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IRELAND THE REAL TRUCE

WHAT CAN one say of Ireland? It has always been a problem both to its poor unhappy people and its unlucky but stubborn rulers. Its preoccupation with politics and religion; cursed with a rigid Calvinistic Protestantism and a repressive Catholicism each of which hinge themselves to equally obscurantist and totalitarian political doctrines although each politico-clerical cock prefers to crow on a dungheap of its own choosing.

Two weeks agao saw a breakaway revival of bombings in England, repudiated by the Provisional IRA who are supposedly (save for a little retail 'Prod' killing) observing a truce. Vicious and bigoted as the Provos are they are men of their word and are obviously furious at this breaking of the truce.

The political truce between the Social Democratic Labour Party and the various groupings of the right in their gropings for some political deal for an assembly was broken by the rantings of the 'Reverend' Paisley denouncing the former firebrand Craig for daring to deal with the S. D. L. P. Subsequently the S. D. L. P. declined to talk any further on the subject of the future government of Ulster.

Today (Monday) the always unreliable (but usually predictable) Daily Telegraph had three sensational stories around and about Northern Ireland. Firstly, the revelation of supposed terms negotiated with the Provisional IRA; this links with the feebly-denied story of immunity given by the British government to IRA leaders, the story of the IRA negotiations is, to date, denied by the Dublin Government.

Secondly, the Telegraph discloses a story by William Buckley (the American rightist) that he asked Mrs. Thatcher on her US visit if she knew that Mr. Callaghan at an off-the-record Press briefing had said that "some Protestants think that an invasion of the south is the only way to end the present strife in Northern Ireland," and furthermore, that Mr. Buckley said "Mr. Callaghan led the American journalists to believe that the Protestant para-military forces might be more than a match for the Eire army." Not much credence can be attached to this story of Mr. Buckley but there is always the possibility of a planted story given out in confidence, which if it leaks can be denied and at the same time sow doubts in the minds of those for whom it is intended. What is the Eire government supposed to think? And why should they deny that the Provisionals are talking to the British government?

The third Telegraph story is of a proposal by The Militant group to form a new political grouping in Ireland which would cut across the Protestant-Catholic divisions. As usual the Telegraph is making a Marxist mountain out of a Militant molehill; they are given to seeing Marxists under every bed. This proposal is not a bad idea, but the Irish instinctively (and rightly) distrust every project emanating from Britain and Militant is trying to climb on a departing bandwagon.

Behind all this typically Irish stew of plots and counterplots must lurk something substantial. The Telegraph's obvious anxiety to write stories about Ireland must betoken a real story about a deal.

This would explain the rage of the blabbermouth Paisley and the indirect warning to the Eire government to lay off and honour its half-hearted promises to take action against the IRA.

But this of course is a truce of governments, of politicians who see their interests (if not their lives) threatened

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SHADOW OF THE GARROTTE

FRANCO's rise to power was the outcome of a three-year bloodbath. He has maintained his rule by political repression of a medieval ferocity. Now it seems that the State apparatus he has built over the years, the police and the civil guard, who are politically identified with die-hard Falangists, intend to maintain an iron grip on the country, whatever happens to Franco.

Obsiously there is a power-struggle going on between the traditionalist fascists, the Falangists, who believe in using the old-fashioned reign of terror to maintain "social peace", and the neo-fascist techno-bureaucrats of the Opus Dei school who want to use the "liberal" methods of achieving the same effect, social lobotomy, already tried and tested in the "Western-style democracies".

Only time will tell which faction is the strongest. The army is reported to be discontented with its role of trying and condemning to death the militants of the E. T. A. (Basque nationalists) and F. R. A. P. (Marxist-Leninist -Maoist urban guerillas) -- it was even reported that one of the F. R. A. P. militants on trial said that he was treated merely as a prisoner by the army, and that his torture did not begin until he was handed over to the police -- but the army seems to have little choice in the matter. The recent unleashing of police terror in the Basque provinces, and the passing of repressive anti-terrorist laws indicates that the die-hards have the upper hand for the moment. Obviously they intend the recent mass arrests of left-wingers, and the condemnation to execution by garrotting of militants of both E. T. A. and F. R. A. P. seemingly picked at random and tortured into "confessing", as an "example" to all those who respond to governmental terror in like kind.

The execution of eleven political militants would obviously have a (temporarily) deleterious effect on Spain's external relations with other European states, but only because of the crudity of the Spanish State's methods of repressing real political opposition. We can only hope that the pleas for mercy from the Pope and from the Dutch government will have the desired effect of preventing the execution of the E. T. A. and F. R. A. P. militants who are, in all probability, innocent of the crimes they stand accused of. If they do, it will be a token that the "liberals" still have some influence in the administration -- but it should not mask from us the fact that these situations arise because the very existence of the State is based on its control of the sanction of death and repressive violence. All States agree on their right to that sanction, and pleas for mercy are an acknowledgement of that right.

If the eleven are executed it is conceivable that some European governments might recoil in horror, they might condemn the Franco regime, but they will never act to destroy the Spanish State (that would only be done if it produced a commercial advantage). This can only be done by the Spanish people, and only this will put an end to the vicious spiral of violence, which is spreading like a vortex through Spain today.

D. L. M.

YET ANOTHER INQUIRY

THE STEEL 'crisis' is over. After a week of talks the whole charade of whether the country was facing a 'crisis' far worse than a miners' strike came to an end with the usual panacea of a court of inquiry.

Union negotiations conform to a sort of time honoured ritual. Little is heard in the beginning, then the 'crisis' breaks, followed by talks between the 'two sides' with the government's Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service mediating and Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC, always ready in the wings, then with the union executive standing by at some smart hotel, a settlement is agreed upon.

Len Murray said that the agreement was "a credit to the levelheadedness and sense of responsibility" of all those taking part. "Levelheadedness" is right, no one could accuse these august gentlement of having the least bit of fire left in their bellies. However, it is not long since Mr. Mortimer, chairman of the A.C.A.S., was considered to be a 'left wing militant'. Now instead of leading workers into action he takes his place at the government's behest in line for a title as the state's reward for services rendered against his own class.

It is difficult to say just how much in monetary terms operators of the new blastfurnaces at Llanwern are worth, Obviously it is hard and bloody warm graft. While it is generally accepted that the work is necessary and goes into the making of useful products, vast quantities of steel are just so much waste. Waste in the canning of so many drinks, foodstuffs and cars, and the household appliances advertisers attempt to brainwash us into buying at regular intervals in our lives.

To question this aspect of work is to place oneself on a revolutionary path. Even though the steel industry is nationalised the profit motive and market forces still dictate the policies adopted by the British Steel Corporation. Nothing has changed, even with workers' directors in the boardroom. State control, or public ownership, does not change the basic power relationship between those in charge and giving orders and those who take them and have to carry them out. In fact, State control brings a big increase in the number of chiefs and not so many Indians. All these chiefs expect to be paid a high salary, and even Mr. Smith, leader of the blastfurnacemen's union replied to critics over the amount of their claim that there were others who did very little actual work who received more than the £100 a week take home pay they were claiming. But such differences in pay are part and parcel of our class society, and that goes for pay differentials, differences between craftsmen and labourers, and all the jealously-guarded positions of status and pay that workers are guilty of.

Mr. Murray has also pointed out that the inquiry will not have an easy task unravelling the deepseated problems of industrial relations. This too reflects the class structure that exists in our society. Industrial relations is a term dreamed up by the mass media. What good industrial relations means is no disputes, an industrial peace where wages and conditions of work are handed down and accepted. That is the ideal which State ownership and control is supposed to achieve. But it is only achieved where industrial action has been made illegal with the backing of force. That is the Communist Party ideal, but there are also many people of influence in this country who would like to see our nationalised industries covered by the same sort of legislation.

State control of industry only strengthens the State and those who favour centralisation and control of people's lives. That is why anarchists have always attacked any form of State control over our lives. Anarchists want a decentralised society where actual control rests with people. Where industry can be run by the people who work in it and everyone is involved in the decision making and the running of all aspects of their lives.

P. T.

IRELAND... continued from Page 1

by continuation of this senseless strife of political and religious ideas as to how power should be operated and shared over the luckless people. The decision as to whether such power should be exercised over them is not to be in the province of the people even through the gamble of the ballot box.

Only the people can make their own real truce. Let them be resolved (as many have by emigrating) to have done with the false choice between priest and pastor. Like the Capeks' insects in the play they quarrel over the space between two blades of grass -- when they own neither.

We, in England, have our own contribution in this matter. Let us cease to hold the ring - with slight biases from time to time; let us withdraw our troops from Ireland. Or, what is more real than the appeal to governments to cease being governments, let us ask soldiers to be men capable of making a choice. And the human and humane choice is for a truce and a withdrawal of troops.

Jack Robinson.

SHEER FANTASY

IN THESE DAYS of change in the form of the novel, the documentary novel is by no means unknown. Norman Mailer, B. S. Johnson and others come to mind recalling the earlier Dos Passos. Science fiction and fantasy are obvious themes for such a form. Readers will remember a similar project for a utopia (The Eec) from the same publishers (Ohms) some years ago and reviewed in these columns.

The name 'Wilson' given on the foreword to this slim fantasy is not unknown to fantasts. He is, of course, the wonder-working athlete who, from time to time, emerges from his mountain fastness to perform incredibly credible feats of athletic endeavour for the sake of Britain. 'Wilson' is trying to do it again, this time in a pictureless narrative directed to the adult reader.

The author, if it is Wilson, imagines the incredible situation that Britain is under the domination of the strange idea that everything is swelling and must ultimately burst unless those in power let down the pressure. The agency through which this swelling occurs is the circulation of metal discs and pieces of paper which are supposed to represent the value of labour or services preformed or goods exchanged. These discs and certificates are, by the operation of mysterious occult forces, losing value. The amount of labour performed remains the same, the need for the consumption of goods remains the same but incredibly the supply of discs and certificates grows less.

The authorities decree that what needs to be done is to limit the circulation of discs by limiting the distribution, consumption and production of goods (mainly through social services) thus reducing the discs received in exchange for labour. Eventually, it is hoped that this will reduce the value of goods exchanged, although there will be insufficient discs and certificates (called 'money') to exchange for goods and services.

This 'swelling' situation and its apparent danger is largely in the mind of Wilson. Since he has control of discs and certificates there is no reason (save in a work of fiction) why he should not increase the amount of oxygen, as it were, as the pressure gets greater. Alternatively the fictional and highly fantastic option is to abolish the discs and certificates but it is the creation of such devices and obstacles which creates the fictional situation enabling Wilson to function as the deus ex machina.

Eventually, Wilson and his colleagues admit, they must 'reflate' but for the moment 'deflation', with all its risks and hardships, must go on even for the sake of 'reflation'. How crazy can you get? But then this is a work of fiction and even its distribution is free and inflationary.

Attack on Inflation (H.M.S.O. Free)

Jack Spratt.

C.I.R.A. General Meeting Sun. Oct. 5, 3 pm at C.R.A.C., 7 Boulevard Carl-Vogt, GENEVA, Switzerland.

FLOUR POWER

---OUT OF THE BARREL...

I SUPPOSE it was no surprise that the meeting called by Reg, Prentice, M.P. in Newham on September 11th was full of incidents. For such a diverse sprinkling of Moderates such as Williams, Jackson and Jenkins attract their own enemies, whether they be National Front members with their flour bombs or dockers protesting over the jailing of Shrewsbury picket Des Warren. The question of the National Front is an interesting yet sad one because the Front are quite strong in the East End, particularly Newham which has a high concentration of coloured population.

The racialism of the East Enders, particularly the dockers, is one of their less creditable characteristics. Their racialism is strong not in electoral terms where they prefer to vote for the Labour Party rather than the National Front but in terms of intensity and bitterness. For an area of traditional unemployment, poor housing conditions and a generally lower standard of living, the coloured population is only too readily seized upon as the cause of the problem. Yet it is not only the Fascists but also the press and certain politicians who help foster this "climate" of fear, especially in economic times such as these. A policy of division rather than attempts to unite the working class is always forwarded. Such attempts at unity are not being made by those interested parties currently performing in an East End farce (and I'm not talking about the Theatre Royal, Stratford).

Reg Prentice and the local party henchmen still loyal to him are engaged in a power struggle, which is turning into a real "behind the scenes" struggle in which the real victim is not going to be Reg, Prentice but the people of the constituency themselves. For those like Prentice, the power lasts for as long as you can manipulate the machinery to maintain your position, but Prentice has been a fool for the first moves to oust him were made 18 months ago -- yet he ignored them.

The plans that Prentice and his supporters have in mind to get him reinstalled shows the extent to which people are being used as mere pawns in their game. Out of 57 general management committee members, 31 are party ward members. They intend to boost the attendance of the A.G.M.s of these ward meetings with, say, another 8-10 of their own supporters, to the usual 15-20 people who usually do attend these meetings, and hence get their own members elected to the management committee of Newham Labour Party. These tactics they also accuse their opponents of using yet when they are fighting for political life, anything goes. The other 26 members are elected by affiliated branches of trade unions, Young Socialists, the Co-op and the women's section. Presumably Prentice doesn't feel able to influence these hotbeds of "armchair revolutionaries" enough to support him. This is hardly surprising in view of his trade union views; he called the Shrewsbury pickets "thugs" and wouldn't even see a deputation from the local Trades Council about the jailing of the two pickets. This lack of diplomacy and tact is only outweighed by his extreme personal arrogance. This is typified by the fact that he no longer uses any of the local party's services, consults none of its officers and even holds his monthly 'surgery' in Newham Town Hall (unbeknown to the other officials).

For those who still cling to the illusions of parliament and social democracy, the lessons are there to be seen. All politicians, not just Reg. Prentice, merely use people for their own ends which is naked power at the expense of the people ; they are not interested in what we have to say, hence the idea of a democratic political party is at best impossible and at worst blatantly insulting. Until we get rid of such a parasitic caste for good, not merely changes of faces, we shall forever be in servitude.

No wonder the press are at pains to encourage us to cast off the "mindless militants" and stand up for moderation and democracy. Fine words coming from a Home Secretary who introduced the Emergency Powers Act. When talking of the Labour Party the press use Aneurin Bevan's description -- "The philosophy of democratic socialism is essentially cool in temper. It sees the individual in his context with society and is therefore compassionate and tolerant." What is the individual's present position in society? At present he is forced by law to accept a £6 pay rise limit (as if material reward is of any solution) while price rises, increasing unemployment and the cost of living in general are rampant. He has a trade union leadership which sets its own double standards of behaviour, accepting wage restraints for the supposed salvation of a Labour government on the one hand yet fighting a Tory government that tries to introduce similar measures on the other. Plus a Labour government that has neither an inkling of , nor an intention of introducing socialist legislation.

Thus the Prentice affair is one more painful reminder of the shameful role we have to play whilst supporting politicians and their ilk. The choice for the future rests with us -- not them.

Francis A. Wright.

LAND NOTES

1984 AND ALL THAT

PARTIAL HUMANITY was the appropriate title to G. F.'s article (FREEDOM Vol. 36 nos.34-35) about a Russian pig farm underground. Reporting the project with approval, the French newspaper gives details to show that the environment is entirely controlled.

Logically, a mass urbanised society must have a mass agriculture and can only immediately be fed by industrial means; industrial technology is indivisible. The probability is that the whole of industrial society as it reaches 1984 and beyond will move to some sort of environmental disaster. A free society is inconceivable in the context of increased urbanisation. There should be a great deal of thought given by those concerned with a free society as to how far the processes of urbanisation can be reversed. A human society must have a human magnitude. Human beings are separated from their human, animal and physical environment by machine technology.

After the dust has settled and the vested interests had their say, the true cost in human terms of the Common Market are beginning to reveal themselves. The impossibility of regulating agriculture over such a large area is now being made made clear.

After spending £17,000,000 of British taxpayers' money to persuade producers to move from cows to beef, thereby Mahomet created a mountain and we are now now faced with a shortage of milk. With mass starvation, in which calamity dried milk is perhaps the most useful tool, the milk processing factories are closed. It is interesting to see that those farms that have remained relatively small and self-sufficient have now become more viable. The large, rapidly expanded farms encouraged by the advisory services, heavily in debt and reliant on purchased feeding-stuffs, are often in real trouble.

It remains to be seen if fitting human beings and animals into a bland, controlled environment where extremes are eradicated is conducive to anything other than an authoritarian, paternalistic social system. However, agriculture to be successful has to be orderly and to be orderly it has to be reasonably small and immediately sensitive to the needs of the community dependent upon it. Under existing and projected conditions this is patently not happening.

The lessons of the Russian experience over fifty years ago should not be lost, where the power-orientated centralised control of agriculture led to millions starving. Contrast this with the libertarian collectives of Spain where production was actually increased; this by the direct participation of the whole community in the practical and technical problems.

There is a need to review the application of anarchist thought to modern society and to discuss whether it is really applicable to mass urban society. Historically, such societies tend to attract authoritarian solutions. Is it possible for a group of us to produce a paper on this subject ?

Alan Albon.

The item which should have appeared on this page was refused by the printers on legal grounds. Readers will find it has been duplicated by the Collective and is inserted in the current copy.

CONSPIRACY CHARGES

ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1974, the homes of a number of pacifists in London and the London office of Peace News were raided by police of the Special Branch and large amounts of documents seized. A month later six of the people raided were arrested and charged under Section 2 of the Incitement to Disaffection Act, 1934 with possessing copies (from one to hundreds) of the leaflet reprinted above. Shortly afterwards the same charge was laid against six others. Later again, two more people were arrested and charged with Conspiracy to contravene the Act. In the course of preliminary court hearings, this charge of conspiracy was added to the charge of possession against the other twelve defendants.

THE TRIAL of these fourteen people, which has been hanging over them for a year, begins at the Central Criminal Court (the Old Bailey) on Monday next, 29th September. It is a major political trial, of the kind which thirty years ago (in April, 1945) jailed the then editors of FREEDOM, and over a decade ago members of the Committee of 100 for their propaganda actions against nuclear weapons.

The defence committee (Defend the 14 Campaign, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1) emphasises vital issues in this trial--

--that the use of the Incitement to Disaffection Act can prevent people such as pacifists communicating their views and information to men and women serving in the forces, and negates freedom of speech.

--that the use of the charge of Conspiracy means that the defendants' politics are on trial: they may be questioned about their political beliefs, the way in which they live, who their friends are.

(The laying of Conspiracy charges is a particularly vicious weapon for securing heavy sentences, since minor charges incurring limited penalties can be thereby turned into felonies with heavy prison sentences - the penalties for Conspiracy are unlimited, up to life imprisonment. And no offence need have been committed to result in a conviction - a verdict that an offence was intended is sufficient,)

SUPPORT ACTIVITIES

Numbers of groups in different parts of Great Britain have in recent months demonstrated their solidarity with the BWNIC 14 by openly distributing the leaflet "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers". Some have been questioned by the police but not charged with distributing it. As we reported in FREEDOM (Vol. 36 nos. 34-35) a number of academics (also some churchmen) distributed it in Bradford (at the Recruiting Office) and presented themselves to the police, and were later informed that the Director of Public Prosecutions had decided against prosecuting them. The War Resisters' International organised a campaign through its sections and members around the world, and pickets of British Embassies have taken place in a number of countries.

At the opening of the trial on Monday (29 Sept.) a list of over 500 names and addresses will be presented to the Home Office of people who have signed a statement declaring themselves to be in possession of the leaflet with the intention of giving it to a soldier.

9.30 a.m. MASS PICKET OUTSIDE OLD BAILEY.

A.F.L. — C.I.O.

DIVIDES WORKING CLASS

ONE DOES NOT have to be an anarchist to realize the pitiful state of trade unionism in the United States. All the casual observer has to do is to peruse some of the recent attacks made by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy upon workers who arrive in the U.S. from other countries in search of employment. In its desperate quest for scapegoats on which to blame high unemployment and declining living standards, the AFL-CIO leadership has sought to depict these workers (so-called "illegal aliens") as little better than sneak-thieves who come to the U.S. to rob American workers of needed jobs and wages.

In sharp contrast to the AFL-CIO's anti-workingclass assaults on "illegal alien" workers is the warm welcome it extended to Vietnamese refugees. While AFL-CIO bureaucrats have sought to explain away this contradiction, the fact remains that the Meany clique of the AFL-CIO supported the reactionary Thieu regime in South Vietnam and favoured political asylum for those who supported that regime.

Since the U.S. Government's yearly quota for accepting immigrants from other Western Hemisphere nations is only 120,000, many workers from other nations must enter the U.S. "illegally" in search of employment or even political asylum. Once they arrive in the United States, these workers are subjected to vicious exploitation by the capitalists who hire them.

The cause of unemployment and declining standard of living is the capitalist system and its political weapon, the State. Scapegoating the so-called "illegal alien" worker for conditions that capitalism breeds is a reactionary ploy designed to divert the workers' attention from the true cause of their troubles. The AFL-CIO leaders and other pro-capitalist elements utilize such specious contentions to serve their own interests which are virtually indistinguishable from those of the ruling class.

These "illegal alien" workers, desperately seeking to earn a living for themselves and their families, deserve the sympathy and the support of every American worker regardless of what their union "leaders" contend. Every worker in the United States, regardless of place of birth, is exploited by the capitalist system and oppressed by the State. The only effective response to this can be militant solidarity among all workers.

Mark Weber
Kropotkin Society.

News from Norway.

Visitors from Oslo report that the movement in Norway grows. It's good to hear that the centre in Oslo whose beginnings we reported about four years ago thrives - the house in Helmsgaten which houses a bookshop, a library, meeting rooms and a cafe, to which hundreds of people come in to eat vegetarian food and to attend the theatrical performances and discussions held there. This summer two camps have been held, one in the north and one in the south of the country (because travel is difficult from one end to the other). Besides this Oslo group there are three others, one in Kragerø, one in Trondheim, and one in Fredrikstad which has recently acquired printing facilities. Folkebladet comes out more or less every fortnight, and between four and five thousand copies are sold.

JIMMY Hoffa, racketeering ex-leader of American Teamsters' Union, released on parole from prison on condition that he does not take part in Union activities, has ostensibly been kidnapped, saving everyone the embarrassment of Hoffa's testifying before a federal grand jury investigating possible irregularities in the handling of funds by the Teamsters local branch in Detroit. A union member said of him, "He may be a crook; but he's our crook".

IT'S ONLY A GAME!

REPORT OF LOYALTY, REPORT OF VICTORY

The quarter-finals for singles were played by 8 rivals out of 160 players. Her first rival was a south Korean player. It was a tragic sight that players of the same nation were compelled to face with each other in the fierce game in a foreign country. This was entirely the result of the nation-split policy of the US imperialists, the sworn enemy of our people, and their stooge Pak Jung Hi puppet clique.

The game drew the attention of 12,000 spectators. Pak Yong Sun, who was profoundly conscious of the responsibility of the honoured player of Juche Korea and has grown up in the fatherly leader's heart was firmly determined to meet the expectations of the fatherly leader and the Party centre by winning the game. So she easily defeated her rival who was noted as a winner, and signed her name to the list of victor.

Having seen this match, a teacher of the Indian National Sports College said in an excited tone: "I was deeply moved by her high skill, unyielding will and fair spirit.

This is an admirable model that can be set only by the players trained in the warm bosom of great Marshal Kim Il Sung."

Many Indian press and spectators lavished praise on her.

--Korea Illustrated Monthly No. 5 1975.

IN BRIEF

Patty Hearst, acclaimed as a Symbionese Liberation Army convert, was captured - or released - by the police without a struggle. Her parents hope to bail her at $500,000, claiming she was brainwashed. To the police Patty gave her occupation as 'urban guerilla'.

A DEFENDANT in the current bombing trial held at the Old Bailey appeared, after some delay, in the dock with a black eye. No reference was made to this by either the defending counsel, prosecuting counsel or the judge.

BATTERY hens are to be housed in a multi-storey cage which will allow the birds more freedom. The present battery cages crowd birds too closely together and they tend to injure one another and damage their plumage, said a member of the Ministry of Agriculture's animal welfare team. "It is an example of the way the birds' needs are being taken into consideration. We think it approximates much more closely to the birds' preference and requirements. In the case of poultry, social environment is particularly important."

AN OFFICIAL of Birmingham County Court wrote to his union division (Court Officers) journal objecting to the use of the expression 'comrades' at a union conference since the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the word - among other things - as a "fellow member of trade union, communistic society" 'and,' concludes the official, 'for this reason I find it objectionable'.

THE ASSOCIATE editor of Time Out was acquitted of a charge of dishonestly receiving stolen documents; he refused to disclose their source. The documents belonged to a Spanish banker who had been kidnapped by anarchists. The Time Out editor peddled the documents around Fleet Street. They were 'bought' by the Sunday Mirror, who then promptly disclosed their source to the police. It was disclosed that he would not have been prosecuted had he disclosed the source of the documents.

THE CHAIRMAN of the Police Federation said, during a lecture on the failure of the courts, etc.: "All in all, can we be blamed for accepting that the wrongdoer and scrounger in our society has confidence in the state and we, who have the responsibility to enforce and administer the law, are losing confidence in the state?"

Sancho Panza.

LETTERS

PORTUGAL

Dear Editors,

I am rather saddened by the line you seem to be taking on Portugal (FREEDOM 23.8.75). I appreciate that the difficulty of getting a true picture of events there justifies a certain degreee of scepticism, but should not the Portuguese workers be given the benefit of the doubt? If a true revolution is occurring, or is to occur, in Portugal, it will need all the support we can give; and to damn it before it has a chance to establish itself is in effect to side with international capitalism in the putting down of the revolution.

It is surely a grievous mistake for anarchists to judge the course of a revolution by the antics of the men at the top, as you seem to be doing. For this reason, it is especially important for us not to decry the growth of workers' councils and neighbourhood committees merely because they have the support of the populist Carvalho. They represent real grass-roots activity, and are not a sham. Furthermore, while you are right to question the role of the military in a revolution, it must be remembered that two thirds of the armed forces of April 1974 have since been demobbed and therefore represent a potentially considerable force in the civilian militias which will be needed for the defence of the revolution.

In Portugal it does indeed appear that the workers have once again upstaged the revolutionaries.

Fraternally yours,

Benjamin S. Beck.

Dear Comrades,

Having arrived back from Portugal on the 25th August, I was somewhat angered by your disparaging remarks about the solidarity march with the Portuguese working class on September 20th, feeling very strongly that support from people in Britain for the workers movement in Portugal and against intervention and economic blockade from outside is of vital importance. It was quite clear to me that the editors of FREEDOM had not recently been to Portugal and were not sonversive with what is actually taking place there. You state that the "soldiers are conscripts, separated from the workers in barracks where they are submitted to rigid hierarchies and degrading discipline". It is quite true that they are conscripts, this being a better cross section of the ordinary people within the country than a professional army. Their barracks are now near where they live and they are not separated from workers as soldiers are in other countires. This is an important factor in the Portuguese situation and a reason why soldiers and workers councils could be viable. It is also why many soldiers sent to break up demonstrations, occupations, etc. have actually ended up supporting them or doing nothing. Moreover there has been a movement for open discussion within all ranks of the army and they are not subjected to the rigid discipline that is characteristic of most armies at the service of the bourgeois state. They are in fact thinking for themselves.

As for freedom of speech, etc. -- where in England could one stick posters on private and public property alike and not be arrested? Where in England would a crowd gather to read any poster that had been stuck up? A vast array of literature was being sold in the streets of Lisbon, and the proliferation of anarchist slogans around the town should please readers of FREEDOM.

What will now happen in Portugal is in the balance and that is why it is important now to support what has already been gained and to try and provide the conditions where real workers' power could take place. The surest way either to a right wing or Communist dictatorship is to allow economic pressures and blockades to be used against this already poor country. It should be the duty of every revolutionary in this country to try and support the people in Portugal who are fighting for workers' power and to support the demo on the 20th Sept. In fact there are many parallels in the Portuguese situation now with that in Spain before the civil war.

Fraternally

Jenny Neave
(Guildford Anarchs).

REPLY: Whilst we would wish that the Portuguese revolution was a revolution from the bottom we are convinced by events and reports from visiting comrades (including one exiled comrade) that it "may be a political revolution, it is not a social revolution"

One comrade, a former editor, suggested that attendance at political meetings and the intoxication of political parades did not give a true picture of the Portuguese scene.

It may be that we have not given sufficient prominence to the many workers' occupations of lands and factories but we feel in the present climate they have little chance, particularly since the communist bureaucrats withhold capital and supplies from such factories.

Finally we might add that a country rising from fifty years of dictatorship cannot be expected to move into anarchism immediately. --EDS.

ANARCHISM AND THE NATIONAL FRONT

Dear Comrades,

THERE IS A strong feeling among many anarchists today that the National Front should be regarded with the same feeling of irrelevance as the other political parties jostling for power.

The logic of this argument seems fair enough, but while the election of a Labour or Conservative government will not make any significant changes in the lives of working people, the rise of an extreme right wing group, with its accompanying racialism and chauvinism certainly will.

The fact that world capitalism is in a grave crisis with little hope of recovery in the near future is very significant. As in the 1920s and '30s an excuse for the failure of the system has to be found without admitting that the failure is in the system itself.

Political groups on the 'extreme' left of capitalist politics take full advantage of these crises. The left, taking a supposedly 'revolutionary' stance (and often believing it is really changing society), demands more state power and the replacement of private capitalists and bureaucrats with its own party elite.

The extreme right, whilst wanting a corporate state not unlike the left, has a different approach to gain popularity. Its appeal is based on nationalism, militarism and, increasingly, racialism.

This is the situation in Britain today, and although the polarisation to the extremes is slight at present it will inevitably gain momentum as the crisis deepens. (An advanced case can be seen in Italy with the MEI neo-fascists and communists.)

The purpose of fascist organisation is a reaction to hold together a rapidly decaying system. Fascism, with its naked violence will always appear when the grip of the state (indexed by its liberalism, NOT its brutality), is slipping.

The rise of fascism and other forms of extreme capitalist government deeply involves working people. As anarchists it is our duty to expose all forms of political parties, but we should be especially active in showing people what the National Front really is.

The present neo-radical and 'law abiding' approach by the 'Front' is especially sinister. (The 'Front' may never get to power and its various campaigns -- against coloured immigration, for capital punishment, supporting apartheid, etc. -- could be implemented by a conservative (or labour) government pushed to the right by 'public concern'.) For anarchists simply to regard the rise of the 'Front' as "just another party", without giving our help and alternative in fighting it would be foolish and in the long run perhaps dangerous.

CPRR.

IN BRIEF

CHEDDI Jagan, Marxist leader of the People's Progressive Party in Guyana, is in future to give the party's "critical support" to Prime Minister Forbes Burnham - once his political opponent.

THE CASE of Andrew Lloyd for posses sing leaflets with intent to incite troops to desert from their duty in Northern Ireland is to be retried as the jury failed to reach agreement. Andrew Lloyd was granted bail. He had pleaded 'not guilty'. and said he had no intention of distributing the leaflets. A similar case with 14 defendants will open at the Old Bailey on September 29th.

Mr. Frank Gillard, a veteran broadcaster, speaking to to the Royal Television Society said that 'in a period of economic stringency television was even more necessary for information, entertainment, even education.

Sir Keith Joseph had an audience of 40 at a university Conservative association meeting at Stirling University. Sir Keith suspects that left-wing students boycotted it. He said that usually his meetings were packed to overflowing.

General Gowon, formerly Nigerian head of state, deposed by a coup, has applied for an undergraduate place to read politics and international relations at Warwick University.

PRESS FUND

21 August - 17 September inclusive

LEEDS: G.H.L. 50p; RENFREW: R.K. 49p; GRANTHAM: G.I. 48p; STROMNESS: J.L.B. 85p; PARIS: G.G. £ 1; CHICAGO: C.R. £ 1; BIRMINGHAM: L.C. £ 1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 20p; J.L. £ 1.20; PENARTH: W.S. £ 2; KNOTTY ASH: J.G. 50p ; BISHOPSTOWN: P.B. 40p; ASHTON/MAKERFIELD: D.T. 10p; ABINGDON: M.B. £1; BEACONSFIELD: D.P. 35p; BANGOR: J.T. £ 1 ; ACCRINGTON: G.M. £1.23 IN SHOP: Anon 35p; P.W. 85p; G.P.H. 55p; Anon 35p; J.a. 10p; M.S.S. 10p; M.G. 12p; I.V.& M.S. 60p; LONDON SW 12: I.D. 60p; LONDON N.1: S.B. £ 1; DARLINGTON: M.G. £ 1; ENFIELD Z.J. £ 1.50; BIRMINGHAM: M. & B. D. 50p; LONDON E.1: S.C. £ 1; ST. ALBANS: R.A.P. 25p; COVENTRY: S.D. £ 1; HAMPTON HILL: B.P.B. 50p; LONDON SE 11: H.H. 25p; LEEDS: P.G. 20p; LYTHAM ST. ANNES: B.L. £ 1; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p; LONDON E.4.: S. & A.G. 50p; Anon 50p; LONDON NW3: G.H. 50p; LLANTRISANT: P.S. 50p; LONDON SE3: N.S. £ 1; BRISTOL: P.T. £ 1; E. HAMPTON,Conn.: R.M. £ 3.30; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 60p; J.K.W. 10p.

TOTAL:	£ 42.82
Previously acknowledged	£ 939.20
TOTAL TO DATE :	£ 982.02

ANARCHIST FEDERATION BULLETIN

AT THE meeting in London on Sept. 20 it was agreed to establish a monthly internal bulletin to encourage communication, co-operation and joint activity between anarchist groups and individuals. Corby Anarchists agreed to collate the bulletin for the first six months or so.

Everything received will be published but anyone sending in a lengthy contribution is asked to send it ready duplicated (initially 100 copies, on A4 paper). A contact list will be published in the bulletin and the names and addresses of all contacts will be published unless individuals specifically request that they should not be included in the list.

News, reports of local activities, theoretical arguments, details of meetings and publications, contact addresses and all other material intended for inclusion in the first bulletin should be sent to the address below to arrive by October 15. Please clearly mark all contributions "for publication" to ensure that private letters are not published in error.

It was also agreed to hold a national conference of anarchists as soon as possible when a suitable venue has been found.

AF BULLETIN, 7 CRESSWELL WALK, CORBY, NORTHANTS NN17 2LL.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next review section is Monday 29 September; news/features/letters/announcements Mon. 6 October

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM is Thursday 9 October. Come and help from 2 p.m. onwards. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon to early evening for informal get-together and folding session.

CONTACT

MEETINGS

Alternate Sundays, Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, 1 pm Speakers' Corner. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome

Every Sat. & Sun. Centro Iberico/International Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance in Steele's Rd, 2nd door) tube Belsize Park Chalk Farm. From 7.30 discussions etc.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly tgs. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU

WILDCAT is in Danger! Readers' Meeting Thurs. Oct. 2nd 7 pm at Museum Tavern, Great Russell St. London WC1. Newcomers especially asked to come to discuss survival.

PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) serving sentence for action against vivisection &c. and awaiting trial as on of BWNIC 14 would welcome letters, postcards, to H.M.P. Wormwood Scrubs, Du Cane Road, London W. 12.

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 still needs funds for books &c.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO

RALF STEIN, awaiting trial, postcards to JVA, 5 KOLN 30, Rachusstrasse 350 Germany.

WANTS

GERMAN anarchist, 25 yrs., pen-friends in English (& if poss. occ. exch. visits) w. comrades (women or men) in U.K., Ireland, France, Holland, Scandinavia, Austria, Switzerland, Italy, USA. Interests: Anarchism, syndicalism & esp. Russian nihilism & Tolstoyanism. Write Bernhard Brüggert, Killwitzring 8, D-2 Hamburg 74.

TWO BICYCLES (laides' for preference) for impoverished nurses. No reasonable offer refused. Contact Jim at Freedom Bookshop (01-247 9249)

INVERNESS or near - comrade seeks flat etc. Write Ron, 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

LEICESTER, urgent. Anarchist needed to live in & help run Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St. Rent approx. £ 6. per week.

COMMUNE - We're trying to get a commune going & need at least one other to form the nucleus. If interested please contact Roger McGrath & Steve Cook, c/o 36A Newark St., London E1 2AA

SECONDHAND copy of Burnett Bolloten's The Grand Camouflage wanted by Bob Dent, 48 Manchester St., Liverpool 1

PORTUGAL - the Portuguese anarcho-syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5,000 copies fortnightly) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets, articles, etc. to A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal 17-2°-E, LISBOA.

CULTURE

W.E.A. Classes. Subjects include History of Theatre, The Humanities, Social Science Modern Lit., Sexual Radicalism in Britain & U.S. 1850-1914 ; Music, Emotion and Understanding. Full programme from S. Billson, 33 Compton Road London N,1. (S.A.E. please.

GROUPS

PROPOSED ANARCHIST FEDERATION & CONFERENCE. Write Corby Anarchists, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

ABERGAFENNI contact 31 Monmouth Rd.

BOLTON/SALFORD anarchist group. Write 6 Stockley Avenue, Hatwood, Bolton (tel. 387516)

CAMDEN TOWN - anyone interested in forming Camden A group contact Toff, The Bank, Tolmers Sq. NW1 (50 Hampstead Road)

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants. Every Saturday, book stall Corporation Street 1 - 3 pm. Come and help.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick.

DUNDEE. Brian Fleming c/o Anarchist Soc., Students Union, Univ. of Dundee

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073)

GLASGOW. A. Ross, 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow

HARROW write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin, with view to forming organization

LEICESTER Anarchist Group, Contact Pete and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Street Leicester (tel. 549652 (apologies for getting Pete's name wrong in last issue).

LEICESTER Anarchist "Libertarian Circle" continue to meet every Thursday at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street.

OXFORD Anarchist group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 21 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.

SWANSEA group forming for discussion, group theatre, other possibilities. Write Tim, 64 Woodville Rd. Oystermouth.

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch 4. (tel. 496 793)

Libertarian POSTAL WORKERS - how can we spread the ideas of anarchism re organization in the Post Office? Contact Dave Morris, 56 Mitford Rd. London N19

WAR RESISTERS'INTERNATIONAL needs financial help. Donations to Ralph DiGia, WRL, 339 Lafayette St New York, N.Y. 10012 USA. or (GB) Kees Koop, c/o PPU, 6 Endsleigh St. London WC1 1H ODH. Triennial Report now available £1.

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SOME INFORMATION FOR DISCONTENTED SOLDIERS

This information has been compiled by supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign who hope that it will be of some use to soldiers who have decided not to go to Northern Ireland. We are not recommending any particular course of action. There is no easy way out of the Army, but we hope that by one means or another you will avoid taking part in the killing in Northern Ireland.

IF YOU ARE A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR
that is, if since joining up you have developed a religious or moral objection to taking part in any war, you have a legal right to be discharged on these grounds.
--you are advised to contact:
The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, c/o 6 Endsleigh St. London WC1 Tel.: 01-352 7906. This organisation publishes a step-by-step guide to procedure for application for a discharge on grounds of conscience. Members also offer individual advice and support throughout the whole process and have considerable experience in giving this form of help

IF YOU INTEND TO APPLY FOR A DISCHARGE ON OTHER GROUNDS
the following organisations may be able to help:
At Ease, c/o Release, 1 Elgin Ave. London W9. Counsellors (who include ex-servicemen) are available at this address every Thursday evening from 7.30 to 9.30 pm. The help of sympathetic lawyers and social workers can be obtained if necessary. Advice is confidential. No representations will be made to anyone without your permission. No pressure will be applied, whatever you decide to do. 'At Ease' also deals with enquiries by post.
If it is impossible for you to call in person, 'At Ease' can sometimes arrange for preliminary counselling to be given near to where you are based.

The National Council for Civil Liberties, 186 Kings Cross Rd. London WC1. Tel: 01-278 4575. Open daily - office hours. This organisation has considerable experience in giving legal advice to servicemen and representing them to military authorities.

IF YOU HOPE THE ARMY WILL DISCHARGE YOU
--on political grounds, you may be interested in the wide selection of peace literature available from: The Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street Ringway, Birmingham 4 Tel: 021-643 0996. Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd. London N1 (01-837 4473)

--on sexual grounds, you may wish to contact:
The Campaign for Homosexual Equality, National Office, 28 Kennedy St. Manchester 2, or their London Information Centre, 22 Great Windmill St. London W1. 01-437 7363. Open from 6 pm.
or phone Icebreakers, 01-274 9590 from 7.30 pm to 10.30 pm.

--on health grounds, we would advise you not to mutilate yourself, feign mental illness or take dangerous drugs. Some soldiers are doing so in desperation. If you have a genuine health problem, contact 'At Ease' (address above).

IF YOU HAVE DECIDED TO GO ABSENT WITHOUT LEAVE
--to Sweden, you will be pleased to know that special arrangements have been made to welcome British Servicemen who go AWOL to Sweden by:
The British Deserters Support Group, c/o Bok-Cafe Morianen, Box 16037, Drottninggatan 19, 103 21 Stockholm 16, Sweden. Tel.: Stockholm 106063.

If you go to Sweden, you will need your passport, your military ID card and

about £30 cash (you need this to get through passport control as a tourist). You are advised to enter via Stockholm and avoid Malmo and Goteborg, and to enter as a tourist. You will need to wait three weeks before going to register with the police as an applicant for political asylum. If you contact the British Deserters Support Group, they will put you in touch with a good Swedish lawyer, advise you on registration procedure, offer you accommodation with sympathetic Swedish people during the difficult three-week waiting period, and accompany you when you go to register with the police.

It is important to make it clear to the Swedish police that you were going to have to serve in Northern Ireland, otherwise you will not be considered for asylum. After you have registered, you can then go to the Swedish Social Bureau which will get you a place to stay, give you money to live on and help you to enrol in Swedish language classes.

A British AWOL soldier can apply for the type of asylum that has been granted to American and Portuguese AWOL soldiers. It amounts to the Swedish Government giving a man permission to stay on the basis of special circumstances -- a type of humanitarian asylum. However, when you go to the police, you are advised to ask for political asylum so as to make sure that the Aliens Commission and not the police makes the final decision on your case.

Once you have permission to stay, you would have the right to work or study in Sweden and your wife and children could join you. Sweden has excellent educational and social services. There are facilities at Swedish Folk High Schools for men who wish to gain further qualifications or technical training. However, permission to stay is renewable every six months and the Swedish Government reserves the right to withdraw permission if you commit an offence. Some American, Portuguese and British AWOL solders have settled in Sweden. Some have found the difficulties of learning a new language and living as an immigrant in a new country too great.

If you do decide to seek asylum, you are going into exile, so think it over carefully before you make an irrevocable decision.

--to Eire, you should know that this destination has proved to be dangerous for some British AWOL soldiers. Your situation may be exploited by violent extremist groups.

--to other countries, you should know that groups in the Netherlands, Germany and Switzerland are trying to help British AWOL soldiers but if apprehended in any of these countries, you are liable to be returned to the British authorities.

--in Britain, you may have difficulties over employment (no insurance cards) and accommodation (anyone who shelters you is liable to prosecution). You may have to keep moving to avoid arrest. If you are considering going AWOL in Britain, you should therefore plan ahead very carefully.

IF YOU INTEND TO REFUSE TO GO TO NORTHERN IRELAND you are likely to be court-martialled. You are entitled to be represented by a civilian lawyer if you so choose. The National Council for Civil Liberties or At Ease (addresses above) will advise you on a good one who is sympathetic to your position.

If you wish your action to be publicised, so as to set an example to other soldiers, strengthening their resolve to resist the Government's policy, then please contact the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (address below).

Note: if a group of soldiers made this announcement simultaneously, it would make a great impact on public opinion, both inside and outside the Army. Such an action could lead to Court Martial and imprisonment. But if you believe, as we do, that it is wrong for troops to be in Northern Ireland, we ask you to consider whether it is better to be killed for a cause you do not believe in or to be imprisoned for refusing to take part in the conflict. The opposition of American servicemen forced partial withdrawal from the war in Indochina. The Algerian war came to an end partly because it was opposed by hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen, including soldiers, who refused to take part in it. British soldiers could save lives in Northern Ireland -- not only their own lives.

The organisations listed above do not necessarily support the objectives of this Campaign and are not responsible for their inclusion in this document. The entire responsibility for the production and distribution of this leaflet is that of THE BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM NORTHERN IRELAND CAMPAIGN c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N1, England.

FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review
SUPPLEMENT to Vol. 36 nos. 38-39 27 SEPTEMBER, 1975

ART AND THE MYTH

THE ART OF ANARCHY, by Flavio Costantini (Cienfuegos Press, 52pp, £3.00)

THE EXECUTION OF FRANCISCO FERRER *Barcelona, 13th October 1909*

WHEN I FIRST saw the work of Flavio Costantini, used to illustrate Roderick Kenward's The Anarchists, I was unsure whether I was looking at the work of some quite exceptional forgotten painter of the 1890s or of a modern artists who had steeped himself so deeply in anarchist traditions that the past came to life on his work with alarming intensity. A few stylistic idiosyncracies suggested the latter, but it was only when I recognized the man holding a revolver at the head of Ravachol that I was certain. The bowler-hatted figure with the truncated legs was certainly Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and that was a sardonic jest which an artist of the 1890s would hardly have perpetrated, if only because Toulouse-Lautrec was then too little known for the jest to have much significance.

There were many levels of thought that Costantini's paintings, reproduced in a rather deadening black-and-white in the present volume, set moving in my mind. I reflected on the lack of any tradition of anarchist art in Britain. Costantini's only significant predecessor during recent decades was John Olday, and Olday followed in the line of German Expressionism. Costantini himself sets many echoes ringing, most of them French, without being any less of an individual artist for that fact. His relationship to Steinlein, Caran d'Ache and the French anarchist cartoonists of the 1880s and 1890s in general (his favourite period) is evident; so is the Art Nouveau preoccupation with print and lettering, and the neo-Impressionist cultivation of the dark, strong outline in which, by a further irony, one detects a preoccupation with Toulouse-Lautrec as an artist and especially as a draughtsman.

But there is nothing of Art Nouveau softness, its melting curves, or of Toulouse-Lautrec's sometimes déliquescent forms, about Costantini's work. Everything is tensely, melodramatically, composed. The buildings are as solid, static, overbearing, as those in a Piero painting, suggesting the rigid inhumanity of the institutions they symbolize. The perspectives are the tilting ones of the early Italian painters, bringing everything in the scene on a level with the eyes, without the recession of distance, and so creating the same ominous drama as one feels emanating from the martyrdoms protrayed by painters of the trecento.

Fortunately the cult of total originality in the arts is now in decline, and it is no disparagement of a painter to indicate that he is expertly eclectic; it would be hard for a painter as historically minded as Costantini to be otherwise. The true originality lies in the quality of the synthesis, and in Costantini's case this is very powerful. The power lies not merely in the actual physical composition, the menacing outlines of buildings, the extraordinarily tense rigidities of human bodies at the height of action or the point of death. It lies also in the strength of the myth which Costantini is interpreting.

Here, I think, we come to an important factor in all art that goes beyond mere formalism, and especially in art that is historically based and politically oriented. Naturalism with its attempt to portray life with photographic literalism, and social realism, which seeks to give propaganda a literalist bloom, have both failed, whether one considers them merely as art or as the vehicles of ideas. There has to be a dislocation of the world of appearance, a breaking down and reconstruction into dramatic forms, if art is to have a separate existence and if it is to have mythopoeic effectiveness. The totem-carving Indians - greatest of primitive artists - recognized this as clearly in their dislocative shamanist art as later did the Cubists and the Surrealists; the notable anarchist cartoonists of the 1890s also realized it when, in compositions that still have a stirring appeal, they used dense outlines, exaggerated motions, broken perspectives, simplified colours, to present the action that becomes significant only when we heighten it into myth.

This is the necessary process in any work that hopes to inspire or illuminate men; even history must have its element of heightening selectivity if it is to be more than a banal chronicle. (For this reason I was pleased rather than otherwise when a recent writer in FREEDOM thought he was condemning my Anarchism by talking of its "personalizing" and "romanticizing" of the movement. In other words, I was drawing the outlines of the myth, precisely as Costantini has done.

Stuart Christie, in his introduction to The Art of Anarchy, makes virtually the same point, when he remarks that "it is the artist, the writer and the poet who capture the decisive moments of history, and, perhaps, contribute to giving life and perspective to the myth, and, possibly, making it more inspiring than reality".

What Costantini's critics have accused him of is preoccupation with "criminal violence", and it is true that three quarters of the paintings and drawings reproduced in this volume are concerned with assassinations, attempted assassinations, and robberies. It is also true that by far the best and most haunting of them are those in which men do lethal violence to each other -- anarchists attacking rulers, soldiers or policemen attacking anarchists. Usually it is the moment after the knife has gone in or the shot been fired, and that moment is caught in the tension of shock. As Stuart Christie remarks, Costantini is preoccupied

PROBLEMS OF OBEDIENCE AND DISOBEDIENCE

THREE NEW BOOKS from Free Life Editions, the New York libertarian publisher which started last year, have considerable interest one by one and also as a group, since they give differing but complementary views of the old problems of obedience and disobedience in human society.

Ten years ago no English translation of La Boétie's Discourse of Voluntary Servitude was available; now there are three. This classic essay on political obedience and disobedience, written by a young French intellectual in the sixteenth century, was translated into English for the first time in 1735, and late American in 1942; but neither version was available when I first became interested in La Boétie. In 1966 I produced an abridged version of the 1735 translation in Anarchy 63; this year both the old translations have been republished in the United States -- first Ralph Myles published a complete version of the 1735 translation together with the French text, edited by Wm. Flygare under the title The Will to Bondage (reviewed on June 21), and now Free Life Editions have published the 1942 translation, under the title The Politics of Obedience (paperback $2.95).

In some ways this is the best English-language edition of The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude yet published, but it has some curious defects. To begin with, the book is only 80 pages long, and although it is excellently produced it still costs more than ten times as much as Anarchy 63; inflation is bad, but not that bad. Then there isn't enough information about the translation. It was made by Harry Kurz and originally published by the Columbia University Press; the publishers mention this, but don't give any copyright acknowledgement. They mention that it has lost its marginal notes, but not that these were tedious propaganda against the enemy countries in the Second World War. They point out that Kurz translated from the contemporary manuscript in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris; but they don't add the significant point that this manuscript, which was not discovered and published until the mid-nineteenth century, gives a fuller and better text than the previously published versions, nor that this is the only real advantage the rather bad 1942 translation has over the very good 1735 one. They mention the recent American edition, but not the edition in Anarchy 63; it wasn't a very good edition and it isn't very well known, but it was the first one since the war and both the recent American ones have made use of it, so it would have been at least fair to recognise its existence.

Nearly half of The Politics of Obedience consists of a long essay on "The Political Thought of Etienne de la Boétie" by Murray N. Rothbard, professor of economics at the Polytechnic Institute of New York, editor of The Libertarian Forum, and a leader of the right-wing libertarian tendency in the American anarchist movement. This is a helpful introduction to The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude and also an interesting contribution to the subject of political obedience and disobedience. It gives plenty of information about La Boétie's short career and the milieu he lived in, but it is rather confusingly arranged and not entirely reliable. Rothbard assumed that the Discourse was written by La Boétie when he was a student (in about 1550), and doesn't take account of the fact that it may have been written or rewritten either by La Boétie in later life or even by his friend Montaigne, who is the only source of information about the essay before its publication (in the 1570s). Rothbard says that "the full text with the author's name appeared for the first time" in 1576, but in fact, although La Boétie's authorship was known, his name didn't appear with the Discourse for another 150 years, when it was included in the 1727 edition of Montaigne's Essays. Rothbard also remarks that Lysander Spooner wrote "over four hundred years after La Boétie", an obvious slip for three hundred; it is we who are writing over four hundred years after him, and we haven't really got much further than him.

Indeed Rothbard is very close to La Boétie. He still thinks it is news that even tyrannical governments depend on majority consent, and he also thinks this consent is obtained by a programme of bread and circuses -- material and mental mystification. He seems to think this process can be reversed by a programme of demystification, and follows La Boétie's "stress on the importance of a perceptive, vanguard elite of libertarian and anti-statist intellectuals", adding some rather sinister remarks about the need for a libertarian cadre and concluding: "No amount of oppression or misery will lead to a successful movement for freedom unless such a cadre exists and is able to educate and rally the intellectuals and the general public." Experience suggests rather that such a cadre, the "conscious minority" of anarcho-syndicalist theory, is necessary before a crisis but disastrous afterwards. Intellectuals are just as much corrupted by the state as everyone else, and much more able to rationalise their corruption; after all, most mystification is carried out by intellectuals, and they make a good living out of it. It is surely as important to disobey our own leaders as to listen to them.

¶

The second book from Free Life Editions approaches the subject from the opposite direction, an investigation into the nature of the state itself. The State by Franz Oppenheimer (paperback, $3.95) is a reprint of John Gitterman's old translation of a classic of German liberal sociology, with an interesting introduction by Chuck Hamilton, the former editor of Libertarian Analysis and a present editor of Free Life Editions. There is a paradox in social science which anarchists find particularly significant -- the most obvious feature of the ancient civilisations and of the modern world is the domination of society by the state; yet, as Hamilton says, "little of importance has been written on the state", and most of what has been written has been to justify its position. Oppenheimer's neglected book is a remarkable exception to this rule, and much of what he says is highly relevant to anarchist thought.

-- HOW WILL THE STATE WITHER AWAY?

Franz Oppenheimer (1864-1943) was not an anarchist but what he called a "liberal socialist" and what would now be called a right-wing libertarian, believing in "a perfect democracy" and advocating at the same time agrarian co-operation and a market economy -- equal opportunity rather than equality, free competition rather than freedom. He was a Berlin doctor who was influenced by Adam Smith and Henry George, worked as professor of economics and sociology at Frankfurt University after the First World War, and left Germany when Hitler came to power. He believed that social science had a positive -- indeed a positivist -- function, not just to explain but to improve society. This professional and political attitude was more common among Germans -- especially German Jewish -- intellectuals than is generally recognised, and it is refreshing to read The State after a diet of conventional sociological literature by British, American and French writers. This may be partly because it was an early book, dating from 1908, and was later rewritten as a volume of Oppenheimer's massive System of Sociology (1922); perhaps it is just as well that only the original version has been translated (though it is a pity that it has been translated so badly).

It is also frustrating to read The State, because it has the vices as well as the virtues of even the best German thought (that is a cultural and not a racial point), being dogmatic, schematic and simplistic. Oppenheimer not only accepted the "conflict theory" of society (the idea that the main feature of society is not consensus, as suggested by most sociologists, but conflict, as suggested above all by Marx), but he also advocated the "conquest theory" of the state (that the state derived not from a spontaneous development of society but from the conquest of one social group by another). That is a perfectly valid position -- certainly as valid as any of the others adopted by the various sociologists who have discussed the phenomenon of authority in society -- but it is imperfectly argued in this book. He begins by distinguishing between "economic means" and "political means", and then equates the former with soci-

ART AND THE MYTH

Continued from P. 9

with "the class struggle", but there are greater depths than that, for he is really using anarchist action in its most violent form to demonstrate the ultimate nature of the human condition. Look at the faces in the paintings. The assassinated rulers and the trapped or killed assassins have strangely similar expressions, stripped down in the levelling of death, despairing and humanised by its onset; it is the attendant soldiers and policemen who wear the masks of brutal impersonality. Often, in the background to this statically halted action, there is a woman in whose sorrowing face all the pity of the scene is concentrated; when the assassination of Tsar Alexander II is shown, a woman who might well be Sophia Perovskaya in her working woman's garb stands looking with impartial sadness on the bodies of the dying emperor and the dying kill killer.

Curiously, even the anarchists look most appealing when they are facing death; there is a repellent smugness to Ravachol's features in all the scenes where he is merely plotting action; he comes alive and touches our nerves of sympathy at the moment of violence and desperation when he is arrested and Toulouse-Lautrec incongruously touches a gigantic pistol to his brow.

There are depths within depths of understanding to The Art of Anarchy, for no true art is simple, nor, for that matter, is true anarchy, which can only realize itself by revealing every ambiguous profundity of the human condition.

George Woodcock.

PROBLEMS OF OBEDIENCE AND DISOBEDIENCE...Continued from P.10

ety and tne latter with the state; again, this is a useful concept, especially to hold against those who say that society is itself essentially political (from Plato and Aristotle to the modern totalitarians) and against those who say that the state is essentially economic (above all the Marxists), but it must be used with caution. Oppenheimer uses it like a sword, simply cutting out or chopping up the examples which don't fit. Most of the book consists of a semi-historical survey of as many states as possible, showing that they nearly all originated in a conquest of one nation or race or class or other group by another. The trouble is that history, as Marx said, is the story of class struggles, and most known states have indeed originated in conquest; but most of the conquests have been of other states, and there are virtually no records of the first origins of any states. It would make just as much sense to say that the existence of the state leads to conquest as to say that conquest leads to the existence of the state. It might make more sense to say that the ideal type of the state is indeed what Oppenheimer (following Marx) calls the "class state", an organisation by which one class dominates the whole of society; but it is very hard to say how the state came, or how it will go.

Oppenheimer ends with a discussion of "The Tendency of the Development of the State", and agrees with most optimists that the state will wither away -- not by revolution, but by the gradual evolution of a classless society in which "the 'state' of the future will be 'society' guided by self-government", what he clumsily called "freeman's citizenship", the "minimal state" of the right-wing libertarians. The trouble is that, just as he doesn't show convincingly how the state rose, he doesn't show convincingly how it will fall. His position is in many ways that of the contemporary liberals and social democrats, who believe that things will get better and better in spite of the evidence that they are getting worse and worse (for most people, if not for us). It is true that oppressed people constantly destroy their oppressors, but they constantly create new ones. The question is how to get rid of oppression itself, how to teach people not to obey each other.

¶

This is where the third book comes in. A Primer of Libertarian Education by Joel Spring (paperback, $3.95) is not a practical guide but a historical survey which "focuses on the major educational ideas flowing from anarchism, Marxism and the Freudian left". Spring is an associate professor of education at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland and a frequent writer on radical education. He describes the ideas of William Godwin, Francisco Ferrer and Ivan Illich on schooling; of Rousseau, Max Stirner, Tolstoy, Paul Goodman, and Ferrer and Illich again on self-ownership; of Marx, Paulo Freire and Carl Rogers on social consciousness; of Wilhelm Reich and A. S. Neill on sexual liberation; and of Philippe Ariès, Melford Spiro and Bruno Bettelheim on liberation from childhood itself.

A final chapter on "Present Realities and Future Prospects" puts these ideas into a social context, insisting that "a radical educational theory makes sense only if it is seen as part of a total revolutionary endeavor . . .What begins as a radical movement is quickly absorbed by the eixisting system". Spring says: "The future of any radical endeavor in education depends upon maintaining the link between educational methods and libertarian perspectives." That point may be illustrated in this country by looking at two apparently similar but actually fundamentally different papers in this area -- Libertarian Education, which has an anarchist base and is trying to free education altogether, and Radical Education, which has a Marxist base and is trying to move education from one orthodoxy to another. Spring goes on: "The one major shortcoming of radical educational theorists has been their failure to deal with the reality of existing educational systems and how their theories might be implemented." That point may be generalised far beyong the area of education to the whole social and political system, and is after all our fundamental problem.

Spring himself offers some proposals which would integrate educational with other reforms -- the abolition of compulsory schooling and the establishment of a voucher system to give freedom of choice between various institutions, the destruction of the power of the educational bureaucracy and the monopoly of the educational institutions, the payment of children to support themselves rather than of parents to support children and the lowering of the age at which young people could leave their parents and work for themselves, the emancipation of adolescent sexuality and the equalisation of educational and economic status between the sexes. It is easy to see difficulties with all these proposals, but, as Spring says, "they do represent the kinds of practical things that must be considered if radical education is to have any meaning". As a first step, he suggests that teachers should become much more conscious of their social and political position and power, and should deliberately apply their knowledge and skills in libertarian directions.

In general, Spring is trying to extend the principle of de-schooling society beyond Illich's facile epigrams so that it becomes a matter rather of "de-stating" society. Here he joins up with Oppenheimer and La Boétie, and the three books come together. Free Life Editions have really done an excellent job and have put us all in their debt.

N. W.

STANFIELD (Oregon, USA) City Council have passed a public nuisance ordinance prohibiting animals from coupling in public. Their owners, in case of violation, could be fined not less than $15 or up to 25 days in jail.

* * *

A FOREIGN student in a Cambridge language school wrote in an essay on contemporary Britain the other day: "The state has many enterprises and one of them is steal."

--Peterborough, in D. Telegraph

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ONCE AGAIN in stock after a long delay is Murray Bookchin's The Limits of the City (£ 1.75 + 10p), an important history and critique of the concept of the city, "city planning", and the whole urban/rural divide.

New from Black Rose Books in Canada is Civil Disobedience: Theory & Practice, by Charles Walker and Christian Bay (£ 1.50 + 8p), a slim volume which is nevertheless a useful introduction to, and outline of, the topic - albeit from a predominantly transatlantic standpoint. Many of the legal points made also apply in the U.K. in principle of course - as everywhere - but will differ in details. Different laws, regulations, etc. achieving but a single objective; and the sections on Training and Organisation, planning etc. are most helpful.

The "Comitato Anarchico Giovanni Marini di Firenze" have produced a timely book on the Marini case and its repercussions: "Se Scampi al Fascisti ci pensa lo stato" (£ 1.50 + 15p) -- in Italian, of course.

A couple of classics next, Leo Tolstoy's Law of Love and Law of Violence (£ 2.25 + 17p) in hardback. Written at the very end of his life, it is a culmination of all Tolstoy's mature thoughts on anarchism and nonviolence. Benjamin R. Tucker's Instead of a Book by a man too busy to write one (£ 10.00 + 48p) is nevertheless, as its price would suggest, quite a hefty tome; a compendium of all Tucker's important writings on anarchism and individualism.

Pierre Broué's and Emile Témine's book, The Revolution and the Civil War in Spain (£ 6.00 + 48p) is still - even with the recent publication of the Leval - one of the most important books to appear in English to date on the Spanish Revolution.

With the very little that is available on the Chinese anarchist movement, Olga Lang's book, Pa Chin and his writings: Chinese Youth between the Two Revolutions £ 6.95 (48p) is a doubly important contribution to our knowledge of this area of anarchist history, and will remain so until, say, Scallapino's and Yu's book is reprinted, or for one two of the other books written, but for one or another reason, unavailable, on this topic re-appear.

G. H. Sabine's model edition of The Works of Gerrard Winstanley (£ 9.50 + 48p) is again in stock. Considering the fact that the various Digger Tracts and Pamphlets reproduced here were written over 300 years ago they have a relevance to modern dilemmas that is often startling, and foreshadow much that was to follow. Winstanley is, in my view, a very important and much underrated figure in the evolution of libertarian ideas; as much for what he did - and tried to do - as for what he wrote.

J. H.

BADGES IN STOCK

(Postages: Inland 6p each, Overseas 8p)
"Viva la Causa"(Zapata) 15p :(Villa) 15p
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"U.S. Out of North America" 10p
"Anarchy" (Black Star on Red) 10p
"SRAF" (Social-Revolutionary Anarchist Federation--US) 5p. "Liberterranean" 10p
(All seven badges £1.00 inc. post)

BIG BROTHER'S WAGE-SLAVE

THE KINGSNORTH POWER STATION STORY PART VI

(CONCLUSION)

THROUGHOUT the spring of 1971 our Kingsnorth grassroots literature continued to increase in amount and to cover an ever-widening field. However most of our published items continued to deal with local problems on the Kingsnorth construction site. These problems included betrayals of the workers' interests by trade union officials. And even though the furore over the Industrial Relations Bill continued unabated throughout this period, with various demands for unity in struggle by labour leaders, we libertarians at Kingsnorth made no truce with the trade union bureaucrats and continued to exose their wrongdoings whenever they acted contrary to the wishes or interests of their members.

I remember that we published a major article around this time attacking the executive of the C.E.U. trade union which had expelled our workmate Tom a year before. In this article we quoted extracts from the supposedly secret notes of the C.E.U. executive council meetings, which showed them up as a bunch of petty dictators -- by using their own words and other facts to prove our point. This particular article was published over my name, as a member of the C.E.U., and it was a far more serious breach of the union rules than anything ever published by Solidarity. But no action was taken - except an attempt to use the old tactic of character assassination. But that didn't work since I didn't have any skeletons in my personal cupboard, and, besides, I was too well known by my fellow Kingsnorth men. We had come a long way since the time of the Solidarity issue; and it had now become obvious to everyone that the trade union bosses who had bullied and expelled our workmate Tom were not at all prepared to confront us openly.

As the months rolled by our literature continued to do a useful job in the Kingsnorth and general Medway Towns area. But it wasn't until the end of May 1971 that the Sunrise publishing system was shown to be quite indispensable. On the 21st of that month five I.C.L. (International Combustion Limited) workers were sacked on the spot for leaving their place of work half-an-hour too early. There was nothing unusual about men getting sacked in this high-handed manner at Kingsnorth. But in this particular case three of the men were photographed, sitting on some cardboard boaxes, by an employee of a firm of consultant engineers on the site; and the resulting photo was handed to the I.C.L. management.

The news of the sackings spread like wildfire all over the site. Workers were literally frothing at the mouth over what happened. At first it was believed that some of the hated Securicor personnel had done the phorogrpahing. And this added further to the anger of the men. In our eyes it appeared that Big Brother himself had come on the site. Never before did I see my fellow workers so enraged and never before were they so united.

The day after the sackings we had a mass meeting of all the Kingsnorth workers and an immediate strike was decided upon. It was resolved that no more work would be done on the site until the sacked men were given their jobs back. Enthusiasm for this course of action was at bursting point. But while it was an uplifting experience to witness such an exhibition of solidarity and willingness to risk losing much in order that a grievous wrong should be righted, those of us with a libertarian attitude to the problem were not so happy for a strike as such. For we had known too many occasions in the past when strikes had been deliberately caused by managements in order to gain more time for the completion of their contract. When a management, for instance, was confronted by a major technical hitch which had not been foreseen or when a big shake-up in their site organisation was necessary, a favourite tactic was to provoke a strike and in this way obtain a time extension from the Central Electricity Generating Board without any loss to themselves. So when our five workmates were sacked on such a flimsy excuse we naturally looked twice at the matter before rushing into precipitous action. Besides, we considered that the strike weapon itself was well out of date for a variety of reasons. When workers go on strike, for example, they leave their workplace in the hands of the management and once they absent themselves from the site they lose their income and as individuals become subject to all sorts of harmful demoralizing influences in the home and in the wider community. So instead of walking off the site we Libertarians believed that it would be far more sensible and far more to the point to occupy it and remain in possession of the place until our five brothers were re-instated. Unfortunately, while shop floor theory made big strides as Kingsnorth, shop floor practice seldom got beyond the nineteenth century level and so on that fine May morning in 1971 almost all the Kingsnorth men - for the very first time - downed tools together and went home.

Strikes had become quite commonplace at Kingsnorth; and when one occurred the men involved usually left the site and at the same time they left the issue which had caused the trouble in the hands of union representatives, who were usually incapable of appreciating the need for a public relations officer at such a time. This meant that when the press heard of the matter only the management side of the dispute was heard. On this occasion, however, things were very different. Without being asked, I contacted the local press, radio and TV people and alerted them. At the same time, my friend Noel O'Sullivan and I produced a leaflet headed 'Securicor Police State' and had it distributed widely. Significantly, the two of us were the only ones to picket the gate of Kingsnorth Power Station on the first working day after the strike started. The leaflet we distributed was well received and its final words are well worth quoting because they serve to show what a prison-like place Kingsnorth had become:

". . . For years we had had to put up with unseen eyes watching us through binoculars, being searched, being questioned, having Alsation dogs snarling at us, having our numbers taken when we are miles away from the power station. More recently the Securicor guards have started photographing people at will on the site. We have had enough - enough of Securicor guards and firm's snoopers and civil police with binoculars and walkie-talkies and cameras. This is why we downed tools last Friday in protest. Our fight concerns everyone who is worried about the spectre of Big Brother in our society. We need your support in this struggle. It is in your interests as well as ours that we win our case."

Seldom before did we have so much right on our side at Kingsnorth, both legally and morally, as we did in the case of this particular dispute. Yet, at the same time, never before did the full-time union officials do so much to destroy our solidarity and cause such confusion over what at heart was a very clear-cut case. On one day when it appeared that we would win very quickly these union officials told us that we just could not go back to work under any circumstances until the sacked men were re-instated, and that if we did go back on the job before this happened the various Kingsnorth managements would simply walk all over us. Yet two days later when it began to appear that the dispute could turn into a lengthy stoppage and would have to be made an "official" one, the very same union officials did a complete about-turn and stated at a general meeting outside the Kingsnorth gate that we had to go back to work as things stood. There was a lot of opposition to this from the shop floor and others and myself drove the union officials into a corner by making them remember their words of a couple of days before. They had no answer to this. But by all kinds of sly tricks, including hints that if we did not return we would lose our redundancy pay, they got a majority of the men at the meeting to agree to go back to work for a week. So we went back to work, with our overseers literally laughing at us. But after the agreed week was over and there was no sign of the management relenting over the five sacked men we went on strike again. As before, however, the union officials soon appeared on the scene determined to get us back under their "wings". And after a long and stormy meeting

managed to get a little over half the men to agree to accept the sacking of our five workmates, and to return to work and give £1 per head to the sacked five as compensation for the redundancy money they had lost. This was a bitter defeat for the progressive workers at Kingsnorth. And the bitterness of the defeat was to be worsened later when an Industrial Tribunal, which seldom finds in favour of workers, decided that the men had been "unfairly dismissed" - but by then it was much too late and the men didn't even get their jobs back.

This big defeat had a very marked effect on me personally. I remembered the time years before on the Kingsnorth chimney when the five labourers had been sacked on that cold frosty winter's morning. It appeared quite obvious to me when confronted by a reactionary management prepared to dig its heels in, an organization of workers counts for very little if they do not retain the initiative themselves and allow control over a situation to slip from their direct grasp. And I was far from being alone in this attitude. For there were many others who felt exactly the same way, and one of my workmates who was a fitter by trade and had never written anything since leaving school decades before wrote the following biting piece of grassroots satire (published as part of a hardhitting leaflet at the time) which summed up the men's feelings on the job, as their comments on it showed:

"A LAMENT FOR OUR LOST BROTHERS —

We found them there, let us shoot them, said the Securicor;
We got their photos, so let us decide, said the Consultants;
No, said the CEGB, we want to hang them on the boiler;
Nonsense, said ICL, they're ours, let us throw them over the sea wall.
Why drown them, said the Union, let's sell them down the river. We will get a cheap offer for them.

So it was decided to cut them up into little pieces so that everyone would be satisfied. 'The operation was a great success,' said the bearded surgeon (a trade union official) 'but alas the patients died.'

Sorry, said Securicor, as they put the bullets in;
Sorry, said the Consultants, as they blinded them with the flash;
Sorry, said the CEGB, as they tightened the knot;
Sorry, said the Union, the offer was the best we could get;
'So go back,' said the bearded surgeon,' and get £1 a man from the site to buy a coffin for the pieces.' R.I.P."

From the moment we returned to work after this dispute we were treated as defeated and beaten men by the overjoyed managements. One could almost feel the glee of the overseers. They had beaten us hands down and now they began to use the big stick in earnest. Fortunately, however, there were many of us who just refused to submit to this new wave of repression. For we didn't consider that we had been beaten — only betrayed.

At the same time as the sharks among the Kingsnorth managers began to bite and draw blood, the hyenas of the local press, sensing the time was ripe for easy pickings off our carcass, started to howl. But this time we were ready for them. About twenty of us at Kingsnorth got together to work out a reply which was published immediately as a leaflet and was distributed widely all over the Medway area.

The very day that this particular leaflet was published a serious attempt was made by the I.C.L. management to have me sacked. Among this particular management's small army of overseers was a special discipline squad which were known as the 'Untouchables' after the American TV series of that name. Leading this special squad of snoopers were two characters, one of whom was a senior overseer with the nickname of Eliot Mess and the other a forman called Satchel Face. The latter used to spend much of his time standing over me and was waiting for an opportunity to have me sacked. One day during the previous November he thought he had succeeded when he found me missing from my appointed place. But to his great chagrin when he brought me before a manager I revealed with a grin that the engineer had given me another chore. On this particular morning in June 1971 he was absolutely certain that he had me in the bag - through fooling a worker from another firm into admitting that I had handed him a leaflet during working hours. All eyes were on me as I was marched between tall and lanky Eliot Mess and short and stout Satchel Face to the main office. Many men thought that I was on my way down the road. But there were others - the more quick-witted ones, including a couple of friendly shop stewards - who quickly organized things so that before the "hearing" took place the worker/witness had retracted his story. And so the site manager could do nothing more than formally warn me about distributing literature on the site. Needless to say, I ignored the warning.

The Chatham Standard's answer to our reply to their accusations was a further attack on us, while at the same time I was personally singled out and given the main front page headline of June 15th, which went "A Man Who Preaches Revolution". Then a few days later in his 'Personally Speaking' column in the Chatham News, Medway Towns press baron, Graham Parrett, said that I and my followers were bent on reducing Britain to "anarchy" and that I and others like me who were not English should be returned to our places of birth where in many cases we would rot in jails for far less than we were doing in England. Our reply to this was a fierce broadside of articles and letters written by Kingsnorth and other workers, some of which were published in SUNRISE, and which, as mentioned earlier, led to Graham Parrett threatening to take legal action against us.

Meanwhile back on the Kingsnorth site itself things had become so rough that I was personally being threatened with violence by members of the I.C.L. managerial staff. In one particular case a senior member of the management told me that if I didn't shut up I wouldn't be safe anywhere, and to remember that while I could protect myself on the site I could not do so as easily in my own home, where I would have my wife and five kids also to look after. I had good reason to take these threats fairly seriously; for the construction industry is a rough game and threats of violence often end in actual violence. So I went to Hughie Barr, our shop stewards convenor, to report the threats, though I was well aware that he knew about them already. But he was totally uncooperative and said that he was not prepared to help in any way. In fact, he had not been prepared to help anyone since our return to work after the sacking of the five men; and this totally negative attitude only increased shop floor resentment.

After his refusal to help I got together with several other men who had met with the same shake of the head from Barr on that very same day. It was decided that we should bring out a leaflet voicing our grievances; and I did the actual writing out of it there on the spot. It was called "We Accuse" and named both Barr and a full time Union official as the accused. Part of it went:

". . .Hardly a day passes now without the management of ICL at Kingsnorth Power Station turning the thumbscrews on us just that little bit tighter. Mass victimization is the order of the day. And we are helpless victims of this onslaught because our union set-up is wuite unable to deal with it. . . Daily we are conned and betrayed by those who are supposed to represent us. While we sweat and work under the most atrocious conditions in the boiler houses our senior union supervisors spend their days in the congenial atmosphere of offices and the like, pandering to the whims of repressive managements. This has got to stop. We pay you money for full and adequate representation. But we are not getting it. All we are getting is a beating from the management - and your tacit acquiescence in the matter. . ."

The effect of this leaflet was sudden, dramatic, and quite painful so far as I myself was concerned. I will relate what happened by quoting from another leaflet:

"After distributing copies of the leaflet "We Accuse" in ICL's cabins this morning (Thursday July 8th, 1971) I went to get a cup of tea from an urn. While I was doing this Mister Barr came storming up to me and said in a loud voice: 'Listen, I'm going to put a stop to you writing things about me.' My reply was; 'No, you will not.' He answered this with a threatening attitude and a snarl of, 'Watch it! Or I'll shut your mouth with a crack on the jaw.' This immediately led to a short exchange of strong words which culminated in I calling him a 'punk of a bureaucrat'. At this he suddenly grabbed my jacket with both hands and butted me with his head full in the face.

Dazed, I fell to the floor bleeding profusely from nose and mouth. -- All this happened in the presence of several hundred men. . ."

Immediately after this happened friends and workmates put a lot of pressure on me to take legal action against Barr in the courts and to have him disciplined by the union. But I stubbornly refused to do either, and contented myself with having him ridiculed in a merciless way in SUNRISE.

At this time it became very clear to me that the writing was on the wall as far as I was concerned. Managements were after my blood. Trade union leaders were after my blood. Securicor was after my blood. And the local press and some other "institutions" were after my blood. It would not have mattered so much had the Kingsnorth construction site been a permanent workplace. But it wasn't. And every month during this period the ranks of the construction workers at Kingsnorth were being thinned, and friends and supporters were being scattered widely.

Nevertheless, the Libertarians who remained at Kingsnorth had to go on with the struggle. And, though our numbers were far fewer than earlier, during the late summer months of 1971 we actually began broadening our efforts instead of diminishing them. Over the presvious months we had accumulated scores of reams of duplicating paper. And these we now began using in a big way to produce material aimed at British soldiers and others in Northern Ireland. As socialists we felt duty bound to follow the socialists of earlier generations in calling upon fellow workers in uniform not to work in the interests of British Imperialism.

This line of activity soon put the Special Branch on to me. And one Thursday morning in October 1971 I was taken by the secret police from Kingsnorth and brought by car to my home in the nearby village of Hoo Saint Werburgh where five of them searched my home from top to bottom. A few mon months later I was sentenced to two years in jail for possessing the leaflets found in my home during that particular search.

Very significantly, immediately after he sentenced me, Judge Thesiger - one of Britain's senior judges - said that in his opinion I should not be given employment by any public utility in Britain after my release, and that if any such utility did employ me he considered that the management could be leaving itself open to charges of negligence. Coming from Judge Thesiger I considered that these remarks were a compliment.

With my arrest and subsequent imprisonment my direct links with Kingsnorth were broken. Many of my former workmates were too fearful to have anything to do with me after I was jailed, though they did contribute money to my wife and kids. But some did stand by me. And one in particular, Noel O'Sullivan - a man of the highest moral courage - organized a Defence Committee which got me on the books of Amnesty International, and, eventually, here to the Netherlands, where I have been carrying on the work I started at Kingsnorth Power Station in another form.

UNTIL WE DECIDE. . .

Many lessons for libertarians were learned from our struggles at Kingsnorth. Perhaps the most important lesson of all was that the order-taking labouring masses working in factories, offices, construction sites, warehouses, docks, research establishments, hospitals, airports, and a host of other workplaces have the power to completely alter the world in our favour - but that we will never do so as long as we allow ourselves to be led by the nose down blind alleys by trade union bosses, state socialists, and all other would-be leaders wanting to take a ride on our backs.

At Kingsnorth the true nature of our existing society was forever being made clear to us. After finishing work in the evenings on the ICL contract there, for example, it happened very often that hundreds of us would stand on one side of a roadway waiting to cross over to our canteen and drying rooms. While on the far side of the road stood the site manager, looking not unlike a prize clown pretending to be Napoleon Bonaparte.

For us libertarians, the whole rotten authoritarian nature of our present world social order was epitomized in this particular situation. One man, in this case a site manager, controlled the destinies of hundreds of order-taking workers and their families.

That is the way things were in the case of the first city states which marked the birth of this class/state social order of ours in the Middle East some six thousand years ago. And this is the way things will remain until we - the order-taking masses - decide to change them.

That roadway at Kingsnorth Power Station represented a gulf between two very different worlds: the world of the existing social order which is nothing more than one huge prison for the vast majority of the world's peoples whose lives and destinies are under the control of ruling cliques of order-giving barons; and the libertarian world to come of which workers' control would be an inegral part.

Only we ourselves can cross that roadway. No political party, no trade union, nor any similar organization, can do it for us. For they are all inseparable from the existing social order. All that is stopping us is that we lack faith in ourselves. We are so many. And if we had but the will and vision no power on earth could hope to hold us in check.

Amsterdam. Michal Tobin.

THE END

AGE SHALL NOT WEARY NOR...

A MARXIST evaluation of literature has a pretty ring and like most jargon is no more than a pretentious statement of the obvious. When Paul O'Flinn in his book Them and us in literature places twelve major works of the world's literature under the hammer it is no more than a worthy attempt to play the dialectic to the bourgeois critics who accept the individual as the main spring of history and the flaw within his makeup as the reason for the great tragedies, while the "Marxist approach is to avoid lumbering the work with dogmatic categories like tragic flaw. Instead he attempts to make sense of it with analysis that is in the first place sociological". There is a bar room body of opinion that would hold that most of the time a major critic such as F. R. Leavis appears to be speaking through the hole in his arse, wielding his murderous paper axe in defence of his own monomania, counting commas and blasting reputations like a suicidal gadfly battering the living oak and all in all it is a harmless academic pastime that harms no one and provides work for the jobbing printers. Leavis and O'Flinn both dine off the works of Conrad and while Leavis in his The Living Principle sees the work of art evolving around the inner nature of the main character O'Flinn sees the work of art as the printed manifestation of a creature produced by a corrupt and worthless society and, and I think O'Flinn would agree, one interprets a work of art according to one's place within a particular society. Yet their opinions are of little importance, for a marxist/christian/black power/fascist analysis of any creative work is by its very nature aimed at those Philistines whose reading is dictated by the college syllabus. It is a critic such as John Bayley who in his own small way increases our area of knowledge when, for instance, he diffidently points out to Leavis that Eliot's lines "Garlic and sapphires in the mud/Clot the bedded axle-tree" are not a "challenging sensuous mélange" echoing Mallarmé's "...la bouche sépulcrale d'égout bavant boue et rubis" but Eliot's more direct reference to two kinds of Oxfordshire weed.

But for all that, Leavis piping from his tiny plastic tower to his elderly fan club members is correct in his analysis

of Eng. Lit. and O'Flinn hopelessly wrong. The Marxist analysis operates strictly from hindsight and the Marxists judge the creatures of the past by their own twentieth-century social and political mores. Within the lifetime of every reader we have witnessed whole societies changing their social and economic ways of life and, like the peoples of Portugal, the individual is forced into an historic situation when he must make a positive decision on where he takes his stand. We have chosen. O'Flinn takes Shakespeare to task for concentrating on the 'tragic flaw' within the makeup of his main characters instead of highlighting the faults of his particular society, but Shakespeare was correct for the Elizabethans even up to our own nineteenth century could not conceive of any viable alternative way of life for their society as a whole, and all they could offer was a Christian morality that pleaded for honour, justice and mercy from their ordained rulers. Like Spartacus and his slaves in revolt, like the people of the French Revolution, like the students of Strasbourg University in 1966 they rose and fought within an historical vacuum and though their cause was just and their battles noble it had to fail, for they could only offer history a revolt but not a revolution. O'Flinn arguing from the same insecure platform berates the unfortunateCharles Dickens, but no popular writer of his day was more aware of the evils and corruptions of his society. But there was no alternative workable way of life for a nation as a whole, therefore all that the good in heart could preach, fight and at times die for was revolt, reform, the vote and liberal administration in the workhouses, and Dickens could only offer his personal credo of a reformed Scrooge or a gentle Mr. Pickwick; so it is foolish for the Marxist critics to howl calamity calamity because they have witnessed two major revolutions in their own last half century. 'Our' Edgar Wallace in a book long out of print, The Man Who Bought London, offered the same social and economic palliatives as Shakespeare and Dickens in that this writer who stood as a Liberal candidate for Parliament could only envisage a change in our national society if some kindly multimillionaire bought every piece of land and every building and turned the whole into a glorified Butlin's Holiday Camp. Wallace knew, as a politician and as a Fleet Street newsman, the alternatives for the people of every country but as the p poor boy who made it, as the Liberal politician within a class society, he offered pie in the sky. Shakespeare and Dickens believed that their ghastly society could be improved if the individual practised his Christian faith. Wallace wrote his escape clause and you O'Flinn compound the crime by standing in judgement on men without knowledge of the crimes for which you accuse them. But Paul O'Flinn has an easy style and a sense of humour, therefore whatever my strictures he is worth reading even if only for the pleasure of taking him to task.

MULTUM IN PARVO

And pleasure there is in reading Anarchism Lancastrium No. 5. Cheerful, witty, committed in every page, a pleasure it is that the anarchist magazine that has for so long been needed in that it is intelligent without seeking to be profound, professional in its layout without the eyestraining typography that OZ and IT made fashionable and worth the eight pence that any casual buyer would spend. A reader's committed statement relating to those charged with "inciting people to incite soldiers to disaffect" and a propaganda style envelope with contents of a type purveyed by children's comics and women's magazines. 26 pages 8" x 5". Excellent photographic reproduction and even a letter of complaint, who can ask more for eight pence for it is worthy of your mind and your money.

THE GUERILLA STATE

And the Town and his dim frau ever ready to be preached to are queuing the length of London's Leicester Square to bear witness to the film Rollerball : "in the not too distant future wars will no longer exist. But there will be rollerball". For me it is all in wrestling September 24th, Albert Hall, the evil Nagasaki and 'Gorgeous' Gillette versus the good and pure in heart Viedor and Baron and, comrades, I know and the rest of the audience know that the baddies will win by doing awful things to the goodies and we in that elderly audience will scream with rage and that, comrades, is what Rollerball is supposed to be about. The war of 1939 to 1945, that I won, was the last of the great continental wars and there will never be another major war between the great Powers. Not because the anti-war crusaders have made their case, not because mankind has realised the futility of war, not because weapons of war are too ghastly to contemplate but because war between the great Powers cannot produce a valid political solution for the material sacrifices involved. What the great Powers have learned and have put into practice is the ploy of the guerilla war, and the beauty of this type of warfare is that it can be fought to the limits of arms and manpower yet can be called off at a day's notice without either side losing face. This is how America fought China in Korea and Vietnam, Russia in the Middle East, for while the banana republics slog it out to the death the major 'warring' powers can maintain full diplomatic exchanges, holiday tourism and trade and publicly applaud Old Doc Kissinger when he end the organised brawl with his little black bag of White House/Kremlin/Pekin treaties. The film

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Them and us in literature, Paul O'Flinn (Pluto Press, paperback, 60p)
Anarchism Lancastrium (16 Kingsmill Ave., Whalley, Lancs. (8p + 5½p post)
Rollerball, William Harrison (Futura Publications, paperback, 50p)
The Living Principle, F. R. Leavis (Chatto & Windus, £4)
The Revolution of Everyday Life, Raoul Vaneigem, Part I only. (Action 1971,15p)

Rollerball first saw the light as a five or six page short story in 1966 under the title "Roller Ball Murder" in the Playboy/Cosmopolitan type of American pseudo intellectual pseudo erotic magazine. William Harrison then wrote it as a film script and it was rehashed a third time for Daily Mail circulation and every version can be dismissed as trivia. The story is, roughly, of a world of the future that has become a unified corporate State. "Wars will no longer exist" therefore an outlet for the enjoyment of violence among the populace is provided by the vicious game of rollerball wherein the players physically assault each other until the hero/gladiator sees the light and cries enough seconds before beating an opponent to bloody pulp with the steel ball. Hollywood has churned out this rhubarb for years with the Roman centurion marching into the lion-infested Coliseum hand holding a blonde Hollywood starlet, happytyped extras in Daz white sheetings and Laughton and Claudette Colbert being pagan,oversexed and anti-Christ by eating grapes. Harrison's script is based on two false premises. One that we have to fear the future and two that man has to choose between comfort and freedom. Comrades, we are other men's future and we survive. The Orwells of the age, like the O'Flinns, judge and fear from their own particular point in time, but as time with all its material manifestations changes so those who are born into it, like unto guerilla fighters. learn how to resist and attack, rural or urban. As long as a £20,000,000 computer fails and two trains crash head on, as long as a drunken guard falls out of a coach, as long as buildings collapse we have a measure of protection for the Fail Safe within the machine will always be human fallibility and that is mankind's redemption. Can the future be more complex or more authoritarian than the Roman world of 2,000 years ago? and the answer is no. Forget Harrison's myth that the hungry artist will produce the work of genius so therefore starve the bastards. Forget Orwell's fear of mechanical changes and O'Flinn's attempt to play Rollerball down the alleys of the past using Shakespeare and Dickens as his skittles. Harrison has read his Guy Debord and his Raoul Vaneigem and mapped out a future society of the Spectacle, all Corporate State, computers, super markets and circuses, but as long as men maintain, generation to generation, an unbroken stream of anarchist theory, philosophy and ideology then within Orwell's and Harrison's futures there will be comrades to defend the liberty of man, individual and collective.

Arthur Moyse.

A TENTATIVE SOLUTION

(FOR AN INSURRECTIONARY ELITE)

IT IS A traditional feature of all that parades under the name "anarchism" to reject detailed blueprints for an anarchist utopia. Utopians of the past have never been quite anarchists; many have been explicitly authoritarian (Thomas More being perhaps the prime example). Two utopians who worked out their utopias in detail were More and Plato (whether Plato expected his ideal polis to be established, or not, is irrelevant, for the "Republic" still remained an ideal). Both More and Plato could only structure a unified utopian vision by imposing a structure based upon their political background. Therefore we find Plato's "Republic" to be an elaboration of the Greek polis of his own day, and More's "Utopia" the product of the orderly organisation-mindedness of the past Renaissance intellectuals. Neither is vaguely anarchist for both clearly compartmentalise their dream-poleis into classes rigorously restricted to certain functions. The all-wise philosopher kings of both societies are seen to debase themselves if they engage in such menial pursuits as handling money, or slaughtering animals for the table. (Plato's philosopher kings were supposed to be wise because they knew their "Platonic forms", but it is worth noting that they are born into their caste as Indian Brahmans are; Plato sees no conflict between "aristocracy" and "meritocracy".)

The anarchist, on the other hand, can be partially defined as one who rejects authoritarianism and hence the implicit authoritarianism of a dogma or long term absolute plans. The anarchist is essentially "of being" an anarchist, and not one who establishes his or her anarchism on any foundation external to the purely existential. The anarchist is the one who treats politics with tentative solutions based on an instinctive feel of what is appropriate to a given situation. Even the authoritarian-anarchist schools are marked by their belief in tentative solutions (albeit in the belief that such an approach is only appropriate after the general strike they call "revolution").

Therefore can we even point to anything called "anarchy"? We all have some definite picture of anarchy (albeit tentative and unsure), a picture, however, which usually falls far short of utopian vision. Without some idea of "anarchy" one could not call oneself "anarchist". Any definition of "anarchy" is going to provoke more disagreement than agreement amongst the plurality of individuals that we call "anarchist". I will offer two trial balloons, each reflecting different aspects of "anarchy".

1) Social-anarchy: the absence of government, an area of non-hierarchic cohersion, in which the individual has free play physically.

2) Anarchism: a state of individuality, enriched by but not necessarily a product of social-anarchy; a state, in fact, as rebellious to the latitudinal moral-cohersion of social-anarchy as to the hierarchic cohersion of a state-system.

Anarchism is therefore the absolute, and individuality (the bone and sinew of this absolute) should not be sacrificed to the inferior state of social-anarchy, but must use social-anarchy and social-anarchy's revolutionary impetus, m merely as tools for self-perpetuation. Social-anarchy's revolutionary impetus is merely the tool to clear the ground of the direct hierarchic cohersion of the state, but the groundwork of social-anarchy must in turn be rejected by the anarchist with the aid of the "insurrectionary elite".

My main concern is with myself and those individuals who, by their nature, are concerned with liberation. We become an association of rebels, and since only a small minority of the population are thus concerned (at least within statist society) we become an elite; not an elite "democratically controlled by the masses, not a society-fixed vanguard; nor an elite of mythical "aristocratic outsiders"; nor strutting iron-clad supermen with large penises; merely anarchists.

The elite is not a vehicle for passivity, it is not a soapy flotsam and jetsam scum carried by revolutionary currents, hoping meekly to be washed on the shores of "The Promised Land". Nor is elitist-insurrectionism concerned with the shallow adventurism of of a Rote Armee Fraktion, or an Angry Brigade; the elite is positively for anarchism.

Why bother with revolution or social-anarchy at all? In the present set-up are not limited pockets of freedom possible? If the structure of social-anarchy is at present guesswork, why seek the unknown? Why not be satisfied? Though the anarchist will exploit what anarchy exists he here and now, he or she cannot be satisfied with half-anarchy, the anarchist must go where his or her anarchism leads. Even if social anarchy proves to be latitudinally coercive to an alarming degree, a general "ideology of freedom" will have, enabling the insurrectionary elite to be more effective in propagating anarchist ideas, to engender a greater acceptance of insurrection, insurrection being the next step in the liberation of the individual, that absolute anarchism, which is beyond mere freedom.

Keith Sowerby.

"Gentlemen, what we as scientists have always feared and dreaded has happened. The computer has learned how to shit."

IN BRIEF

Soviet News (24.6.75) cites the Literaturnaya Gazeta (just as official as "S. N.") criticising Maoist China for its warlike tendencies in lining up the people behind Chairman Mao. It instances a miner (Chen Chang-chi) who 'has been working selflessly for ten years, mining coal and thinking little about the pay he will get from the State'. Last year 'Chen Chang-chi worked 422 shifts. He had only two Sundays off during the year. Sometimes he worked underground for four shifts in succession, Last year a 40-day campaign for greater coal output was organised at his mine and during it Chen Chang-chi worked fifty shifts. The Gazeta is very scornful of all this. By pure coincidence Korea Today (North, naturally) No. 5 1975 commended Li Chang Il, miners' platoon leader, who increased tunnelling speed 2.5 times. Says Korea Today: "The respected and beloved leader Comrade Kim Il Sung taught 'Maintaining the tunnelling pace ahead of cutting in the coal mine means preparing the cutting faces. Unless they are prepared properly it is impossible to produce large quantities of coal. It can be said that coal production depends upon whether the cutting cases are well prepared or not'." The r. and b. Kim is an expert on everything and his picture was hung up at the mineface, flowers in pots were there, goldfishes in glass bowls and visitors from the Youth Opera Company. Barnsley Main was never like this.

Why is it that the Communist countries (Russia under Stalin used Stahkanovisation) are the chief practitioners of hard work, high production and low pay which is so strenuously advocated by both capitalists and pink socialists?

AN EAST GERMAN music publisher will now draw royalties every time The Internationale is played. He bought the rights from the French copyright holders. What's that about "changing the old tradition and ending the age of cant"? [Copyright]