

FREEDOM

anarchist fortnightly

VOL. 37 No. 7

3 APRIL 1976

TWELVE PENCE

CHANGE OF DIRECTION

A NUMBER of communicators have made the point that Michael Foot is much too close to the trade unions to become the successor to Harold Wilson. It is argued that as Employment Secretary Michael Foot has been in the trade unions' pockets and carried out everything they wanted. On the surface there is a lot of truth in this statement, but this sort of view is usually heard on the Southern Region commuter trains and expressed by up and coming middle management, who are now finding things a little difficult. However, difficulties are only relative and whereas our southern counties family man complains that he is now unable to run a second car and has cut back on his holiday plans, many others are finding it hard to pay their food bills and the rent.

But this image of the trade unions and especially of leaders like Jack Jones, Hugh Scanlon and David Basnett as 'red revolutionaries' or as people who are 'holding the country to ransom' is sheer nonsense. What has changed is that the Wilson government recognised the industrial strength which could be used by a determined rank and file. Obviously the classic example of this was shown by the coalminers, who in fact kicked out the tories and gave Labour power. Having done that, the astute politicians of the Labour Party and the

trade union leaders saw their chance to form an alliance and create the mixed economy social democratic society. The Labour Party was no longer the party of protest but the natural one for government and power.

Although our middle management commuter might not realise it, such an alliance is far better for the profit motive system than is a tory administration. Just such a view was expressed, although indirectly, by Sir Charles Villiers, Old Etonian, merchant banker and in charge of Labour's former Industrial Reorganisation Corporation, on a recent BBC2 "Money Programme". He in fact found a lot of common ground with Hugh Scanlon who also took part. But the point was that Sir Charles Villiers thought that the turning point had already been reached in Britain's economic recovery by the signing of the £6 limit alliance.

This alliance has brought industrial peace. Will we now move further along the road of social democracy and reach the situation where because certain policies of the trade union leaders are accepted by the Labour government these same leaders will control their rank and file? Such a system operates in Holland and Sweden whereby the trade union leaders are in business as operators of the labour market. This might be the 'socialism' of Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon but it falls a long way short of that of the early pioneers of the movement who looked forward to the day when not only the material wants of the worker were satisfied but also where he or she controlled their work places and their whole environment. That dream has become the nightmare of state control and nationalisation. There has been no change in the work relationships since the State moved in at Leylands. If anything, the workers there now face a much more powerful adversary coupled with their own trade union leaders. But most of the trouble Leylands is now experiencing is a result of the narrow sectarian and craft conscious attitudes of the trade unions and their members. All along these leaderships have divided the membership in any struggle against the employer and now even there are less unions these same leaders have become part and parcel of the employers and government alliance. The recent strikes at Leyland concern this alliance, since increases would break the £6 a year limit. Of the thirty toolroom workers at S.U. Carburettors a TUC spokesman (yet another grey, unknown, faceless spokesman) said: "We would obviously be very concerned indeed if anybody tried to bust in [the £6 limit]. The AUEW has accepted

the £6 agreement. If members defy TUC and their union's policy, it's up to the union itself to keep them in line. Therefore I think they would get a dusty answer from Hugh Scanlon."

That's plain enough. It is important to remember the role that the trade union is playing in our society. It doesn't matter who form their executives, for their whole structure forms a hierarchical pattern like that of the present society. This same structure ensures that the bargaining and deals that do take place do so without membership taking part and sometimes even without their knowledge.

What is needed is a change of direction, not of kind. Where traditional solidarity has in the past achieved material gains this same solidarity can grow from a consciousness that springs from the individual rather than from an organisation. A consciousness that goes beyond wages and starts to organise around the issues of control and what we should produce and how it should be done in order to destroy the boring soul destroying jobs which so many people do today. It is a total struggle against all who dominate and control and the corporations and institutions that now oppress and regiment our desires and lives.

P. T.

Who is the Winner?

IF POLITICAL democracy, as we know it, was governed by the laws of reason and choice of intellect there would be no difficulty in deciding who would be the choice for President of America, Prime Minister of England, or even leader of the Liberal party. It would be obvious that the most talented, most experienced and most fitted to occupy the post would be chosen, if not by the electorate, by a computer.

As it is, the democratic process reduces itself to the absurdity that it is, with its combination of a detergent launching campaign, three-ring circus and Mafia conspiracy with attendant assassinations. The psephologists and pollsters have a whale of a time escry-ing the entrails of long-dead and stinking fish and the mighty mountain of the democratic process gives birth to a rat or more frequently a mouse.

As the democratic process climbs higher into the circles of the political parties the more it, like the baboon, shows its arse. The naked backside of politics is never more obvious than in the smoke-filled back rooms where the deals of 'next prime minister but three' are made and the eternal political question of who gets what and how much are settled way above the heads of the electorate who have no choice in these matters; except those given to the readers of the *Daily Express* who (all 10,000 in a circulation of millions) voted with a majority for Jenkins.

(cont. on P.2)

SERVICE

MARIE STOPES house reopened on March 29 "to become the first clinic in Britain dealing with all aspects of birth control under one roof". In addition to the birth control advice they have given for fifty-five years, as well as pregnancy tests, abortion counselling, and vasectomies, new services will be offered on all aspects of gynaecological needs and sexual problems. The press release says "In the Marie Stopes tradition the clinic is setting out to provide a welcoming and sympathetic service, as responsive to the demands of the man who wants a vasectomy within days, not months, as it is to the problems of women who need help with unwanted pregnancy or menopausal depression. Above all it will offer a caring service closely attuned to the lives and problems of couples today." The clinic is a trust and as an independent family planning service has to charge fees, but these are kept as low as possible and "no one will be turned away because they cannot afford to pay." The address is 108 Whitfield Street, London W1P 6BE (tel. 387 3057).

FREE PUBLIC TRANSPORT !

The incompetence of both private and state capitalism expresses itself most vividly in the chaos in which both private and public transport in this country find themselves. It is public transport, however, where the greatest flaws are to be found.

Consider, for instance, the commuter transport in London. How often do we see the evening papers bearing headlines such as "Fares Shock for Commuters"? As far as most commuters (and that includes virtually everyone living in London) are concerned, these rises take place far too often and are far too high. At the same time as these periodical fare increases take place the cuts in services are also announced. These cuts and the increases in fares form part of a vicious circle which will lead to further cuts and fares increases. The commuters (helped as they are by the Social contract) and the rail staff (who will lose their jobs) are the ones who will suffer. This situa-

tion does not only apply to London but is relevant to the whole country.

Richard Marsh, the prospective ex-chairman of British Rail, gave as one of his reasons for resigning his position the lack of a clear policy for the railways, and indeed the contradictory policies being given to him to implement. In his attempts to gain public sympathy Marsh forgot to mention that he had just as great an influence on these policies as the Minister for Transport. Ministers, after all, are briefed by their civil servants and any consultations which the Minister would carry out would inevitably involve Richard Marsh himself.

What is it then, that sets the aforementioned vicious circle spinning? Any bus conductor or train guard will soon tell you that as prices of fares go up the number of passengers and hence the revenue of public transport goes down. That means that more people use other means of transport (i.e. cars) or move house (the lucky few who are rich enough to be able to do so) so that they have less need to travel. The power of the motor-car lobby (despite its incompetent production methods) seems to have constantly worked against the interests of public transport.

Their formula for success is a simple one. The more unattractive public transport becomes the more cars are ordered, the more motorways are planned, etc...etc... and the more petrol will be sold. Out of the whole motor-car lobby only the petrol companies seem to be benefiting. British car manufacturers are unable to meet their constantly falling orders and there is no money available at the present time for extensive motorway construction. However, we may rightly wonder whether any personal financial benefits accrue to the people involved in the decision-making process!

The government policy on public transport has indeed been erratic. It was the post-war Labour Government which nationalised the railway system and the reasons for doing so was that private ownership using the profit motive as a guide to policy was inefficient and that the guiding principle ought to be social profit. This was not how the Conservatives saw things and they decreed under Macmillan that the railways should pay for themselves (i.e. make a profit in the same way that private industry is rumoured to do). Successive Labour governments in the 60's did not do much to alter the situation since only statements of intent by the then Minister for Transport Barbara Castle, were issued - intent quickly to be taken over by the still unresolved "economic crisis". The present Labour government did not even consider the ethics involved.

The one big flaw in the argument that public transport should pay its way like private industry is the myth that private enterprise provides its own capital both financially and physically. This, in effect, is what British Rail has been asked to do. Private car manufacturers do not construct the roads. The car owner is, of course, charged a nominal fee for the use of the road. The pollution and nuisance caused to passengers, drivers, and pedestrians using an unsuitable road network, is never even considered as a cost. Also, when a car company in this country is in trouble government aid is almost inevitable and only token furore will be spread by the media (the strength of it depending on whether the aid is for a Rolls Royce or a Chrysler).

THE WINNER ? (*cont from P. 1*)

It would be interesting to speculate whether Ramsay MacDonald, Jimmy Thomas or Philip Snowden were fittest to be party leader but the choice, like many choices which govern our lives, is not and never was, ours to make. Let no one point out that MacDonald, Thomas and Snowden are not involved in this leadership scuffle -- it makes no difference.

It is interesting to speculate why Stanley Baldwin resigned. It has the same fascination as a jigsaw or a crossword without the intellectual satisfaction or sense of accomplishment. Therefore we do not speculate.

Suffice it that in a struggle for power sometimes the most ruthless and unscrupulous makes it, but since in politics whether in the Labour Party, the U.S.A. or the Liberal party there are several ruthless and unscrupulous types - all from the highest motives no doubt - the battle often goes to the third third-rate nonentity, who nobody envies, nobody dislikes or even thinks much of. Government of the mediocrities, by the mediocrities, is too often the case.

This government in Britain (as in America) has failed in all its aims of bringing freedom, peace and wellbeing to its peoples. All that they can now offer is a re-shuffle of the same worn-out pack with its multiplicity of knaves and jokers and a guarantee that all the winning cards are in their hands.

It is time that the common peoples of the world decided to put away the childish play of political parties pretending to be grown men and realized that it is all a game to them (with good sportsmanship afterwards), but to us it is a matter of bread, of land, of work, of life, of death. As William Blake said, "Politics is something else than human life."

Jack Robinson.

Freedom's position on transport policy still remains the same. In our issue of April 6th, 1963 ("Re-shaping or Eliminating the Railways") the following was concluded about the Beeching plan:

"It is because private and commercial road transport is Big Business with every possibility of it becoming even more profitable (it is estimated that private motorists in this country spend £ 1000 millions a year) that the railways are being axed, or at least, are being reduced to inter-city and suburban services, and coal. By instructing the British Railways Board to produce a plan to make the railways pay their way the Government was speaking not on behalf of the public but for the car industry, the petrol interests and the civil engineering contractors. That they should call on the former chairman of ICI to produce the plan, was in the circumstances, a happy choice!"

The railway drivers of Aslef in the London region were quicker than the other rail unions and even their own Executive in deciding what their attitude towards the latest proposed fare rises and services cuts. They threatened when the latest suicide attempt was announced to take industrial action whether or not the Aslef executive agreed to support them. True to form the Aslef bureaucrats decided not to support the drivers call for industrial action.

Of course, any actions taken by the drivers in isolation will only be taken against great odds. They will of course be labelled with the "horrifying" title of "wildcat strikers" with all the insinuations this title has of Russian funds, foaming at the mouth, etc.... For resistance to the proposals not only is it necessary for the drivers to take wildcat action, but there must also be wildcat action from the passengers and other people connected with the use of the railways (eg. lorry drivers, workers employed in freight handling, etc...)

The passengers, if organised, could be very effective through a campaign of disobedience to pay the extra fares. In fact, considering the way that the railway has been taken advantage of financially by government and the car lobby, such a campaign should demand even a reduction of fares to some acceptable level (or even a call for free public transport). Massive action on disobedience has been seen to work in other countries. In Italy, a proposal to raise urban bus fares from 50 lire to 150 lire (a rise of 100 lire or 6 pence) was defeated by a massive civil disobedience campaign supported by all left-wing political groups and the unions, and most importantly, the participation of the people.

Similar campaigns should be launched in this country in all our major cities. Leaflets must be produced and distributed to both passengers and unions. The unions must also be approached not only to elicit their support but also to avoid such a campaign becoming an anti-union issue. The basic ingredient, however, is effort on the part of anarchists to get people involved in the running of their own lives and to help people see that they need not just accept every fare rise, every cut, and every other stupid proposal from our rulers.

N.S.

RALF STEIN TRIAL

THE CASE against Ralf must be seen in the context of the fierce wave of repression that has been sweeping the Federal Republic since the capture of the Baader-Meinhof group. Earlier this year the Bundestag was on the verge of adopting a bill punishing with 3 years' imprisonment the author of an any book which indulged in "spiritual terrorism" (presentation of violence as "inevitable, necessary or desirable", and which could have included Marx's works and Böll's Katarina Blum). The bill actually adopted only slightly modifies the intention by making punishable the "anticonstitutional approbation of crimes or offences". Under the Beruf-verbot, the most delicately rose-tinted individual can be banned from a job in the public services. The charge of "criminal association" has been used with growing frequency. There are many reports of prolonged solitary confinement, as in the case of Heinz Roth, already suffering from serious gunshot wounds. The ravaging effects on those concerned is well known. As the Stammheim trial drags on, with the judge, having exhausted Marighella, now reading extracts from a pamphlet praising the Arab guerrilla attack at the 1972 Olympic games in Munich, more and more supposed members of the German "Anarcho-Szene" are being arrested and sentenced to long prison terms. Gerhard Müller and Irmgard Moeller, Klaus Dorff and Jürgen Tauras are four of over 80 alleged terrorists of one sort or another to be arrested or sentenced recently. The 21 February issue of this paper reported police raids on the Trikont publishing house and the seizing of the book Wie Alles Anfing by Michael "Bommi" Baumann, an ex-member of the 2nd June movement. Baumann is reported to have dissociated himself from terrorism while still advocating violent resistance. (In his book Bommi explains the rise and fall of 2nd June. It gives, for instance, a vivid picture of the increasing isolation and psychological and sexual frustrations suffered by underground guerrilla groups that makes one wonder why the authorities were so anxious to ban it.)

Ralf's paper Befreiung has strongly denied the charges against him. "As a politically active comrade it is almost absurd to think that Ralf Stein would have taken part in isolated and utterly feeble-minded activities such as hiding weapons with a group of strangers. The two witnesses for the prosecution (May and Hoffmann) had and have at no time been in contact with the members of Befreiung's edit-

Befreit BOMMI



**Macht kaputt,
was Euch kaputt macht**

Anarchist Baumann*
„Erstens der Verfolgungsstreß“

orial group and the anarcho-syndicalists. They have never been politically active in Cologne."

The anarchist paper Freie Presse has also pointed to a contradiction between the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist position and the "nonsensical" RAF methods of "individual terrorism" and reprisals against "traitors".

During the night of April 14th, 1975, our comrade and fellow-worker, Ralf Arno Stein, was arrested in the street by members of the Dusseldorf "anti-terror squad". He stands accused of "belonging to a criminal association" (article §129 of the West German penal code).

For many years, Ralf has been a militant in the working class. For example, he participated in the occupation of Ford Cologne in 1973 and was sacked after its defeat. He was also in the youth section of the IG-Metall (metal workers' union); and he was, additionally, active in the Red Help/Black Cross, which supports the prisoners' movement.

His P.O. Box and his post office account served as a contact for the anarchist paper, "Befreiung". So much for the background to his arrest. Now, eleven months of detention later, the indictment and the date of the trial have been given. The indictment runs as follows:

1. Membership of a "criminal association".
2. Illegal possession of guns and ammunition.
3. Offence against the act controlling war armaments.
4. Illegally listening to the police radio
5. Helping an escaped prisoner.

In November 1974, during a country-wide police raid ("Aktion Winterreise"), Katherina May and Norbert Hofmann, amongst others, were arrested in Cologne. Whilst in detention the two confessed to being members of a group which is accused of having hidden weapons. They claim to have been helped to do this by "a certain Stone". This confession was used by the police to arrest Ralf Stein. ("Stone" is the English equivalent of the German "Stein"). A confrontation of Stein with these two, requested by his lawyers, was rejected, and it was, October, six months after his arrest, before the witnesses were shown photographs on which they did not recognise "Stone". Thus three points of the indictment, all based on this confession, lack any evidence to back them up.

During the same raid ("Winterreise") a Dietrich Hartmann was arrested. He was a prisoner who had not returned from a week's parole. He claimed that Ralf Stein let him stay in his flat for a few days, and gave him 100 DM. The authorities, however, made no use of this confession, until the first reason for detaining Ralf

Stein had proved to be baseless. (Apart from the fact that this charge could never have been used to justify such a long detention). The confessions of Jürgen Bodeux are not worth going into, as he has never been able to bring forward any real evidence. His only job is to "know people".

As can be seen from these facts, the prosecution has scarcely any evidence at all. As a consequence, they are now trying to use letters written by Ralf Stein before or during his detention, as well as his contacts with other detainees, as evidence. This makes the actual reason for his detention obvious: the state wants to punish Ralf for his firmly held convictions.

This is by no means a unique case in West Germany, but an increasing tendency. Here in Cologne, we experienced how such trials are held last February when four Turkish comrades were sentenced to prison terms of up to two and a half years, on the sole basis of possessing certain books and papers. One of the judges who sat in that case (the jury consists of three judges and 2 or 4 civilians) is now chairman of the court trying Ralf. The dates of the trial are: 30th March, 1st, 5th, 7th and 9th of April. Letters of solidarity to Ralf Stein, 5 Köln 30, Rochus Str. 350, West Germany, or to the Defence Committee. For more detailed information, write to the Defence Committee, c/o H.V. Dillmann, Postfach 2502 63, 5 Köln 1.

Canadian comrade R. Yves Breton received the following letter from Ralf Stein:

Köln -Ossendorf 21.2.76
Dear Comrade,

Received your letter yesterday, many thanks. It was very difficult to read your letter, at once, my English is very bad, I'm learning; at second, sorry but your script was not good to read. Please write a little better, next time and excuse my bad English. To "Freedom Press" and Hapotoc (M. Tobin), I have also contact. I receive the "Freedom Press" and the "Industrial Defense Bulletin" from the IWW in Toronto, but I cannot all understand, I do not know enough words and so it is not interesting for me, to receive more english literature, hope you understand it. But from German friends and bookshops I received enough newspaper and books and have a lot to read. Also I have many contacts to other people in and out of Germany. I'm surprised, that you have not written the address from the IWW in Toronto. With these Comrades I have a good contact and they support me. I have written them my 8 indictment points, the main indictment is "supporting a criminal association", what means, (an) underground organisation. Precautionary I give you the address from the IWW: Box 306, Stn. "E", Toronto,

With best wishes,

R. Stein.

We learn from our correspondent, R. Yves Breton, who has been in letter contact with Ralf Stein, that he is only allowed to send out and to receive four letters a week; and that he is allowed three newspapers, but "not from private individuals, and not privately printed ones", which Ralf interprets to mean socialist newspapers, i.e. non mass-media ones.

Editors.

TERRORISM —

• STRATEGIC

THE ORIGINAL of the following letter was complete with name and address, which we have omitted along with the name of the recipient.

Dear ---

I joined the Army on the 12th of September 1972 on my 16th birthday. Exactly one year later I was posted to the Household Cavalry.

On my first guard I was stripped naked, tied hand and foot to a ladder with bailing wire and laid face up over an iced up horse trough. The ice was broken and the ladder turned over. Twice I was brought round by a jet hose hose being played on my genitals from a range of 6". The hose was then trained on my heart, chest, cheeks, toes and fingers.

When I was untied I lashed out at the nearest person and was then kicked and punched by 10 others and thrown into the dung heap and buried up to my chin. People pissed on me and the NAAFI bucket full of piss and spew was put over my head. I was then left for 3-4 hrs.

I was violently sick. The next day, bruised from head to foot, I went to the doctor. He diagnosed flu.

This sort of thing happened to me numerous times because I was classed as 'cocky'. If I'd told anyone I'd have got more and I couldn't buy myself out since you've got to be in 3 years and then give 18mths. notice, so I went AWOL.

The last time I escaped was in November 1974. I stayed out 79 days before being illegally grabbed in a street in Notting Hill Gate and carted off in an army van by some off duty soldiers.

I was kept in solitary confinement for 69 days in the Knightsbridge barracks before I was court-martialled. I was not charged until the day before the court martial. I got 4mths. in solitary and discharged from the army. The 69 days was not taken into account.

In all I spent 198 days in solitary from February 13th to August 12th 1975 in a cell 6ft. by 9 ft. by 10ft. high. It had one small window which was left open permanently. In summer it was so hot I couldn't sleep at night, I just lay and sweated. In winter I lay and froze.

I was not allowed out of my cell at all for the first 3 days. I'd a bucket to shit and piss in. It was emptied every 24hrs.

I lost 1½ stone in the first 3 weeks.

I was allowed 10 mins. exercise about once every 3 days.

I asked an officer for the prisoner's ration of 1 cigarette per day. This was granted but the guard sergeant, angry because I'd gone over his head,

made me stand with my arms outstretched a fire bucket full of sand in each hand until I'd finished the cigarette. I wasn't allowed to take it out of my mouth. I was ill for 2 days after that.

Other days they'd break the cigarette or hold it lit right in front of my eyes and move it about threatening to stub it on my face.

I wasn't allowed any newspapers or books the whole time.

I was beaten up for singing. I have a bruise behind my right ear still. I complained to the inspecting officer. He totally ignored me.

I asked for a copy of the army rules concerning prisoners. Every guardroom has at least 3 copies and it's each prisoners right to be given one on the day he starts his sentence. I never saw one.

A letter from my girlfriend was kept from me for a week.

My food usually arrived cold and greasy. I was made to eat every meal squatting with my back against the wall, my thighs at 90° to the wall, and the rest of my legs parallel to the wall. It was impossible to hold this position for more than 60 secs. so I'd wolf my food all the time or go hungry.

Once ball bearings were put in it and I chipped 2 teeth on them. They were never treated.

Sometimes I was given salt water directly after a meal so that I spewed it all up.

Often my food would be tipped on the floor.

A Trooper _____ forced me to wring a mop out in raw disinfectant by hand. I sustained second degree burns but only got medical treatment when I said it was my fault. Both my arms were bandaged from my fingertips to my elbows for two weeks.

I'd very much like to publicize what's happened to me and is happening to others so if you'd contact me here we could arrange to meet.

• TACTICAL

AS A MEMBER of London's travelling public I am constantly led to consider not only my own safety but also the tactical effectiveness of the IRA bombers' (if indeed it is the IRA) campaign. Leaving aside all ethical judgements on my part, I am led to conclude that although the reasons for the London-base based campaign seem logical and sound enough, the effect that the campaign has had is minimal if not nonexistent.

The main reason for the campaign is that the IRA believes that by action in Britain public pressure will be brought to bear on the British government to withdraw from Northern Ireland. So we had the Cannon Street station bomb on the train, the bomb in the tube and the killing of a West Indian train driver in ever-so-bourgeois West Ham, etc., etc. . . . How many times during

this campaign has the British government proposed to withdraw from Northern Ireland as a result of the public pressure? I can't remember one instance.

Two fatal tactical errors have, in my mind, been made based, I suppose, on the ignorance of the perpetrators. The bombers have broken one of the most important rules of urban guerilla warfare. In order to be successful local support (or at least the lack of local hostility) is essential. The economically depressed East End is hardly a suitable target for arousing the attention of the decision-makers. Nor are members of parliament likely to be going by tube to an Arsenal home game. There is also the fact that although the City of London provides employment for the richest executives in the country it also provides some of the worst-paid jobs in the country. Further, the Cannon Street train bomb would have killed and maimed the latter type and not the former.

What is even more revealing is that all these incidents put together have attracted less publicity than the break-up of Princess Margaret's and Lord Snowdon's marriage. This was not the case; however, when Ross McWhirter was assassinated. The amount of publicity given to this right-wing militant's death was indeed impressive. The bombing of Edward Heath's apartment in Town also produced as much publicity as any tube bomb.

The unfortunate truth is that although members of parliament tut-tut and shake their heads in hypocritical grief since the bombs are highly unlikely to affect them, they still treat Northern Ireland as if they tube was located in Belfast or Londonderry. Whoever heard of a "captain of industry" or other such "important" man travelling to work on a tube or a train in the rush hour. They of course either utilise a chauffeur-driven car or get a taxi and they do the travelling at their own convenience.

The reason given by the Provisional IRA in Dublin for the present shape of the campaign (i.e. bombing of tubes and trains) was that the assassination of personalities with influence was too difficult. Of course, they are right in saying that it is easier to bomb a tube since the amount of police supervision and the ability of the authorities to cope with the attacks became startlingly clear when Scotland Yard recently issued a statement saying that the public will just have to look after itself. Also, when the case I was carrying was recently searched upon entering a tube station the ease with which I could still have been carrying two sticks of dynamite in the case and they would have remained undiscovered made, to say the least, a considerable impression on me.

This attitude of the Provisional IRA reveals two things as far as I can tell. Firstly, it shows great cowardice, and secondly, it displays an appalling lack of initiative. If I was to be asked whether London or Madrid was the more difficult of the two to carry out an as-

sassination I would instantly reply, Madrid. The most successful, and widely welcomed, assassination of recent years did indeed take place in Madrid when Carrero Blanco was blown into the next world, and the next street. How, in the face of this, can the Provisional IRA claim that it is too difficult to carry out just as successful an operation here in London? I would agree that it is perhaps more dangerous for them personally, but we are led to believe that these are "serious" revolutionaries (reactionaries more like!) hell-bent on achieving their aims. It should by now be obvious that this campaign is having no effect whatsoever on the views of the rulers and that it will only start doing so if the safety of their own obese carcasses is threatened. Only then will "our" rulers realise their responsibility. ("Our" is in inverted commas because the number of foreigners likely to suffer in indiscriminate attacks on London trains and tubes is proportionately very high and these people have no means whatsoever of influencing the views of British politicians.)

Of course, we, as anarchists, should exercise extreme caution before making ethical judgements on the IRA. The only information available to us is that contained in the mass media. A recent public meeting on the topic of

Spain came round to discussing, only briefly, the Irish question. Various ethical condemnations were made by comrades about the activities of the IRA and the reply given by an Irish voice in the room was, "How do you know they were provos?" Whilst I am personally inclined to dismiss the assertion being made, I was made to think about this statement.

In Italy in December, 1969 the Italian government through the collaboration of fascists, secret service, and so forth, planted a bomb in Milan's piazza Fontana and the full blame was placed on Pietro Valpreda. As we know, Valpreda the anarchist "monster" has been set free (but not yet officially cleared of the charge) and Ventura the fascist scapegoat has replaced him. It is impossible to deny that the British government is just as capable of having framed various groups, or at least, sending its police officers to act as "agent provocateurs" in such instances.

Another problem arises as regards personal liberty for Irish people living in London. In the climate of hate generated by the bombs and the mass-media's treatment of such an innocent Irish person could just as easily be ar-

rested, charged and convicted. The fact that a person has an Irish accent is enough to convict a suspect merely because "our" incompetent boys in blue say he or she is the guilty one. The last Irish woman to be convicted in an English court was carried out of the court to her long prison sentence screaming "I'm innocent, you bastards!" This was a very untypical reaction for a supposed IRA terrorist who are noted for their refusal to recognise the jurisdiction of the English courts. Again, all the evidence presented in the media impressively proved to its readers that she was guilty of the charges against her.

This unacceptable situation will carry on as long as the campaign is unsuccessful. Judging by the present tactics this is likely to go on for ever. The way to achieve any aims is to use effective tactics and this means hurting those who are tut-tutting in parliament just before retiring to their brandy, cigars, patés de fois etc. They might as well give up bothering to pretend that they are serious about what they say. I personally only believe in terrorism as a last resort but when an organisation is forced to use such measures I would suggest that only effective tactical terrorism is worthwhile.

N. Staffa.

THE RETURN OF THE C.N.T.

We have received from an American comrade travelling through the Iberian Peninsula the following translation of an interview given to the Left-liberal Barcelona weekly magazine, *Destino*, (the copy dated March 11-17) by the anarcho-syndicalist militant, and historian of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist movement, Juan Gomez Casas.

Some introductory paragraphs dealing with the present wave of strikes, and the important role of the workers in the present crisis, have been eliminated by the translator, but first of all we append his introductory remarks:

"It may seem that the CNT is an anachronism. Yet for anarchists, and leftists in general, its reconstruction must be of interest.

"Anarchism in Spain no longer enjoys the position it held before the Civil War. Socialists, Communists, Maoists and Trotskyists all wield more organizational weight. Yet anarchism is still important, mainly as an influence on, and within, the other leftist organizations, but also as a movement in its own right.

"Why are the anarchists so comparatively weak in Spain today? Some would point to the incredible repression visited on anarchists by Franco (20 successive National Councils of the CNT were arrested between 1948 and 1960), and others can claim, with reason, that much blame must be laid with the Stalinists and the repression they exercised during the Civil War. But a number of younger anarchists, sympathetic to the CNT, feel it was its failure to adapt its line to changing conditions that led to its decline. After all, the Stalinists have now renounced the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"This continuing difficulty can be seen in the present split between the old line anarchists and the so-called anarchist-freaks who are very sympathetic to the New Left and the viewpoint of such figures as Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit. There are a significant number of anarchist-freaks, and almost all young militants

from every party have been influenced, at least superficially, by their positions.

"Along with the reorganization of the CNT, a number of collectives have been formed to spread anarchist ideology (like the old Federacion Anarquista Iberica). For now they are only local, such as the Federacion Anarquista de Barcelona, or the Federacion Anarquista de Valencia, but it is expected that in the future the FAI will be reformed as well.

"For some time there have been active anarchist collectives involved in armed struggle. Generally they are concerned with bank expropriations to help support strikes. Puig Antich, executed a few years ago, was in one such collective. Two other collectives belong to the basically Marxist FRAP, which has been undergoing severe repression, along with the ETA.

"I have also heard about a pacifist-anarchist group, Solidaridad Obrera (Workers' Solidarity), and a network similar to FAB, called "coordinadora collectiva", but I know no particulars.

"The following interview seems to reflect accurately the concern of the CNT with trade union legalization, possible alliances, and internal organization. The tone of the article is in keeping with the generally favourable press the CNT has received from the liberal media. Footnotes are mine."

(Chris Gray)

Juan Gomez Casas: Before speaking properly of the CNT, and its recent restructuring, I want to refer to the general problem of unions in this country, not to diminish the importance of any other problem, but to see the way to a general political perspective. The question of workers' unions is of transcendent importance as regards the installation of full rights of free meetings and associations. The installation of these rights, and a libertarian union are corollaries. The libertarian union, that is, the right of the workers to associate in the union

of their preference, presupposes the supersession of the present union (1), the supersession of the vertical unions (2) - and these supersessions likewise presuppose the break-up of unions, not necessarily violent break-ups. I believe that the objective result of the new law of association that is to be passed will be the creation of free unions. This will finally result in the proclamation of the libertarian union.

Destino : Juan Gomez Casas is a slender, short man with neat grey hair. There is in his face something of the adolescent, and something of sharpness, showing the weight of 54 years. He speaks slowly, arriving at the end of a verbal construction slowly and dialectically with great precision. He is the author of a book that has served to inform a great number of people: *The History of Spanish Anarcho-syndicalism*. He has just published a novel - *Situacion Limited* - about jail and political prisoners. He had previously broached the same theme in another volume - *Jail Stories*. He has paid his dues: in 1948, in the bloom of youth, he was detained because of his anarchosyndicalism, and he spent just over 14 years in prison. He does not grieve today - his face is to the future, and he will face its ups and downs with determination.

Juan Gomez Casas: Martin Villa (3) and his proposals? Good, but I think they fluctuate between a pluralist solution and a unitary one in order to accommodate union reform. Primarily, I say, it is necessary to respect the currents and tendencies existing in the base of the workers' movement; the tendencies we all know of. But how are we to enclose all these tendencies in one united organization? Above all, how do we guarantee freedom for them all within the same structure? In his most recent ruminations on unions, Sr. Martin Villa seems inclined to decide for a single one, without more ado. The rank and file workers will tend

(cont. on P. 6)

C.N.T.

towards a compromise solution which, in a congress will result in a unitary organization. This line of thinking is apparent in nos. 59 & 60 of the review, Possible. It is curious that in the same number of Possible, 59, a similar scheme, with some differences, is proposed for Workers' Commissions - company assemblies which would nominate compromise candidates and arrive at a Constituent Congress of the United Union of Workers. If, as is probable, the groups that participate in the ultimate process of union elections by presenting unity candidates (while the classical organizations (4) abstain) will have a major structural effect on the companies at the base - we can predict that the compromisers will colour the results, and consequently also colour the Constituent Union Congress of the United Union. Since, at this moment, the unitary project of Martín Villa favours Workers Commissions conducted on lines similar to the United Portuguese Union (5), on the whole, the reform plans of Sr. Martín Villa tend towards the presentation of a single union, which the Spanish workers are against.

Some groups threatened by the single union, the UGT and USO (6), declared in no. 60 of Possible their determination to defend free unions, in order to have unity of action, and they assume, in part, recognition of the introduction of pluralism (Workers' Commissions, USO, UGT, CNT) in order to bring to full development what they call constituent organization. In all this the workers are able to study, without coercion, the different alternatives and organizational options. The majority will choose a course that will lead to a united working class.

Destino: In its apolitical way, the CNT has been little concerned with calling Press Conferences, and has hardly issued a press notice - the effect of which is just beginning to be overtaken by their actions. It is exactly the reverse of what happens with other parties or groups which frequently emit much verbal propaganda and yet do not have militants.

Juan Gomez Casas: The recently reconstructed CNT has not yet taken up concrete positions in any respect; for good or ill, this will happen soon, at a national congress of the organization. Nevertheless, the feeling of the majority of the militants seems to be toward the option of working with the USO and UGT, since the general sentiment is that the libertarian union has to begin with a recognition of the existing groups and with a rejection of anyone bent on hegemony. Unity of action is possible through using the nexus of relations between organizations at local, regional and national levels - in this design there is fair representation of all the established organizations. Next, unity ought to be understood as a natural and selective progression toward the better. The various options which daily experience tells us are practical, are brought home to the workers by the better results they obtain.

In the past weeks there has begun to be talk about the persistence of the CNT, both among the ordinary workers and the well-informed. It seems that the resurgence occurred almost simultaneously in various regions, but preceding all others was the Central Madrid region. Last January there was a great regional assembly with more than 300 delegates and militants - predominantly young people. There are now 11 unions as well as local and regional organs in Madrid.

The resurgence in Catalonia seems to be even more vigorous. On Sunday 29th February,

at a meeting in Sants, Barcelona, more than 700 delegates (7) and militants from the whole region met in order to go on with the regional reorganization plan for the CNT. After a great deal of debate they arrived at a system of connecting bodies. The opening of the assembly served to remind one of the 106 years that have passed since the Spanish International in the Teatro del Circo of Barcelona on the 19th July, 1870. It is worth noting the presence of a majority of young elements of both sexes who intervened in all the debates. The assembly's first priority was regional reconstruction. Also figuring in the debate was possible methods of action, and the specific problems involved in the points treated at the beginning of this interview: that is, the answers to the problems of unity, plurality and the libertarian union. Another important point taken up was the presence of confederations in neighbourhoods.

Destino: While Juan Gomez Casas continues his methodical exposition, I think this is the appropriate point to record that from its foundation in 1910 until 1936 when its defeat began the CNT was the major social force that the Spanish working class knew.

Juan Gomez Casas: Through the assemblies alluded to, and the others that have been held in the rest of the regions - though in a less spectacular way - one gets a sense of how strong the ideas of the CNT are today. Especially the following:

a) Direct action unionism does not mean barricades, but standing forth without interference or resignation, in crucial instances of responsibility to the base.

b) Consequently, in order to begin internal organization, both federal and democratic, one must reject the leading figure. This dialectically supposes the leader and his opposite in democratic practice - the figure of the militant - who, with equal status inside the organization, direct the bases in accord with decisions taken at Congresses, which are the valid guides for all.

c) also, real independence for all parties, with the rejection of patronage.

MEETING

BAKUNIN

ON FRIDAY evening, March 5, the Libertarian Book Club held a festival in honor of the hundredth anniversary of Michael Bakunin's death. One speaker called the celebration a "counter-centennial" to the present bicentennial of the founding of the American Republic.

More than a hundred people, of all ages and from as far away as Boston and Baltimore, packed the Workmen's Circle Center of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Cooperative Houses, where the meeting took place. Present were members of such libertarian media groups as the Pacific Street Film Collective and the Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy, as well as representatives of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, the old L'Adunata Group, the IWW, the Free Association, and Freespace Alternate U.

The first speaker, Sam Dolgoff, dealt with the debate in the First International between Bakunin and Marx --between the libertarian and authoritarian conceptions of socialism-- in which Bakunin demanded that the International be converted from "a hierarchical organisation directed and governed by a commit-

d) principles are derived from actual self-management, with alternating participation in those bodies with power and responsibility. The CNT is the declared party of self-management in all sectors of the life of the citizen - the economic and the political-social. This is how I understand human relations should be in general. And -

e) The CNT is the party of the unity of the working class, but it rejects the false hegemony that would make it privileged. It seems to be this issue that gives the lie to the multi-class base of many organizations. Taking this reality as its starting point, the CNT is heading towards uniting the progressive working class and, in a selective manner, coming forward as the best of the solutions as proven in practice.

Destino: I don't know, but it seems very reasonable. Bakunin, in God and the State, said: "Does it follow that I reject all authority? Far from me such a thought. In the matter of boots, I refer to the authority of the bootmaker; concerning houses, canals, or railways, I consult that of the architect or engineer. For such or such special knowledge I apply to such or such a savant. But I allow neither the bootmaker nor the architect nor the savant to impose his authority upon me. I listen to them freely...reserving always my incontestable right of criticism and censure."

The interview was conducted by Baltasar Porcel (which may be a pseudonym).

NOTES:

- (1) Workers' Commissions (illegal).
- (2) Government controlled unions.
- (3) Government Minister of Union Relations.
- (4) i.e. Anarchists, Trotskyists and "non-reform" (i.e. non-revisionist) Communists
- (5) Probably referring to Impressa, the PCP controlled union of unions in Portugal.
- (6) UGT - socialist, close to USO

USO - for workers' management - not anarchist really. Both are illegal proto-unions, like the CC.OO. (Workers' Commissions) which is completely Communist.

(7) Not all decided to join the CNT.

tee" into a "free federation of autonomous groups" organised from below rather than from above.

Murray Bookchin, the well-known spokesman for urban decentralisation, followed with a stimulating discussion of Bakunin and Spain, emphasizing the enormous impact of Bakunin's libertarian socialism in the Spanish Revolution of the 1930s as well as its continued relevance for today, when Spain is once again in the throes of social and political change.

The final speaker, Paul Avrich, described Bakunin's escape from Siberia to the United States in 1861, his visits to San Francisco, New York and Boston, and his meetings with the famous zoologist Louis Agassiz and the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

Olga Lang, who was scheduled to speak on Bakunin and Asia, had just come out of the hospital and was unable to deliver a formal address, but she was present at the gathering and talked informally with individuals and small groups during the coffee and cake which followed.

The Libertarian Book Club has announced that it will resume its regular lectures in October on a monthly basis. New booklists have been issued by the Club and can be obtained by writing to Box 842, GPO, New York, NY 10001.

Correspondent.

PEACE OR TREATIES?

AMERICA AND RUSSIA are reportedly on the way to peace based on treaties and negotiations. The ruling classes in West and East arrange the cementation of their being-in-power. What has that to do with peace?

On the question of what could each individual do towards the achievement of peace, i.e., the total absence of offensive aggression, many anarchists have the point of view that the best contribution lies in creating a socio-ecologically balanced home and work-place environment, free of any kind of oppression and exploitation, for "adults" and children alike.

As anarchists we know that a self-determined and fulfilled individual is far less likely to take part in offensive aggressive actions such as war and bombing London's transport users into pulp. An additional factor to increase the establishment of true peace is the development of individual friendships and contact between people living in "foreign" countries. The more you know others and their cultural and traditional upbringing the more you are going to understand their points of view and attitudes.

As anarchists we disagree with the liberal and established ruling classes' point of view that "happy and fulfilled people take part in offensive aggressive actions just as much as others". And those with friends and acquaintances in the enemy country are quite willing to fight against the "official" declared enemy during a war when called on to do so by their government. Hence, so the ruling classes argue, the only "practical" solution lies in

TECHNICIANS in the Kremlin's archives have been erasing archive material to record pop music for other members of the staff. According to Pravda "they were doing it for some kind of boogie-woogie". Three senior officials have been sacked. The crime was discovered when it was found that an important speech of 1920 by the then Foreign Minister was missing. Altogether they were short of 4,672 recordings.

THE WORLD'S population is now estimated at 4,000 million (4 American billions) -- twice what it was 46 years ago. The birth rate is reckoned to be 195,000 a day.

THE INCREDIBLE Russian prophet Solzhenitsyn, has been shedding his rays of light on the Spanish situation. In an interview on Spanish TV, in reference to the Spanish Civil War, he said, "In Spain Christianity won, but in the Soviet Union Communism won."

This incisive analysis won him new intellectual converts in the ranks of the die-hard fascists such as Giron and Blas Piñar. It was less heartily welcomed by poor muddle-headed Arias Navarro, the Prime Minister, who is trying to get commercial agreements with the Soviet Union.

peace treaties, negotiations, detente, etc. And to secure them we have to make sure of having good governments.

As anarchists we oppose the support and maintenance of the status quo of offensive aggression by having peace treaties, detente, etc.

Inner balance, fulfilment, friendship, and happiness mean different things to different people. The basic characteristic of our present so-called "civilised" society is hypocrisy and egocentrism. To replace this by sincerity and infra-structural changes in the depth of relationships amongst individuals we struggle against the present increasing opposition of the ruling classes and their representatives and meet their neurotic hatred in all niches of society. For them fulfilment and self-realisation consists in not having any desires but those approved by the church, the state, the army, the police, the civil service, their party etc. And for them friendship and solidarity are other words for "getting on well together", "We are all in the same boat," they say.

And furthermore, for them questions of offensive aggression and defensive aggression, of war and peace, depend solely on state and established authorities. And they have as many Summit talks and conferences as possible as a way of solving the antagonism between true peace and "governmental peace". If it is true that peace is best served not by unilateral disarmament but by very careful adjustment of armament levels with regard to their overkill capacity, then peace cannot be so far away.

However, states, the ruling classes, do not want peace. What they want is power and the undisturbed reign of their power. Contrary to all odds, in general men and women want no offensive aggression, but peace. But they are not independent and self-conscious enough to achieve fulfilment and to live a socio-ecological life. That alone would make them strong enough to disobey and to refuse to comply with the ruling systems. Then, they would dismantle the governments' power. But, unfortunately, the people are filled with rational irrationality by their accepted academic and political authorities. They are made to believe that there is no way of achieving peace but through treaties and negotiations. They cling to this belief fearfully like a masochistic servant to his sadistic master.

As anarchists we oppose permanently the acceptance of state as a negotiator of the people. Their treaties are not ours. And their treaties for peace are further attempts to lead us into disaster, maybe even to the end of human life. We want no arms, no army, no police. We want to abolish the threat of offensive aggression, indirectly and directly sanctioned by the ruling classes.

It is we who should take up the effort to agitate the refusal to learn to be skilful professionals of the army and police force. And to put the idea of anarchy forward we should make clear that they are hoodwinked by authoritarian standards.

And it seems obvious that when each person possesses herself and himself and decides her/his own fulfilment and ecological balance she/he will despise any pretentious authority which claims her/his allegiance, and the question of treaties for peace becomes irrelevant. We don't want state treaties for peace, we want no offensive aggression at all.

Abraham.

S. SMYTH

SAMMY SMYTH, the UDA leader who had been threatening catholics with wholesale slaughter in an Ulster doomsday situation, did not live long enough to see his predictions come true. An assassination squad burst into a house in the Ardoyne area of Belfast and shot him six times in the head, adding another name to the list of murder victims. But Sammy Smyth, UDA leader and leading community worker, had two sides to his personality as the presence of catholic sympathisers at his funeral testifies.

As a spokesman for the UDA he appeared frequently on local TV screens and wrote occasional articles for Belfast newspapers. In one of these, written some time ago, he had advocated an interim form of military dictatorship for Ulster which could last until some form of political agreement was reached and, following the breakdown of the convention, he returned to this theme in an article appearing in Sunday News (7/3/76) in which he called for a summit meeting of para-military leaders. However, there is no reason to doubt that the statements made in parts of the interview quoted in Freedom (6/3/76) represent anything other than officially approved UDA policies.

As a community worker he was active in tenants' associations and lectured frequently on the subject of community relations, was in fact studying for a degree in the subject. And, ironically, it may have been these latter activities rather than his role as UDA spokesman that led to his death. A previous unsuccessful murder attempt, which he blamed on the Ulster Freedom Fighters, might have been due to his involvement with catholics in community work. Two other protestant community workers, who had the misfortune to have been christened Sean and Paul at birth, were probably murdered for the same reason. And only a few nights after Sammy Smyth's death, another community worker, a former British soldier, was killed in a community centre situated in the same street, Alliance Avenue, where Smyth had been killed.

Community leaders are claiming that people involved in social work are being singled out as murder victims and it is common knowledge that para-military organisations do not approve of community centres where protestants and catholics can meet. Segregation at all levels seems to be their aim, but at the same time their belief that these centres may be used by opposing factions and by the security forces for the gathering of intelligence could be well founded.

H.B.

NORTH v SOUTH

IN EVERY COUNTRY OF THE WORLD inequality and exploitation manifest themselves not only between individuals or between classes, but also between different regions. The capitalists and other techno-bureaucratic parasites are rich because the workers, unemployed, peasants and so forth, are poor. The rich and the poor are also distributed spatially not only throughout a nation but also between nations.

However, this spatial inequality does not manifest itself in exactly the same manner as the inequality between a rich and a poor person, nor between capitalist and proletarian classes. Whilst it is generally true that London and the South East is more economically developed than say, Scotland, and hence is richer than Scotland or the North East, it is obviously not true that this is a uniform relationship. Unemployment in the Inner London area and the East End is just as high if not higher than the more depressed regions of Britain.

Nor can this inequality be directly compared to the often inadequate class analysis of society. Again, in general, we could talk about proletarian regions and bourgeois regions, to suggest that everyone in region A is a proletarian and that everyone in region B is a bourgeois would be absurd to say the least. Indeed it is in the poorest of regions worldwide that the greatest inequality is seen. All so-called "under-developed" or "Third World" countries (i.e. the exploited not the exploiters - hence these titles implying some form of "natural" defect) provide an exceedingly high income for its bureaucrats (servants of the "developed" economies) whilst giving its poor only death through either starvation or disease. Further, these rich elements are far wealthier than any western bourgeois could ever aspire to be.

Having stated some of the limitations let us now proceed to examine the process of regional aid using the following hypothesis:

"Modern industrial development is a process dependent on the separation of functions which produces inequalities both in class terms, and in spatial terms. Regional inequality is, therefore, inevitable in modern centralised, industrial economies. Regional planning can, thus, be seen as an attempt to soften the impact of the economic process and make it politically acceptable."

This concept assumes a particular theory of economic evolution which suggests that the process of industrialisation can be compared to the evolution of a species, or even the evolution of a person through his lifetime. Thus, craft industries evolve into small workshops, into factories, into national industries, into multinationals, etc... This comparing of incomparables is, to my mind, one of the vital flaws in Marxist economic theory.

The concept also assumes that the separation of functions and its cause, technological innovation, are essential to the evolution of industrialisation, and that they "inevitably" produce class inequalities. In Capital volume I it is argued that capitalist production "does not really begin until an individual aggregate of capital employs a considerable number of workers at one time, so that the labour process is carried on upon a more comprehensive scale and yields a comparatively large quantity of products."

Thus Marx arrives at the corner-stone of his analysis of capitalism (or industrialisation). The population is divided into two parts, one of which owns the means of production, while the other owns only the labour power. The owners of the means of production organise the other sector of the community under one roof in some form of productive method. The workers "having no choice" sell their labour to the capitalist for a wage (this makes the absurd suggestion that workers are mere commodities and that factory take-overs would appear impossible). The capitalist relies on a sufficiently large supply (initially) of labour to keep wages at subsistence level so as not to bite into his profits. As suggested in Marx's "Law of Capitalist accumulation" these inequalities also have a cumulative effect whereby, in a system comprising both rich and poor, the rich get richer whilst the poor get poorer.

For those who cannot accept the 19th century pseudo-religious teach-

ings of Marx, we will now move to consider a "modern" economic philosophy. Galbraith's "New Industrial State" talks of the world of giant corporations - "a world in which people increasingly serve the convenience of those organisations which were meant to serve them." The firm, or organisation takes on a life of its own, and all those involved with it (employees, shareholders, the national government, and the market it "serves") work towards establishing the stability of the organisation.

Price stability and the maintenance of wage/salary differentials inside the organisation are essential features in the maintenance of the firm's stability. Further it is argued that the more menial jobs will disappear because they can be carried by machines (greater unemployment?) and any unskilled worker will have to accept a ridiculously low wage to compete with the possibly lower marginal cost involved in mechanical production. The managerial staff, however, will receive ever-increasing incentives to obtain higher productivity from them (i.e. paper work), and the shareholders must also receive substantial returns to ensure their "co-operation" in maintaining the stability of the firm. Whichever way the problem is approached, therefore, the process of economic development requires inequalities to function.

Gunnar Myrdal extends this principle of inequality to explain how unequal development takes place spatially in a set of regions by a logical extension of the "growth-pole theory" (as propounded by such people as Perroux). The principle of growth-pole theory is a simple one. The production of goods is essentially a joint process between a variety of firms and industries, the output of one being the input of the other. Thus the ability of any one firm to face competition from competitors in other areas is not simply a matter of its own efficiency, but of the efficiency of the complex of related industries to which it belongs. Moreover, past development has taken the form of concentration precisely because of these inter-industry linkages. Development of this argument shows why some areas are more favoured than others.

Most economists agree that, given that significant economic growth first appears in one region of a national state, it should occasion no surprise that the absolute differential between rich and poor regions (e.g. North and South) should persist or even increase. The different theories of regional disequilibrium mostly agree that inter-regional factor flows will not always be equilibrating in the way that most "free market" theories maintain.

Perroux, for instance, talks of increasing divergence among geographic units within national borders leading to the perpetuation of "poles de croissance". Hirschmann is concerned with the dualism between different regions leading to the polarization of factors such as labour and capital towards the prosperous areas, thus increasing the divergence between rich and poor regions at the cost of the poor area.

Raul Prebisch (a Latin American economist) expresses a similar thought. He implies that governmental concern for remote districts diminishes with the square of the distance from the seat of political power. Therefore, prosperity and power tend to have similar locations, which also leads to increasing divergence.

Coming back to Myrdal, regional growth involves three main characteristics:

1) Cumulative causation. Initial economic development leads to supporting changes in the immediate area, and the market mechanism helps, thus, to increase the spatial inequalities. This process often happens through the location of a manufacturing industry near to either natural resources or trade routes or other "natural" advantages being present in the locality.

2) Backwash effects. For regions where "cumulative causation" is taking place to exist, there must of necessity be the opposite type of region - i.e. the stagnating region. Stagnating regions suffer what are termed "backwash effects", - i.e. loss of labour, loss of capital, etc... to the more prosperous regions. The more prosperous regions, therefore, can be seen to depend upon the existence of stagnant regions in the same way that a capitalist depends upon the existence of a "proletariat" or poor work-force.

3) Spread effects. Increased demand in some stagnant regions can initiate growth in those regions, either through vicinity to the prosperous areas or through some other favourable factor which may not have existed before, or which was not previously considered as favourable.

What, then, is the role of government regional policy in relation to this process? Although not in so many words, governments claim that their regional policy is a means of perpetrating an "artificial" spread

(cont. on P. 10)

effect, and of counteracting "natural" inequalities. Indeed, the recent appallingly low standard of debate on the topic of devolution produced many such claims from the opponents of devolution. Douglas Jay, M.P. recently argued (or his speech writer did for him) in the *Financial Times* that only by retaining direction from London can jobs be created in the areas that need them most, and relative unemployment levels be reduced.

The honourable member for Wandsworth (a Labour man, no less) went on to suggest that "large-scale projects" by front-rank international firms - National Cash Register, Honeywell, Caterpillar, IBM, British Motor Corporation, and so on, "which have done so much for Scotland" ended up in Scotland owing to the London-based government's refusal to these firms to give them an industrial development certificate in the South and Midlands. He then referred to the failures of local Scottish industries. "Those of us responsible were always looking for local enterprise, in vain... Meanwhile all the many companies already in Scotland were threatening to collapse and calling to London for help."

In Italy, where the inequalities between North (economically developed) and South (underdeveloped) are much greater than in Britain, millions of dollars have been spent by the Government on financing highly capital-intensive multinational enterprises, who locate in the South and then proceed to pollute the environment, kill all local initiative, and even cause greater unemployment. The greater unemployment is caused by the land workers in the countryside moving to the city for the initial construction of the project, and then being left unemployed and becoming part of the increasing band of urban poor in the Southern cities. In Italy these projects have been nicknamed "cathedrals in the desert". Further these cathedrals are also quick to close down when it suits them (an international so-called "economic crisis" is often a good excuse).

Indeed, the grants for land development in the South of Italy from the government are a prominent source of Mafia income. It is also significant that since the government started to pour massive funds into Southern Italy the disparity between North and South in terms of emigration and levels of real income have actually increased. Are matters all that much different in Britain? Most soldiers in the British Army have pronounced Scottish or, at least, Northern English accents, for some reason!

Some economists at Glasgow University recently produced a policy analysis report as regards devolution, for the Labour Party. They found

that 60 per cent of Scottish employees in manufacturing industries were in companies owned outside Scotland. Also "most externally-controlled plants undertake very little research and development in Scotland, and there has been relatively little transfer of technology from the external to the indigenous sectors". It was also pointed out that "England would not take kindly to independence, and is in a position to cause considerable difficulties for Scotland in the employment field."

The relative poverty of Scotland, the North East and so on, can be seen to favour London and its stockbroker belt in several ways and, indeed, the survival of London's City institutions depends on and even causes the inequalities. If you were to run away from home in, say, Jarow, where would you go? London. If you are a painter in Leeds seeking national and international recognition for your work, which audience do you have to impress? London. Where are the national newspapers located? London.

More importantly, if, as an organisation or an individual, funds are available for investment, where does that money go? The City of London. And where do the City of London's institutions invest this money? Either in its own financial (but non-productive) labyrinth or abroad in property interests. Of course, London pays the price for this national over-centralisation in terms of overcrowding, strain on services, and so forth. However, since the people who benefit from London's domination live in the surrounding countryside, or in some Caribbean haven, this social price paid by London is of no consequence.

As already suggested, earlier on by Prebisch, earlier prosperity and power tend to have similar locations. The Marxist answer is based on a change of personalities in the seats of power. Even a scant study of the USSR shows that regional disparity is just as bad, if not greater, under the "concerned" Soviet leadership. The Western economist or politician does not offer a solution since he/she sees nothing wrong with inequality and indeed proclaims it as desirable to man's progress. However, the Westerner still cannot allow inequality to grow unchecked since he is a firm believer also in Keynesianism which suggests that it is desirable to maintain full employment by "manipulation of total effective demand."

Therefore, it would seem that regional planning is indeed an attempt to soften the impact of the economic process and make it politically acceptable. Better suggestions as to its purpose are welcome.

N. Staffa.

FILMS

MOMENTS OF ANARCHY IN THE MOVIES

I WOULD like to make a few comments prompted by seeing *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Just as Arthur Moyse puts down surrealism in the shape of third-rate art without considering the extraordinary films of the greatest surrealist of all, Bunuel, so he puts down Forman's latest film without considering what is anarchistic in it. The movie is directly in the line of those marvellous films such as *Closely Observed Trains* which came out of the Czech new wave, criticising society with deep humour at the same time as discovering it. Discovery of self and of sexuality, the releasing of inhibitions pent up with years of Stalinist repression and suppression, is what I admire in the also technically fine products of the Czech film schools. Forman's film displays the same meticulous observation coupled with moments, with explosions, of elation. That is why many anarchists have liked *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest*. To describe it in terms of social realism plus message aimed at reform is silly. What reform, for Christ's sake? The 'message' is of the breakdown of authority in the face of its inability to accommodate spontaneity and the release of tensions. The film offers no pat solutions: do we as anarchists think we have precise solutions? Surely we are more modest than that.

Movies are a medium of entertainment alienated from the audience. Alex Comfort calls cinemas dark igloos. I'd agree with Arthur that even the films most oriented towards stimulating action in their audience don't have much success. In statistical terms their success rate is no more significant than that of psychoanalysis. The only exceptions may be specific films seen by specific audiences in specific places at specific times. Under these circumscribed conditions you might get Brechtian cinema, maybe. Otherwise, movies have fairly limited effects. All I hope as a movie enthusiast is that others may share and attempt to create and recreate for themselves in different ways the life rating experiences I have myself had watching movies.

The Dispersion after the Stalinist invasion of Czechoslovakia caused a similar kind of, though not so much, unemployment and unhappiness among the refugees as the fascist suppression of Allende's Chile. Imagine being cut off from your roots, your livelihood, your future, at one stroke! I am glad that Forman at least has been able to repatriate his talents.

Julius.

...and another bird's eye view--

AT THE MOMENT three movies worth seeing are shown in London. They are three very good examples for the struggle of the individual against the oppressive structure of the state, its representative institutions, and their executives.

They are *Winstanley*, set in the period of the Digger Movement, *Sansho Dayu* ("Sanshu the Bailiff") showing at the Gate Cinema, and *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest*.

Whilst *Winstanley* and *Sansho Dayu* transfer the struggle for self-realisation against the oppression of state and its executing representatives and institutions into the past of the 11th Century in Japan and the 17th in England, *One Flew Over The Cuckoo's Nest* reflects present conditions and systems. Not having read the book, I can't judge whether the book is better than the movie. But I think that the film was terrific, but shockingly disclosing. One is confronted with the day to day oppression compressed in one picture. Never before, at least to my knowledge, has that been done from an anarchist standpoint. Every present stage of our present society is met in the movie. First of all, to transfer the struggle of individuality and liberation into an asylum is just great, because it clearly crystallizes out that we, the so-called normal and sane people, are in fact the insane ones, and the so-called insane are sane (who knows!). In the movie the insanity is represented by the hospital staff, the nurses and the doctors, who stand for the state's executing representatives, and the asylum for the state's institutions. The subtleness of the oppressors concentrated in the nurse and her manipulative psychotherapy are marvellously set against the development of liberation of the various members of one ward. In distinguished stages the oppressed, in this

IRISH HISTORY

IRISH HISTORY: FACT OR FICTION?
(Churches Central Committee for Community
Work,) Belfast, 1976.

Do myths influence people? You may well wonder why this question should be raised in the first place by a group of churchmen. They ought to know the answer, as they have been peddling myths themselves for a long time and, not surprisingly, the answer provided is "Yes, they do". The subject of the booklet is historical myths and their influence, but the following is not mythical: "after many had been killed and wounded, the English at length gained the victory by the help of the city, and with scandal to the order." It is an account of what happened following a theological dispute over the content of a papal document in 1291, when Irish and English friars of the Franciscan order failed to agree on some point of interpretation.

One of the contributors, Professor Bankley, insists that the teaching of Irish history is not a cause of chaos but that the chaos is the re-

FILMS (cont. from P.10)

case the "sane lunatics", struggle against their oppressors pushed by the activity of one convict who simulated "insanity" to have an easy time in a bin. With enormous energy he brings his ward mates out of their submissive passivity. In the beginning he is always in front of the developing liberation events taking place, but bit by bit he draws himself into the background, and leaves self-conscious libertarian steps to the individuals. Non-violently he opposes the attempts of the ruling asylum system again and again and meets bit by bit the increasing obvious repression of the authorities of the bin. On one hand he seeks the confrontation with the authorities. On the other hand he wants to achieve self-realisation and self-determination for all through peaceful means. The authorities provoked by his individuality begin to work on him more violently. At that, an electric shock treatment is one of their means to pacify him. Whilst being energetically involved against the collectivising of the individual he is attracted by an enormous, strongly-built Indian, who neither can "speak" nor "hear". And this Indian just simulates his deafness and dumbness, and it symbolises the voluntary "deafness" and "dumbness" of the working class.

When the authorities go over to direct violence the ward begins to rebel and its climax is manifested in the suicide of one fellow inmate caused by the insane therapy of the nurse in charge. The attempt to strangle her fails and McMurphy is operated on in his brain to become a mere vegetable.

Now the Indian kills McMurphy to free him, and he himself escapes into freedom!

To bring everything into words is sometimes useful, but I think, in this case, one should go and see the movie.

Sue.

sult of the myths which have been perpetrated by every single political party for their own ends - and by some of the church leaders. Yes indeed, but the myth-makers have some very pliable subjects to work upon in Ireland where political discussion is restricted by the fact that if you say a word out of place you are liable to be lathered with a shillelagh; if you can't beat a man's argument you can always beat the man, or you can use slander, lies or innuendo, discredit his personality in order to discredit his opinions.

Another contributor, John Magee, has reservations about the ability of any educational system to modify children's attitudes when these attitudes are the end product of one's beliefs, emotions and prejudices that were acquired early by children in their home environment. Is that not too pessimistic a view? I think that most of us would disagree with it, because if it is right then it might be wiser for all of us to fold our tents and steal away from the political battlefield. Even if more evidence than John Magee provides us with were produced to substantiate his view, there would still be men and women willing to carry on, if only because as Camus put it, "There are some of us who do not want to keep silent about anything. It is our whole political society that nauseates us."

This booklet scarcely refers to the existence of a pagan Ireland which had a set of values vastly different from Ireland today, where, in 1976, you can see plaster images of the saints erected in Dublin housing estates, and be over-powered by the whiff of incense from the mass-houses in the city centre, or see brown robed friars with bare toes peeping from open sandals wandering around the streets. Sean O'Faolain relates the legend of Oisin, returning to earth after hundreds of years in the Land of the Young, to find his old pagan Ireland gone and a new hero reigning - Saint Patrick. Now an old man, Oisin recalls how his teeth, now mere sunken rocks, could once "gnaw the haunch of a stag, hard and hungry and hound-like; they'd not leave a jot or a joint that they would not mince." As he sits listening, humbly and sadly, to the saint he hears a blackbird's whistle and is at once reminded of the call of the blackbird of Derrycairn; the belling of the stag from Caill na g Caoi; the otter whistling in Druin da Loch; the dogs barking, the scream of the eagle, the patterning of the dogs returning early from the Strand of the Red Stones.

It is too much for Oisin and he reminds the Saint:

Ah, when Finn and the Fian lived
They loved the mountain better than
the monastery
Sweet to them the blackbird's call.
They would have despised the tonguing
of your bell!*

Well, pagan Ireland's dead and gone, more is the pity, and the followers of Saint Patrick are presently slaughtering each other with just as much enthusiasm, if not more, than the old pagans ever displayed. O'Faolain in an introduction to his own book tells us that "I had not a single book to turn to which is not either preoccupied with the national ego and a delusion of its self-sufficiency, or else a cursory record of political events, or a source book of these events. I know only two books on Irish history - apart, of course, from specialised scholarly works - that hack a clear perspective through the tangled jungles of futile and pointless raids, counter raids, battles, sieges, "victories" (over what is never

otherwise made clear), and so forth."

If we turn our attention to the history of what I always think of as Oirish socialism (with a capital O) the position is even worse. A few years ago when the Belfast anarchists published Ireland - Dead or Alive? it was meant to initiate a discussion on the subject of myths in Irish history, but I did not contribute to that publication myself because I was working on another scheduled pamphlet dealing with one of the main myths of Irish socialism, sorry, I meant Oirish socialism. The myth in fact is that there was or is such a phenomenon as Irish socialism.

Oirish socialism is little more, as O'Faolain might put it, than a tale that is told by the fireside. The tradition is mainly oral but anyone interested in the literary history might begin with W.P. Ryan's The Irish Labour Movement (Dublin 1920). In it he will learn that Connolly and Larkin, born respectively in Edinburgh and Liverpool are alleged to have been born in Clones, county Monaghan and Newry, county Down. Evidently, their birthplaces were not Oirish enough for Ryan's taste, so he simply transferred them to the ould sod. Similarly, Connolly's communist biographer, C.D. Greaves, alleges that Connolly had served with the King's Liverpool Regiment, a regiment with Oirish associations. In actual fact he enlisted in the Royal Scots, hardly surprisingly since he was born in Edinburgh! How could Greaves, who claims to have spent ten years in researching the biography not have learned this? The strong probability is that he did know it but that once again, the place wasn't Oirish enough.

One organisation that the Oirish socialists constantly point to as evidence of socialist ideas originating in Ireland is the Young Irelanders. In vain has Connolly himself told them that "the very name of Young Ireland was an adaptation of the names used by the Italian revolutionist Mazzini for the revolutionary associations, Young Italy, Young Switzerland, Young France and Young Germany, he founded after the year 1831." In other words, the name and some of the ideas were imported from abroad.

Oirish socialists insist that Jim Larkin was a product of the Irish labour movement but Larkin in himself had other ideas as he showed when he addressed the jury during his trial in America and declared that his experiences in the Liverpool slums had made him embrace socialism. "You know," he said, "I belong to the British school of socialism." Connolly too, in an article entitled Changes (1914) emphasises that his own socialism was British in origin.

Ireland is a country from which nothing connected with socialism has ever originated and anyone who believes otherwise is a victim of the myth of Irish socialism. Connolly, as usual, had it right when in 1914 he replied to a Lenten Pastoral issued by the Roman clergy, attacking syndicalism and socialism: "As complete systems of thought these two principles do not exist, whatever some extremists may say or imagine... But in their present stage in the labour movement in Ireland as indicating lines of activity in the industrial and political world - the only stage in which they are ever likely to be popular or useful in Ireland (my emphasis, HB) - the most consistent socialist or syndicalist may be as Catholic as the pope if he is so-minded." Or presumably as protestant as King Billy but at any rate there isn't much ambiguity there or much faith in the myth of Oirish socialism, and who was in a better position to judge?

H.B.
*The Irish by Sean O'Faolain, Pelican 1969.

PRETTY WHITE SNOW

THERE COMES a time for punitive justice when the militant forces of repression give way and the victims take to the streets seeking revenge. The informers and the small-time bureaucrats, the isolated policeman and those who gave aid and comfort to authority are identified and shot or beaten to death and the women who shared their beds with undressed authority wait sullen and bitter to have their heads shaved. To witness this then becomes a matter of instant choice dictated purely and simply by the number of revenge-seeking victims and the attendant mob, for only when the desire for physical retribution has been sated dare the rational men with rifles take over to restore a new order and an old authority and the executed and the executioners are buried in a common grave and the hair of women grows soft and long. It is an old story and a sad story and the little man, in social stature and in income, can shrug off his blotted past by moving to another dreary street in another dreary town and seeking work in another dreary factory for the next political, economic or military failure will place him within the battalions of the good guys.

But for those who voluntarily chose to dine at the high table of repressive authority there is a lifetime of public hatred and if one is aware of the result of one's chosen action then there can be no cause for complaint at the verdict. For no matter how much the canting slogan of to forgive and forget might be mouthed it is a gift that only the victims can distribute while to forget is the logic of fools, for it is only our knowledge of man's cruelty to his fellow man that enables us to advocate a society wherein we can live together with a reasonable degree of peace, prosperity and harmony. For the social leper there is always the snow job and as violence and oppression in the mass comes from those in authority or seeking authority then there comes that moment of time for the new authoritarians to rehabilitate their old comrades. If only the British government had not executed William Joyce we would have been left with a tough and witty little Irishman rabbitting about life in prison and Hitler's wartime Germany instead of having his death on our collective conscience, for legal execution is the most stupid form of communal revenge in that the object of the legal mob's hatred goes to glory at the top of his performance instead of rejoining the pack as a social and political embarrassment.

Pound by Donald Davie is one of those solid and well written books that one feels will have a limited readership for it is a literary period that becomes less interesting with each fresh generation. Pound was a good editor and his only historical claim to fame is now, I would assume, that he acted as the drummer for the poetry of T. S. Eliot. He was a man conservative by nature and within that cage not only enjoyed but found much pleasure in advocating and publishing the new avant garde poetry that thumbed its nose at the measured lyrics of the Georgian poets and in that pre-1914 London literary world that meant vapours in the Kensington salons. Davie sets Pound up as a stern conservative moralist with a passion for the great Romantic tradition of European civilisation and from that platform he launches Pound's defence as a vocal defender of the Italian Fascist government from within Italy while a state of war existed between Italy and America. If Pound had been some dim little American clerk working for the Italian fascist government during a time of war he would have been hanged and forgotten by the victorious homeland government but Pound was Pound and Pound was held to be the finest living American poet and calls were made and strings were pulled and the American government in its wisdom held that Pound was insane. As with the various imprisoned Mafia chiefs, a few years in an open cell and a plane back to Italy and now the snow job, for as Stephen Spender writes it is well to leave Pound's politics "until a complete biography of Pound is written, an undertaking which Davie comes to think will be impossible for many years". The same treatment has now been given to Knut Hamsun with the new translation, by Robert Bly, of his book Hunger. Published in 1890, it won Hamsun the Nobel Prize for literature in 1920. Up till Bly's translation we only had Egerton's pedantic version, but Bly moves the Norwegian prose of Hamsun into contemporary English and this book of one man's ten years of hunger and poverty was a valid contribution to

BOOK

POUND by Donald Davie. Fontana Modern Masters (60p)
HUNGER by Knut Hamsun (The Old Piano Factory,

Gloucester Cres. NW1) (£3.45)

ST ALIN AS WARLORD by Albert Seaton. Batsford (£5.95)

SPANDAU, the Secret Diaries, by Albert Speer. Collins (£6.50)

western literature, for from Hamsun's brittle and fractured sentences in which action always seems to operate within the mind we have a school of literature that found its disciples from Thomas Mann to Scott Fitzgerald and Hemingway and from there into the American private eye world of Chandler and Hammett and these were men who learned their trade in the American pulp magazines.

Hamsun died in 1952 at the age of 93 and he would probably be remembered as no more than the 'one book' man who struck lucky except that according to Isaac Bashevis Singer "Knut Hamsun who had kept aloof of the masses and social reformers allowed himself to be taken in by Nazi demagogues". Of the newspaper picture of Hamsun greeting Hitler, Singer sees shame in Hamsun's face and mockery in Hitler's but Hamsun never protested when Nazi critics recorded that Hamsun's writings supported their own ideologies, for again to quote Singer, "Hamsun deceived himself into thinking that Nazism would spell the end of the left-wing radicalism which repelled him.", and that rubbish was penned by Singer in 1967 in New York City. Pound and Hamsun moved in with the political gangsters on the understanding that they did not have to do a stag guard in the concentration camps, and one could guess at a dozen wealthy writers and tele entertainers who would shake the grubby hand of our National Front if a state of civil unrest and industrial money gave them a mass following and No. 10 Downing Street.

Even Joe comes into the act with Albert Seaton's Stalin as Warlord, for Seaton argues that Stalin was the greatest of all military leaders in relation to armies and victories. The short period of Khrushchev's thaw is now seen in its historical context as no more than the boys banging their desks at the master's absence, but as always will happen comrades a new authority will justify the actions of the old authority to give credence to its own actions. Seaton's book is worth reading but as the Soviet military archives have still not been opened much will have to be rewritten when the papers are produced. Seaton accepts that with Stalin in complete control there was ghastly loss of life in 1941 which opened the way for the German advance to the disaster of Kharkov but, argues Seaton, Stalin had learned by now and was prepared to wait for time and to take the advice of his generals, and in 1942 that gave him Stalingrad and the following year the victory at Kursk.

This is the beginning of the snow job on Joe, little comrade, from the man you love to hate to Uncle Joe to the Great Russian Leader and we will have to learn to live with it. And the dead? Vanished by the millions, German and Russian, under all that mileage of pure blinding snow.

Yet of all of them one must dislike Albert Speer the most for he is so bloody decent and honest regarding all the crimes he was involved with. He is part of the Lord Longford syndrome that finds a heart-warming good in the fashionable murderer, forgetting the children screaming on the tape recorder. Speer was Hitler's boy wonder architect and his one service to the Fatherland was that all his conceived concrete wedding cakes were never built. A natural crawler, he existed as long as Hitler existed and he organized the Nazi slave labour force from one end of Europe to the other. Tried as a war criminal he pleaded guilty and drew 20 years yet even his fellow prisoners loathed him for he was for ever apologising and admitting his guilt, all in all a political Uriah Heep. We now have his Spandau, the Secret Diaries and it makes sick reading. How he lives his life is now Speer's own problem but if Hugh Trevor-Roper's observations (?) on Speer is not

REVIEWS

a snow job then the phrase has no meaning. "Thereby he had become one of the most powerful men in Germany. Apart from that, Speer had not been associated with the more repellent aspects of Nazism. He was an educated man, who stood apart from the vulgarians and frothblowers of the movement and never preached anti-semitism or racialism." As an uneducated frothblowing vulgarian I would never have met Speer on social terms but now that he is at liberty one knows that within the cultural me diocracy of our European Common Market there will be no lack of open and fashionable doors for him to crawl through. Revenge, comrades, is a sick luxury and we should as individuals and as anarchists be strong enough to abjure it. If loss of temper means the ill-judged word, the floundering punch or the thrown brick then do it in the heat of the moment and on the morrow ignore the offence but never play tootsie with Lord Longford's syndrome of excusing or justifying evil in the name of some latter-day souped up protestation of goodness, for the murderers for the next political mass slaughterers walk the pavements beside you.

Arthur Moyse.

MODERN LEFTISM

THE ORIGINS OF MODERN LEFTISM. By Richard Gombin. (Penguin, 60p).

THIS PENGUIN book, disguised as a Pelican book to excuse the delay in publication, is the English translation of a book which appeared in France five years ago. Richard Gombin is one of the bright young anarchologists who have emerged during the past few years, especially in France. By the time he was 32 he had written three books on the French left -- Le projet révolutionnaire (1969), Les socialistes et la guerre (1970), and Les origines du gauchisme (1971) -- as well as several academic contributions to various symposia on leftism -- such as "The ideology and practice of contestation seen through recent events in France" in Government and Opposition, which was reprinted in the book Anarchism Today (1971); "French leftism" in the Journal of Contemporary History; and an essay on France and the conclusion to the CIRA study Société et contre-société chez les anarchistes et les anti-autoritaires (1974).

The Origins of Modern Leftism, which is the belated translation of his last book, is his first book in English. The original appeared in the excellent Collection Politique, a series produced by the leading Paris publisher Seuil, and was written very much for a French audience. Unfortunately the too literal translation by Michael K. Perl has hardly been edited at all for English-speaking readers. For some reason the central concept in the title has been changed from "leftism" to "modern leftism", though in the text it still generally appears as "leftism". The subject of the book is actually narrower than what might be thought of as "modern leftism", for Gombin is concerned with leftism only since the Second World War and only in France, especially as expressed in the "events" of 1968. It is even narrower than that, for Gombin not only excludes all liberal and social democratic leftism -- as David Widgery does in The Left in Britain (reviewed on March 20) -- but also excludes all Marxist leftism. Indeed he defines leftism as "an alternative ... to Marxism-Leninism" which "aims to replace orthodox Marxism as the guiding theory of the revolutionary movement". (This explicit formulation on the first page of the book is carelessly contradicted on the jacket of the Penguin edition, which con-

tains the well-known Maoist motif of the busts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in a row!)

In his preface Gombin suggests that most alternatives to Marxism are on its right, and that left-wing developments in Marxism are critiques rather than alternatives. He then suggests that the old alternatives to Marxism on the left -- anarchism, anarcho-syndicalism, and revolutionary syndicalism -- were rendered obsolete by the triumph of Marxism first in Russia and then elsewhere, and that modern leftism is the new true alternative on the left. In his introduction he sketches the recent history of French Marxism and leftism, which is of course very different from that of the parallel British developments, above all because of the huge weight of the Stalinist party and trade union organisations.

There are then five chapters examining five aspects of the growth of French leftism before 1968. "The Vital Question" discusses the leftist critique of the Communist regime in Russia -- of the repression by Sartre and his colleagues on Les Temps Modernes, of the bureaucracy by various Trotskyists, and in particular of the bureaucracy seen as a ruling class by former Trotskyists (especially those in the Socialisme ou Barbarie group). Gombin is particularly impressed by the latter, which he compares favourable with the ideas both of the Trotskyists and of such individual writers as Bruno Rizzi (he is so unimpressed by the better-known James Burnham and Milovan Djilas that he dismisses them in footnotes).

"Philosophical Revisionism" discusses attempts to revise Marxist philosophy along lines suggested by Georg Lukács and Korsch, especially by Merleau-Ponty and the magazine Arguments.

"A Critique of Everyday Life" discusses the ideas of Henri Lefebvre and of the Situationist International, which emerged in the 1950s from the Dadaist, Surrealist, Lettrist tradition. (The English edition often prefers the word "show" to the literal translation of the key Situationist concept of "spectacle", which is a bit confusing.) Lefebvre is not very well known in Britain, but the Situationists are, especially since the appearance of Chris Gray's anthology Leaving the Twentieth Century (Free Fall Publications, 1975). It would be interesting to hear more about the former, but Gombin gives a good summary of his ideas. He is about as kind to the latter as their epigrammatic nihilism deserves, and he says nothing about the disintegration of the Situationist movement since its peak in 1968.

"The Theory of Council Communism" discusses a tendency which is much better organised and expressed in France than in Britain. Gombin traces its origins back to Rosa Luxemburg and Anton Pannekoek, and to the experience of the workers' councils in many parts of Europe at the end of the First World War. He also mentions the anarchist contribution, but only in patronising and pejorative terms. He insists that "the anarchist movement itself has been moribund in France since the end of the First World War" and that "it can be asserted without fear of contradiction that 'official' anarchism played no part either in recent events or in the emergence of leftist theory"; this approach makes sense only if some of the very lively anarchist groups are considered as being unofficial -- such as the Noir et Rouge group, which Gombin describes favourably -- and if the same anti-amalgam technique is practised on those anarchists who took a prominent part in events -- such as Daniel Cohn-Bendit, whom Gombin shrugs off in a footnote and whose book he ignores. Gombin is much more interested in the non-anarchist advocates of council communism, such as those of Socialisme ou Barbarie and the various groups which split from it (Pouvoir Ouvrier and Informations Correspondance Ouvrière) and of the councillist fraction of the Situationist movement. (There is an unfortunate lack of editing in the discussion of Socialisme ou Barbarie, since there is no indication that P. Chaulieu and P. Cardan are the same person -- known as Paul Cardan by English-speaking readers -- and that his writings have been appearing in book form under his real name Cornelius Castoriadis.)

"Leftism and Active Dissent" discusses the complex problem of the relationship between leftist theory and leftist

(cont. on P. 14)

practice in the political parties and sects, the trade unions, and the student organisations. The discussion is clear and concrete as long as Gombin sticks to facts, but it becomes vague and abstract as soon as he ventures into speculation. An epilogue summarises the theme of the book, focusing the theory of leftism on the practice of "contestation", and ending with a tentative conclusion: "Whether leftism will become the revolutionary movement is an open question; but it has certainly demonstrated by its very existence and by the echo it has aroused, that this mantle is no longer worn by organised Marxism-Leninism."

The brief bibliography of the French edition has been omitted, so we are left with the footnotes, which almost always give the original French sources even when these are available in English. There is no guidance to the many publications which have appeared since the original appearance of the book, and virtually none to the British equivalents of the French groups and periodicals (no reference to Solidarity, for example, and to its versions of Cardan's writings). The book therefore seems even more foreign than it really is,

which is unfortunate and unnecessary.

The great virtues of The Origins of Modern Leftism are that it is clear and cheap. Its great vice is the assumption that "modern leftism" is a new idea, when it is obvious from everything Gombin says that the essential development he has described is the revival not so much of "leftism" as of libertarianism -- that is, the old idea embodied in various ways for more than a century by the anarchist movement. It is easy to say that individual anarchists are not very clever, that particular anarchist groups are not very effective, that standard anarchist writings are not very convincing; the fact remains that everything of value which has been said and done by the French leftists since the Second World War has represented a repetition of anarchist theory and practice. No doubt the old anarchists failed; but there is no reason for the young anarchists to pretend that they didn't try. In his later writing Gombin has dropped this pretence, and it is a pity that it still disfigures this book.

N. W.

Terrorism

Living with Terrorism by Richard Clutterbuck
(Faber and Faber, 1975)

MANY books on the subject of living with terrorism have been written by those who don't have to live with it and much of this book covers ground already well enough explored by others in the past. It will be many years before the last word is written on Ulster and before it is written I have the feeling that many of the alleged experts are going to look pretty silly: those who tell do not always know and those who know do not always tell.

Someone who had lived in Uruguay might well be able to provide us with some useful and hitherto unknown insights into the activities of the Tupamaros between 1968-72. But until then all that can be drawn are general conclusions based mainly upon newspaper reports and upon statements issued by the Tupamaros themselves by their political opponents; there remain many areas of the Uruguayan conflict as yet unexplored, and the same applies to Ulster.

But anyone who adopts Clutterbuck's opinion of the provisional IRA as a reliable guide is likely to be seriously misled. He compares the provisionals most closely with the Palestinian guerillas, both are politically motivated but the provisionals "are almost wholly devoid of intellectuals, even amongst the leaders." But is it necessary for a guerilla group to be led by intellectuals before it can be regarded as being effective? Lenin, for one, placed great faith in the "vehicles of science" being at the head of affairs and so does Clutterbuck. He thinks that the absence of intellectuals means that the "poor and uneducated" IRA would be unable to mount an operation like the Dawson's Field skyjacking operation carried out by the Palestinians.

But it is not necessary to have a university degree (BA?) in order to be a good organiser. It is possible to point to the numerous soft targets selected by the provisionals as evidence of the absence of organisational skills, but these are not what I have in mind. The creation of an organisation like the IRA and the ability to maintain it effectively as a fighting force requires a degree of organis-

ation that it is possible to underestimate. And even if provisional Sinn Fein is not taken seriously as a political organisation, yet its propaganda activities on behalf of the IRA are carried out effectively enough, too effectively as some of its opponents might think. Handsome is as handsome does and the effectiveness of Sinn Fein can only be gauged in relation to what it sets out to achieve. Even if its aims did not go beyond ensuring the allegiance of its hard core followers and spreading IRA propaganda in the USA and elsewhere then it has to be conceded that it is well enough organised for this purpose. Recent issues of Republican News show that their propaganda meets with considerable sympathy in some European countries and one issue (28.2.76) contains a photo of three Ghanaians who, it is claimed, are building up an impressive paper round of sales of An Phoblacht and Republican News in Ghana.

The IRA differs from the Palestinians in one important respect, in that it has been in business far longer, and it is possible to find republicans whose parents or grandparents and other relatives have been connected with the movement. This latter factor could explain why the IRA is not always as receptive to new ideas as many who follow in its wake, in the hope of eventually being able to influence it, would like it to be. The People's Democracy for example, is continually offering advice and guidance to the provo leadership and its advice is just as continually rejected. Members of PD have been barred from social clubs by the provos in the Anderstown area of Belfast, as reported in the PD newspaper Unfree Citizen (16.9.75.) As Clutterbuck correctly points out (p.127) members of the International Marxist Group, which supports the IRA "seem to do so more for their own gratification than in response to any demand from the IRA for their help, and the members of the IRA, while accepting that help for what it is worth, find it embarrassing and do little to hide their contempt."

But the IRA is not totally immune to outside influence, one of its spokesmen having said that it was willing to cross any frontier or any ideology, if it helped their own cause. Members of the IRA Army Council are reputed to have read closely books such as Marighela's For the Liberation of Brazil, Fanon's Wretched of the Earth and many others; at any rate we can be sure that the activities of other guerilla groups do not pass unobserved. Is the Ulster car-bomb not a close relative of the bicycle bomb as used by the Viet Minh in Indochina?

On other points a comparison between the IRA and the Palestinians will not stand up to close examination. Ideologically the leadership of the Palestinians appears to be marxist-oriented and this may pay off in the tangible shape of weapons supplied by the Russians. The Official IRA in this respect is much closer to the Palestinians; whether or not the Russians have supplied them with arms or with the money to procure some is an open question. The traditional source of IRA funds, the Irish Americans, appears to be effectively controlled by the provos. But the Official IRA does obtain most of its ideas on socialism from Moscow and the sort of united front it has tried to build lends credence to claims by the provos that it is nothing more than a Moscow-inspired National Liberation Movement.

Much of what I have said about the provos applies also to the protestant paramilitaries. The UVF has often been compared with the Officials but to my mind can be epitomised in the slogan "For God and Ulster" which appears on UVF cap badges. On social questions there is a leaning towards social democracy but the religious element is always present and so too is an awareness on the part of the UVF of the areas from which it draws support, as in the December 1975 issue of the UVF magazine Combat.

"Those protestants who have benefited least from the protestant monopoly of power have always felt the greatest anxiety whenever protestant power as a whole is threatened, for them, all they have had is the feeling of somehow they deserve more than their catholic counterparts, because their loyalty has involved more sacrifice than gain."

Similar feelings no doubt inspire the rank and file of the UDA, and even though the UDA may be seen as a slightly more chaotic type of organisation than the UVF it does seem, to judge from the content of some statements issued on its behalf, to have some educated and articulate spokesmen. But here as with most paramilitary organisations, when a conflict develops between the hawks and the doves, the hawks always seem to win. The resignation of the "moderate militant" Glenn Barr from the UDA is a recent case in point, and it could well be that people like Sammy Smyth, who has been threatening catholics with the prospect of wholesale extinction, can provide us with a more accurate barometer in relation to the feelings and intentions of the UDA.

H.B.

F.P.

(Aldgate East underground station, Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and turn right --Angel Alley next to Wimpy Bar.)

WE ARE OPEN: SUNDAYS 1.30-5 pm
(closed Mondays)

TUES-FRI 2 - 6 pm
(Thursdays until 8 pm)
SATURDAY 10am-4pm.

BOOKS FROM FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

(When ordering by mail please add postage as in brackets. Any book not in stock but in print can be supplied.)

*Ralph M. Wardle: <u>Mary Wollstonecraft: a Critical Biography</u>	£2.50 (29p)
*Mary Wollstonecraft: <u>Maria, or The Wrongs of Women</u>	£1.25 (16p)
Claire Tomalin: <u>The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft</u>	£4.75 (42p)
William Godwin: <u>Enquiry Concerning Political Justice</u> , edited & abridged by K. Codell Carter	£2.50 (42p)
*Ken Kern: <u>The Owner-Built Homestead</u>	£2.50 (24p)
*Ken Kern et al: <u>The Owner Builder & The Code : the Politics of building your own home</u>	£2.95 (24p)
Pietro Valpreda: <u>The Valpreda Papers</u>	
prison diaries	£6.00 (42p)
"Icarus" (Ernst Schneider): <u>The Wilhelmshaven Revolt</u>	£0.45 (9p)
*Charles B. Maurer: <u>Call to Revolution</u>	
the mystical anarchism of Gustav Landauer	£5.95 (42p)
War On Want: <u>The Profits of Doom: an investigation into the "world food crisis"</u>	£0.50 (11p)
National Council for Civil Liberties: <u>Squatting, trespass and civil liberties</u>	£0.50 (11p)

SOME FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS :

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, by Gaston Leval, complete translation by Vernon Richards of 'L'Espagne Libertaire' in which Leval set down in closely observed detail how anarchy worked during Spain's Spring of Freedom. 368pp cloth £4. (post 48p) \$10.00 paper £2. (post 42p) \$5.00

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman. The section of "Anarchist Communism" which sets out Berkman's ideas of how the anarchist society could work .25p (post 11p) USA 75c post free

The State, Its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin in this essay began by examining free societies, tracing their decline under the power of the State and concluded that the increasing centralisation of State power could lead to social destruction and a new Dark Age. 20p (post 9p) USA 65c post free

FREEDOM PRESS

in Angel Alley 84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST LONDON E1 7QX Phone 01-247 9249

LETTERS

SOME RESPONSES TO OUR PREVIOUS ISSUE

I would like to thank Richard Warren, or Philistine as he chooses to call himself, for the avid interest he takes in my writings and my prose style. I have genuine pleasure in knowing that I have such a devoted fan.

I am sorry that he lives in Sheffield but unfortunately I can do nothing to solve that problem for him.

Phil is an International Situationist and this must account for his rage against contemporary culture, that and living in Sheffield. Most militant political movements outside Britain accept violence as a legitimate means to their particular ends but British politics is relatively non-violent, therefore when small groups within these islands borrow the titles and manifestos of political movements beyond these shores they are no more than a name for some half cooked Anglicized debating society as with our own WRP, CP, Black Power and the Situationists. For as Richard writes, the Situationist International has contributed much useful theory to the current revolutionary movement, or in other words, Richard, they do what most British self-styled revolutionary movements do, they sit and talk. With its leadership of avant garde writers and artists it denounces art and artists, advertising, Spectacle and the rest of the visual arts so that it is as though the wealthy were telling the poor of the world to keep away from food.

The works of future artists who will have lived the life of the people, like the great artists of the past, will not be destined for sale. They will be an integral part of a living whole that would not be complete without them, any more than they would be complete without it.

KROPOTKIN



"IS YOUR OLD MAN IN LUV?"
--"WHAT DO YOU WANT HIM FOR?"
"WE ONLY WANT TO TAKE
HIM DOWN TO THE STATION
TO GIVE US A LECTURE."

The people who have put the Situationist theory into practice in that the nihilist act of terror should be used to force the Establishment to react with violence thereby forcing the working class into revolutionary action are the Irish militants, and in this type of situation Richard, it is usually the working class who are sacrificed for a political or theoretical end. You say, Richard, "Let us pick our own battleground for a change." By all means, comrade, but what if the enemy does not turn up, leaving all that dated nihilism as no more than a small hole in a vacant lot? The battle is as always in the fields and the factories and it can only be won there but as always I bow before the breeze and as the next free loading is at the Royal Academy I will drink a glass of wine to your kingly rage. So without malice and most fraternally,

I am your sincerely
Arthur Moyse,
39 Minford Gardens,
West Kensington, W.14.

Dear Editors,

Arthur Moyse's articles on the arts are one of the delights of FREEDOM, and I should hate to see them replaced by the dreary inanities of the "Situationists".

Richard Warren writes that the debate about the "death of art has been going on and off for decades". Indeed --and so have the indigestible rumblings and blowings of those who seek the "total annihilation of all our social institutions. . . "

S. E. Parker.

I should like to make a few observations on the issue of 20 March 1976.

Jan Waclaw Machajski (1866-1926), who is mentioned by D. L. M. in his look "Through the Anarchist Press", is actually a fairly well-known figure in Russian revolutionary history. Although his main work, Umstvenny rabochii, which appeared in Geneva in 1904-1905, has not yet been translated into English, he has been discussed in English in several books by his former follower, Max Nomad -- Rebels and Renegades (1932), Aspects of Revolt (1959), Dreamers, Dynamiters and Demagogues (1964) -- and there is a useful summary of his life and thought in Paul Avrich's standard history of The Russian Anarchists (pages 102-106, 199-200).

The book Bob James is trying to get is probably George Thayer's The British Political Fringe (Blond, 1965).

Jack Robinson, defending Bertrand Russell against Solzhenitsyn, says that "Russell, in the late forties, believed in the necessity of bombing Russia". This is not quite true. As is made clear in Ronald Clark's recent book, The Life of Bertrand Russell (1975), from 1945 to 1951 Russell believed not

(cont. on P. 16)

ANARCHIST LITERATURE

The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature Volume 1, Number 1 (30p)

THE BLACK FLAG Group is one of the liveliest sections of the British anarchist movement, and has published an increasing amount of valuable material during the past few years, including Black Flag itself (previously the Bulletin of the Anarchist Black Cross), Simian pamphlets and Cienfuegos books, continuing the work of the Coptic Press and Cudon's Group, and providing an independent voice for the revolutionary class-war fraction of the international anarchist movement in this country. Its latest venture is The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature, which is planned to appear twice a year and the first number of which has just appeared.

This is a 28-page small format magazine packed with information about various kinds of libertarian literature. Most of the material consists of two dozen reviews of recent books and pamphlets by several contributors, including some names which are rather unexpected in this context. Nearly all these reviews are worth reading, but they are not quite what they seem; although there is virtually no indication of the fact, almost all of them were originally printed in various anarchist periodicals during the past two years, and with a few exceptions they have now been reprinted without any acknowledgement of their sources.

There are five reviews by "Internationalist" (Albert Meltzer) from Black Flag -- of Arthur Lehning's anthology of Bakunin, of Paul Avrich's anthology The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, of Colin Ward's new edition of Kropotkin's Fields, Factories and Workshops, of The Valpreda Papers, and of pamphlets on Bakunin and Nechaev by Avrich and on Power and Liberty by Tolstoy. There are some other Black Flag reviews -- Frank Mintz on José

(cont. from p. 15)
in the necessity of preventive war against Russia but in the threat of it to force Russia to accept total disarmament and world government. Russell's later denial of this position confused the facts, but it is a pity to cause further confusion.

Most important of all, Karl Cordell's call for the commemoration of the centenary of Bakunin's death on July 1 should surely be heeded by all sections of the anarchist movement. At the very least there should be a memorial meeting in London and some kind of publication to mark the event. Could this be arranged by the Confederation of British Anarchists and the Freedom Press, if enough comrades come forward to help?

Nicolas Walter.

Peirats's La CNT en la revolucion espanola, Simon Watson Taylor on Flavio Costantini's The Art of Anarchy, and anonymous notices of Sam Dolgoff's anthology of Bakunin and of the Freedom Press Anarchist Classics. There are five reviews by Stuart Christie from Time Out -- of Anthony Masters's biography of Bakunin, of the new reprint of Kropotkin's Ethics, of Gordon Carr's The Angry Brigade, of Murray Bookchin's Post-Scarcity Anarchism, and of Herbert Read's Anarchy and Order.

All these are predictable enough. More unpredictable are two reviews from FREEDOM -- Colin Ward on Gaston Leval's Collectives in the Spanish Revolution and George Woodcock on The Art of Anarchy. There are also some reviews from the American libertarian press, especially the Laissez Faire Review, which is a combined book catalogue and review like the Cienfuegos one -- Terry Perlin on the Man! anthology, Paul Avrich on the new reprints of Arshinov and Voline, and others on Sidney Lens's The Military Industrial Complex, on Franz Oppenheim's The State, on Joel Spring's Primer of Libertarian Education, and on one of the two new reprints of Etienne de La Boétie's Discourse of Voluntary Servitude. There is Frank Mintz's review of Antonio Tellez's biography of Sabaté from Wildcat, and also his review of Sam Dolgoff's The Anarchist Collectives and Jose M.'s note on Octavio Alberola's study of the Spanish anarchist movement.

Apart from all these reviews, there are three other kinds of material in the magazine. There are announcements of past and future Simian and Cienfuegos publications and also of some Freedom Press publications. There are accounts of two books which have not yet been published -- a note on Tony Bunyan's The History and Practice of the Political Police in Britain, which is due from Julian Friendmann this year, and Albert Meltzer's description of Stuart Christie's The Christie File, which was commissioned by Michael Joseph but has just been rejected for legal reasons. And at the beginning of the magazine there is an old article on B. Traven by L. Kraft, reprinted from Man! in 1939, and there is the new prologue to the English translation

of Frank Mintz's book on self-management in the Spanish revolution, first published in France in 1970.

The quality of this material is as varied as its origins. The Black Flag material tends to be idiosyncratic and polemical, but the worst excesses have been excluded. Meltzer's reviews are sometimes careless to the point of nonsense ("Nechaev's Revolutionary Catechism has stood the test of time", or Bakunin "did not write directly for the workers"), but they are always readable and provocative, and he always says what he thinks and thinks for himself. Christie's reviews are sometimes muddled and often misleading (Masters's biography is not "an important book on Bakunin", Kropotkin's ethical ideas were not "suggested to him by his associations with the Ethical Society in London", Carr's book is not an "excellent summary" of the Angry Brigade case, Read's lecture in Buenos Aires was not "a full-blooded exposition of revolutionary anarchism"), but they always bring a fresh draught into the trendy fog of Time Out.

The FREEDOM reviews are good samples of the coverage we give to libertarian literature, though it is a pity they have had to be cut so drastically. The American reviews tend to be rather remote from British readers' interests, but they are all worth reading. The accounts of Bunyan's and Christie's books whet our appetites for the books themselves, both of which will provide important documentation of the partial police state in this country. The Traven article is interesting in the context of its time, but speculation about Traven's identity has been considerably advanced since 1939 -- in Black Flag, among other places, and above all in The Match! (but including material from that source might be taking ecumenism too far). Mintz is the leading expert on the Spanish revolution, and his reviews reflect this; his book may not be "definitive" as the editors claim, but the French edition is certainly authoritative, the sooner the English translation appears the better, and meanwhile the new enlarged prologue is an impressive critique of Marxist and liberal interpretations of Spanish anarchism.

Altogether this is a good 30p worth of reading and re-reading, though it would be improved by being more informative about the origins of most of the reviews and about the availability of the books reviewed. On the last page there is a brief account of anarchist publishing in general and of the Black Flag Group in particular, with an appeal for help similar to that in the January-February issue of Black Flag.

The Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature may be obtained from the Cienfuegos Press Ltd., Box A, 1 Exchange, Honley, Huddersfield, Yorkshire HD7 2AY, for 30p; it will be supplied free to people who buy a minimum of £3 worth of books from the same address.

A. F.



"IN MY OPINION . . ."