to view human life, its meaning and purpose, and to live it oneself in company with others.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

Gandhi's philosophy of life was constructed on the basis of two closely related principles: first, Truth, which for him had a much wider connotation than the term normally has in English, embracing not only factual and logical truth but also moral and metaphysical truth. In its deepest sense, Truth for Gandhi is the Ultimate Reality: hence his equation - the reversal of the familiar one - Truth is God. The purpose of life is the search for this Truth, and 'satyagraha' means literally 'firmly holding onto truth', not, as it is commonly translated into English, 'nonviolent resistance'. Truth in the deepest sense exists as an absolute, but mortal men - even Mahatmas - can never grasp this Truth in its entirety. The most they can do is to grasp relative truths, and it is for this reason that the search for Truth - in its absolute sense - must be conducted in accordance with Gandhi's second principle: Nonviolence. Nonviolence, despite the appearance of the term, is not to be construed in a negative way. It includes, of course, not harming or injuring deliberately other sentient beings, but its more important dimension is positive. In its positive aspect, Nonviolence is equivalent to that embarrassing four letter word: Love -- 'love' in the sense of care and concern, and respect for others.

With Truth and its obverse, Nonviolence, as his guiding principles, Gandhi set about his life's work - a series of 'Experiments with Truth', to use the title of his autobiography. In the situations in which he found himself, nonviolent resistance against those representing, as he saw it, various untruths was frequently necessary; but such activities, spectacular as they were and bringing him as they did into public prominence, were not the essence of his work. Merely getting rid of the British Raj, for example, was not his objective. That was only a necessary step towards the achievement of real swaraj or self-government -- a complete transformation of Indian society and, ultimately, of the whole world. The essential task was not negative and destructive but positive and constructive: to build a new social order on the basis of Truth and Nonviolence. Gandhi's name for this new society that he envisaged was 'Sarvodaya', meaning literally 'the welfare of all', but it might best be translated into English by the Anglo-Saxon term, 'Commonweal'.

THE REAL GANDHI

The real Gandhi, I believe, is to be found not so much in his highly publicised resistance and civil disobedience campaigns, such as the famous Salt Satyagraha of 1930, as in what he called his Constructive Programme. This was a programme, developed piecemeal over the years, of practical activities required to build the Sarvodaya society. In a pamphlet, entitled *The Constructive Programme*, originally published in 1941 and revised in 1944, eighteen items are listed. These are: the development of khadi (hand-spun, hand-woven cloth) and other village industries; the achievement of communal unity between Hindus and Muslims; the uplift of the outcasts, the lowest stratum of traditional Hindu society; service to the aboriginal tribes, and to lepers; welfare of the peasants and of industrial labour; the promotion of Hindi as the national language and the development of other provincial languages; adult education and, for children, the development of what Gandhi called 'basic education' -- a craft-centred education designed to encourage

ALTERNATIVE SOCIETY

self-reliance and self-sufficiency; the emancipation of women; and the achievement of economic equality -- the last being described by Gandhi as 'the master key to nonviolent Independence'.

At first glance, this appears a somewhat curious hodge-podge of items. But the list was intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive, and workers were invited to add to it other items, consistent with Truth and Nonviolence. And it was, of course, a programme developed in the Indian context, some items having no relevance outside that context.

GANDHI AS ANARCHIST

But, basically, Gandhi's Constructive Programme takes on its true meaning when it is seen as a practical idealist's attempt to move towards his ideal society. The salient features of this ideal - the full swaraj of Gandhi's dream - may be briefly described. Since the state represents violence in its ultimate, organised form, it is a stateless or anarchist society, in which all political and legal authority has been abrogated, relations between people being governed only by moral authority. Structurally, this society is highly decentralised. Considered as a polity, it is, in Dasgupta's phrase, 'a great society of small communities', each community being autonomous and self-governing but linked with others in a non-hierarchical network. The economy is consistent with the polity, each community being self-sufficient in respect of its basic material needs for food, clothing and housing. The main industry is agriculture, and other industries and crafts are organised on a cooperative and small-scale basis. There is no large-scale industry involving the herding of people in sprawling industrial cities. Technology is firmly under control, with machines, in so far as they exist, serving men rather than men serving machines. Private property relations in the capitalist sense do not exist, having been transformed by the principle of trusteeship or replaced by common ownership. The social structure is basically casteless and classless. Social equality prevails, but is combined with a deep respect for the freedom of the individual. And the great divide between mental and manual labour has been overcome by the universal practising of the Tolstoyan doctrine of 'bread labour' -- the doctrine that a man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands.

Stated in these terms, there is nothing remarkably original in Gandhi's conception of the ideal society. Although he arrived at it by spelling out what he saw as the political, economic and social implications of Truth and Nonviolence, it bears strong affinities to that held by many 19th century libertarian socialists and anarchists. Any originality that may be claimed for Gandhi lies rather in his conception of how such a society can be realised. Central to this question is Gandhi's doctrine of ends and means. According to this doctrine, in the sphere of human action ends and means are not sharply separable. All human actions are infused with values: what are usually considered means are, therefore, never merely instrumental or morally neutral. Actions, or means, are end-creating or ends-in-view. From this it follows that no morally good end can be achieved by adopting immoral, or even apparently non-moral, means. The good end cannot justify the immoral means because the end will not in fact be achieved by the use of such means. In seeking to achieve our ends, we can, therefore, in a sense forget about the ends and concentrate on the means, in the sure knowledge that, if our means are good, our desired ends will inevitably follow. Applied to the problem of achieving the ideal society, the Sarvodaya society, the Gandhian doctrine implies that we must act here and now according to the principles of that society. Since Truth and Nonviolence are both ends and means, only by acting now, truthfully and nonviolently, can the desired end be achieved. The Sarvodaya society will be realised, and can only be realised, to the extent that you and I, and all other men and women, act in this way. In a sense, Gandhi's utopia is not intended primarily as a picture of a future society: rather, it is a way of concretising Truth and Nonviolence so as to make them

a guide to our present activities. It is in the nature of ideals that they can never be realised completely. The important thing is not to arrive at utopia, but to try earnestly to travel in that direction, approximating as closely as one can to the ideal.

THE IDEAL SOCIETY

Gandhi's Constructive Programme, I am suggesting, should be seen in the light of his conception of the ideal society and of the way to achieve it. Although the programme naturally bore the marks of the particular social situation in India in which it was developed, implicit in it is a broad idea of universal significance: radically transforming society through Truth and Nonviolence. The importance that Gandhi himself attached to the Programme, and also the relationship between it and his campaigns of non-cooperation and resistance, may be judged from two statements made towards the end of his life. Addressing the constructive workers about the programme in 1944, he said: 'Through it you can make the villagers feel self-reliant, self-sufficient and free so that they can stand up for their rights. If you make a real success of the constructive programme, you will win Swaraj for India without Civil Disobedience'. And earlier in 1940 he confessed: 'In placing civil disobedience before constructive work I was wrong... I feared that I should estrange co-workers and so carried on with imperfect Nonviolence.' Even more significant is his last message to the Indian National Congress, written on the eve of his assassination, 30th January 1948. In it he made what from the standpoint of the conventional politician can only be regarded as the extraordinary proposal: national independence having been achieved, the work of the Congress as a political party was done; it should, therefore, disband and in its place should flower an Association for the Service of the People, a constructive work organisation whose task would be to bring real independence to the mass of India's villagers.

The Congress politicians, as we know, rejected Gandhi's proposal and, instead, proceeded to develop independent India as a conventional nation-state. A few modest genuflections have been made in the direction of Gandhi, such as setting up a public commission to promote khadi and other village industries; but the main thrust of Nehru's government and its successors has been towards building a modern industrial state, equipped with a powerful army to defend itself against possible aggressors. The ideological basis of this development has been an Indian version of democratic socialism, involving central planning, nationalisation of key industries, and, outside the public sector, the encouragement of controlled capitalism.

BHAVE AND BHOODAN

However, Gandhi's message has not been wholly ignored in his own country. A few thousand of his followers, led by Vinoba Bhave, have taken up Gandhi's Constructive Programme from the point where he left it and developed it further. The main focus of their activities has been on transforming relationships to what is still the chief means of production in India - land. To this end, a campaign for Bhoodan was launched in 1951 -- a campaign for voluntary gifts of land for redistribution to the landless peasants who constitute roughly one-quarter of India's rural population. Out of Bhoodan developed the more radical campaign for Gramdam (gift of village) -- in effect a campaign for the voluntary socialisation of land by transferring its ownership to the village. But Gramdam is not merely a campaign for land reform. Rather, it is the practical expression and symbol of a movement for the total reconstruction of the social, economic and political order in India and, ultimately, throughout the world. Vinoba and his associates see themselves as constituting, so to speak, the vanguard of a universal movement for nonviolent social revolution, leading to a worldwide Sarvodaya society. Building on the foundations laid by Gandhi, they have been engaged over the last 25 years not only in the practical work of Bhoodan and Gramdam but also in developing a coherent social philosophy. Since it is an experiential philosophy that is revealed only in and through action, the philosophy of Sarvodaya is not yet fully worked out. But it is now sufficiently developed to lay claim to being considered as a serious alternative to the other main social philosophies and ideologies that compete for the allegiance of mankind.

Geoffrey Ostergaard.

TO BE CONTINUED IN OUR NEXT ISSUE

THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

Frente Libertario, (published each month by the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth, FIJL, in Paris) is a useful source of information on what is going on inside Spain, especially in the anarchist movement. There is usually good coverage of the industrial scene, with a monthly recapitulation of strikes. Jose Peirats, the author of two authoritative works on the role of the anarchists in the Spanish Revolution, contributes a column every month.

Another regular feature is a column giving brief notes on clandestine publications received from Spain. To give you an idea of the amount of libertarian publishing that is going on in Spain despite the physical repression that still goes on in that country, here is a list of some of the publications reported by Frente Libertario:

SINDICALISMO REVOLUCIONARIO, No. 2, Spring 1975. 8 pages, duplicated, issued by the Andalusian Regional Federation (CNT-AIT). Contains a selection of good short articles on - Direct Action, What is Anarchosyndicalism?, Anarchosyndicalism and Anarchism, Workers' Demands and Vertical Unionism. The editorial position is for direct workers' control, using mandated delegates elected at general assemblies.

CUADERNOS DE ACCION ANARCO-SINDICALISTA No. 1, 1974, from Barcelona. Contains a collective work by young militants aiming to reconstruct the anarcho-syndicalist movement, divided into three parts: 1) theses on the present situation of the movement, 2) causes of the crisis in the libertarian movement, 3) Alternative ways of reconstructing the movement.

OPCION LIBERTARIA. A discussion bulletin for all libertarians, No. 3, October 1974. A new series of the internal bulletin Opcion, brought out with the agreement of the clandestine libertarian conference held in Spain in Spring 1974. Contains material about Autonomous Groups, etc.

FEDERACION, No. 1, January 1975. A more intellectual review, with libertarian tendencies. The first number is entirely concerned with alienation, beginning with a definition of freedom (the possibility of choosing between all alternatives without any compulsion). It contains articles on - Love as alienation, Work..., How to use your free time, Substituting aesthetics for ethics, Consumption as a way of life, etc.

PERSPECTIVAS SINDICALISTAS, October & December 1974. A revolutionary syndicalist publication (no indication of publisher), it consists of "Notes for Factory Actions" and is divided into two parts, the first dealing with methods of exploitation, capitalist society, revolutionary struggles, strikes, propaganda, etc., the second with the formation, organization and function of the factory council.

LIBERTAD, Madrid, January 1975.

Bulletin of the Autonomous Groups of Construction Workers. Their project is to link up with classical syndicalism by applying it to presentday reality using such methods as open meetings, strikes, slow-downs, boycotts, etc., so as "to have done with capitalism and the exploitation and oppression of man by man".

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But not all anarchist publications in Spain are clandestine. The paradoxical fact about Spain in the past few years is that while the repression of anarchists by the State has continued, the regime seems to have relaxed its efforts to prevent the publication of texts on anarchism by commercial publishing houses; they are even allowing the publication of satirical and avant-garde magazines. This is probably a result of the struggle between the "liberalizers" and the "old guard" within the regime for the succession. The "liberalizers", who want to take Spain into the Common Market, wish to avoid censorship, if at all possible, as it would damage their image, and the "old guard" have to resort to "unofficial" means, such as encouraging young fascists in their bombing of "liberal" bookshops.

Which is not to say that the "liberals" are not obliged, now and again, to make gestures of censorship (like the recent temporary arrest of the editor of the satirical magazine, Cambio 16), to appease the "old shirts". The effect of these contradictions with the regime is that, temporarily at least, there seems to be a very fluid situation in publishing in Spain.

For example, Frente Libertario reports the open appearance in Madrid of the first issue of a "monthly independent review" Sindicalismo, whose aim is to reassert the idea of the union as an independent body, not subordinate to any party or other bourgeois organization, capable of producing radical transformation in the cultural, political and economic structures of the world. If it's going to achieve

this, it will have to clear away the confusions about syndicalism in Spain, created by years of iniquitous National-Syndicalist propaganda.

COLECCION ACRACIA

There is a school of anarchists which will argue that publications like Ajoblanco and Bookchin's revision of anarchism are allowed in Spain because they pose no ideological threat to the Spanish regime: they will equally be able to deny that publication of books like Mujer y Sociedad ("Woman and Society") by Lidia Falcon (who is still being held by the Spanish authorities, for alleged involvement in the bombing of the Cafe Roland) and Lissagaray's history of the Commune, hold any potential for change. What, however, will they make of a new series of books being published in Barcelona, by Editorial Tusquets, edited by Carlos Semprun Maura (author of Revolution et Contre-Revolution en Espagne) under the rubric, Coleccion Acracia, whose first three titles are Proudhon's What is Property?, Arshinov's History of the Makhnovist Movement and The Anarchist Movement in China by Scalapino & Yu? Will they impugn the sincerity of (and the risks being taken by) these publishers, who intend, in the future, to publish Vernon Richards' Errico Malatesta, His Life and Ideas, Sam Dolgoff's selection of Bakunin's writings, a book of essays by Camillo Berneri, a history of Kronstadt, and a book on the liberation of women, edited by Mary Nash.

In the old days when printers were publishers, there were acknowledged links between printing and radicalism. When the two trades were divorced, there was still some link between publishing and radicalism. Nowadays 95% of publishing and printing are carried on for the making of money or the advancement of careers. These Spanish publishers at least are linking back to the old tradition, and putting themselves on the line (in the best Thorrobian way).

D. L. M.

Freedom Bookshop

- . Wilhelm Reich : The Mass Psychology of Fascism £1.00 (13p)
- . -----: Listen Little Man £0.50 (10p)
- . -----: The Invasion of Compulsory Sex-Morality £0.60 (10p)
- . -----: Reich Speaks of Freud £0.75 (11p)
- . Raoul Vaneigem: The Revolution of Everyday Life (complete) £1.80 (24p)
- *Solidarity (U.S.): Prolegomena to a Study of the Return of the Repressed in History £0.60 (10p)
- *Create Situations (U.S.): The Beginning of an Epoch £0.50 (8p)
- *-----: The Poor & the Superpoor £0.50 (8p)
- . Edward Aveling & Eleanor Marx Aveling : Shelley's Socialism £0.60 (8p)

BOOKSHOP open: Tues-Fri 2 - 6 p.m.
(Thursday till 8 p.m.
Saturday 10am - 4pm)

- . Zhores Medvedev: Ten Years after Ivan Denisovitch £0.60 (11p)
- . Tom Mann (ed.): The Industrial Syndicalist 1910-1911. Facsimile reproduction of all the issues, with an intro. by Geoff Brown £1.75 (17p)
- *Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon: Nowhere at Home: letters from exile of Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman £6.00 (48p)

This week's special:
Nestor Makhno Poster. 18" x 11½"
Red on White. £0.20 incl. postage and packing.