

SOCIAL CONTRACT — not worth the paper

RUNNING THROUGH the strikes in Scotland there are a number of things they have in common. Firstly they are all about more money and they concern amounts, and periods covered, which will exceed the government's and TUC's social contract. Another common trend, and one which is an important one from an anarchist view, is that they are all unofficial.

What these strikes are, in essence, is a money revolt against inflation. For in reality, agreements made between the TUC and the government at remote centres of power like London and the South, bear little or no relationship to the every day struggle at work and providing enough for the wife and kids.

While the strikes by the dustmen and lorry drivers are over, those by public transport workers, sewage workers, Rolls Royce and Hoover continue. These strikes have virtually brought Glasgow to a standstill. Heaps of foul smelling rubbish block pavements and housing estates. Untreated sewage pours into the Clyde and people walk to work. The lorry drivers' stoppage has affected supplies to other industries throughout Scotland and threatened to put 35,000 people out of work.

As usual when strikes threaten the jobs of others, the mass media have been quick to moralise about the hardship that "a handful of shop stewards" are causing. Everyone suddenly becomes concerned about pollution and the lack of public transport. In fact any and every stick is used to beat those who take direct action. For all those who are the paid hacks of authority and power are only interested in getting things back to "normal" rather than in discussing the justice of the strikers' claims.

These workers perform essential jobs for the community and yet their financial rewards are small. Everyone takes their work for granted until suddenly the dustbins are not emptied or supplies don't arrive. Workers are supposed to be reasonable and accept whatever is offered. But for too long these workers have accepted second best. They, like all workers, see wage increases as the only answer to inflation. The social contract

is some remote political bargain. It was not made by the rank and file but by those in authority. The idea came from above, from well dressed trade union leaders and Labour Party Politicians and has no meaning when each week the food you eat costs more. Social justice, distribution of incomes, fair shares for all, are understood for what they are -- pie in the sky.

However, the union leaders have been trying their hardest to get the strikers back to work. They, like all people in authority, want normality. The trade union leaders' interests are tied up with the social contract. But while workers are

striking and demanding above the norm, that social contract is not worth the paper it is written on.

Political mileage is not only to be made from these disputes by the Tories, but also by the Scottish Nationalists. Such opportunism is expected, but this same party gets some of its support from employers. They are not concerned with the real claims of the strikers but with using the disputes for their own ends, which is power.

The unions are equally tied to the Labour Party and their social contract. They, with the government, are more concerned with keeping the capitalist system functioning than with social justice for the working class. But real social justice will only come about when workers desire to control their own work and work places. It is no use relying on the Labour government or the trade union leaders to achieve higher wages, let alone social justice. But the example of direct action in Scotland shows that workers can organise their own struggles. That in fact they could organise their own work places and serve the community better than the local authorities or private enterprise.

P. T.

Enemies of the State

FOURTEEN people will have appeared at Bow Street court on Wednesday 30th October, after our going to press, on charges connected with the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign's leaflet giving 'Information for Discontented Soldiers'. The two latest arrested, Bill Hetherington and Bob Thomas, were charged with conspiracy to incite disaffection in members of her majesty's forces, and the names of the other 12, who had earlier been

charged with possession of leaflets under the Incitement to Disaffection Act, were named on the charge sheets.

THE ARRESTS followed raids by the police, initially on the premises at 5 Caledonian Road where Pat Arrowsmith was re-arrested after her walk-out from open prison, and where London Peace News, Peace News London Office, and at the time Wildcat had their address, and which is the address on the BWNIC leaflet.

In fact, all the leaflet does is to tell soldiers their rights and what they may do if they resolve their dilemma by deserting from the Army -- the only course open very often to a conscientious and humane person who has joined the army through youthful idealism, need and lack of a career, or impetuosity.

The authorities must have a need to keep such simple information from the troops, otherwise they would not bring such prosecutions. This has not, and will not, stop activists from continuing leafletting soldiers. (Leaflets available from BWNIC c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.).

The Peace Pledge Union (British Section of the War Resisters

Cont. on p. 9



"THERE'S A MR. GUY FAWKES PHONING IN A BOMB WARNING."

--"If he hasn't got an Irish accent tell him to call again next year."

HONG KONG Report

THE 70's Front, a libertarian communist group in Hong Kong, have sent us the following report;

Like everywhere in the capitalist world, Hong Kong's economy has been in a bad shape, and the situation is deteriorating. The rate of inflation is among the worst in the world, and there have been massive layoffs of workers. The unemployment situation worsens with depression in the Hong Kong textile and electronics industries. With the colossal rise in the cost of living eating deeply into the real wage of the workers, discontent among the local populace against the British colonialists and local capitalists is reaching a new height.

Non-Maoist radical groups in Hong Kong have watched the situation very closely and a mass rally and other indoor meetings have been held since May this year. Members of the 70's have been active in propagating that the only solution to the current economic crisis is revolution, by constant agitation in the crowded industrial areas of Hong Kong. Since the beginning of September we have intensified our campaign by specifically calling upon the people of Hong Kong to refuse paying their electricity, telephone, water and governmental rent bills, and urging the occupation of factories and resolute struggle against the bosses.

At the same time, contingents of 70's members and friends were staging daily small rallies on the streets of the Sanpokong area, one of the most populous industrial areas of Hong Kong. This daily agitation has gathered much support from the workers who are either not organised or have illus-

ions about the Maoist controlled trade unions. Later, the Daily Fighting Bulletin, a group with Trotskyist tendencies joined in. Since they are not so sectarian as another Trotskyist tendency in Hong Kong, the 70's Front has reached an understanding with them concerning tactics and strategy.

A member of the 70's Front and a member and a member of Daily Fighting bulletin participated in the hunger strike which lasted three days until 15th September, when a mass anti-inflation rally was held in Kowloon Park (it had originally been scheduled for Morse Park, but police refused to give permission). As a police permit had been granted, the rally was carried out legally and peacefully, with no incidents.

1,000 people attended the rally. Members of the 70's Front had earlier felt that it was a wrong tactic to change the venue of the rally from Morse Park, which is one of the most populous areas of Hong Kong, but they participated in the rally and distributed hundreds of leaflets putting forward the 70's position.

Apart from demonstrators, the police were out in force, uniformed and plain clothes. The latter conspicuously took pictures of participants. The press was also out in force, both right-wing reporters and Maoist ones. The latter, acting very much like the Hong Kong police were filming the whole rally, with close-ups of the Trotskyist and Anarchist inclined individuals.

The rally was only part of a long term struggle against British Imperialism, local and foreign capitalists and the Chinese

bureaucrats led by Mao. Further activities of the 70's front will be directed towards popularizing the idea of civil disobedience and direct action in not paying government rents and all other charges. Propaganda will be concentrated on specific areas of populous housing estates.

IN BRIEF

THE JUDGE in a film obscenity case (on which the jury failed to agree after eight hours) said "At some time during my life time at any rate a still snapshot of the upper half of a woman's body in the nude was capable of being obscene. You may think that time is long past. In my lifetime a still photograph of the whole of a nude woman's body was held to be obscene. You may think that time is long past. You may or may not think that what is called a 'full frontal' of a woman's body is not capable of being obscene. In this day and age, probably no one would consider what I have described as amounting to obscenity. At the other end of the scale there may be some persons who think that no film in any circumstances is capable of depraving or corrupting anyone." He felt that "that must be wrong as otherwise there would be no point in the Obscene Publications Act. Somewhere in between those two extremities a jury provides the test according to the times in which we live." The jury's having failed to pass the test, the case is to be re-tried.

FRANCOIST BLACKMAIL

IN RESPONSE to the Spanish government's unilateral withdrawal of the right of French nationals to enter and leave Spain without passports, thus breaking agreements reached between the two governments in 1959 and 1966, a group of French lawyers has issued an appeal, calling on the French government to withstand the pressure being put on it in this way by Spain to extradite Spanish antifascists, suspected by the Spanish government of subversive activities in Spain, if they seek refuge in France.

The lawyers make the following points in putting their case:

The Francoist regime, born of military subversion, has been characterised since birth by the denial of all liberties, and by pitiless repression of all its opponents, most recently illustrated by the parody of justice in the trial and assassination of Puig Antich.

It is this fascist character of the Francoist regime that obliges its opponents to use all methods in combatting it, including violence. It would be intolerable if the French government yielded to the Francoist blackmail, as this could only end in it helping the Spanish government to imprison, torture and even to execute Spanish anti-fascists, who would be the victims of their attachment to freedom.

Before these recent measures, pressure had already been put on the French Ministry of Justice, notably in May 1974, by the Spanish police publicly and officially declaring that Octavio Alberola was responsible for the kidnapping of the banker Suarez before any official French

enquiry had got under way. The interest taken in this enquiry by the Spanish political police, even to the extent of participating in it on French soil, was noted by the press.

In the same way, the Spanish police recently named the Basque Nationalist, Gallaranga Mendizabal, as responsible for the bombing of the Cafe Roland in Madrid - an incident whose origin is more than dubious and reminiscent of the massacre of the Piazza Fontana in Milan, also at first lyingly attributed to anarchists.

The most recent pressure applied by the Spanish government has had immediate and tangible results -- the French police have arrested five militants of G. A. R. I. in the South West; and "Operacion Ogro" a book in Spanish published in France, relating the events surrounding the death of Carrero Blanco, has been banned by the order of the Minister of the Interior, M. Poniatowski. Poniatowski has also intimated to the Spanish ambassador in Paris that it is possible for him to start proceedings for the extradition of Spanish nationals residing in France.

The group of French lawyers, recalling the resolution passed by the Council of Europe on 25th September 1974, which points out the continuing severe repression of all opposition in Spain and calls for a general amnesty, are appealing to all those who adhere to the fundamental liberties, and who respect the right of exile, to demand that the French government shall not lend a hand in the repression of anti-Francoists, and that all collaboration between the French and Spanish political polices should come to an end.

THE DANGER OF NATIONALISM

WE HAVE SEEN in the recent election the rise of small nationalist parties, Plaid Cymru and the Scottish Nationalists, to something of, if not actual power, strategic power or potential power. Wilson's small-majority government will have to make acknowledgements, if not actual concessions, to such groupings.

The Northern Irish are something else again. In their simplest aspects they are a vivid proof of the dangers of nationalism, in the complexity of Irish politics they are a morass too deep to wander into.

The nation-state is of comparatively recent growth in human history; the formation of the German, Italian, Russian and United States as we now geographically know them is entirely a product of the nineteenth century. Bakunin and Proudhon were always engaged in controversies with nationalists (such as Mazzini, for example) which foreshadowed the Irish, National Liberation controversies of today.

Proudhon once wrote to Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity:

"A great centralized state suppresses all the freedom of the provinces and municipalities in favour of a higher power -- the government. What in truth is the unity of a nation? The absorption of separate folk-groups in which human beings live and which differ from one another, into the abstract idea of a nation in which no one breathes and no one knows each other... Having taken from man every right to decide about himself, an enormous bureaucracy, a legion of employees is necessary to make this machine function. To protect it from within and without, a standing

WINDSOR FESTIVAL FOLLOW-UP

A MUSICIAN who played with a rock band at the Windsor Free Pop Festival at the end of August was visited on 25th October by two men in plain clothes who said they were police officers (but produced no identity warrant and were not asked to do so). Our informant was asked what part he had played in the Festival, how long he had been there, how he had got to know about it, who was involved in it, who organised it (apart from Bill Dwyer, of course, who is facing a list of charges already). Our friend thinks the last question was the precise information they were trying to elicit.

Prior to the Festival a leaflet had been sent to performers, people responsible for supplying food, etc., which had listed names and addresses, and this was apparently being used as a reference list, although our friend knew only one other person in his locality who had been visited on Friday.

army is needed, officials, soldiers, mercenaries: these will now represent the nation. This magnificent unity needs glory, splendour, luxury and an imposing civil list, ambassadors, pensions, rewards of office etc. In such a national unity state everybody has his hand out. And who pays the parasites..The people. Whoever says 'united nation' means a nation which is sold to its government... This unity is nothing else but a form of bourgeois exploitation under the protection of bayonets. Yes, the political national unity of our big powers is the rule of the bourgeoisie. Hence the enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie for the 'unity state'."

Commenting on this in 1939, R. Rudolf Rocker said, "Our modern state socialists from the Social Democrats to the various branches of Russian Bolshevism, cannot see even today what he foresaw clearly because his vision

IN BRIEF

✓ The mayor of Gloucester was bitten by an alsation guard dog when he opened a security company's new premises.

A POLICE conference voted ** to tell the Home Secretary and Chief Constables to cease interference with a P.C.'s private life.

* * Lord of Appeal in Ordinary Judge Salmon advocated that people cause traffic chaos to save his home town (Sandwich, Kent) from destruction by juggernaut lorries; he advocated farmers driving sheep over the bridge or boat owners to sail under the town's swing bridge, forcing traffic to a halt. "There's no need," he said, "to break the law, like sitting in the road. It is inexcusable for the law to be broken, especially as it is wholly unnecessary."

* * At the top of the Chinese ** 'hit parade' charts, according to a writer in Straight Creek, is the song "Long Live Chairman Mao" (it has held the position for 500 weeks) and it occupies the same position as "God Save the Queen". Third in the charts is "Oh, How I Love to Carry Manure Up the Mountain-side for the Commune" (not a satirical number). Among the top-ten songs are "The Iron and Steel Workers Have a Determination as Firm as Steel" and "The Hearts of the Barefoot Doctors are Turned Towards the Party". A new top hit is "Be Pioneers in the Criticism of Lin Piao and Confucius".

Sancho Panza

was not clouded by a blind belief in the state as professed by modern labour parties."

We can see in the warped nationalism of the Irish 'Loyalists' and I.R.A. supporters a microcosm of the paranoid nationalism of the nation-state. Even in the revival of Scots nationalism we can see the oil prospectors' greasy hand. Mr. Fraser the draper has shown this way. At the same time it will be recognized that Scotland - if the oil remains under Scots control - is economically viable in the crude sense by which such things are judged today --and under capitalism. Agrically and ecologically Scotland will probably be ruined withall.

Welsh nationalism, and the dormant but existent Cornish and Manx nationalists, have all got their points but the dangers of nationalism are all inherent in all these doctrines. There is indeed a core of truth in the principles of decentralization and federalism. All doctrines, no matter how abhorrent, have some truth in them to which some can respond, otherwise they would be no danger.

Rocker concludes his 1939 article (Vanguard), "What we are striving for is the right for every commune, every region, every ethnic group to make its own decision. It is for this reason that we reject the visionary idea of national unity. We are federalists, which means partisans of a union of free groupings which do not separate from each other but mutually permeate and fructify each other and interlace their growth through thousands of spiritual, economic and cultural relations. The unity to which we aspire is the cultural and social unity which finds its strongest bond in the ever-growing diversity of all forms of expression. It is a unity which springs from the freedom of all human relations and rejects in principle any mechanization and spiritless uniformity. The purpose is to free the world from the tradition of absolutism, be it of an economic, political or social nature."

This summarizes the anarchist position vis-a-vis nationalism and purges it of those dangerous excesses.

Jack Robinson.

THE SWISS VOTED IN A REFERENDUM BY 1,700,000 VOTES TO 900,000 TO REJECT A PROPOSAL TO EXPEL HALF THE COUNTRY'S FOREIGN POPULATION WITHIN THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

WE WELCOME news, articles, letters. We go to press on MONDAY each week.

A GENERAL ELECTION is the modern circus, with tigers in cages, clowns and dwarfs, trick cyclists, trapeze artists, miraculous performing fleas, bathing belles balancing on horses, seals perching foot-balls on their noses. But live circuses aren't what they used to be. The Circus Hoffman was taken to court last October by a disgruntled weights and measures inspector who found that the reality didn't match up to the promise. There was no Grand Parade. When he asked why Miss Cosmos and the Equados troupe didn't appear, the proprietor replied: "They're all pregnant." So was the dromedary. The "World Junior Champion Rope Spinner" wasn't there either. When asked about the absence of the highland bulls, the llama, and other animals, the proprietor explained, "The cold weather affects them, don't it." He had a different story for the court. He told them that - in fact - the Miss Cosmos act was cancelled due to bad weather. The Equados troupe had broken their contract, the cowboy left to appear in a club, and the leader of the Grand Parade had been arrested the day before. The court was told that the proprietor had been given a trifling fine four years before on a similar charge of misleading the public.

If you want a real circus like it used to be - if it ever was real, that is - it's on TV these days. The same goes for the election. It's not as exciting as the circus. The main performers are a dead loss. The only star entertainment comes from Jeremy Thorpe of the black velvet lapels and Edwardian hat, Buster Keaton in a shipwrecked hovercraft, waving at any dot on the distant cliffs that might be a voter. And he'd be more acceptable if he kept his mouth shut like a silent movie actor, instead of garbling melliflously like the Rt. Honourable Racecourse Tout, M.P. he is.

FACTSFACTSFACTS

TV isn't interested in people. Leaders, yes. Statistics, more. The BBC's chief Election hiring is David Butler, arch-professor of political stockbroking. Think of a constituency, toss it in the air - he'll catch it. He'll tell you who won it in 1945, 1950, 1951, 1954, 1959, 1964, 1970, 1974. He'll tell you who'll win it in 1984, given a Tory swing of so much, a Labour vote of so many, etc., etc. He'll tell you who'll win it in 2004, without consulting Arthur C. Clarke's imagination. Butler doesn't need imagination. He is the ultimate capitalist dream - a human computer. Butler is the apotheosis of O level examinations. He digests facts like we digest food - and he regurgitates them, too.

GOODBYE BERNARD SHAW

Gone are the Methuselah days when Bernard Shaw could turn round to the camera on his high stool and declare confidently: "A budget is a class struggle." The Labour leaders had their doubts then. Why, that's satire now. Gone are the primitive days when the BBC had just sanctioned the invention by the absentee professor of politics at the LSE of The Swingometer. Millions cackled helplessly as the first election results sent the Swingometer needle swinging off the board, while its inventor had apoplexy. Gone are the innocent days of incompetent hypocrisy when the camera panned across the faces of Callaghan, Jenkins, Benn & Co. who couldn't remember the words of the Red Flag as they sang it in competitive ribaldry. Now that its words are utterly shed of any meaning, they know them by heart. He probably coached them, too. All part of the service.

OF PURELY LOCAL INTEREST

Our leaders tour the country giving speeches everywhere, TV cameramen and local newspapermen and local worthies yawn as Wilson's standard speech puffs out. "I have said it before, and I will say it again. . . I want to be quite clear about this. . ." They start taking off their camera lens cap and opening their notebooks and digging their neighbours in the ribs as the section of local interest appears, sandwiched in the middle. Their bags are packed long before he's finished. They know their form. Heath starts off with the local references. In Plymouth: "Not since the days of Drake and the Spanish Armada. . ." Depends on your PR advice, I guess.

THE METABOLISM OF TV

Then the night of the Election comes. A quarter of a million Pounds down the drain in one night of TV. The business turns into a TV show - the longest most trivial most boring most irrelevant show on earth. TV doesn't feature the election as a constituency adopts a candidate, it takes it over, it absorbs the election, it

THE GRAND TV ELECTION CIRCUS

swallows it whole in its great electronic maw. More! More! the TV executives cry. For weeks, all the chaps and girls in the Election teams have been preparing the nation in their way for the big night. Their guidance makes Titbits pools guide look profound!

To whom will the Conservatives appeal in East
Twittering? : the nation.
Will Labour win the day with their roots sup-
port based upon what herb? : grass.
Or what will the Liberals spring? : a surprise.
What can only time do? : tell.
With what simple manual movement do you
greet this eyewash? : switch off.

A LITTLE LESS SHADOW UNDER THE LEFT EYE, DARLING

It took thousands of £ £ £ s and an Election team of hundreds to bring you that constituency report. The nearer to transmission, the closer the scrutiny of grey eminences. "Fuck me, not another change!" the weary technicians groan. Has Balance been observed? Is the tiem scrupulously fair to all parties? Is it, hell. There is another party - the people this Election is supposed to be about never get a look in. Meanwhile telly personalities and politicians, make-up girls in the offing, are getting ready for the big night by stuffing one jacket pocket with handkerchiefs and the other with pep pills and sweet breath squirter. Let's hope they swallow the wrong phial and stuff their mouths with hankies.

GIMME THE SCOTCH, I MEAN GIVE ME THE MICROPHONE

So the election is really about TV technology. Not about the future of technology, not the state of the nation, nothing like that. I am not confusing the mechanics of the operation with its meaning - the two are inseparable. The Election has become a visual display of the hairsplitting division of labour, instead of calculating like medieval Christians how many angels can dance on the head of a pin, the telly managers work out exactly how many constituencies can be beamed at once into the central TV studio.

TOMORROW'S WORLD

A mad producer on speed who thinks that 14 hours solid of TV of any ilk is what really matters, what it's all about, rushes around the studio shouting "Affirmative! Negative! Affirmative! Negative!" He learnt the lingo from NASA on the Apollo projects. "When's the ETA of this film?" he shrieks. "When's the ETA?" Yes, that's the estimated time of arrival of Apollo on the moon. Masses of young women sit at desks in the studio answering phones, carrying messages of earthshaking urgency to the next desk six feet away for a producer, and fetching his instant coffee. Not all producers are male, mind. Some are female, and vice versa. A hack is a hack is a hack is a woman is a man is a hack. The absentee professor of politics from LSE talks about "the theory of swing". Tell it to Benny Goodman. The IBA computer breaks down in the face of Liberal losses, and continues to print out their five wins again and again and again. Desmond Wilcox on furlough from the Man Alive series is seen in Trafalgar Square. He interviews a passer-by. "What did you vote for? -- Conservative. -- Why? -- because they're the party for me. I think their policies are right. -- Thank you." Cut back to studio. The general public have made their own solo appearance on TV this evening. Didn't even get any money for it, poor bastards. Wilcox and his camera crew cost several thousand pounds, and that is their unique contribution of the night. The local Tory man in Bath who's been sitting there for 15 years defeats ex-Labour Liberal Mayhew. Mayhew only turned up in Bath a month or so before. The Tory doesn't mince words: "We get a lot of tourists in Bath, we like them, we welcome them, and there comes a time when all the tourists have to go home." Reginald Bosanquet of ITN interviews Wilson with a strangely slurred voice. It's too early for tiredness - but it's never too early for Scotch-on-the-rocks. Why, it's a real circus after all! But I didn't get my money's worth. Who did?

The one lord Mayor in Britain who refused to allow the TV cameras into his Town Hall is thereby made to seem a fossil, not because his office means little in terms of communal needs, but because he declined to take part in the biggest democratic con-trick of modern times.

The election is now called a spectator sport. The comparison is with It's A Knockout or the Horse of the Year Show. The dates are fixed so that these don't clash with the Election. The gulf between technical directors and actors, and the audience, is total. It is engineered. These entertainment managers need spectators who know their place - cut to studio: because the process of specialisation is boundless, because each cell of human endeavour splits into more cells, so TV expands and extends its scope into every corner of civilised life. Technology is specially developed for the Election programme, like Ancho, the Alpha Numerical Character Generator, which types results directly on to the screen. (An immediate comparison is the development of the action replay.) TIV's momentum seems inexorable. In its search for subjects, it has consumed politics. The Election itself becomes simply one day in the TV year, then several days, then weeks. This is what Malcolm Muggeridge meant when he described current affairs as "newsak".

EXCLUSION

Exclusion is a vice of complex technology, which is also built into the ideas of Right and Left and Centre. Exclusion means in practice the will to suppress. If you centralise and routinize and standardize, you also stereotype and exclude and suppress. There is no room for alternative thought and feeling and action and expression in the world of the machine, except on the margins. Just as motorways drive out the pedestrian and the bicyclist and the bus and the train, and reduce the question of public transport and movement to the relationship between a selfish car driver and his gearbox, so TV excludes everything that does not fit in the interests of TV and its entrenched political allies. Systems of politics, like the vote, have become a fact of nature. The vote is not an Election Issue!

MORE EXCLUSION

In the context of the TV Election, this does not only mean the exclusion of those of us who think the vote is meaningless. It means the exclusion of the public from the debating rooms of politics. Censorship and conspiracy are not necessary to explain the absence of dissidence, though these are everyday realities in television. When BBC TV's Panorama runs a pre-Election argument three representatives from the mass political parties are invited into the studio to discuss the issue. No-one else. No-one without a flat or house, no-one seeking a mortgage, no-one in debt to the building societies. Keep real life out of the Election! Real people are not an Issue!

THE SYSTEM CONSOLIDATES ITSELF

Every day, every hour, the remorseless grind of conventional politics continues to brainwash the audience, as far as it can. The system and all its current developments is bolstered by occasional blockbusters like Granada TV's much-advertised 3 evenings called The State of the Nation. What this meant, of course, was The State of Parliament - the premier debating society seen by its participants and its parasites. The recent much feted Granada 500 was a "participatory" idea rigidly set in the political system as it now is: a few hundred "scientifically selected" Preston voters were granted the opportunity to pose questions in person to their highnesses Wilson and Heath. That's Progress. Makes Athenian democracy look like The Cavern, etc., etc., Most of the progressives who preach the televising of parliament are not aware that this advance will reinforce both the present political system and the exclusion of alternatives. But some people wouldn't recognise a man-in-the-street even if he pissed on them.

YOU SHOULD SEE IT IN THE STATES !!!

This view of TV as a technological juggernaut is not deterministic. TV has not become life itself, as Debord announced in his alienist Society of the Spectacle. TV has not abolished or replaced everyday needs. We have to earn our living all the same. The TV Spectacle coexists with and interacts with and influences life. The worst that

can be said of it is that it anaesthetizes its audience, but not always and not totally. UK TV is not the same as US TV. This difference helps to explain the appearance in the States of the useless and alienated video-freaky Guerilla TV, and the printing here of the TV Handbook, a practical manual for all those who find themselves to be militants in contact in any way with TV. This manual shows that the very few libertarian socialist or anarchist workers in TV have by no means given up hopes of genuine popular participation, of self-representation, of irruption into TV.

WHAT RADICALISM MEANS ON TV

Another major contrast with the USA is that there are here some radical programmes, though they are few and far between the ceaseless slush of Nationwide and current affairs and sport and variety. One such was the Tuesday documentary about building your own home with others in a housing association. The producer prudently excluded any mention of the impossibility of buying land in the big cities. That would have raised a political issue - the price of land, and property speculation - and instantly attracted swarms of horrid greymen waving their blue censoring pencils. Criticism of the social behaviour of building societies would have had the same effect. The director chose examples of communal self-help elsewhere. For aesthetic perhaps more than for these political reasons, his film appealed directly to its audience to master the many skills of building themselves in association with others for the good of each. Problems involving local government, the employment of craft workers and the trade unions were shown to be soluble.

I.S. -- MARCH OF THE SPERMATOZOEA

This programme thus lays out clearly the predicament of broadly radical programme-makers in TV. Granada TV turns out every week leftwing Labour programmes like World in Action, its team once typically described by a Tory MP as "a Guevarist clique". World in Action is a leftwing socialist assembly line run by leftwing hustlers. (It's an irony that the TV company which produces the most radical programmes is also the most brutally efficient capitalist employer. There's a sociological law there somewhere.) We must say thank goodness for them, in the same way as we applaud the brilliant researching-campaigning of international socialist Paul Foot. Without his tireless work, the Poulson affair with all its ramifications might have sunk without trace. Yet anything in TV that cannot be buttonholed into the main political categories either is aborted at birth, or appears on TV very late when the big audiences have gone to bed - Open Door, What the Papers Say - or has to be seen to be "non-political".

WHITE ELEPHANTS IN LEEDS CLOTHING

This ideology has the sadly salutary effect of toning down the hypocritical exuberance of trendy leftwingers - I mean the sort of people who are momentarily excited by 17th century English democracy, but not by democracy now. The good that such programmes as Up Sunday do is offset or destroyed by the pot-ridden self-indulgence and lack of commitment to anything of their feeble satire. (I don't include Monty Python in this condemnation, incidentally.) This ideology also isolates the few avowedly socialist programmes. Trotskyites believe that a programme has to wave the socialist banner to contain any radicalism at all. I don't share this exclusive view. I welcome any radical initiative whatsoever. I am aware of the dangers of reformism, but I am not afraid of reforms. I trust all this does not sound like the anarchism of despair. On principle, I would rather have a dozen Build Your Own Homes than a single Leeds United. This great white elephant is the forthcoming Trotskyite TV film about the historic Leeds clothing strike. The film is currently costed at over £ 160,000. That is four times as much as say Cathy Come Home. But naturally we could not exclude such a film from our utopia. Alas the Trotskyites would speedily hang the likes of us on the nearest lamppost.

TAKE NOTHING FOR GRANTED

In dashing off this sketch of the TV political scene, I have taken for granted the top-heavy bureaucratic organisation of the BBC, its scab staff union, its hierarchic divisions between "creative" and "service" staff based on the Edwardian class structure which still prevails in needling ways in our society. I have taken for granted the way that some of the worst manners of the BBC were assumed by the commercial TV companies in much the same way that Australian public schools aped their ghastly English forbears.

SYNDICALISM & ANARCHISM

THE MONATTE--MALATESTA DEBATE
FROM THE AMSTERDAM INTERNATIONAL
ANARCHIST CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1907

PART II MALATESTA'S REPLY TO MONATTE

SYNDICALISM, or more precisely the workers movement (this is a fact that nobody can ignore, because syndicalism is a theory, a system, and we must avoid taking one for the other), the workers movement, I say, has always found in me a resolved, but not a blind defender. And this was because I saw in it a particularly favourable field for our revolutionary propaganda, as well as a point of contact between the masses and ourselves. I have no need to stress this. It is only just to say that I have never been one of those intellectual anarchists, who when the old International was dissolved, willingly shut themselves up in the ivory tower of pure speculation. I have never ceased to fight this attitude of haughty isolation wherever I came across it, whether in Italy, France, England or any other country; nor to direct comrades back onto that path which the syndicalists, forgetting a glorious past, call new, but which had been foreseen and followed by the first anarchists in the International.

I want anarchists today, as yesterday, to go into the workers movement. I am today, as yesterday, a syndicalist in the sense that I am in favour of syndicates. Yet I do not ask for anarchist syndicates because they would then legitimise republican syndicates, social democratic syndicates, royalist syndicates and others, and would divide the working class more than ever. I do not want syndicates called red because I do not want others called yellow. I want, on the contrary, syndicates to be open for all workers without distinction of their political opinion, in other words syndicates absolutely neutral.

Therefore I am for the greatest possible active participation in the workers movement. But I am for this primarily in the interest of our propaganda, whose field would be then considerably enlarged. Yet this participation is not the same as the renunciation of our dearest ideals. In the syndicates we must remain anarchists in every meaning of the term. The workers movement for me is only a means -- the best, evidently, of all the means offered to us. I refuse to take this means as a final aim, and I would have nothing to do with it if it meant that we would lose sight of our anarchist conceptions, or more simply our other means of propaganda and agitation.

The syndicalists, on the contrary, tend to make an end of a means, and to take a part for a whole. And this is how, in the minds of some of our comrades, syndicalism is becoming a new doctrine and menacing anarchism in its very existence.

So, even with the word revolutionary added to it, syndicalism is only, and will only be, but a legalitarian and conservative movement, without any other accessible aim than getting better conditions of work. I need not look for proof further than the example offered by the North American syndicates. Having shown themselves radically revolutionary in the times when they were still weak, these syndicates have become, as they grew stronger, and richer,

THE GRAND TV ELECTION CIRCUS *Cont. from P.5*

Yet plans have been hatched in insignificant backwoods for disintegrating the metropolitan praesidium of the BBC into regional centres - see Nicholas Garnham's Screen pamphlet. I have taken fiddling for granted - yet the person who doesn't talk about fiddling doesn't talk about life. I have taken for granted the colossal TV company investment in the future of videotape technology. Yet all the quality that TV engineers adore is available at vastly lower cost on super-8 mil. film, the despised home movie medium. I have taken for granted my own conspicuous lack of methodology, drag queen of the social sciences. Too late! Too late! Too late!

J.

merely conservative organisations, uniquely pre-occupied with helping their members to gain privileges in the factories, workshops and mines, and far less hostile to the bosses' capitalism than to non-organised workers. As anarchists it is our duty to defend this ever growing proletariat of unemployed, because they suffer most. They do not count for syndicalism, or rather they only count when they become an obstacle.



I repeat: anarchists must join workers syndicates. First, to make anarchist propaganda; then, because it is the only means we have at our disposal, when the occasion arises, to have groups capable to take the direction of production into their own hands. We must join it to energetically react against this detestable state of mind which inclines the syndicalists to defend only their own particular interests.

The fundamental error of Monatte, and of all the revolutionary syndicalists, arises, in my opinion, from a far to simplistic conception of the class struggle. It is the conception according to which the economic interests of all the workers - of the working class - would be tied together, a conception according to which it is sufficient for workers to take into their own hands the defence of their own interests, and to defend at the same time the interests of all the proletariat against the bosses. . . .

. . . And now to conclude. In former days I deplored the comrades who stayed apart from the workers movement. Now I deplore those of us who go to the opposite excess, and let themselves be swallowed up by the same movement. The workers organisations, the strike, the general strike, direct action, the boycott, sabotage and the armed insurrection are merely means. Anarchy is the aim. The anarchist revolution that we want goes beyond the interests of only one class. It proposes the complete liberation of all humanity, who are enslaved economically, politically and intellectually. Let us keep away from onesided and simplistic means of action. Syndicalism, while an excellent means of action because of the working power that it puts at our disposal, cannot be our only means. Still less must it let us lose from sight the only aim still worth the effort: Anarchy.

FREEDOM PRESS

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249

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

BOOKSHOP open Tues.-Fri. 2 - 6 p.m.
(Thursdays until 8.0 p.m.)
Saturdays 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

SOME OF OUR PUBLICATIONS:

"Anarchist Classics" series:

A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman
25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free
Anarchy, Errico Malatesta
25p (post 5p) USA 75¢ post free
Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rudolf
Rocker 20p (post 5p) USA 65¢ post free
The State, Its Historic Role, Peter Kropotkin
20p (post 5p) USA 65¢ post free

"Selections from FREEDOM" (annual vols.
issued between 1951 and 1964)

Vol. 4 Living on a Volcano
Vol. 5 The Immoral Moralists
Vol. 6 Oil and Troubled Waters
Vol. 7 Year One -- Sputnik Era
Vol. 8 Socialism in a Wheelchair
Vol. 9 Print, Press and Public
Vol. 10 The Tragedy of Africa
Vol. 11 The People in the Street
Vol. 12 Pilkington Vs. Beeching
Vol. 13 Forces of Law and Order
Vol. 14 Elections Year (U.K. & U.S.A.)

Per vol. cloth £ 0.52½ (post 15p) USA \$1.75
paper £ 0.37½ (" 11½p) USA \$1.25

Complete list, including available issues of
ANARCHY (1961-70) on request

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

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

Antonio Tellez (transl. Stuart Christie):
Sabat  : Guerrilla Extraordinary, Book Club
Edition, paper £ 2.35 (15p)
*B. Traven: The Death Ship £ 0.65 (9p)
Peter Kropotkin: An Appeal to the Young
£ 0.10 (3½p)
Elisee Reclus: Evolution and Revolution
£ 0.10 (3½p)
*Robert Dickens: Thoreau : The Complete
Individualist £ 3.00 (15p)
Michael Confino: Daughter of a Revolution-
ary, Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/
Nechayev Circle £ 4.50 (23p)
Jaroslav Hasek: The Good Soldier Svejk and
his fortunes in the Great War. Translated
(unabridged) by Cecil Parrott £ 1.25 (23p)
*Peter Arshinov: The History of the Makhno-
vist Movement 1918-1921 £ 2.00 (15p)
*Benjamin R. Tucker: Instead of a Book
£ 10.00 (32p)
*George H. Sabine (ed.): The Works of
Gerrard Winstanley £ 8.00 (32p)
Claire Tomalin: The Life and Death of Mary
Wollstonecraft £ 4.75 (23p)
William Morris and Walter Crane: An
Earthly Paradise Calendar £ 0.60 (15p)

*These titles published in the U.S.A.

SABATE : Guerrilla Extraordin-
ary, by Antonio Tellez, transl.
by Stuart Christie. (Cienfuegas
Book Club Edition, 183pp.,
£2.25 (+ post 15p, obtainable
from Freedom Bookshop)

FRANCISCO SABATE is very little
known. When the Spanish govern-
ment finally managed to kill him
on January 5th, 1960 the world's
press immediately called him a
bandit and although this libel
was soon replaced by the truth
that he was a revolutionary an-
archist, his life remained obs-
cure. This book does not pret-
end to be a biography of Sabat 
(Tellez refers to it as "an out-
line, a cameo if you like, of a
man whose biography is yet to be
written") and unfortunately
there may never be such a work.
Sabat  worked in secrecy, as he
had to, and since he and other
comrades who fought as guerillas
against the Spanish dictatorship
are dead a lot of his (and their)
history is irretrievably lost. A
second point is that it would be
suicidal to volunteer information
on the Resistance to the Spanish
police. Bearing these limita-
tions in mind the book sketches
the history of perhaps the most
amazing urban guerrilla ever.

Sabat  was rebellious and

Letter

"I DISAGREE WITH WHAT YOU SAY..."

IF the legal profession is as JR wrote on
26.10.74 "the backbone of the Labour Party",
it seems odd to forget to mention that Silkin,
the man who brought the prosecution against
Paul Foot in the Mr. Y case, is both the
Solicitor-General and the newly-re-elected
Labour MP for Dulwich.

JR's whole article fails to give credit where
it is due. Of more substance than the whole
Janie Jones sensation, was Foot's well-sub-
stantiated allegation in Socialist Worker
that the sugar shortage was a put-up job by
Tate & Lyle, the notorious rightwing duo, to
raise sugar prices. There was an immediate
promise to sue for libel by Tate & Lyle, which
has curiously not been heard of since. The
so-called sugar shortage raises questions of
need and diet, as well as the machinations
of virtual monopolies.

Without Private Eye's continual researching
and campaigning over Maudling and Poulson,
the whole business might well have sunk with-
out trace, something which none of us
could welcome. To say this is not only to
make a sweeping but correct condemnation
of the inadequacy of the mass newspapers:
it is also to give credit to Private Eye where
it is due. Humour apart, JR could easily
and rightly attack Private Eye for its sexism
and anti-semitism and other specific vices.
His generalised condemnations are less con-
vincing. They suggest a confidence in the
Truth so overwhelming that it is able to ig-
nore any virtues in its opponents. It is not
for JR to talk of "the 'holier than thou' at-
titude which disfigures the radical left."

W.11. 25.10.74

Julius

REVIEW

strong-willed even as a child, and as a youth in the Spanish Civil War he fell foul of the attempts of the Communists to establish their dictatorship of the Marxists. He killed an army Commissar (in self defence) and fled into hiding. His career as a guerilla really starts here. He helped free comrades from the Communist prisons and killed a black marketeer. He was captured by the secret police but the CNT managed to prevent him disappearing into a cellar where he would have been shot. He was put into prison but escaped and after the victory of Franco fled to France. In 1945 he re-entered Spain as one of the bodyguards for the first delegation to try and organize closer contacts between the M.L.E. and the activists in Spain. This was the beginning of 15 years of struggle.

Regrettably there was a split in the exiles. In 1945 the MLE must have been in favour of organizing in Spain. In 1955 Sabate and others founded, in desperation at the lack of action by the MLE, the "Grupos Anarco-Sindicalistas". The "official" MLE attacked this new group and relations between the MLE and Sabate's circle of activists were very bad. Sabate was in danger of death when in Spain, repeatedly harassed by the French government when in France, and now estranged from the movement he finally died for.

In late December of 1959 he and four others entered Spain to try once more to set up a clandestine organization. This was the end of Sabate's work; the years of setting up dead letter boxes and safe houses: the bank raids to finance the other activities: the printing and distribution of propaganda: the gun-fights with the police: the legal aid for those who had been taken alive. The five comrades were expected and were hunted from the first. All were killed, Sabate after he had managed to escape, badly wounded, from the surrounded farm-house where the others had died. His immediate epitaph was a biased, misleading and libellous account of his life in an MLE newspaper. This book is a better one.

B.H.M.

DAFYDD LADD and MICHAEL TRISTRAM of Bristol, members of 'Freedom Fighters for All' group, convicted of conspiracy and involvement in explosions, had their sentences reduced - Ladd's seven years to five and Tristram's six years to four. The Appeal judges were asked to hold that their offences were not a major, menacing attack on the community or its safety'.

ENEMIES OF THE STATE *cont. fr. P.1*

International) has issued the following policy statement:

"THE Peace Pledge Union reaffirms that all citizens have the moral right, and should have the legal right, to discuss political issues with each other, and this includes the right of private individuals to communicate with members of H.M. Forces and the right of the latter to communicate with civilians.

"The Peace Pledge Union therefore declares its opposition to the 1934 Incitement to Disaffection Act which prohibits pacifists from communicating with members of the forces or indeed from merely possessing literature which might be read by members of the forces.

"The Peace Pledge Union expresses concern that powers under the Act have recently been used against a number of its members, whereby a very wide range of general pacifist literature and lists of the names of pacifists of various opinions have been seized.

"The Peace Pledge Union respects the courage of those in the past who have obeyed the dictates of their conscience to defy unjust laws, and will continue to support in any way possible people who may in the future be prosecuted, or threatened with prosecution, under this Act."

IN BRIEF

Mr. Barry Quartermain, long remembered for strong-arm tactics on behalf of Ilford Council's interpretation of squatting law, was sentenced to three years and fined £500 on eight charges involving conspiracy to trick Government officials, local authorities and police departments to divulge confidential information; contravention of the Wireless Telegraphy Act by use of bugging devices; perverting justice by constructing false evidence for divorce and obtaining three passports with false names.

PRESS FUND

Contributions 17 - 23 October

LONDON E16: P. W. 45p; SAN JOSE, Calif.: E. V. £4.05; ST. CLOUD, Minn.: M. G. A. £25.00; BOSTON, Mass.: A. C. P. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J. L. 50p; J. K. W. 10p; NORRISTOWN, Pa.: S. M. L. £1; CHELMSFORD: E. A. 60p; HASTINGS: M. & S. C. £1.75; HAMPTON HILL: B. P. B. £1.

TOTAL: £ 34.95

Previously acknowledged £960.19

TOTAL TO DATE: £995.14

CONTACT

Nat. Secular Society, public meetings in Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. London W.C.1. Fri. 1 Nov. Religious Education; Fri. 29 Nov. Church School and Ghetto School. Both mtgs. chaired by Barbara Smoker, speakers various, commence 7.45 p.m.

ANARCHIST Women's Group meets Mondays Tel. 01-883 2457

CAMBRIDGE Group. Contact Peter Silcock, 51 City Road

CORBY ANARCHISTS for activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

COVENTRY, Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry CV4 7AL

MANCHESTER S.W.F. Weekly mtgs. held. Enquiries to Sec., c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13.

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m. at Freedom Press, followed by get together with refreshments.

Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone Street, London W.1. 7.30 p.m. Tube: Goodge Street

ALTERNATE SUNDAYS Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, Listeners, Hecklers welcome.

INT. LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO, Sats. & Suns. from 7.30 p.m. Disco &c. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd., 2nd door) Tube: Chalk Farm or Belsize Park.

PLAYERS wanted for London-based Anarchist Football Team(s). Contact Jim at Freedom Press.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures. Thurs. evngs. 7.30 p.m. at Workers' Circle Center, 369 8th Ave. (SW cnr. 29 St.) admission free. Nov. 14 Irving Levitas, *Anarchism in New England*. Dec. 12 Don Georgokas and Leonard Rubenstein, *Art and Anarchy*.

PORTUGUESE Libertarian Movement needs books, pamphlets, free copies anarchist publications, money & ideological support. Movimento Libertario Portugues, Rua Angelina Vidal, 17-2-E, LISBOA I, Portugal

CATONVILLE ROADRUNNER no. 55 (Malawi; Switzerland; Dan Berrigan poems; Dave de Beer - exiled from Namibia; Free Way to Learning & other articles) 10p + 3 p or sub. 80p six issues, £ 1.60 for 12 from 28 Brundretts Road, Manchester 21.

HARROW/HILLINGDON Socialist Women's Group. Forum: Working Womens Charter--What will it do for you? 8 pm Mon. 4 Nov. at Baptist Church Hall, Colledge Road, Harrow. Contact Gill - Ruislip 72345

HARDY PERENNIAL Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 1975. £ 0.13 inc. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications, c/o Freedom Bookshop.

Prisoners PAUL PAWLOWSKI doing two years. Postcards to Paul Pawlowski, 219089, H.M. Prison, Heathfield Rd. London SW18 3HS

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs.) Des Keane (5 yrs.) Columba Longmore (4 yrs.). Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, County Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Solidarity Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.15. Needs donations to supply study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO

THREE now still held re kidnapping of Spanish banker: postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France. and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori & Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 Av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST. GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.



"Lawks you frightened me, Sir, for the moment. I thought you were Sir Keith Joseph."

TV slot

ON SUNDAY night the Corby Anarchist group had a ten-minute slot on BBC2's *Open Door* programme. This was a lot less time than the boring film on Karate had (Karate is apparently an art form or was it a religion?) but it's surprising what you can fit into ten minutes. The film made a telling point with every different idea it brought in, and these ranged from the Lennon case and the imprisonment of Pat Arrowsmith to May '68 in France and Hungary '56. This last was particularly neat since it distinguished us from the superficially similar propaganda of the Communists who engineered the atrocity.

Despite the pop music, a very good introduction for non-anarchists. It's repeated on Saturday afternoon, November 2, on BBC2, so get someone to watch it!

B.H.M.