

## A NEW ERA

THE MEN  
OF VIOLENCE

BY THE TIME you read this the people of Britain will have been dragged yawning into the European Economic Community or the Common Market as the disdainful British still insist on calling it. All this shows is that the politicians have at last been forced to recognise in legalistic terms the obvious fact that the capitalist system has for some considerable time operated on an increasingly international basis with equal disregard for the politicians' clichés about "the national interest" and the regrettable nationalist prejudices of some workers. While the cash-registers ring out a "Fanfare for Europe", the occasion will doubtless bring a twinkle to the eyes of many a liberal foolish enough to believe that harmony between the peoples of the world, and social justice, are created by the stroke of a politician's pen and the dictates of authority.

The opposition to British entry to the EEC has been ambiguous to say the least. The case made by many on the left that it is all a super-state in the interests of

capitalism is a valid one. Unfortunately, however, the opposition to the EEC did not gain popular support on this basis, but rather on xenophobic ravings exploited by the fascists of the National Front and their fellow-travellers in the Conservative Party. The anti-marketeters of the Labour Party and the Communist Party bowed to the tide and fell back on the same dangerous, nationalist slogans. Despite the fact that the EEC is a development in the opposite direction to anarchist decentralization, the present writer found little relevance in the Common Market debate - certainly not to the extent of getting involved in an essentially reactionary campaign feeding on nationalist prejudices.

While capitalists ignore national boundaries workers are still sadly divided by the destructive myths of nationalism. Indeed, in Britain nationalism is a growing threat as fascism feeds on the social ills of unemployment and poor housing. Over a hundred years of sane

argument by radical movements in favour of working-class solidarity has failed to destroy the cancer and to firmly establish a real solidarity between the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world. However, there are hopeful signs. Already we have seen tentative steps towards co-ordinated action against employers by Dunlop workers in Britain and Pirelli workers in Italy: this is the only real answer to the European super-state, and one which must be echoed in the coming years.

It is significant that in recent years various European politicians have stated that the threat to stability (i.e. their continued rule) no longer consists of war with other states but from their own people in revolt against authority. This is clearly true but, unfortunately, the people have not yet fully learnt the lesson. If, as the media proclaim, we are entering a new era let it be the era of people everywhere throwing off the authority of the State, capitalists and anyone who denies them control of their own lives.

Terry Phillips

THE BOMBING of North Vietnam by American B52's has been described as probably the most intensive aerial bombardment in the history of war. The use of the B52's, instead of the more "sophisticated" fighter bombers with laser-directed bombs, emphasizes that the object of the exercise was not to destroy military targets but to kill a large number of innocent civilians. The sick, evil minds of those unspeakable criminals who decide on US action in the Vietnam war seek simply to cow the North Vietnamese into submission so that America can be provided with a "just" settlement in Indo-China.

Peter Jenkins writing from Washington in the "Guardian" on December 22 explained that military experts thought the B52 phase of bombing "something far worse than the destruction of Coventry or Dresden in World War II". His following comment leaves one to find the obvious conclusion: "Those operations bordered upon crimes against humanity". Indeed America to-day stands as a land at war with humanity.

Yet will the public change their stereotyped view that anarchists are the violent bomb throwers whom everyone should fear? Are they not, now, surely to see any action by the Angry Brigade or, indeed, the Irish republicans as piffling - yes piffling - in comparison with the brazen American slaughter in Vietnam?

The American bomb murderers do not, however, receive the condemnation of the British government, whose fulminations against the "men of violence" in Northern Ireland have been loudly blared from the roof tops. The British leaders are part of the social system that regards the American action in Vietnam as defending their vital interests. It should be clearly asserted from this day forth:

THE MEN OF VIOLENCE THE PEOPLE NEED TO FEAR ARE IN CONTROL OF GOVERNMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. THEY ARE A THREAT TO HUMANITY AND ARE PREPARED TO BOMB THOUSANDS OR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE TO A SHATTERING DEATH TO GET THEIR EVIL, ARROGANT WAY. THE SOLIDARITY OF MANKIND MUST STAND UP AGAINST THESE VICIOUS COWARDS AND BUILD A WORLD WHERE MEN SHALL NEVER, NEVER, BE ABLE TO DESTROY AND PILLAGE OUR BRETHREN AGAIN.

J.W.

Prison porn

A cracker-making contract for prisoners at Bedford has been withdrawn because blue jokes were found with the paper hats and novelties.

(Guardian 23.12.72)

## NO FREEZE ON PROFITS

THE DRIVING FORCE within the capitalist system is the profit motive. A minority who own and control the means of production use the labour of others to extract a profit. It does not matter whether the goods produced are of any use to the community or not just so long as it is profitable to make them.

In the insane drive to make a profit it is not unknown for stocks of food to be destroyed in order to keep the price up. Too much of any one commodity could bring a glut, prices would fall and so make the goods or foodstuffs unprofitable.

The captains of industry are always complaining of or declaiming at loss of profit margins and blaming it onto increased wages. However, company reports for 1972 show that profits are up 17 per cent on last year's figures. So even with a freeze operating for only the last two months of the year the employers' profits have continued to rise.

The government's freeze is due to end in February but this week Mr. Heath is expected to outline his plans to the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry for phase two of the prices and incomes policy. Having legislated a freeze, further controls in the coming months are expected. With Britain's entry into the Common Market, control over wages is more important to the government than its professed ideological opposition to 'state control'.

Profits are the life blood of the capitalist system and any government is willing to

sacrifice its articles of faith to assist and promote this exploitation. Mr. Heath has even instructed the Gas Board to discontinue talks with the unions for future increases in wages. These talks included the reduction of hours which the unions hope will prevent some of their members being made redundant.

Workers at the East Greenwich and Croydon gas manufacturing plants have banned all overtime in protest at the government's dictatorial intervention into collective bargaining. This move is unofficial, but it shows both the opposition to the freeze and the fear of redundancies by workers who traditionally have not been very militant. Hospital ancillary workers are also preparing for further action over their £4 claim.

So far the trade union leaders have only complained about the freeze. We can expect little else from those who do not oppose the evils of the capitalist system but only offer their own solutions. We all know that the freeze has been effective on wages and that prices, especially food prices, have continued to rise. It is useless for Mr. Feather, the general secretary of the TUC, to show the list of price increases notified by the trades councils, because Mr. Heath and his government will not take a bit of notice. The government and the state are not open to persuasion by evidence,

but only by opposition backed up by action.

Every worker knows that wage increases are nullified by price increases. We are continually chasing what is called a "living wage". Although the government's wage policies should be fought, it should be remembered that just to seek higher wages will only continue our own exploitation. As all necessary productive jobs are of equal importance to the community, no one can put a "price" on that labour. The abolition of money would mean that many more people could work at useful jobs creating enough for everyone and at the same time reducing the working hours needed to produce them.

Instead of the profit motive dominating our lives, we could live by and create a society with: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need" as its maxim.

P.T.

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—Alexander Berkman

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# THE TRAITOR CLERKS UNMASKED

THE COMING CRISIS OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, available for 5p plus postage from Keith Paton, 102 Newcastle Street, Silverdale, Staffordshire, ST5 6PL. (After January 5th from 53 Kitchener Road, Selly Park, Birmingham). Bulk orders (over 10) @ 6p, including postage. Postal orders only please. Or from Freedom Press.

The general attitude until recently was that science and freedom went hand in hand. This has always been something of an over-simplification. That science might become totalitarian has been a danger since the days of Francis Bacon, and since Hiroshima the danger has ceased to be a matter of academic discussion.

And yet science is after all only the study of the world, and to reject it and retreat into a sort of anti-science, Atlantean-Tolkien never-never land, as some of the hippies are doing, cannot be the answer. Keith Paton leads a vigorous counter-attack, choosing as his field Social Psychology.

He believes that Western Society is entering a period of grave and prolonged crisis, and Social Psychology will be, and indeed already is, used to keep

people in subjection. "I want to show", he writes, "that, while psychologists thought they were developing theories about learning, they were in fact developing technologies of stupefaction, based on the alienation of the learner by the experimenter/teacher."

He shows how the studies of behaviour, even the studies made of rats, are really studies of extremely artificial situations. The rats are put in mazes, and ingeniously tormented in various ways, in order to prove a point. And the fate of the human victims is not in principle different.

Experiments are made in which the human subjects are not told the truth about what is going on, even when the experiment is over for good, so that they cannot give secrets away to others and prevent the repetition of the experiment. With workers in industry as subjects the borderline between "scientific research" and simple spying is so thin as to be non-existent.

Furthermore the author does not believe that the kind of science based on the idea of the detached observer, and the experiment which he watches but does not influence in any way, is in fact scientific at all. The observer influences what he

observes. When he sets up an experiment he does so in such a way as to get the results which he wants, or at least expects, although of course he does not necessarily get them. We now have to take into account both the subjects of the experiment and the personality of the experimenter.

This of course puts science on a different basis from the one it occupied in the days of Newton (Newton and Locke were the *bêtes noires* of William Blake, who saw in them the epitome of materialist-authoritarianism). "Einstein located the observer in a finite, relatively specified place, and no longer with a God's eye view of objects 'in' an Absolute and stable Space-Time system. Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle states that to find out where a particle is we need to observe it with an electron microscope. But this involves transmitting an amount of energy to it, which is to move it, which is to be again uncertain where it is."

The author ends with a call to revolt. Let people no longer trust experts, and put faith in themselves. We do not need social psychologists to teach us how to live.

J. B.

## LETTER

## Election Mania

Dear Friends,

I suppose I did come across as a bit of a "self-righteous killjoy" when I made a disparaging remark about helping to make Bingo Hall owners richer in commenting on North West Workers' praise of apathy.

If we're playing the game in which nothing an Andy Capp caricature of the "worker" does must be criticised then it seems that anyone who said a racist attitude was unfortunate would be categorised by NWW as a "self-righteous liberal".

I got a nice picture of them all solemnly trooping down to the Bingo Hall on Wednesday evenings just to make sure everyone realises they're real workers and not "left intellectuals".

They say that apathy makes it hard for rulers to govern a country. It may appear that way on the surface but somehow, in spite of it all, the governing continues and the exploitation goes on.

You could say that race riots or sectarian hatred makes a country hard to govern but you would hardly expect to find either of these things made a cult of in an anarchist paper.

NWW give the impression that they imagine apathy and their apparently newly-discovered "unconscious anarchic elements" - some of us have noticed these elements where we work without having to turn to the ramblings of "industrial sociologists" - are the same thing.

From my experience apathy comes from a combination of physical laziness (or even tiredness), moral cowardice and a conditioned belief that no-one can do much about anything. It is a dull, negative and ultimately self-destructive thing.

"Unconscious anarchic elements" on the other hand are - as NWW rightfully say - the seeds of dissatisfaction that anyone who wants to see the social revolution would encourage and help to bring to full consciousness.

So where does the difference between us lie? Apparently simply in the definition of the word apathy and it seems a pity to waste space squabbling over something like that.

Just one more thing though. It was funny to see the old ritual "left intellectual" abuse making a comeback - how many books does a worker have to read before he or she qualifies for that status?

Best wishes,  
Harry Harmer  
London, S.E.

labour). The fact that Dr Mendes' report was produced in order to discover how best to counter the successes of the liberation movements lends weight to its credibility.

Finally from Tanzania "Mozambique Revolution" provides the documentary evidence behind the stories in the national press about advances by Frelimo in Mozambique. It naturally gives a far more complete picture than has appeared elsewhere (July-Sept 72 issue No. 52).

J. W.

## THIRD WORLD WAR

"War on three fronts" (18p)  
"Guerrilheiro" (5p)  
- published by Committee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné and the Africa Research Group, 531 Caledonian Road, N. 7.

"Portugal and NATO"  
"Petition by Angola Comité"  
"Facts and Reports"  
- all obtainable from Angola Committee, Da Costastraat 88, Amsterdam, Holland.

("Portugal and NATO", 25p or 75 cents - payments by international money order to Angola Comité; "Petition", no price; "Facts and Reports" - free sample copy or 25 francs annual sub for fortnightly journal.)  
"Mozambique Revolution", organ of Frelimo from Dept. of Information, PO Box 15274, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania (no price). (All publications obtainable from 531 Caledonian Rd.)

"War on three fronts" is a useful companion to anti-apartheid literature. It outlines the encouraging developments in Angola, Mozambique and Guiné. There is also an interesting background analysis of Portuguese policy and the tie up with NATO. Well worth reading. "Guerrilheiro" is the quarterly publication of the Com-

mittee for Freedom in Mozambique, Angola and Guiné; the Nov 72 - Jan 73 issue reports advances in Mozambique with a thought provoking conjecture that a black puppet (à la Banda in Malawi) with white settler backing might declare UDI from Portugal. Jorge Jardim, director of the Bank of Lisbon and South Africa is said to be a leading advocate of such a plan.

From Amsterdam comes a valuable and diligently researched exposé of the way the small country of Portugal has fought three colonial wars for over a decade ("Portugal and NATO"). The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation specifies that Portuguese colonies in Africa fall outside the NATO area so arms supplied to Portugal should only be used "for defence purposes in connection with NATO activities".

The documented proof of the means whereby Portugal continues to fight the colonial wars is here for all to examine and it is overwhelming in its precise allegations. America especially is vitally concerned to see that South Africa's buffer states do not collapse and thus endanger the profitable investment reserve

of the apartheid system. Indeed one suspects that "the next Vietnam" is likely to be in Southern Africa. For those who take the tragic pose and bellyache about the next world war being about the third world we have news - the third world war has already started. Of particular interest: "The Portuguese army is trained by the Americans. According to military personnel who deserted in Angola they are being especially trained for guerilla warfare."

The Petition by the Angola Comité concerns forced labour by Portugal in Angola and Mozambique and is a protest at the investigation by Mr Pierre Juvigny of the International Labour Organisation. The basis of the protest is a report by Dr Afonso Mendes, director of the Labour Institute of Angola on behalf of the Portuguese authorities. The Portuguese text and a translation are included in this secret report.

Among matters reported are non-payment of salaries, hostility and malicious insults of Africans by non-blacks, racial discrimination and obstacles to the freedom of mobility for agricultural workers (or forced

## VALPREDI OUT OF GAOL

Pietro Valpreda, Roberto Gargamelli, Emilio Borghese and Mario Merlino have been granted provisional freedom by the appeals court in Catanazaro. The four were accused in December 1969 of causing explosions in Milan which resulted in 17 people being killed.

Their release follows a new regulation which allows magistrates to free prisoners who have been held for an excessive time without trial. The period for holding without trial has been reduced from four years to three.

Last year their trial was started but was transferred to Milan. A new trial will now take place there at the end of March.

All four have been in gaol for over three years. Valpreda is seriously ill with leukemia but it was only last September that the Italian authorities allowed him to be transferred to a hospital.

It is probable that the Italian State will take the opportunity of their enforced and tardy 'clemency' to drop the Valpreda case since it is politically proving such a hot potato.

P.T.

## THESE TIMES IN IRELAND

THE PROVOS called a truce over Christmas and observed it faithfully. Asked if the UDA would observe a similar one, the answer was, "We won't stop till every IRA man and woman is killed." This said blatantly on the wireless. The Non-Incitements to Hatred bill was again not observed and (I think it was Tommy Merron) went free and uncollected. On Christmas Eve there was some sort of Orange Loyalist Vanguard parade. It is forbidden to wear para-military uniforms in the six counties but these hundreds of people all wore them even to their own police in white helmets with the word police on the front. No attempt to stop the parade or arrest anyone. On Christmas Day a very few unarmed People's Democracy men and women tried to march to "The Maze" (ex Long Kesh) but were stopped by the RUC who while admitting they were doing nothing illegal said it might provoke a riot.

A Catholic pub in the Waterside district (90% Protestant with this tiny Catholic enclave) was blown up and five people killed, four Catholics and one Protestant. Only a very languid sort of search for the culprits is in progress, but when a UDA man was killed in Armagh every Catholic home was raided. Will they never learn religious tolerance for one side is NOT the way to peace? Since then the sectarian shootings go on and on and hate proliferates on both sides.

A new Civil Rights Organisation has been formed in Dublin. I was invited but having read the chairman was to be Daithi O'Connell and other Provos were among the speakers I did not go, experience having taught me that however much they may declare "this is a non sectarian non political organisa-

tion" once the Sinn Feiners get in they soon boss everything and take over and introduce violence. We held a march and pickett to and of the American Embassy against the brutal renewed bombing of Hanoi after all Nixon's promises during his recruiting campaign. On December 27 White South Africa were to have played the Dublin Squash team. We of anti-apartheid kicked up such a row I am glad to say our team (with memories no doubt of the Springbok Rugby team and their humiliations, to say nothing of the Isaaea Cricket team) thought better of it and called it all off. Triumph! Even tiny victories like this one make one feel a gleam of hope in these dark times. Even a microscopic battle won, and won by strength of words alone and no violence from anyone on either side, shows it can be done with the will really there. The trouble is people enjoy flinging bombs and imagine themselves heroes.

I am terrified of 1973. That ridiculous border plebiscite will start all sorts of violence, and it looks as if the White Paper will be delayed and useless, merely an excuse for mass murders. Whitelaw won't really try for anything that will lead to reconciliation and a long term petal-by-petal solution. He only wants to go home. Your Queen had Kitson, the arch-torturer of the six counties to luncheon. The man who took Special Branch over to England to train them in torture and admitted it was a full month before he could brutalize them enough to make them carry out his ideas. She should remember her grandfather who threatened Lloyd George he would abdicate unless the

Black-and-Tans were withdrawn from Ireland and be more careful with whom she feeds.

H.

## ASIANS' HOSIERY STRIKE

Following the government inquiry into the 8-week long strike of Asian workers at Mansfield Hosiery Mills, Loughborough, a return to work has been negotiated. The economic settlement gives the Asian workers a £1 a week rise at the end of the freeze and union support for a further £4 claim thereafter, against the original demand for a £5 a week rise, for which they struck. On the central issue of the strike, which was the policy of keeping Asian workers in exclusively unskilled jobs and reserving the skilled and better paid knitting jobs for white employees, the management have now agreed to give these jobs to Asians who fulfil a set of job requirements. The management have been prevented from including engineering and knitting skills on the list of requirements, but they have included a level of language mastery and the ability to read and write job instructions in English, although why any worker should be required to speak, read and write operating instructions is beyond me. Such requirements can only keep Asian workers out of knitting jobs, and augur ill for the future fair treatment of these workers.

The other issue in the negotiations was the disposition of the 41 knitting jobs to which the company recruited white workers during the course of the strike. These jobs are now to be re-allocated to the most suitable applicants and having regard for the newly established job requirement specifications. The strikers have been talking in

terms of insisting that at least 30 of these jobs be given to Asians. Disregarding the inverted racialism of such an approach I am sanguine about the chance of such a figure being met.

As the negotiations between management, union and strike committee approached agreement a National Front member rang the "Leicester Mercury" to say that the white knitters were ready to strike in protest if any of the 41 white knitters set on during the strike should be displaced by Asians. This was never more than desperate (and on the Front's part hopeful) posturing. The dispute has seen an increase of racial tension, but not to the extent that the National Front can lead workers into a strike against equitable treatment for their Asian fellow workers.

The whole dispute has had the odour of crookedness. The Asians and their strike committee have been cheated by their union officials, they have been attacked by their fellow workers on racist grounds, they have suffered insults and lies from the "Leicester Mercury" and they had been indifferently advised and helped by IS, who, lacking any faith in the self reliance of the working class, turned to the nearest machine, the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers, the crappiest and most racist union in the area, and nearly buried the strikers in a monstrosity they wouldn't even have represent them.



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But in spite of all the strikers have come through to a partial victory, the fruits of which they will guard with vigilance, and to a growth of self reliance and class consciousness.

Peter Miller

Secretary:  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

# BUREAUCRATS REVOLT

THE RECENT THREAT by the Civil & Public Services Association of selective strike action and a campaign to disrupt the working of many government departments in protest at the pay freeze is a heartening sign of the unrest within the bureaucracy. The main initiative has come from the CPSA which is the largest union representing the lower grade (and lower-paid) clerks.

The Civil Service unions have traditionally been amongst the most conservative section of the trade union movement - perhaps not unconnected with the fact that, as a Government security report in the 1960's revealed, there was a greater concentration of Communist Party sympathisers in the Civil Service unions than anywhere else! - but in the last few years a new militancy has emerged inspired by young militants. These young people dropping-out from the academic broiler-house and recoiling from the industrial rat-race have taken clerical jobs in the Civil Service where they have learnt to their cost that the life of a

professional bureaucrat is more mindless, more futile and more soul-destroying than anything on a factory production line. This intense alienation which the bureaucracy by its very nature induces in a minority of its workers is something which gives cause for optimism.

Within the CPSA a militant view has been spread by the loose alliance of left-wing members around the rank-and-file magazine "Redder Tape" (a pun on the official union journal title, "Red Tape") which hopefully is developing a revolutionary view. During the postal workers' strike militants in the CPSA and smaller associated unions tried unsuccessfully to link up their unions in a common struggle with the postal workers. The failure underlined the urgency of building rank and file links throughout the public sector unions.

However, the greatest need is for the militants to recognize the role they play - however unwillingly - in this authoritarian and exploitative society. From this flows the

awareness of the need for the destruction of the system which dooms them and their fellow-workers to a life of boring and futile work, and to aim at their re-deployment to socially-useful and individually-satisfying work which does not trample on man's innate creativity. As a first step there is scope for effective - and illegal - individual collaboration with community groups (e.g. SS clerks providing useful information to Claimants' Unions, etc.) but also for developing socially-aware industrial action as a strategy within the union: for instance, striking in those departments from which the Government finances itself whilst providing in those departments from which the public derives some small benefit (like Social Security) unprecedented assistance through the maze of bureaucratic regulations and unpublicized entitlements.

Governments be warned: the bureaucracy saboteurs are coming!

Terry Phillips



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# BOND SLAVERY IN TEXTILES

"BOND SLAVES" is how the treatment of the Filipinos brought here by Alderglen Ltd. has been described in Rochdale.

£1 a week is being taken out of the wages of the girls imported from the Philippines (FREEDOM 23/12/72) to make sure they don't leave the company once they're here. For every girl who leaves, £200 is taken out of the joint fund to which all the girls are paying, so that if a girl leaves before completing her two-year contract everyone suffers.

The scandal involving these girls, which was first brought to light by the "Rochdale Alternative Press" and researched by the Rochdale Women's Lib. Group, has now been taken up by the mass media. Alderglen, which has often imported foreign labour, has allowed the story to spread so that according to "Taliba", a newspaper published in the Philippines, the company pays wages for "top workers" of "as much as £43 to £45 a week".

An examination of the wage slips of many of the 100 girls at Alderglen showed that they really get more like £14 a week. In addition, the girls are having to live in grossly overcrowded conditions. In one case 18 girls were found to be living in one house, for which the company took a rent of £10. In another, 12 girls were living with no bathroom and one sink.

Rochdale's Fire Prevention Officer investigated conditions and found "gross overcrowding" in eleven houses in other parts of the town. The accommodation which Alderglen is providing for the girls is in sub-standard, back-to-back houses, with no back door.

The union involved, the National Union of Textile & Garment Workers, another weak textile union, has done nothing to help these girls, and has even collaborated with the firm, in some ways.

It is now reported that Bertex, a similar company to Alderglen in Plymouth, is also trying to get in on the act and import girls from the Philippines. We should see to it that we don't get another Alderglen in Plymouth.

North West Workers  
with help from  
Rochdale Women's  
Lib. & R.A.P.

THREE VICTIMISED WORKERS at Whipp & Bourne Ltd., Rochdale, got their jobs back last week, after a three-week strike of 400 workers. The firm also agreed to pay to everyone Xmas holiday pay, which they held up during the strike.

This represents a major climb down for the company, which had hoped to get rid of the militant works convenor. The firm obviously hadn't expected their workers to strike the week before Xmas.

Trade Unionist

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GOLCHESTER: T.O. £2.00; Brooklyn, N.Y.: A.P. £1.10; don. to typesetting 25p; NEW YORK: P. & R.S.C. £2.80; LEEDS: G.L. 45p; A.K. 36p; BRONX, N.Y.: H.S. £1.15; CHESHUNT: D.N. £1.00; BERKELEY Ca.: E.A.B.: 20p; WIMBORNE: D.M. £5; LIVERPOOL: R.E. 12p; LONDON SW19: D.T. £1; E.16: P.W. £3.35; TINTAGEL: P.H.T. £1.00; SUTTON: B.R. £2.00; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.K.W. 10p; J.L. 70p; TADMORDEN: G.B. £1; LONDON W4: R.W. £1.50; GENEVA: K.K. 85p; LONDON NW6 N.I.B. £2; NW2 D.S. £2; NW4 N.W. £2; SE19 M.R.E. 50p; WATER ORTON: T.H. £2; CAMBRIDGE: R.C. £5; CHALFONT St PETERS: W.C. £7; HARROW: N.W. £7; MONTREUIL: L.P. £2; PERTH, WA: P.J.R. £3.10; GOTHENBURG: V.K. £5.22; dons. in bookshop £2.83.

TOTAL: £66.58

1972 SUBS. & SALES: £2853.83  
PRESS FUND £1371.05  
TOTAL £4224.88

Targets £6000.--

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Henry Maret

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# ROLE OF THE REVOLUTION

Continued from p.1

Revolution: Past and Present, by Tony Fleming, 31 pages, published by Leeds ORA (10p + 3p postage) from 72 Beechwood View, Leeds 4.

THIS PAMPHLET attempts to trace the varying characteristics of a number of modern revolutions and revolutionary movements from the anarchist-communist viewpoint.

The writer discusses first the Paris Commune of 1871, and then the Russian Revolution, followed by events in Turin in 1920, the Spanish Revolution and Civil War, Hungary in 1956 and France and Italy in 1968. In a fairly short work, the writer is not able to go into a detailed analysis of the events. But he does discuss, for example in respect to the Paris Commune, the views of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The role of the anarcho-syndicalists, the Left Communists and the Workers' Opposition are all briefly discussed in the section on Russia. The problem of achieving a balance between centralisation and decentralisation within a revolutionary libertarian movement is mentioned by the author. He accepts that there is no easy answer to such a problem.

Indeed, this pamphlet sets itself the task of bringing out into the open a number of problems which have bedeviled libertarians for many decades: the above-mentioned problems of decentralisation and centralisation, the limitations of syndicalism and the reformist trends ever-present within anarcho-syndicalist organi-

sations like the Spanish CNT, spontaneity and/or organisation (should the revolution be prepared? as argued by Berkman) and, indeed, the form of organisation necessary to achieve a successful revolution.

Although the author does not pretend to know all the answers, he does argue that the time has come, in Britain and elsewhere, to spell out the role of the revolutionary - and by revolutionary he does not mean either "left" political parties or free-wheeling individualist "anarchists". He sums up his views on this as follows:

"We have already said spontaneity is not enough, and a close-knit revolutionary grouping with a clear perspective is essential if the revolution is to succeed. This revolutionary group has to see itself, not as the executive committee of the (working) class, but as a propagandist, and catalyst, for struggle. It has to maintain a collective viewpoint, but guarantee the right of opposition groups to seek a change of line. It cannot, however, allow open dissent. This merely makes for confusion and loss of credibility. Unless what a group says is consistent, then no one is going to listen to it."

Comrade Fleming accepts that, in such an organisation, Leninism could develop. That is, the group might see itself as becoming the organisation "which takes power for the workers". To stay libertarian, he says, it has to fight any such tendency to view it as anything but an organisation aiming to make possible the smashing of the State and the "creation of proletarian democracy through the

self-activity of the (working) class in the creation of self-managing Workers' Councils". Such a revolutionary organisation has to ensure that its militants do not become ensconced leaders - as many of them did in Spain and elsewhere. In conclusion, the writer remarks that "The role of the revolutionary is not to take power as a member of a vanguard group. It is to make the taking of power by the working class, as a class, through and in the Workers' Councils, more possible by pointing out lessons. It is this, and the conviction that we have to destroy all oppression if the revolution is to be genuinely liberatory, that marks us off decisively from the Leninists of whichever brand."

Following on from the recently-published "Organisational Platform" of Archinov, Makhno and Mett, Revolution: Past and Present must surely provide further fuel for the important discussions among anarchists as to the best form of organisation required for the all-important struggle of working-class emancipation, and the bringing about of a classless, governmentless and Stateless society in Britain and elsewhere. Indeed, it should be read in conjunction with the "Organisational Platform".\*

Peter E. Newell

\* Both the two (1972) French ORA editions have been sold out, as has the first (1972) British ORA edition; but I understand that a second English-language edition is presently being printed on the ORA printing presses, and should be out early in the New Year.

the trouble starts when someone says: "I've got a right not to belong to a union." Mr. Goad has gone along to the National Industrial Relations Court and had the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers fined £55,000 because he has insisted on being a member when others have made it plain they don't want him. Mr. Langston has won the legal right not to belong to the AUEW and has been sent home by Chryslers on full pay because the workers at Ryton have threatened industrial action if he comes back to work.

These same workers have been called "bullies" and a "mob", after Mr. Langston got some rough treatment when he went to collect his wages. As with the 'scab', Mr. Langston can have and will no doubt have the protection of the police when he goes to the factory again. But there is justification for their anger (which might not have occurred had not the newspaper and television cameramen been present), because Mr. Langston does have a moral obligation to be a member of an organisation that negotiates his wages and conditions. Mr. Langston has enjoyed all the benefits of trade union organisation and now he shelters behind the law to opt out. He now threatens the Works Committee that he will take them to the NIRC.

But the Chrysler workers, like those at C.A.V. with Mr. Goad, have shown the contempt they feel for both Mr. Langston and the law. Some will say that the individual is under attack by the majority, but equally the will of the Mr. Goads and Mr. Langstons could rule against the wishes of the others if they tolerated their presence.

Mr. Langston has not just refused to join a union, he has opted out.

Most workers see the moral obligation for belonging to a trade union. They might disagree with the trade union leadership and the agreements they make but they see the need for the organisation that the trade unions provide. It is not so much the trade unions themselves but what can be built and achieved at the place of work, these are the reasons for joining the union. It is also for these reasons that the government has enacted the Industrial Relations Bill.

While I am against the "closed shop" as a condition for obtaining a job, I think workers do have a moral obligation to join. In my experience no non-unionist has given me a good reason for not doing so.

P.T.

FIVE YOUNG ANARCHIST comrades, Ange Casile, Jean Arico and his German companion, A. Borth, Louis Locelto and another comrade have been murdered by the fascists. These comrades had unmasked the fascists, authors of a number of attacks against the Reggio de Calabria - Turin train.

At the moment when the five comrades were passing the Castle of Ardena, property of the well-known fascist prince, Valerio Borghese, they were knocked down by a lorry belonging to Borghese, driven by another fascist, Aiello.

L'Anarchie, November

# KNOCKING AUNTIE

BROADCASTING, BRAINWASHING, CONDITIONING, by David Tribe, The National Secular Society, 25p

A SPRIGHTLY, and very welcome attack on the BBC and a number of other contemporary sacred cows from the pen of David Tribe, of the National Secular Society. Mainly it is about the religious (Christian) bias of broadcasting, but the author bangs away at some other targets as well, and never fails to score a direct hit. As this is something that touches me personally (I saw the decline and fall of the anarchist discussion groups, the cosy evenings spent in pubs, discussing ideas of all kinds), I cannot forbear to quote:

"The sinister potentialities of this scientific fact [that there are only a limited number of wave-bands] hardly need to be spelt out. Most governments have taken advantage of it to exert control not only on the manner but the matter of broadcasting. Even in ostensibly liberal countries dominated by Ibsen's 'compact liberal majority', which in all questions of radical or advanced thought must by definition be always

wrong, those with important new things to say must face a situation increasingly manipulated by radio and television with some misgiving. For while there is in the liberal democracies no prior control of the public platform, press, drama, cinema and other media, so that anyone who has a powerful enough voice or can amass sufficient capital may disseminate his views in these ways, however powerful his voice or abundant his means he cannot broadcast unless he obtains a licence for one of a limited number of frequencies or the goodwill of those who have been so blessed. When radio was just a toy for the mechanically minded or a luxury for the rich this may not have mattered. Now that it has become a cheap mass medium and been joined by television, which has above all largely emptied outdoor speaking sites, indoor public meetings and gatherings of trades unions and political parties save in times of crisis, which has driven out of business untold numbers of small, serious literary, political and humanist magazines, and which has, despite statistics to the contrary, subverted the reading habits of whole nations,

the phenomenon poses a grave threat to the survival of a literate, participatory democracy."

And he adds in a footnote to the above:

"I boldly assert that the statistics showing increasing publishing and library lending of books have come about through population growth and the expansion of textbooks, do-it-yourself manuals in every field, and coffee-table art and travel books, and not in works of general culture making intellectual demands on their readers."

I am delighted to find my prejudices confirmed in print. I had thought the same for a long time. Mr. Tribe however is no luddite, and has all sorts of plans for humanist programmes, which sound far more interesting than the religious and secular pap and violence which is broadcast so much of the time. But the power is still in the hands of the Establishment.

Arthur Stone

# WALK TOWARDS ANARCHISM

WE HAVE now and again been recommended or urged or warned that we ought to put a preamble, a manifesto or an editorial statement in our columns (to occupy a weekly position) that would enshrine, formulate or concretize our editorial position. This would line us up with Black and Red Outlook, Industrial Worker and International Socialist which state their case in every issue. So far we have resisted this not very strong temptation. It has never seemed an easy task; it may be impossible - indeed, one recalls the foundering of anarchist groups upon this veritable rock (or foundation stone) of 'Aims and Principles'.

It is probable that anarchism itself, and certainly the wide range of anarchism covered by FREEDOM, indicate that anarchism is pluralistic and many-headed in its nature and therefore its 'Aims and Principles' are incapable of being encapsulated in a weekly statement. Especially since FREEDOM is not the viewpoint of any one organization or tendency - although we, being human, have our biases.

This plurality itself is a source of anarchist weakness and strength. The diversity of viewpoints (sometimes more apparent than real) is a closer approximation to the human condition than the monolithic standpoint or vague nebulousness of the average party (or non-party) preamble.

Perhaps we may clarify FREEDOM's standpoint with a quote from Malatesta:

"The subject is not whether we accomplish Anarchism today, tomorrow, or within ten centuries, but that we walk towards Anarchism today, tomorrow and always."

Critics of FREEDOM and anarchists in general might feel that recently we have all been running too fast, or proceeding by very indirect routes; some merely standing still or lying down; some of us may have tripped up and fallen flat on our faces and some of us could be accused of walking backward from anarchism.

But whatever our shortcomings we can look with some pride on what we can collectively call positive achievements. The name of 'Anarchy' has once more become the swear-word of the Establishment. The principle of direct action (though it often tapers off into reformism) has pervaded the problem of housing (with the squat) and the problem of unemployment (with the work-in). The problems of ecology including the motor-car, which were common discussion in anarchist circles years ago have fought their way to the forefront of attention. (1971's sit-down in Oxford Street became 1972's traffic-precinct inspiration). The names that were names in FREEDOM a decade or two ago - Wilhelm Reich, A. S. Neill - have now become ikon-figures of the trendy libertarian left. Workers' control in various shapes, sizes and distortions has become a party political plank and libertarian ideas in criminology, education, penology and the health service are rife - the only thing lacking is their free expression! Whatever the Permissive Society was trembled on the brink of it and things will never be quite the same again.

Anarchist ideas have cropped up everywhere. Libertarian, underground and unashamedly anarchist publications have sprung up like mushrooms. That many, like mushrooms, have withered away on their stalks is evident too, but it has long been a libertarian principle that the more papers the better, and we have never hesitated to publicize the proliferation of local and national libertarian papers. We use the word 'libertarian' advisedly, since the impression is often conveyed that the better, as it were, of anarchist ideas is spread far too thinly on many of these undoubtedly organic crusts.

We, like so many others, are accused of "preaching to the converted". Judging by the actions and words of some of the 'libertarian' left there still exists the necessity to preach to the - somewhat faultily - converted.

To lightly touch upon some issues which, were we manifesto minded, might appear tabulated week by week in our valuable columns. We would emphasize that we envisage anarchism as a pluralistic doctrine and therefore would eventuate in a pluralistic society. That is to say that each differing walk towards anarchism would result in a differing (e.g. communalist, syndicalist, individualist) form of society, societies which, appealing as they do to differing temperaments, would not harmfully clash.

We would specifically reject the too-ready assumption that FREEDOM is a left-wing paper and goes along with all the received values of the conventional (and unconventional) left. An intellectual case can be made out for anarchist affinities with the Liberal past history and present pretensions of a concern for individual freedom but this is now a mere historical speculation and has no connection with Jeremy Thorpe living or dead. At the same time we would scotch any idea that anarchism is democratic, whatever that means.

Equally, in view of the historic schism between Bakunin and Marx it is obvious that we of FREEDOM must reject much of Marxism for its pro-statist bias despite its unfulfilled (and unfulfillable) prophecies of the state withering away. The same goes for the re-incarnation of the immaculate Marxist conception in Mao's China, a puritanical authoritarian state run on maxims derived from Samuel Smiles, a Victorian do-gooder.

As regards the class struggle we cannot completely reject the economic facts of life but we would urge that the 'historic mission of the working class' is more a pious hope of the mystical dialectic than a fact of modern British life.

At the same time we must confess to a bias in rejecting the heresy of the (largely American) concept of anarcho-capitalism. (By the way, "The New Banner", the American Libertarian's Journal has a declaration of principle which starts in their anarcho-capitalist way: "I who love my life declare that existence exists; that things are what they are, independent of man's consciousness; that A is A.")

Yet this does not fully impel us into the camp of Trade Unionism. Whilst the strike (providing it is non-racial) is a good rehearsal for the general strike we cannot feel that the wrangles to maintain an obsolete wage-system with its myth of a 'fair wage' are the complete and only function of trade-unionism. A recognition of the importance (or non-importance?) of work and its significance in the life of man should play a part in anarchist thinking. It goes without saying that FREEDOM puts emphasis upon the idea of workers' control but not without considerations of the purpose and value of such work.

It would be apocalyptic for us to opt for revolution or nothing whilst we at the same time do not deserve the contrary label 'reformist' for, as Nicolas Walter wisely said:

"...only the wildest revolutionary refuses to welcome reforms and only the mildest reformist refuses to welcome revolutions, and all revolutionaries know that their work will generally lead to no more than reform and all reformists know that their work is generally leading to some kind of revolution." \*

Or to quote somebody else, "Evolution is the dance, revolution the steps".

Whilst some individualists would reject 'society' (except ones of their own making) FREEDOM has always felt it important to stress the contradiction between society and the State and fully implement the anti-Statist view, whilst calling attention to the social values of co-operation and mutual aid.

Inevitably we are brought up against the tricky question of violence. Whilst we are anti-militarist (even with regard to liberation movements) we are not pacifist. Reservations are made (depending upon individual temperament - and physique!) with regard to defensive violence. But on contemplating, for example, recent American efforts in Vietnam we feel the bombs of the anarchists to be mere amateur trifling. We cannot avoid a sneaking suspicion that beneath all the "violent anarchist" aggressive posturing lurks a truly anarchistic reverence for life.

This last sentence may lead to the horrible suspicion that religion has raised its ugly halo-crowned head in FREEDOM. Our general outlook is opposition to organized religion, but with the decline of orthodox religion it is obvious that there is needed an awareness of the irrational, superstitious and even dangerous cults which are taking its place.

This naturally brings us to the most dangerous religion of all - Nationalism, with its ever-ready partner racialism. We must always oppose the chauvinism whether anti-American in form or anti-British which looks on National Liberation Fronts as new forms of freedom when they are but new forms of tyranny for the people who must work and suffer under them.

We could go on. . .

But some further things we

must say about ourselves. Our paper is produced by unpaid amateurs and it is in itself a rebuttal of the charge that anarchists are opposed to organization that, with largely voluntary labour and the scantiest means anarchists have produced a paper and maintained a press regularly and consistently for thirty-five years - at least.

Finally, to blow our own trumpet for "if we are not for ourselves, who is for us?", we must be the only current newspaper three of whose editors have suffered imprisonment, victimization at work and a sustained strike in defence of their written principles.

Editors.

\*ANARCHY 100 (1969) in print as About Anarchism (Freedom Press, price 12<sup>pp</sup> post 2<sup>pp</sup>)

## Contact Column

### Proposed Groups:

CAMBRIDGE: Alan Ross and Louisa Martin, 24 Thomas Rd., Fulbourn. tel.880147

HARLECH (ASA): G & B Briggs, c/o Coleg Harlech, Merioneth

HASTINGS area: Kevin McFaul, tel. Hastings 7905

### Meetings:

CRA N. London, Tues. 7 p.m. Sun. 2 p.m. at 68A Chingford Road, London, E. 17

Stoke-on-Trent 'Dwarf' info. service. Open meetings every Thursday 8 p.m.

New York: Libertarian Book Club lectures, Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave., crnr. 29 St. Thurs. Feb 22 Judie Malina & Julian Beck: "Anarchism and Strategy for Change". Admission free.

Publications (usu. avail. fr. Freedom Press bookshop)

Black & Red Outlook, Roy Carr-Hill, 29 St. Michael's Place, Brighton. Monthly, 8p inc.post

Libertarian Teacher, No. 10 13p inc. post, sub 5 issues 50p from Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne Street, Leicester.

ORA pamphs. - see N. London

Peace News 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1. £4.95 p.a. (less 10% students) trial sub. 7 weeks 50p.

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This issue is our first by this method, produced by the editorial group of FREEDOM. We hope to do better next time and to keep FREEDOM in existence, which had become impossible on its former costs. We can do so only if all our subscribers renew promptly.

Financial statement will appear in another issue.