

# Freedom

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FOR THE LAST seven days readers of the daily press have been regaled with blow-by-blow descriptions of the seizing of four planes and their passengers by guerrillas of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (one plane—Israeli—succeeded in foiling the attempt) and the subsequent removal of the three planes to Arabian airfields, where first one, a Jumbo jet, and finally two others, were blown up. The fate of the passengers appeared to be in the balance, the deadline for an ultimatum changed almost from day to day.

Not only was there the excitement of a cliff-hanger, there was the beautiful guerilla in British hands, the presence of children on the plane, and a non-existent birth, but also there was ample opportunity for leaders of British thought to discuss moral dilemmas and ordinary men in the street to discuss and rehearse moral indignation.

We, being a weekly with a rather eccentric time-schedule and an amateur outlook, ignored the incident altogether last week, contenting ourselves (by pure coincidence) with an appraisal of the Near East situ-

## HI-JACKING OR PIRACY?

ation and a reprinting of disclosures of an oil agreement. We have no occasion to apologise or withdraw anything said. Indeed, the act put on last week by some of the participants substantiates 'Justin's' allegations of a staged fight. However, to the embarrassment of everybody, not least the other Arab groups, the PFLP appeared for a while to be playing 'for keeps' and at the moment of going to press fifty or sixty hostages are in their hands, three airliners to the value of ten million pounds have been destroyed, negotiations are going on for the release of an unspecified number of guerrillas including the beautiful Leila, the Israelis have detained 450 Arabs resident in occupied territory (not, they assert, as hostages) and, one assumes, the 'peace' talks between Israel and the Arab States are abandoned.

Mr. Heath and the British Government have announced that be-

cause, they assure us, of fears of riots at the British Embassy in Amman and risks to hostages there they have put it forth that they are prepared to release Leila Khaled, a prisoner in their hands—in Ealing police-station. This detention was despite the fact that her offence was not committed on or over British soil; latterly she was held under the Aliens Act although her 'illegal entry' was occasioned by the Israelis and condoned by the British police. If, in fact, she was guilty of any offence so in law was the Israeli guard who shot her fellow-conspirator. Our current Lord Chancellor, Quintin Hogg is on record as pleading for us not to succumb to 'blackmail' but the British Government (albeit with some grace) have done so.

However, the more cautious of the Arab states have been frightened by either the effect on 'world opinion' of these seizures or frightened by

the success of the coups. The Russians, distrustful as ever of 'direct action' methods (which could be used on them), have said very little on this subject. Oddly enough, Mr. George Habbash, the leader of the PFLP, is in the Far East, presumably China. (Either he is proving an alibi or the decentralization of the PFLP has proceeded very far.) Israel's reaction in the seizing of hostages is doubtless something they learned from the Germans.

Curiously enough—except for the unfortunate fifty whose fate is not yet known—the hostages do not appear to have been ill-treated. The effect of detention upon the school-children—from whose presence the press wrung every ounce of sensation—seems to have been that of welcoming a real-life adventure and a break in monotony with some delay in returning to school.

Among the moral discussions taking place has been the usual semantic quibbles that giving a thing a 'good' name alters the deed. Some hard-line romantics have insisted that the deed be called 'piracy'. The press, for reasons of space—in headlines—have stuck to the term 'hi-jack'. Oddly enough this was an abbreviation of high-jack, which in turn could have been an American abbreviation of 'highway jack'. In the twenties and thirties the term was used for bootleggers who stole other bootlegger's illicit liquor, the essence of the deed being that no complaint could be made to the

police. In the sense that all property is robbery including Jumbo jets, hi-jacking is a quite accurate expression. Furthermore the quantities of petroleum from Near-Eastern wells which the giant planes so prodigiously consume assuredly belongs to the peoples of the Near East so their destruction is no piracy only revenge.

Once more these hi-jackings have demonstrated the vulnerability and fragility of our technological society. Much attention has been drawn to the necessity for making the aeroplane safe from such attacks. Of its nature it is impossible to protect the aeroplane from 'hi-jacking', any more than we can make the aeroplane crash-proof.

Coincidentally, this week has seen the publication of a curious Fabian Society pamphlet by the former Minister of Technology Anthony Wedgwood Benn (*The New Politics* 5/-) in which he says 'if you put all your weight on one place you can go through almost anything'. He concedes the victories of direct action but only as an 'educational exercise' to 'achieve the conversion of those in power'. Obviously Labour's election defeat shook Mr. Benn but he has not yet drawn the right conclusions.

It is doubtful that the governments of the world or the PFLP will draw the right conclusions from the sensational repercussions of the direct action of the hi-jackers.

JACK ROBINSON.

## Strikes and the TUC

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Trades Union Congress was even more of a non-event this year than it has been in the past. Even the speeches of the trade union leaders were pushed off the front pages of the newspapers by the hijackers. Things have changed politically with the election of the Tory Government and the TUC are now feeling that they are being left out.

The TUC have grown accustomed to being consulted by the government of the day, a relationship which has developed over a long period. Even when the Tories came to power in 1951, the economic circumstances of that period insured against any real clashes and although these circumstances had changed when the Labour Government was elected in 1964, the TUC was quite willing to co-operate with their party in keeping wage increases to the very minimum. This special relationship ensured an economic expansion with increased profits at the expense of workers.

### REJECTION

Now Mr. Heath and his Ministers have sent no invitations out to the TUC for assistance or consultation. At the moment, the Government is concerned with cost and wage inflation and seem determined to bring it under control. Although they are not putting forward any legislation to restrict wage increases, they have made it perfectly clear that they intend to do this by other means. Mr. Feather, General Secretary of the TUC, is always putting forward the expansion remedy for British capitalism and so perhaps the TUC have something to bargain with the Tories. However, whereas previous governments have thought that the TUC had something to offer, this one does not.

This rejection has obviously upset them for they are under the impression that they hold some authority in the trade union movement and as such expect some recognition from the Government, a point which they made perfectly clear last week. Sir Sidney Green, President of the TUC, said, 'I am sure it is important for the TUC to maintain close contact with the government of the day in the field of economic affairs.' Obviously they want to play their part in the decision making which power brings, but at the moment the Tories do not think that the TUC have that power and authority over the trade unions and their membership.

### GKN-SANKEY DISPUTE

This opinion is hardly surprising with the present high incidence of strikes, recently highlighted in the car industry where the GKN-Sankey strike at Wellington, Shropshire, has meant that 32,000 other workers have been laid off because of the lack of components. The Tories have seen repeated attempts by union officials to persuade strikers to return to work and each time there has been a determined stand to stay out until their demands for an all-round increase are met. Their action is a fight against further productivity deals and since the unions have accepted the principles of this new wage structure offered by the management, the revolt is also against union officials bargaining away conditions for wage increases. Strikers have called union officials 'gaffer's men'.

### CHRYSLER'S ATTEMPTED

SPEED-UP  
A similar dispute arose at Chrysler's Linwood plant, where workers stopped production after the management had increased the speed of the line. Under

its wage and productivity agreement, the management consulted the shop stewards on this point and introduced more labour on to the production lines in accordance with the agreement but omitted to give the higher pay. Instead, the company first reduced the speed of the line from 48 cars per hour to 40, but this was being progressively increased to reach a figure of 50 cars. However, despite appeals from the shop stewards, the 600 men stopped work when the line reached 46 cars and walked out. This dispute happened not in a plant working on piece-work, but on a system of measured day work, a method of wage evaluation which is supposed to reduce disputes.

Public sector workers are likely to follow shortly in the footsteps of the car workers in their struggle to gain a basic minimum wage of £16 10s. The strikes show a growing and continuing awareness that direct action works and from an anarchist point of view this growing revolt at the point of production is a good sign. They are learning that the power does not lie at Congress House or at Brighton, but at the place of work. This is the power not only to demand and gain increases in wages, but also to broaden demands to encompass the control of the means of production and the takeover of that which rightfully belongs to everyone.

Workers do not need the boss, the Government, the State or even the full-time union official. The collective strength directed at revolutionary objectives is sufficient.

P.T.

## BOMB INQUIRY

IF THE ENQUIRY into the Milan and Rome bomb outrages has not been concluded by the date first stipulated (June 30) this is entirely on account of the unilateral and suspect superficiality of the investigations conducted in one direction, in the prescribed direction.

New and blatant facts have intervened to make clearer confusion that had been so well provoked around the outrages. More blatant revelations are awaited in the next few days. We shall try to reveal certain truths which the big newspapers ignore or deform.

From *Umanita Nova* (tr. Stuart Maxwell).

## PINELLI—WHY?

TO PROVIDE at Milan an 'organisation' equivalent to that in Rome Giuseppe Pinelli of the 22nd March Circle was selected to star in the interrogation in the fourth floor office of Commissioner Calabresi.

The 'circle' Feltrinelli-Corradini anarchists had been chosen and 'il Pino' would fit the part. If he said what was expected of him, the success of the operation was assured. Pinelli would be

a very reliable witness for his innocence, and the refusal of violence that he has always shown. He was the person needed to conclude the manoeuvre begun as follows.

1. In the group chosen there were held certain discussions. One talked of arms of guerrillas, of how to oppose an attempted putsch, etc. (all arguments that were being proclaimed even in the salons

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## THIS WEEK IN IRELAND

EARLY IN THE WEEK Mr. Frank Gogarty was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. His crime was that he swore back at the British troops (those sacred cows of the six counties) who were gassing him, pushing him against a wall in a most peremptory fashion, and swearing freely at him. He had not been rioting, but going through the Falls to try to see his MP. No idea of charging the troops with using abusive language entered anyone's head, but Mr. Gogarty is a Civil Rights leader. In fairness it must be admitted that the magistrate said, 'I bitterly resent having to impose this sentence upon you, but my hands are tied,' and offered every help in any appeals even up to the Governor that Mr. Gogarty cared to make.

Last night there was an attempt to blow up an electricity transformer at Upper Malone, Belfast, which went wrong. One man was killed and another badly injured. I was horrified this morning to hear the BBC announce a 'Civil Rights' paper was found in the car near the injured man.

On the Irish news it transpired that the paper was *The Voice of the North* which is financed by the most fascist group of Fianna Fail and is their mouth-piece, and has nothing whatsoever to do with Civil Rights. It is these 'Republicans' (self-termed) who desire to take the six counties by force, and then rule all 32 counties of Ireland with a repression that would make the Special Powers Act and the Criminal Justice Bill look like a Sunday school's rules.

In Galway a poor woman who has, for ten years, lived with her children in a condemned rat-infested house with no water, gas or electricity, was given at long last the key of a council house. Do you imagine this meant her troubles were over? If so, you do not know what a very Christian country, an example to the whole world, Ireland is. The

people of Shantalla gathered in force and prevented her entry. There were *gardai* there to 'protect' her and see she got in, but she did not. The *gardai* are MUCH better at evicting squatters than at seeing a good woman gets her rights. Today the Shantalla people are holding a protest march against this woman having the house. It is the second house she has been given, the former being in the Claddagh. You see she was an itinerant and according to Irish Christians these people are not human and must not have a decent roof over their heads. The Bishop and the Minister DID speak strongly and say it was wrong, but the residents have won. Meanwhile during last night her four-year-old was removed to hospital in a shockingly ill condition. The poor little thing is severely handicapped anyhow.

Meanwhile every left group in all Ireland splits and splits and the infighting would break your heart. Instead of getting together to chuck out opportunist Fascist Governments North and South once and for all, we allow petty personal jealousies and differences to take over and hinder the work.

The eviction of people from Corporation houses in Dublin, in Cappagh, in Ballymun, in Coolock, have become such daily occurrences that they are 'no longer news' to quote one newspaper. Two families in Ballymun spent a night on the pavement on Wednesday after the Corporation bully-boys had chucked them and their furniture out. No trouble for the *gardai* to protect the bully-boys and enable them to carry out their disgusting job. No notice was given to the occupants of the houses that they were to be evicted AND THE CORPORATION HAD BEEN TAKING MAXIMUM RENT from them for a very long time. It is all part of the Fianna Fail Government's march towards a police state and utter fascism.

H.

# THE TATE TURNS CHICKEN

THE EXHIBITION of sculpture by the Spanish artist Julio Gonzalez brings little credit to its Tate Gallery organisers. The exhibition of itself is of minor interest in that it is the work of a man who was a close friend and assistant to Picasso and is no more than an interesting footnote to the history of the 1930 Paris art scene.

As a pioneer in the use of welded metal Gonzalez's abstracts owe much to Picasso's drawings and the exhibition of Gonzalez's drawings at Gimpel Fils at 50 South Molton Street, W.1, could pass as an exhibition of Picasso pastiches. Where Picasso's drawings and sculptures have a monumental and internal strength and exist as finished works, Gonzalez's sculptures are welded doodles that Gonzalez seems unable to leave alone for he adds welded nuts, bolts and strips of iron as mere added decoration, like an undecided pastrycook continuing to add cherries to a collapsing wedding cake. It is not his spikey period abstracts that form the major interest for me but the small number of variations of his *Montserrat*.

## ROUND THE GALLERIES

Gonzalez began these works in 1932 and he continued with them until 1936 when he produced the full size figure for *La Montserrat* as his homage to the women of Catalonia and for that we honour him. The full size figure, as with his other realist work, is pedestrian in the known continental style but it was a gesture by an artist of the period and one is sorry that the full blown photograph of the Catalonian woman hangs in thoughtless isolation on the Tate wall without title, explanation or mention in the catalogue, but those who are interested should find it well worth their while to view the drawings of the woman at Gimpel Fils Gallery for, in the shadow of Picasso, they capture the misery of the Spanish people that Gonzalez's sculptures cannot do.

In the normal course of events one would have viewed this exhibition with approval, congratulated the Tate Gallery, got slightly stoned on the free whisky and marked Julio Gonzalez down as a minor artist and sculptor of the school of Picasso but unfortunately one must draw attention to the craven behaviour of the back room boys of the Tate exhibition and their treatment of

William Tucker.

Tucker was hired by the Tate Gallery to write the catalogue introduction to the Julio Gonzalez 1876-1942 exhibition and he drew attention to the matter of the Gonzalez family's and the dealers of the French gallery Galerie de France's profitable habit of recasting Gonzalez's iron sculptures in fashionable bronze. It is a matter over which I have long, loudly and publicly protested when our own London galleries could cast some piece of banal clay rubbish into your instant jade, marble or some other material to enhance their worthless value but Tucker is correct when he maintains that the French dealers destroy Gonzalez's original dynamic when they factory-transform his crude iron weldings and carved stone into a soft malleable metal. Tucker also made the point (and it is pleasant to find oneself for once on the side of the angels) that Gonzalez was essentially a minor artist.

Two honest and debatable opinions by a man hired by the Tate Gallery to give his expert opinion. The essay was in proof stage when the Gonzalez family and the Galerie de France dealers became involved and they demanded that Tucker's essay should be taken out of the catalogue or IN OTHER WORDS THAT TUCKER SHOULD BE SACKED, failing which they, the dealers, would withdraw their Gonzalez sculptures from the Tate.

Tucker offered to withdraw his honest written opinion that Gonzalez was a minor artist but the French dealers would have none of this and they demanded that Tucker's entire catalogue introduction should be thrown out.

It was at this point that Tate Gallery people responsible for mounting this minor exhibition could have told the Gonzalez family and the dealers of the Galerie de France to fuck off and take their over-rated scrap iron with them on the first passing dustcart, but the Tate top brass (or should one say bronze?) crawled to these people.

This was such a minor exhibition that they were doing the French dealers a favour by exhibiting it and the Tate HQ could have afforded themselves the luxury of a little self-respect by kicking these people out of the building but like all office-holders they lacked the courage to stand by the man they had hired and whose opinion was honest and correct.

What is important, and I doubt if

the office-holders of our State Galleries will ever understand this, is that even if an exhibition is of major importance they should still make a stand for, unlike the women of Catalonia, their hides are not in danger only their State pensions and their social standing among a group of international art peddlers who use major State exhibitions to act as a free shop window for their own self interest.

Many a local gallery dug down in its basements for any Gonzalez junk sculpture that they could find and if they find any and sell it they should send a letter of thanks to the Tate for its cowardice, and I suggest that the Tate back room boys could have checked Tucker's claim that Julio Gonzalez was but a minor artist by referring to any reference book.

One can weep for Gonzalez, friend of Picasso and minor artist but the State friends of the Arts crawled to the monied dealers and despoiled your image. But for all that there is Peter Max at the London Arts, 22 New Bond Street, W.1.

Peter (not our Peter) is a millionaire, a businessman, does yoga bends and is a public wearer of the orthodox hippy vest. Peter's work sells like a bomb in the Middle East and at five to a thousand pounds a time, which ain't hay (as they say at the cash desk of the Galerie de France), and Peter's work is as sloppy and as sentimental as a Mother's Day card when the pubs turn out.

He churns, and I use the word deliberately, this maudlin monster comic strip art work that the *Beatles* made popular and this kinky combination of J. M. Barrie figures and Art Nouveau wrist waving lines and all in ice cream colouring should be kept away from the kiddies even at £500 a painting for one tends to go whoops, sorry, on the floor when over exposed to it. But Peter is a happy millionaire and while we of the rank and file have to turn to Desmond the barman of Ward's Irish pub for metaphysical advice, God and the evils of wealth and the English government, Peter can maintain his own private guru, everybody's friend, Swami Satchidananda, but I doubt if Swami Satch serves Guinness between saintly advice, and my advice via Desmond and the Swami is for Peter to stop painting, in our interest if not his own.

ARTHUR MOYSE

## PINELLI

Continued from page 1

of the bourgeoisie but it didn't matter). What counted for the ends of the complex manoeuvre was that such arguments be discussed in the chosen group, because that made it prejudicial.

2. Into the group infiltrated provocateurs—informers who blew on the fire, exaggerated discussions to the maximum, stated it was necessary to pass from theory to practice, etc.

3. Meanwhile outrages were committed whose manner was similar to that which such a group would have used if it had committed them, and thus public opinion was already disposed to accept it as the dynamite group par excellence.

At this point it only needed the utilisation of Pinelli. He was held to be an emotional and naive person who could easily be terrorised and deceived. The interrogation developed according to this plan: (a) intimidation ('Your alibi for the afternoon of the 12th has been proved false'); (b) attack on his physical and psychic resistance (they never let him sleep and kept him constantly 'under pressure'); (c) the attempt to frighten him by suddenly making him see the possibility of being co-involved with the perpetrators of the outrage.

But the alibi held, Pinelli's resistance also. Therefore tactics changed, they proceeded to heavy interrogation, involving 'noises of chairs moving, as if in a brawl' and they began to argue about facts, names, precise circumstances. But an interrogation of this type is likely to boomerang, to question it is necessary to say something, and Pinelli, who listened attentively before answering,

unexpectedly guessed something. He understood that they were trying to make him fall into a trap, understood also, thanks to the names and the circumstances that they were arguing about, that there had been an agent-provocateur in the group, and the links between the provocateur and one of those who was questioning him. And instead of keeping quiet, instead of gaining time, he talked emotionally, indignantly he threatened and asked that certain names, certain statements should be included in the evidence.

Among those who questioned him not all understood what Pinelli understood, but a few people certainly did. And then, from them, came that decisive blow that made Pinelli fall heavily onto the chair, knocking him out. Pinelli was in a bad way (did they at this moment call the ambulance?). Pinelli needed air. They placed him at the window, propping his inanimate body at the transverse bar which was low, too low to support il Pino. Il Pino slid into the void.

A disgrace. This was the version that one of the five present in the piazza (Commissioner Luigi Calabrese, Brigadiers Panessa, Mucilli, Maimardi, Lieutenant of Carabinieri Sabino Lograno) furnished then to their superiors. This version, by a very roundabout route, reached also the conductors of this counter-enquiry. And would have been believed, perhaps, were it not for the bulbous lesion on Pinelli's neck and had there not been a total lack of reflex-action during the 'slide' along the wall, indicating that it was not a question of a sick man but of a dead man.

—From *La Strage di Stato*.  
Translated by S.M.

# Letters

## Women's Liberation

Dear Comrades,

I don't know if you've had enough of the Women's Liberation arguments but I'd like to enlarge a bit on my first letter. Twenty years ago I felt that women were indeed very hard done by in our society and would have joined the WLF like a shot, but now I find the issues much less clear cut—perhaps it's just the middle-age trend to conformity.

My last paragraph I wrote in a somewhat light-hearted way, as Ann-Marie knows I have a hard struggle to exist at all, and as a mother alone am constantly coming up against irritations like being automatically asked for my husband's name and occupation over any financial transaction.

But it seems to me that all societies assign certain roles to their male/female members. In one it may be that the women sit at home having coffee parties, while the men acquire ulcers overworking at their business, while in another women slave in the fields while the men sit at home making musical instruments; but I've yet to read about one where the roles were interchangeable. It seems to be a very basic human thing to designate these roles, and I suspect that it may be to emphasise men/women differences so that we are more likely to be sexually attracted to each other. (Of course in these days of over-population perhaps we need to evolve towards less desire and therefore less procreation.)

Of course such roles become rigidified and are slow to adapt to the changing needs of members of society, and need the sort of pushing that the WLF can give. But since they are so much a part of the fabric of human organization, it may be that trying to alter them too rapidly will have unwanted results.

As for the boy/girl bit, admittedly it gets overdone, so that girls grow up unable to stand on their own feet, and boys unable to express tender feelings, but I still think that some differentiation is valid. Men and women who are unsure of their own masculinity/femininity are unhappy men and women in any society (and I'm not meaning homosexuals particularly).

I don't know if this makes my position any clearer—I admit to being confused myself!

JACQUETTA BENJAMIN.

## Non-Violence i.

Dear Comrades,

Regarding nonviolence I would disagree with the writer in last week's issue (of FREEDOM) who implied that guns were stronger than love and nonviolence. Disagree in all but that guns do certainly force a person into acceptance of things whereas love and nonviolence, not being based on fear and hatred, can gain long term support from people since it allows them to accept or reject.

Once guns are removed people revert

to whatever they believed or didn't believe before the coming of the brave gunslingers. Or of course they are killed by the guns! Because a girl placed a flower in the barrel of a rifle and then later was shot only serves as a reminder of how inhuman the individual becomes with a gun and how right the symbol of life, of something beautiful and harmless stuck in the gun.

As for the short-term effects of gunmen. They become brutalized knowing they can shoot other people. They are cut off from the community if professionals, soldiers or armed policemen, and they have little concern but to use their weapons—not their proud cocks—on other people given a chance to do so. Whether they are revolutionary gunmen or reactionary gunmen leaves me cold. I'd sooner, like the girl with the flowers, meet violence with something which just might absorb or deflate it. OK, sometimes it doesn't, but it seems to me a more human way than to set up a rival gang of gunmen.

Also surely as anarchists we wish to strengthen, support and freely leave others to choose anarchist ideas and anarchic ways of living. I know we have to be prepared for armed institutions to act against us. But we can choose our methods of resistance.

In the long term, solidarity based on gaining the support of powerless people and apparently helpless individuals seems to me the very stuff of anarchism. Helping and educating those groups and individuals who are on the scrapheap of our society—fatherless families; ex-prisoners; ex-mental patients; unemployed; gypsies; homeless; vagrants; criminals; youth; pensioners; painters and poets; the lonely and loveless.

And what do guns or politicians do for these people?

Camborne, Cornwall DENNIS GOULD.

## Non-Violence ii.

Dear Editors,

Perhaps Michael Broad would explain in what way the butchers of Amritsar showed more tender consciences than those of Kent State. Or explain how the grape growers of California and the Mafia of Sicily manifest their moral concerns. Perhaps he might consider the thesis that one set of NV actions constituted real struggle while another set of actions—which incidentally though not violent were not non-violent either—was mere token demonstration.

Fraternally,  
L. OTTER.

## 'NO MAN IS GOOD ENOUGH TO BE ANOTHER MAN'S MASTER'

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# Buy a God and Start your own Religion!

WHEN 'DO IT YOURSELF' came in, after the Second World War, anarchists tended to see in this a healthy sign. People were reacting against having their lives organised for them. However, as with the Hippy Revolution, the businessmen soon moved in, and 'Do It Yourself' has now become a flourishing industry. Quite elaborate kits are sold, so that you can build a boat or a bookcase from prefabricated pieces. Things tend to become more and more complex. A friend, who was accompanying me to the recent 'Do It Yourself' exhibition at Olympia, pointed out to me that it is now practically impossible to get a simple, treadle-operated sewing machine, they all have electric motors. When the motor goes wrong, as motors frequently do in my experience, what happens then?

Purchase Tax is less on unfinished goods, so by buying prefabricated bits and pieces, and fitting it together yourself, you save money, which is all to the good, but one is still a long way from the craftsman with his little workshop and tools, making everything for himself. Perhaps this was always rather a romantic ideal.

This was the only exhibition of 'Do It Yourself' I have ever been to. There were many interesting gadgets, which looked well enough when they were being demonstrated, but left me wondering whether they would be so satisfactory when continuously in use. My experience with practically all inanimate objects is that the simpler they are, the longer they last, and the less trouble they give in the long run, though they may require slightly more physical effort to use.

Quite a lot of this exhibition consisted simply of stalls selling goods already made up, African gods, Bulgarian flutes, Gurkha knives, Albanian cigarette boxes,

magnetic padlocks, pocket carpet sweepers and other exotic or new-fangled marvels. These mostly had very little connection with making things for oneself.

Most of the visitors seemed to be pretty 'square', and I got the impression that the sort of people who want to build their own motor car or helicopter in their back yard are not on that account especially libertarian.

A.W.U.



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# The Flight of the Fascists

A TRUE EARTHQUAKE among the ranks of the professional bombardiers and all because the judge-instructor, *Slaughter by the State* in hand, has, over a thousand obstacles, turned the enquiry into the Milan and Rome outrages of December towards the right. This is being done of course only to demonstrate that the enquiry is impartial. But it is not being directed on high to those who are above the small-fry. This, at least for the moment, is impossible on account of the powerful omerta.

The fascist Delle Chiaie, warned at the Palace of Justice that an arrest warrant was out for him, made a telephone call and then disappeared for ever from 'justice'. He is now in Spain.

Unfindable also Pecorello (apparently now in Greece); bird of the woodlands Cartocci (after his participation in the riots of Reggio Calabria); vanished Di Luia; undiscoverable many exponents of Avanguardia Nazionale and Ordine Novo (the main fascist organisations—translator).

Evidently a well-organised flight which includes knowledge of what is happening at the Palace of Justice.

From *Umanita Nova*  
(tr. Stuart Maxwell).

Last year, as may be remembered, we were left with six weeks in which to find over £1,000. It looks like we may be going the same way again this year. We were able to cover ourselves before because subscription renewal payments for 1970 were used to pay off 1969's debts. If we were able to pay our bills this year without having to rely on 1971's renewals, we'd be one step nearer a sound foundation. As propagandists for Anarchism, our lives are interlocked. The work of Freedom Press can not be done without Anarchists to write the paper, fold it, and distribute it. PLEASE HELP!

G.M.

# PRODUCTIVITY DEALS AND POLITICS

**THE EMPLOYERS' OFFENSIVE—PRODUCTIVITY DEALS AND HOW TO FIGHT THEM, by Tony Cliff.**

WHAT SEEMS to mark a politician more than anything else is the obvious lack of enthusiasm of the general public in England for all things political. The more or less amateur politicians in the small left-wing parties naturally feel this neglect most acutely, and is therefore faced with the unenviable job of constantly producing fresh evidence of some new political mass awakening in the midst of public apathy.

What Tony Cliff, a leading figure in the International Socialist Party, seems to be suggesting in his book on productivity deals is that the 'less politically sophisticated workers' as he calls them, are on the point of being politically aroused by the growth of productivity bargaining in most areas of industry. Politics, it seems, is being forced on the workers by increasing state interference and legislation in the field of industrial relations and incomes, and that productivity deals by their very nature are raising political questions on the shop floor requiring socialist answers.

Given this, it is assumed by Cliff, that working men will become increasingly more receptive to socialist propaganda, and the 'political backwardness', the 'parochialism and shortsightedness' which has characterised the working class for so long will become 'impossible impediments'. The trend against politics will then be reversed and, one might add, with a bit of luck, the ballot box

and a goodish grasp of socialist politics will replace the betting shop and football in the working man's affections and pigs might fly.

Throughout the book this seems to be the conclusion the author seems to be working up to. Such speculation is not, of course, clearly spelt out, but the underlying impression is that Mr. Cliff thinks that the fragmented nature of the industrial struggle and the lack of working-class support for an 'organised political opposition to the system' is all set for a change, because 'productivity bargaining by its direct attack on working conditions and the remaining workers' organisations... generalises workers' experience and resentments'.

## SOME MORE OF THE SAME

This is not the first time Mr. Cliff has gambled in this way. In 1966 he and Colin Barker in their pamphlet *Incomes Policy, Legislation, and Shop Stewards*, tipped the rise of a 'new workers' movement... overcoming the fragmentation of the working class', as being on the cards. Cliff now admits in his preface to his current work that 'life proved much more complex than the theory put forward'.

While not wishing to underestimate the menace of the productivity deal and its influence on the style of the shop floor struggle, it is hard to see how in fact it amounts to anything more than more work for less money, and that while this may make many workers more militant on the job it is

hardly likely to significantly alter their general attitude to politics, whether parliamentary or revolutionary. It seems a safe bet that revolutionary socialist propaganda along with that of those who parrot on about the 'national interest', will continue to drip like water off a duck's back when aimed at the workers.

It seems to me that many of the things that Mr. Cliff attributes to the arrival of productivity bargaining, have really existed to a greater or lesser degree in one form or another for generations. Time and motion experts may well act as spies for the bosses, and may in some cases be in a position to finger militants, but is this any worse a threat than that presented by the old-fashioned creep or arsehole?

Again, in the factory where I started serving my time, we had to give our name and clock number every time we used the bogs. We were allowed two trips a day (one in the morning, the other in the afternoon) of 7 minutes duration on each occasion, and anything in excess of this had to be OK'd by the foreman.

Under productivity deals the job tends to be organised in such a way as to rule out regular attendance at the toilets, under such a system even 'seven minutes' becomes a luxury we can't afford. No need now to employ a lavatory attendant to raise the roost if anyone overstays his welcome.

Such an intensified system of work will naturally, as Mr. Cliff suggests, lead to friction and militant outbursts, but it is just as likely to lead to a growth of fiddling as is implied in comments of some of the workers quoted in the book. From the power station builders who are suspected of using sabotage as a means of prolonging the job, to the Supermarket cleaners, who nightly fill their keks with stolen booty, fiddling will always represent an important fringe benefit on top of their ordinary earnings. Professor Banton, only this month, suggested that many employers and employees seem now to accept a certain level of theft as constituting one of the 'perquisites' of the job.

Faced with fiddling, the employer has two choices; either to reduce it to a minimum, which may lead to a militant reaction as in the recent case of the breweries and the pub tenants, or to try to maintain equal facilities for fiddling and so allowing the workers to let off steam, without allowing the smartest

operators to create big pay differentials through excessive fiddling. All this cuts the risk of a class confrontation on the lines and scale Cliff has in mind.

Piecework encouraged fiddling of all kinds in the past, and productivity deals are likely, if anything, to step up operations in this direction. It won't just be a case of kidding the time and motion bloke, but other swindlers that increase pay and reduce work at the bosses' expense are sure to be introduced as the pace gets tougher, and because of the distortion up the line, managers will have their time cut out to keep tabs on it. Not only this, but because of their remoteness it is difficult to see how they can impose politics on the shop floor even if they wanted to, and the impact of any managerial measure is bound by the nature of the industrial structure to be diminished considerably before it makes itself felt on the shop floor.

## LIFE MORE COMPLEX

### THAN THEORY

Both the complicated chain of command and the many opportunities for fiddlers make it impossible to predict with any certainty the likely long term outcome of productivity deals or anything else. Nor is it possible to say where the narrow anarchism of the workers in this country will take them, but what is sure is that at present they show no sign of turning to the kind of revolutionary socialism advocated by Cliff and his followers. In fact, I suspect the general loathing of ordinary people for politics and ideology runs rather deeper than Mr. Cliff seems to realise, and amounts to something more than a reaction against the Tweedledeeism and Tweedledumism of traditional Labour/Tory parliamentary politics as he tries to make out.

But Mr. Cliff must do his bit to cheer the comrades up, after all it is they who will have to carry out the 'strenuous and difficult propaganda' he calls for to combat the 'employers' offensive'. Tony Cliff is a great gatherer of facts, and one hopes his supporters find his present work useful. Indeed, some of his practical suggestions for tackling the situation and curbing the power of full-time union officials are substantially syndicalist and could well have come from a SWF pamphlet.

All the same the betting is that life will, once again, prove more complex than the theory put forward. B.G.

## Reform or Gentle Genocide?

IN APRIL 1970, by Ministerial Proclamation, part 2 of the Caravan Sites Act became effective.

The Act, initiated by Eric Lubbock and supported by all parties, went through Parliament in 1968, and required local authorities to build sites for Gypsies residing in, or resorting to, their area. At the time the country was thought to be too poor to sustain such a project. Now it is wealthy enough again.

But the Act also promised a reward to an authority that built a site for 12 or 15 trailer caravans—the authority would then qualify for much sterner powers to proceed against 'unauthorised' Gypsy encampments, so when the Minister 'proclaimed' in April one tempered one's joy at the prospect of sites with some misgivings about the ultimate effect on the Gypsy way of life.

Of course Gypsies are particularly attractive people to anarchists precisely because of their disdain for authorised arrangements, and, if this free-living character is indeed going to be suppressed, it would be a tragedy.

But it is too soon to measure the results of the Act yet. The wheels of Local Government grind exceeding slow, and although the starting pistol has been fired I detect no scramble to be first on the ground with a 'compulsory' site. In fact in Kent, where I live, nothing has happened at all since the Act, apart from a slight slackening of badgering by police to move Gypsies on from the highway verges, but this may have been due to the lobbying of the police authorities done by the Kent Gypsy Support Group. (The Act however gave them a peg to hang their petition on.)

No Kent local authorities are doing anything, because a pathetic and inadequate attempt to start a series of sites in Kent had preceded the Act, and now they want to see the effect on the remaining travelling population of new sites in neighbouring counties.

Essex is already doing something, but Surrey and the London Boroughs will need a bomb under them.

The Minister has asked local authorities to report plans by September, or make their claim for exemption (the substitution of a different-coloured Minister in June apparently has made no difference).

So now is the time for comrades, who are not too proud to communicate with the bureaucrats, to influence them favourably. Ask what your council intends to do, and draw their attention to the factors that can make or mar a good site. Here is a check list of what a good site should have:

- a separate lavatory/wash-house for each caravan, or pair;
- a good access road and hardstandings;
- a good refuse disposal service;
- a yard for sorting scrap;
- a children's playground;

a community building for general use, including a pre-school children's group;

no silly rules like forbidding outside fires, the keeping of horses or more than one dog, or carrying on a business from the premises.

Ideally, the establishment should have a warden of some kind, because however well-designed the encampment is, the travellers who occupy it will be in a new situation for them, and friction is likely.

The relationship of the camp with the settled people in the locality is crucial, and a warden who can build bridges and be reasonable about the differences between the settled and travelling communities could do a lot of good. I would be glad to hear from anyone who could take such a job on in North Kent.

We have to wait some time to see what the repressive side of the Act will bring. The extra powers cannot be acquired until the Minister is satisfied by the local site provision. I hope my fears will be ill-founded that the whole Gypsy way of life is threatened. After all, Gypsies have faced much sterner legislation in the past, including the death penalty, and survived remarkably intact. Rich Gypsies can travel freely and hire a field as a short stopping place without risking prosecution, and the poor ones have a sense of cheerful desperation which leads them to camp on forbidden territory and damn the consequences. They are in a strong position in a certain way, because they are 'men of straw' as far as paying fines goes, and if the fines are unpaid and a prison sentence imposed, the authorities have the double expense of looking after the man inside and giving Supplementary Benefit to his family who remain at the roadside.

So perhaps we shall not see much more police activity harassing Gypsies than at present, which is bad enough in all conscience.

For while South-East England is treating the travellers comparatively mildly at present, the Midlands seem to be redoubling their efforts to get rid of them, in the (I hope) mistaken belief that they will be exempt from building sites if they have no Gypsies in the area. The Act says that the basis of site provision will be the survey already completed when the Act was passed in 1968, and repeated Government circulars have pointed out to Local Authorities the futility of pushing people on who have nowhere legal to go.

Two tasks for us, then. One, to see that the Government policy of an adequate network of sites throughout the country is not eroded by local opposition, and two, to see that the sites when they are built are fit for Gypsies to live in.

B.R.

## Wanted—Shop Assistant!

THERE ARE THINGS beginning to happen in the Potteries. We are at present buying two houses with shop-fronts with the intention of using them for (a) accommodation (funnily enough); (b) General Agitprop; and (c) contact with apprentices and young workers (space is available). The general agitprop function will comprise four distinct aspects. We plan:

1. Information Bureau, Advice about Rent Tribunals, etc.
2. Office of North Staffs Claimants Union.
3. Bookshop, Propaganda.
4. Leafletting at request of individuals or organisations who need us.

Both shops are in working-class communities—one in Silverdale, an old mining community near Keele University, the other in Burslem, in the centre of an engineering and pottery factory area. All sorts of possibilities exist—for instance in supporting the growing discontent with the shitty Pottery Workers Union, in fighting the numerous redundancies, etc.

We're writing to say that though we will certainly be able to man the Silverdale shop, we may have difficulty in manning the Burslem shop on a regular enough basis for it to be of use to people—let alone in expanding eventually into the young workers scene. So is any comrade (anarchist or solidarist) interested in coming to join us in the group by living in the area, at least for six months, and being responsible for manning and developing the Burslem shop—together with as much help as we can give him. No money, but accommodation free, of course.

It won't be an Arts Lab, it won't even be a 'scene'—just grass roots nitty gritty and sensitive non-manipulative communication with working people in a hitherto backward (but now increasingly militant?) part of the world—population 300,000. We can learn, they can learn, you can learn—what about it? Contact Keith Paton, 21 Victoria Street, Basford, Stoke on Trent.

## Pamphlet—Supplements

THE issue of 'Freedom' for September 26 will contain the fourth in our series of pamphlet supplements. It will contain translations of Kropotkin's work which have not previously appeared in English. These are mainly new translations of articles from 'Le Revolte' founded in 1879, and will include an introductory article written by E. Reclus.

We are also reprinting a series of three articles which Kropotkin wrote for 'Freedom' in 1903 when he was on the editorial group. They are called 'Politics and Socialism' and analyse the futility of expecting any revolutionary changes from the election to power of social democratic parties and the necessity of direct action on the part of the working people to affect any revolutionary change.

We hope to bring out a further pamphlet supplement of other writings of Kropotkin which have not previously appeared in English.

Will individuals and groups order separate copies of this pamphlet to sell on the usual sale or return basis?

EDITORS.

## Minister Paid Provocateurs

CITING THE BOOK, *Slaughter by the State*, the fascist deputy Almirante said in the Italian parliament that squalid episodes of violence were provoked not only by the ranks of the left, but the Minister of the Interior also had his paid provocateurs on the right. He said he had irrefutable proof.

We arrive at this: that the fascist right, through the mouth of its highest exponent in a commentary in parliament on this book, accuses explicitly the Minister of the Interior of subsidising and organising the provocation and subversion of our country. Why does he hesitate to ask Almirante publicly for



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the proofs of the very serious and damaging statement? We have thus another proof that it is indeed a question of slaughter by the State.

From *Umanita Nova* (tr. Stuart Maxwell).

ACCORDING to his brother, it was the will of God that decreed 55-year-old Balthazar Johannes Vorster should rule South Africa after the knifing of the South African equivalent of Nazi Germany's Jew-baiter Julius Streicher in Apartheid's holy of holies on Tuesday, September 6, 1966. Will of God or not, Vorster has many excellent qualifications that made his accession to ultimate power in the land of hate inevitable.

First is his splendid war record. A general in the Ossewa Brandwag for the Port Elizabeth district who was so successful that the South African Government of the time promoted him to the exalted rank of prisoner 2229/42, Hut 48, Camp 1 at the end of 1942 for his pro-Nazi activities. And what did the Ossewa Brandwag stand for? Vorster himself said that the OB stood for 'Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. . . . You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism.'

Secondly, there is the fact that the Nationalist Party of South Africa rejected this 'extremist' as a candidate for the parliamentary constituency of Brakpan in 1948 as his 'right-wing' views were somewhat embarrassing. Which is somewhat odd considering that anyone rejected by the Nationalist Party must either be a liberal or a naked racist. . . . and Vorster is no liberal. The 'native policy' of the Nationalist Party is 'The dominance of the European population in a spirit of Christian trusteeship, with the strictest avoidance of any attempt at race mixture'.

But by 1953 the Nationalist Party had relented and allowed this true comrade of the laager to win the Niger seat for them. It wasn't so much Vorster who had changed his views—views that had remained unaltered since the sixteenth century—but more a case of the rediscovering of 'a spirit of Christian trusteeship', that is to say, climb further onto the backs of the Africans.

Vorster's third qualification is his many profound pronouncements made over many years of devoted parliamentary life:

# Vorster fur Fuehrer

'We know one person to whom we owe an explanation, and that is the white worker in South Africa who has brought the National Party to the position it occupies today and who will keep it in that position in the future.'

—February, 1956.

'There is no state of emergency.'—March, 1960 (one week after the Sharpeville Massacre and just two days before a state of emergency was in fact declared).

'The rights of free speech, gathering and protest are getting out of hand.'

—September, 1961.

Just after his appointment as Minister of Justice:

'It is time to put an end to the activities of subversive lawyers.'

—March, 1962.

'Liberalism is the forerunner of Communism.'

—April, 1962.

'In this Parliament, which must decide the fate of the Republic of South Africa and its inhabitants, the white man, and the white man alone, will have the right to sit.'

—May, 1965.

Such profound statements endeared him to the white community as did such cries of anguish as 'I do not want to belong to this nation of blacks, browns and whites—I want to belong to a white nation'.

Fourth qualification is the fact that while he was Minister of Justice there appeared on the South African statute book a very large volume of racist legislation which added many more turns of the screw for the Africans so that their plight became more acute.

One example of such legislation is the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 76 of 1963. Section 77 of that Act gives the Minister of Bantu Affairs (the man who tells the Africans where they are to live

and work) the right to remove an African from his home town, even if he has lived there for fifty years without a break, together with his family, to an area where neither accommodation nor employment is available if, in the opinion of the Minister, the number of Africans living in his home town is in excess of the town's labour requirements.

Fifth qualification of Vorster's is his 'hanging record'. While Minister of Justice—oops, I mean Minister of Justice—Vorster managed to mete out the death penalty more times than the United States. Although the population of South Africa is less than a tenth of the population of the United States, in the five years, January 1960-December 1964, 181 people were executed in the United States while no less than 391 people were executed in South Africa. Here Vorster laid the groundwork which paved the way for South Africa to grab the world's 'hanging record' for today South Africa manages to take care of around 47 per cent of the world's executions. If South Africa has been prohibited from competing in the Olympics, she can certainly hold her own in this

'sport', and our friend Vorster had no small hand in this endeavour. Even such a minor 'sport' as corporal punishment didn't escape his notice. During 1964 alone no less than 16,887 people were flogged in South Africa. Our friend certainly takes his sports seriously.

The last and most important qualification that the ex-leader of the Junior Nationalist Party of Stellenbosch University possesses is his great competence. Indeed, if it wasn't for this competence Vorster would never have become Fuehrer.

He allowed a man who was once believed to have been coloured and was rejected as such by whites; a man who had been a patient of Boston Psychopathic Hospital; a man who possessed a long police record and who had been deported from several countries, to become a Parliamentary Messenger.

Hendrik 'Julius Streicher' Verwoerd dies in the citadel of Apartheid at the hands of this messenger, Demetrio Tsafendas, and the very person whose direct legal and constitutional responsibility is that of security of one of the most security-minded of states, does not

resign. He is promoted Prime Minister. The one-man inquiry by Mr. Justice van Wyk was held behind closed doors. Vorster, by being Prime Minister, was no longer van Wyk's direct boss, but all the witnesses to the inquiry were directly under the control of Vorster. This was thought necessary 'until we are in calmer waters' and you will never guess who decided when the ship of state arrived in the shelter of a harbour. . . . All this is rather reminiscent of one of Vorster's mentors—Hermann Goering. The only real difference being that Goering destroyed an inanimate object—the Reichstag—while Vorster seems to have devoted his considerable talents in the direction of an animate object. And so Vorster became South Africa's Fuehrer. . . .

DOUGLAS MARCHANT.

## Contact

Contact Column is for making contact. Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome.

## FLYING DUTCHMEN

*And there was a far-off land where all the people had smiles on their faces. The king, in his infinite wisdom, had set up large houses so that people who had nowhere to go, or nothing to do, could come and look at pretty things, or listen to nice music. If they felt bad, they could buy, at most reasonable prices, a sure cure to their every ailment. All the people of the kingdom loved their king, and word of the wonderful land spread throughout the world. People would come to the land from all over, and many would never leave. The kingdom began to grow rich and prosperous on the money it took from the rich foreigners. It used this money to build more places for the people to enjoy themselves. One of the new places was called Paradise and the other Fantasy. These places had prettier pictures and nicer music than any of the others. . . .*

**A** FICTION from the future? Brave new world? The government of the Netherlands sponsors two youth clubs, 'Paradiso' and 'Fantasio'. They both provide live music and light shows for fl. (2/4). These places are also 'bust-free' for dealers and users (despite a sign over the entrance which says 'all dealers will be ejected') of 'soft' drugs. Hundreds of stoned young people sit for hours on the floor watching the latest rock group and the light show behind them. Their widened pupils blankly stare at the show. For those who don't feel in the mood for dope, beer is sold and there are always dark corners for anyone feeling a bit horny.

The Left in Amsterdam, like the majority of that in London, is voyeuristic, concerned more with Saigon than the Hague. 'Stop the murder of the Black Panthers', I saw scrawled on a wall. Nowhere have I seen a word about the spiritual murders of their own people.

The Kabouteren appear to be trying to break out. They have declared themselves independent. As an offshoot of

the provos, they are attempting to demonstrate that people have the power to run their own lives. They have even won seats on town councils (they say they are anarchists?). Perhaps this will be effective, but I am pessimistic. They have lost the provo flair for street actions and the ridicule of authority. Although they have widespread support among the people, I question the price they had to pay for that support. This is a premature judgement, as I have not yet personally talked with them, nor have I been involved in any actions in which they participate.

There is potential. One underground group plastered the streets with an official looking sign which read:

Members of my force who continue picking young people off the streets because of their looks or dress, or because of a minor infraction (unlawful arrest) like making music in the streets, selling small articles, distribution of printed matter—and/or search them unlawfully—will be dismissed without pardon from the Amsterdam Police Force.

P. A. DE JONG,  
Chief of Police,  
Amsterdam.

August 1970

Actions such as these, however, seem few and far between.

Amsterdam even appears to have developed its own unique form of paranoia, one perfectly suited to the creeping apathy. CIA-CIA-CIA!!!

There is a clique of Dutch youth that see every major radical organization as controlled by the CIA. They claim there is a master plan to create 'a common mind' among American and world youth. This is being done through leftist organizations which are controlled by the CIA. This paranoia serves to confirm the distrust of much of the youth in Holland in any form of leftist organization. Having nowhere else to turn, there is always 'Paradiso' and 'Fantasio'; after all, the CIA would have no interest in them, would they?

RASPUTIN.

## Talking at Different Levels

**A**NARCHISTS and the more libertarian Marxists insist that socialism can only be achieved by the conscious action of the vast majority of the working class. Without a socialist consciousness socialism cannot come, without a revolutionary consciousness and a militant determination the working class can overthrow class society and allow socialism to be built. (Whereas most Leninists think it is only necessary that the minority shall have a revolutionary and socialist consciousness provided that the masses can be tricked into overthrowing the old order—groups such as the SPGB and some traditional pacifist socialists have a consciousness of the difficulties involved in getting it.)

Therefore anarchists see a need to win the majority to anarchism or to other libertarian and direct actionist philosophies prior to the revolution so that no elite will arise on the backs of an unconsciously militant mass to power. Many socialists make a distinction between propaganda—saying much to the few—and agitation—saying a little to the many. The more Libertarian Leninists like ourselves would mean that we are now too few on the ground to reach the many with more than a little of our case and that therefore we have to convert a few others to help us preach to the many, but that it would be sectarian and elitist to ignore the many in the meanwhile—this interpretation of the Leninist 'Vanguard' party approaches the anarchist concept of the Militant Minority; but many Leninists intend by saying much to the few to build their elite party as leaders of the class in revolt, and by saying a little to the many to persuade them to take chances for which they are not ready; the many are the cannon fodder of the revolution, obedient or deluded masses whose work, courage and sacrifice will put the few into power as a new set of masters to replace the old.

Anarchists who have traditionally believed that there is a need to win and educate a militant minority in order to win a majority later, but who have also believed that we should ground ourselves in mass actions, inspiring these where we can, fostering those that have started without us, and raising the content of the actions, have to learn to speak at different levels—or since we see actions as speaking louder than words, believe in propaganda by deeds,

find deeds that speak at different levels. An easy example—and one of which this author has much experience—was anarchist work within the direct action wing of the campaign against nuclear weapons. To the ordinary man in the street we talked of the evils of the Bomb, the Cold War, Nato and national militarism and power politics generally; this was on our leaflets and on our banners, this was demonstrated by our publicized actions. To the Lib-Lab Left generally, which thought itself to be unilateralist, but thought unilateralism would come by parliamentary decision, we put some of the case for direct action—both by deed and by word; arguing that the military complex was such, the link between it and government such, that it was inevitable that militarism was not just immoral but a threat to that very democracy it was supposed to preserve.

To the ordinary campaigner—at conferences, in local campaign papers, and local campaign group meetings we put an additional case and at the same time to workers directly involved in the production and servicing of the Bomb; for to both by deeds and speeches, leaflets and papers we argued that it was the people directly involved in making the bomb who could stop it, not some far away parliamentary body, whose power rested on the obedience of others. We used a form of action designed to make people consider what they were doing and designed to convince our allies of the validity of direct action; and in intervals we waged anti-election campaigns—'the voters' vetoes on the bomb'.

Finally within the ranks of the pacifist and other direct action movement we put the case that the logic of the actions done was anarchism, that the direct action should be used in other fields, that unilateral abandonment of the state's major weapon would not easily be granted by any state, and that only if one could build a revolutionary movement on a broad front would it be possible to make a revolutionary advance on any one, and then only be able to maintain this advance to the extent that one carried the advance on further.

It may not be often that one has such a simple opportunity to make one's speech and act, or speak to people at different levels, certainly so many different levels, but undoubtedly a similar effect was to be seen in the squatters' movement.



All correspondence to  
Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road,  
Rotton Park, Birmingham 16

## ANARCHIST FEDERATION of BRITAIN

The AFB information office will produce an internal bulletin. Comrades interested in its production are to meet in Birmingham on the second Sunday in September. All groups will be informed in detail. Address all letters to:

Peter Le Mare, 5 Hannaford Road, Rotton Park, Birmingham, 16. Tel. 021-454 6871. Material that cannot wait for the bulletin to be sent to R. Atkins, Vanbrugh College, Heslington, York. The Contact Column in 'Freedom' is also available for urgent information.

Groups should send latest addresses to Birmingham. New inquirers should

write direct to them or to the AFB information office in Birmingham.

### AFB REGIONAL GROUPS

There are now anarchist groups in almost every part of the country. To find your nearest group write to:

North West Federation: Secretary, Tom Howard, 163 Ryelands Road, Lancaster.

Corwall: A. Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell. (M. Ma. B.)

Essex & E. Herts.: P. Newell, 'Aegean', Spring Lane, Eight Ash Green, Colchester. (QM, FL.)

Surrey: G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom.

Yorkshire: Martin Watkins, 3 Marlborough Grove, Leeds, 2.

Scotland: Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Anglepark Terrace, Edinburgh 11.

Wales: c/o P. L. Mare (address above).

N. Ireland: c/o Freedom Press.

University and Student Groups: c/o P. L. Mare. (Abbreviations: M—meeting; Ma—magazine; B—badges; Q—Quarterly; FL—free leaflets)

**Elephant and Castle Project Junior Club.** Saturday morning play project for boys and girls, urgently needs reliable helpers. New ideas and cast-off toys, etc., welcome. Contact: Club Leader, Valerie E. Bickers, 26 Bromyard Avenue, London, W.3.

**Complete set of 'Anarchy'.** Offers to: T. Reeder, 44 Upper Orwell Street, Ipswich, Suffolk.

**Wanted.** **Biographies of Italian Anarchists.** Documents on the following: Italian anarchists in the Resistance 1939-45; Biographic and bibliographic material on the following—E. Malatesta, P. Gori, L. Galleani, C. Berneri, L. Pertoni, A. Borghi, G. Damiani, L. Meschi, U. Fedeli. All material returned, postage refunded. Send to: Rene Bianco, B.P. 40 Marseille, St. Just 13, France.

**Libertarian Analysis.** First quarterly issue out at the end of September. Box 210, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014, USA.

**Very urgent.** There are several families at Burrell House who need an electric cooker, especially since the gas was cut off last week. Anyone able to help meet our urgent cooker crisis please notify us via Freedom Press, phone 247 9249—The Tenants of Burrell House, The Highway, Stepney, E.1.

**Mass Psychology of Fascism.** Does any one have a copy of Reich's book to loan us; we have vague plans to reprint. Alan Ross, Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilna Street, Leicester.

**Behaviourism & Revolution.** Libertarian Study Group forming to consider the kind of question recently occupying the attention of FREEDOM correspondents. Contact J. Millenson, 111 Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. 01-723 1587.

**Los Amigos de Durruti.** A group of active campaigners in London dedicated to the propagation of Anarchy (society organized without authority) and the defence of brothers in need. Write to Bill Dwyer, c/o Freedom Press.

**Jumble Sale.** Saturday, September 19, 2.30 p.m. Wood Street Congregational Church Hall, Vallentin Road, Walthamstow, E.17. Helpers, transport, jumble wanted. Drug Dependents Care Group.

**Proposed Bristol Group.** Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

**Frank Roach Personal Appeal.** Frank Roach at present will be held in Brixton it seems until September. Comrades need not be reminded of the stirring deeds of this gentleman, but money for cigarettes, etc., would be very much appreciated. c/o Freedom Press, Box No. 02.

**Anarchists in Enfield area please contact** Leroy Evans 01-360 4324.

**Please help.** Union of American Exiles in Britain: c/o WRI, 3 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

**Proposed Group.** Alex Bird, 23 Rosewell Court, Kingsmead, Bath.

**Lowestoft Libertarians** contact Ann & Gordon Collins, 9 Ontario Road, Lowestoft, Suffolk, Tuesday evenings. Comrades welcome for short stay by the sea.

**Oxford Anarchists.** New group being formed, contact Dave Archard, Corpus Christi College, or John Humphries, Balliol.

**Wednesday discussion meetings at Freedom Meeting Hall from 8 p.m.**

**Urgent.** Help fold and dispatch FREEDOM every Thursday from 4 p.m. onwards. Tea served.