

FREEDOM

'Between the government which does evil and the people who accept it there is a certain shameful solidarity.'

VICTOR HUGO.

In this Issue:
Controversy on 'the People in the Streets' -P 2

MAY 4 1963 Vol 24 No 14

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

SPAIN-are WE prepared?

THE recent execution of the Spanish communist Julian Grimau in the teeth of world disapproval, and the tightening up of press censorship after a period of relative "freedom"—at least so far as the foreign press was concerned, has given rise to speculations of a change in the regime at top level. Last Sunday's *Observer* prominently featured a report "by a Special Correspondent" the gist of which is that Franco is now so seriously ill that he has lost his grip on affairs as well as his Cabinet. It appears that the Council of Ministers debated the fate of the Communist Grimau for 14 hours, during which time Franco did not utter a single word, and it was only by a majority of one vote that Grimau's fate was sealed. All the military (including the Vice-President, Munoz Grandes who voted out "of solidarity" with his fellow military, though arguing throughout in favour of clemency) and two civilians, voted for the application of the death penalty. The *Observer's* correspondent points out that "If General Franco is not capable of backing up his vice-president in a short term question such as this, it is thought unlikely that his authority will be sufficient to ensure an automatic succession".

If the *Observer's* facts are correct it would appear that the ageing General

in recent weeks has been pushed more and more into the hands of a clique of old-timers, headed by Sr. Carrero Blanco, who want to maintain the status quo regardless of consequences.

The question that springs to mind is to ask where will these

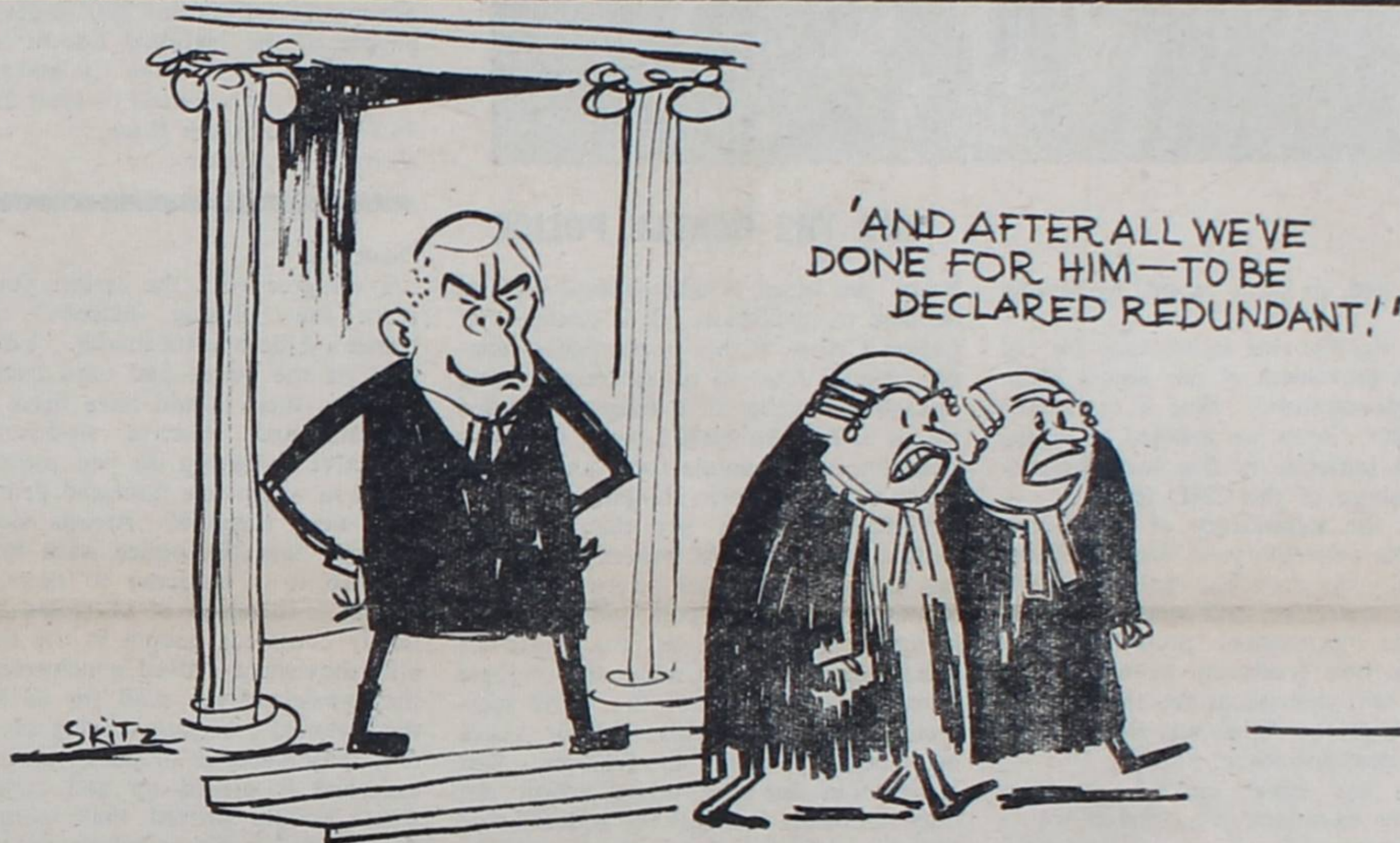
"old-timers" look for their support. Of course they can count on the Army leaders and the powerful Sections of the Church, landowners and industrialists, but is there any reason to believe that in 1963 they can hold down the Spanish people any more successfully than in 1936, without outside support? Last time it was the Italian and German dictators. Who will it be this time?

France? (de Gaulle's brusque calling-off of trade talks with Spain following the execution of Grimau does not promise well, though on the other hand de Gaulle has shown willingness to make life difficult for the Spanish refugees in France in return for a tightening up on OAS activities in Spain. What intrigues are currently taking place between OAS, French militarists and the

Spanish "old-timers"?). It is however much more likely that the Spanish reactionaries are looking to the United States for support if and when the explosion takes place in Spain. As it is the regimes has been kept going by large injections of dollar-aid, and the army "modernised" (at least by Spanish standards) and communications improved, again by the Americans, whose

actual presence at the various bases leased to them by Franco, could be of value to the reactionaries in the event of American intervention in any struggle that might result from a political *coup-d'etat*.

Once one starts speculating there is no end to the possibilities and probabilities. After all one has not mentioned Russia's reactions, which will have an important bearing on the United States' and so on. What should be exercising the thought and activities of all those who still believe in the Spanish peoples' ability to free themselves from their local tyrants is to prepare a world opinion which if and when the clash comes, will be strong and militant enough to prevent Spain from becoming a pawn in the game of power politics, another Cuba or Congo. The ground should be prepared now. If we wait until something happens then once again all the best will in the world, the fine sentiments and the bandages and condensed milk will stir the best feelings in humanity, but it will be too late. The tragedy of the Left is that it takes up causes when it is already too late to influence, or help them.



Spanish Embassy Demonstration

The London Federation of Anarchists supported by a number of Spanish comrades, held a demonstration outside the Spanish Embassy last Saturday. About 80 people turned up to show their solidarity with our Spanish comrades who are suffering long years of imprisonment in Franco's gaols without anything like a fair trial.

The police were there in force supported by the "hurry-up" wagon and prevented the first arrivals of comrades from occupying the island in the road directly in front of the embassy. We argued for some time with the police over using the island, but they seemed to think that we would be a little too near the embassy for its continued safety. We were slowly forced off the island onto the pavement round the garden enclosure. As more comrades arrived we started to walk up and down with our banners and posters.

Throughout the demonstration, the police stood in a line in the road at six yard intervals flanking us. A further line equally spaced out stood on the edge of the kerb guarding their precious island, in the road. Reinforcements were ready round the corner in case of need, a need that did not arise. The demonstration was held almost in silence which was broken only by occasional cat-calls from passers by.

Continued on page 4

HOLD OUR OWN ENQUIRY!

THE Manchester and Salford Trades Council recently passed a resolution calling for an official inquiry into police behaviour on March 26th, when representatives of unemployed workers throughout the country held a demonstration outside parliament.

In commenting, unfavourably, on the suggestion, the *Guardian* (20/4/63) quotes the last inquiry, in connection with police violence at the Committee of 100 demonstration in Trafalgar Square in September, 1961. Despite the fact that the police used considerable violence at that time, both in the Square and after arresting individuals, the report presented to the Home Secretary, Mr. Butler, completely whitewashed them. At the time, it was not known that anyone actually believed the report except the police officials who investigated the affair, the Royal Commission who investigated them, and the Home Secretary.

However, it seems as if the *Guardian's* leader writer was also taken in, since he uses the former incident, without any obvious logic, to oppose holding an inquiry into the present one.

In fact, an official inquiry, as demanded by the Manchester Trades Council

would not be effective in discovering the facts and carrying out remedies, not because there were no incidents that deserve wide publication and exposure, but because an official inquiry, by its very nature, is inhibited from achieving this object. Not only are its members invariably drawn from circles in sympathy with the state, but its existence starts from the premise that it is right for police to try to control demonstrations with, no doubt, the minimum of necessary violence, and that it is

wrong for the people who are subjected to the pretensions of authority to protest against them, in any but the most polite of demonstrations.

An alternative way of tackling the matter, would be that the people who are concerned about the use of provocative violence by the police, and as the *Guardian* points out, these are not confined to the immediate recipients of it, should hold their own public inquiry. A similar suggestion was made in the editorial columns of *FREEDOM* at the time of the government inquiry into the execution of Timothy Evans, which similarly concluded that no miscarriage of justice had occurred, a conclusion that in retrospect reflects as little credit to

the committee as the whole affair does to the state and its machinery of "justice".

An unofficial inquiry of this type would have no legal status, no power to compel witnesses to attend, and no power to jail those who refused to answer it, or who expressed their contempt of it. Nevertheless, these facts could be made into points of strength, not weakness, if it was conducted openly, in the spirit of an attempt to determine the truth, and to let participants in the demonstration from all sides put their points of view without distortion or interruption. It could represent an application of the idea that the liberation

THE 40-HOUR WEEK

The National Incomes Commission have, as expected, condemned the Scottish Building Industry's agreement for a 40-hour week which is to commence next November and the Scottish plumbers 40-hour week agreement which is in operation at the moment.

The 40-hour week is described in the report as being "contrary to the national interest", and means that there will be an increase in overtime worked but not a reduction in hours with the result that there will be an overall rise in pay. If these agreements are not cancelled then there should be an understanding that there will be no further increases for three years. The reason N.I.C. have given for this is that the Scottish agreement and the recent cost of living rise will increase earnings by 9%.

In condemning the 40-hour week the N.I.C. have carried out the Government's bidding. The agreements in Scotland have caught them on the hop and they are now trying their utmost to prevent the 40-hour week from spreading to other parts of the country, not only in the building

trade but also to other industries. The employers have given way but the Government seems determined to prevent the spread and the Commission is merely a highly paid mouthpiece for them that will be used to attack any attempt to pay increases and shorter hours.

The N.I.C. have said that if a 40-hour week is introduced throughout the Building Industry, it will put up the cost of construction work by £50 million. According to them production must increase before there are any pay rises or reduction in hours.

This is the old story. If you work harder then you can have an increase, but this increase will be only a part of the bigger profits that the employer will gain from this rise in production, a rise which is achieved by men having worked harder. Employers can easily afford pay increases and shorter hours without this rise in production. At the moment their whole aim is to complete a job in the shortest possible time and with this end in mind they are willing to pay above the union rates and overtime.

With many firms there seems to be no limit to the amount of overtime they want to be worked on the sites.

We have been told this week that productivity in the Building Industry must rise by 55% over the next ten years but, and here is the rub, only a 2% rise in the labour force is expected. I know that with increased mechanisation and new methods of construction jobs will be completed more quickly and so bring increased production. With these plans in mind and with an increasing labour force, a shorter working week is essential not only in the building industry, but all round, for the changes in methods of construction are occurring now and will be continual. Full employment can only be maintained by a cut in hours. At the moment the labour force is kept down by the payment of overtime, a state of affairs with which the unions comply.

The Commission tells us that the 40-hour week is contrary to the national interest (i.e. the Government and the employers), but the interest of workers in all industries is a shorter working week and the aim of the rank and file union members should be to achieve it now.

P.T.

ANARCHY 27

NOW ON SALE, IS ON YOUTH

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

ILLUSIONS

OUR correspondence columns this week reflect the very considerable interest aroused by the unofficial demonstrations which enlivened the Aldmerston march this Easter, but it is quite clear that our comrades are not unanimous either in their appraisal of the anarchist participation or in the way it was treated in the last issue of FREEDOM.

What we published on our front page were first-hand accounts of what happened at R.S.G.-6 and during the last stages of the March in Central London, written by comrades whose objectivity we have no reason to doubt and whose word we would trust in preference to that of the professional newsmen, the timid legalists or the police. Of course their accounts of the "incidents" can be said to lack a sense of proportion, and we must plead "guilty" to connivance in splashing these items all over the front page. For this we make no apology. Would that all events could be described by those who actually participate in them! There would be much less cynicism in the Press and there would still be plenty of time to analyse, to have second thoughts, to put events in their proper perspective, and to draw the lessons. When Tony Weaver, one of our critical correspondents, describes the report as "a tale of over-excited schoolchildren who have got past the prefects and are masturbating in public" and goes on to ask "why do you revel in scuffling with the police and imagine this to be some kind of achievement?" he shows only too clearly, in our opinion, that however sincere he may be in his desire for a social revolution he remains oblivious to the massive entrenched, built-in, forces with which the privileged minority in our society have surrounded themselves to resist, to disarm (morally speaking) and discredit all serious attempts to change society radically.

Tony Weaver's letter, the more we study it the more does it appear as the epitome of middle-class pacifism. Apart from the obvious middle-class analogy in which the people are "schoolchildren" and the police "prefects", not to mention "masturbation", the public school "vice"—one cannot overlook the scathing reference to "the aggressive attempt to get the better of" the police or fail to compare it with "the responsible and effective" revelations of the Spies for Peace which was "the result of patient investigation and timely release of information". As if the revelations of the Spies for Peace was not a scuffle with another section of the security forces—except that it was carried out with kid gloves, at cocktail-party-level rather than in the streets where the scuffles with the police generally take place. We do not deny the publicity value of the RSG revelations—we acclaimed them in our last editorial—but, unlike Tony Weaver and his friends, we also acclaim confrontation between, even a section of, the people and the police, when it occurs, for the latter no less than the former tends to undermine the authority, the mystique of superiority surrounding the Establishment.

Tony Weaver dogmatically proclaims: "a non-violent revolution will be the only kind worth having" and condescendingly adds: "This no doubt involves changes in economic and social relations", from which he concludes that

it will only be carried out by men and women who have attained a higher level of behaviour, in terms of reciprocity between human beings, than an

aggressive attempt to get the better of the powers that be (or their substitutes the police) for the moment.

A proper revolutionary has long grown out of mere rebellion. Let us get down to the business of educating and training ourselves.

"Educating and training ourselves" for what? If we understand Tony Weaver correctly it consists in not being beastly to the police who, as the pacifist saying goes, are only "doing their job"; in bringing about a better understanding between worker and boss—failing which, presumably, the workers will have to wait until the bosses "have attained a higher level of behaviour in terms of reciprocity" and in the event that they show no inclination for this "higher level of behaviour" what then? Does the fault lie with us? Must we, like Boxer, declare that we must "get down to the business of educating and training ourselves" still more?

★

THE only kind of revolution worth having, is, in our opinion, the one which results in the weakening of governmental power and a corresponding increase in responsibility, and direct control of their affairs, by the people. If such a revolution can be "non-violent" so much the better, for it will indicate that the revolutionaries are strong and the forces of reaction are weak, divided, rotten. But supposing that the revolutionary forces and those of reaction are both strong: the former trained in "the business of education" by Tony Weaver, and the latter in the business of capitalism by (Tooth and) Clore buttressed by the weight of the Law, the police, the Army, the Civil Service, the aspiring politicians, and capitalists, the specialists: scientists, intellectuals, economists, publicists, brainwashers *et alia*—what scrap of evidence is there to show that comrade Weaver's dogmatic—to our minds, naive—faith in the power of education *per se* is justified in fact?

The so-called "violent" revolutionary anarchists have always recognised that violence is a dangerous, unpredictable weapon. It must be so in any situation where "reciprocity between human beings"—which implies social and economic equality—is replaced by one in which "might is right". If "reciprocity" were in fact the existing state of affairs, we would be the first to condemn the solution of differences by resort to force. But this reciprocity *does not exist* today, and to assume that it can be achieved without "provoking" violence on the part of those whose privileges depend on the maintenance of the *status quo*, is to display a faith in the power of pure Reason which, if valid, would have long ago removed the antagonisms which are the root of the class struggle. One can solve human problems by reason only in a society, a community, a family, governed by reason. Reason is the art of persuasion; persuasion, which is neither blackmail nor a confidence trick, can only operate in the common interest when the argument is not vitiated by personal considerations of material gain or loss. If reason, education, were the criteria for the establishment of a harmonious society then it is in the seats of learning and among the leisured classes that one should seek the advocates of social justice and revolution. Apart from the exceptions (and how many of them in the event turn out to be armchair-fairweather-revolutionaries?) the socially privileged classes use their

WEARING A gown of corded silk with broderie Anglaise and drop pearls, Miss Brenda Pearce, of 58 Bramber Road, Fulham, was the pretty bride of Mr. Michael Benson, of Chiswick, at West Kensington Congregational Church. The bride, carrying roses and freesia, was given away by her brother, Mr. B. Pearce. The bridesmaid was Miss Marina Swain, wearing a dress of pink slipper satin and a pink rose head-dress. She carried a white prayer book and mixed freesia. Best man was Mr. Bryan Weston. Guests were entertained at a reception at the bride's home before the couple left for their honeymoon in Sussex. . . .

THE PRIME MINISTER said that the peace spy leak was not vital but "the object of the Special Branch will be to try, by their inquiries, to pin the responsibility where it lies." Mr. Fenner Brockway, Labour M.P. for Eton and Slough, said the Spies for Peace pamphlet "was an unnecessary step . . . I regard this document not as nuclear disarmament but as nuclear encouragement because it provides targets for any nuclear power in time of war." A technical reconnaissance officer in Essex Civil Defence Force said that he had received at least a dozen documents marked 'restricted' with information on S.G.R.'s, "at least 5,000 others must have received them." A man posing as a newspaper reporter visited an R.S.G. in Cambridge a year ago. The Cambridge Committee of 100 held a demonstration outside the building and stuck up posters showing a picture of the Cambridge R.S.G. One of these posters is still up. The office of the Committee of 100 in London was broken into on April 13th. The police were not informed since it was thought the raiders were from M.I.5 or Special Branch. Undergraduates at Cambridge, according to the *Daily Herald* have been selling R.S.G. pamphlets in coffee-bars



at ten shilling per copy. A shortened version of the pamphlet was distributed in Doncaster public-houses. Two police officers warned *Peace News* of their possible liability under the Official Secrets Act if they printed extracts from the R.S.G. pamphlet. The home of Jon Tinker, former secretary of the Committee of 100 was visited by police officers; they copied from a writing pad a list of names. Mr. Tinker did not tell the officers but they were people who had sent wedding presents and to whom 'thank-you' letters must be sent. 500 duplicated sheets of an abbreviated version of the S.G.R. pamphlet were put on seats at the National Union of Students Easter Conference. The President of the N.U.S. urged students to hand over the leaflet, and two plainclothes detectives spent three hours searching the building and questioning a Student Mr. Martin Loney of Bradford admitted duplicating the document at 4 a.m. for circulation to the conference. The Shadow Foreign Secretary of the Labour Party, Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, said that the publishers of the S.R.G. pamphlet should be severely punished. "They are spies and must be

treated as such." The Welsh Committee of 100 published a pamphlet about the S.R.G. for Wales. Edinburgh Committee of 100 marched to Corstophine Hill which they claimed was the R.S.G. for the area. A local 11-year-old boy told the reporter he'd known what it was since the beginning of the year. Mr. George Williamson, secretary of the Scottish Committee of 100 said, "We want to get rid of this bloody, State, this warfare State. We are not against the British people, or the Russian people, or the American people. It is people against Governments." Dr. Geoffrey Taylor, prospective Liberal candidate for Yeovil, wrote to the Prime Minister reminding him that over a year ago the press reported the official opening of what was said to be a headquarters of regional government near Yeovil. The BBC was also represented at the ceremony. Every alderman and councillor and many businessmen in Tunbridge Wells received a copy of the R.S.G. pamphlet. Police said they were making inquiries. Two more editions of the R.S.G. pamphlet were sent out. One went to officers in charge of all London police stations and chairmen of hospital boards. A pamphlet called "Beyond Counting Arses" was published by eight members of the Committee of 100 last February which suggested that the Committee "should publicise the most secret preparations of the Warfare State". The homes of all eight of the signatories were searched last week. It was claimed by marchers that R.S.G.-10 was at the village of Goosnarth, Lancashire. . . .

DR. ERNST MAYR, director of the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard University said that the intelligence of man may have reached its peak many years ago and he now may be heading in a downward direction.

JON QUIXOTE.

Scenes at Court

ANGUS OGILVIE (unemployed of no fixed abode) and Alexandra Ogilvie of Kensington, stated to be of independent means, were charged with obstruction at Bow Street today. The police said that further charges would be preferred. It was a grave case, nearly ninety London streets were obstructed. Additional charges were under consideration, of causing a crowd to collect, hindering the police in the execution of their duty, having no visible means of support, and being a charge upon the public purse.

The accused were involved in some religious rite which had been the occasion of the grave obstruction in London streets which had lasted for several hours. They were members of a family who were habitually in the Courts on such occasions. The female defendant was a member of an anti-democratic and pro-royalist movement and the man was the member of what was known as the "Mayfair set". He was a gambler on the Stock Exchange but he had no prospect of future work.

The mob, said a police inspector, which had collected on this occasion was not hostile to the accused but the accused seem to have had an unfortunate effect on them, making them maudlin,

belliciously patriotic, and in many cases, sentimentally inebriated. The evidence of several newspaper proprietors would be called on this point. Some of the crowd had been heard to sing a blasphemous song implying that it was one of the Almighty's tasks to look after the defendant's relatives.

Defendants had collected around them a group of aliens and others whose methods of living were at least, doubtful. Many, in defiance of the Public Order Act, wore quasi-military uniforms and several offensive weapons upon their person. The collective ostentatious display of jewellery upon this occasion (about which enquiries were being made) was cause for the assemblage of other crooks and the excitement of feelings of envy in the less fortunate sections of the populace.

Evidence was given that London traffic was tied up for several hours, radio and television programmes were interfered with and an enormous amount of newsprint was rendered useless. Several people were subjected to the rigours of the English climate for long periods of time and commercial life had been disrupted.

The Magistrate (Mr. Bumblebee, J.P.) said that he thought the defendants had

got into bad company, they should pull themselves together and try to make an honest living and cease from agitating the population and also break loose from their hangers-on. He would remand them for a Probation Officer's report.

At the same court Joe Dope and his wife Alice Dope were charged with wilful obstruction of the pavement in Piccadilly for twelve hours. P.C. Collins said the defendants were lying on the pavement. When asked if they were objecting to nuclear weapons, they told him not to use an offensive expression, they were only waiting for the wedding-procession. He thereupon cautioned them but when he returned to duty twelve hours later they were still there; frying eggs upon a primus which he produced as exhibit A. They were remanded for a psychiatric report.

JACK SPRATT.

ROYAL SENSE OF HUMOUR

Viewers noticed how solemn the Queen looked at the wedding. But in the crush to see the honeymooners off at St. James' Palace, there was one moment when the Queen threw back her head and ROARED. She had trodden on King Olaf's foot.

Daily Herald 25/4/63.

And we learn from a reliable source that the Queen said afterwards that she hadn't had such a good laugh since she kicked King Frederick in the crutch.

background to *preach* equality and to *live* as privileged members of society.

★

BOTH Tony Weaver and Mary Canipa who are more or less ashamed of the behaviour of their comrades at the Aldermaston march, fall over backwards in "trying to be fair" to everyone but their comrades. Mary Canipa suggests that this was "C.N.D.'s march in that most of the people there were there because it was the CND demonstration". What specious pleading is this! CND, as we pointed out two issues ago (FREEDOM, April 13) "advocates the most popular and uncontroversial of all causes" and it is not surprising that it should attract at one extreme the anarchists and at the other Bow group Conservatives. Mary Canipa is right when she suggests that

they [the marchers] would not have been marching in a demonstration called and organised by the Federation of London Anarchists or any one of a number of constituent bodies of this

march (our italics)

in which case she must advocate a tightening-up of membership of CND which would exclude the anarchists and other undisciplined riff-raff, and install Canon Collins as the Pope of the Campaign and Peggy Duff as his Papal Legate. Or she and others of like mind must enjoy the freedom from party line which perforce characterises the CND, and put up with Canon Collins as the permanent figurehead as well as the company of unpredictable anarchists, and Committee of 100 direct actionists, predictable Quakers, CPers, Trotskyites, Leninists, Kingsley Martinists, Footists, not to mention the *je-m'en-foutistes*—who probably represent the majority group in CND, so far as political commitment is concerned.

We also agree with comrade Canipa when she declares

The breakaway action in which the FLA figured prominently would not appear to have been any more meaningful in relation to the abolition of nuclear weapons than was the mere show of

numbers of the CND.

But are there any anarchists to her knowledge who imagined, as they spread across the road, that in so doing they were hitting the H-bomb in a vulnerable spot? Of course not. On the other hand is there any serious revolutionary who shares the Tony Weaver illusion that the revolution we want will be made by the police and all the other representatives of the institutions we want to break down? For this in fact is the argument of the advocates of non-violence as a principle, of "a higher level of behaviour" and "get down to the business of educating and training ourselves" school. They are expecting the enemies of anarchism to make the revolution; they want the policemen to stop behaving like policemen; soldiers to lay down their arms; businessmen to stop making profits, and politicians to stop desiring power over their fellow beings! This, it seems to the writer, is the fundamental weakness of non-violence as a revolutionary principle.

