

# FREEDOM

'The history of progress is written in one word: disobedience.'

VICTOR ROBINSON

**SELLERS WANTED FOR  
FREEDOM & ANARCHY,  
HYDE PARK, SUNDAYS  
AND HAMPSTEAD  
ON SATURDAYS**

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**THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.**

## QUESTIONS AFTER THE CONGRESS:

WHEN he introduced the T.U.C. Council's Interim report on Trade Union structure and functions, Mr. George Woodcock said he had to admit that he had never felt less like discussing structure, believing as he did that structure was a function of Trade Union purpose.

The last part of his remark is about the only thing he said at the Congress with which anarchists wholeheartedly agree, insofar as it means that the most ideal "structure" in a movement will get nowhere if the participants in it have no clear purpose, and people who want to achieve a definite social aim with enough determination set up an organisation to do it.

If, however, as is likely, Mr. Woodcock's idea was that the purpose and structure of the workers' organisations in Britain was so satisfactory that nothing really needs to be done, then anarchists disagree violently.

Many anarchists have, and do, advocate anarcho-syndicalism as being the solution of the problem of

# What are unions for?

workers' organisation, defining it as the application of anarchism to the industrial struggle. The organisational forms involved in syndicalism demand that power should be retained by the workers on the shop floor, and that the pyramid of federation into local councils, regions and countries, within and between industries, should be based on the idea of direct delegacy, with delegates going on to put a specific point of view in each question and being subject to immediate recall.

However, in putting these arguments forward, and pointing to the achievements of syndicalist methods of organisation in various parts of the world at different times, it is possible that too much emphasis has been put on the purely formal aspects of organisational structure and not enough on the revolutionary spirit which inspired the I.W.W., the S.A.C., and the C.N.T. in the periods when they were powerful workers' organisations.

When the glaring anomalies in

union organisation are pointed out; the twenty-two unions representing workers in the same factory at Fords; the energy wasted in demarcation disputes; the fact that workers on the shop floor usually have to fight their own union officials first before they can even get in a blow at the employers; it is tempting to put the blame on organisational methods, and to put forward a remedy in terms of simple phrases like Industrial Unionism and amalgamation.

The conglomerations of craft unions and the monstrous general unions did not just happen out of thin air; they are consequences of a particular approach not merely to union structure but to what workers should be aiming at in their social and political activity, and at what kind of a society can be expected to evolve as a result of it. The craft unions spring from the idea that a worker's primary links are with men doing the same job, and that they need to face the employ-

ees on the basis of that job, if necessary in opposition to other workers. The general unions came into being to organise workers who had not managed to organise themselves in any other way, either because they had no distinctive skills, or worked in vaguely defined industries.

The common theme is that they accepted an essentially passive and defensive role, based moreover on the idea that society would always remain more or less as it was at the beginning of this century.

In contrast, the syndicalist organisations mentioned above, which came into being among workers who were faced with terrible poverty, set out to attack the idea that capitalism and the state had a right to exploit the people, and they saw the task of trade unions not only to fight the day to day battles in the workshops and lumber camps, but however vaguely, to work for the weakening and destruction of the state and the creation of a new

social system based on free co-operation. At the same time they all looked on anti-militarism and freedom of speech and the press as issues on which they should take a prominent part as trade unions.

It is true that in many parts of Europe, the poverty that persisted throughout the last century and the beginning of this is no longer so dire, and it would be foolish to expect organisations and movements with identical aims to flourish. However, what is to anarchists the central political feature of a society, the distribution of power, is unchanged, in that it is still concentrated in the hands of a minority, who perpetuate themselves and rule the country to the disadvantage of most of the rest of its inhabitants. Consequently, while welcoming the fact that it is no longer necessary to resist the terrible conditions which were the lot of the working people fifty years or so ago, anarchists firmly reiterate the necessity for the workers in order to achieve anything of social importance, to think in terms of a revolutionary challenge to the centres of power, to the state and the capitalist combines, and increasingly today to the economic power that lies behind militarism.

An illustration of this general argument is provided by an issue which was not discussed by the T.U.C. but which was raised in a more direct manner by the group of marchers of the Scottish Committee of 100 who brought the model of the Polaris missile from Holy Loch to London in demonstration of their opposition to it.

For two years the Scottish T.U.C. has passed resolutions demanding an end to the Polaris basis, but despite repeated attempts by members of the Committee, workers have not gone on strike, blacked the bases, refused to service or repair them. Yet here is a matter on which not only the possibility of annihilation rests, but in which it would seem that the whole of trade union purpose is involved; the maintenance of capitalist governments by threatening workers in other countries; the corruption of the economy by military spending on weapons that will soon be obsolete; the replacement of employers by one more powerful than them all, the state.

The T.U.C.'s response is, nothing, or at most an odd resolution.

A movement of Clydeside workers to get rid of Polaris would certainly call for a different form of organisation, one capable of responding to initiatives from the people on the job, of ensuring solidarity on a local and nationwide basis and of working more effectively than the forces against it, but more than anything it would need a different view of work and society by the people on the Clyde, a feeling that the world was theirs and they had the right to organise it.

Woodcock is certainly right in saying that structure is only of interest as an expression of trade union purpose, but anarchist ideas differ radically from his about what the functions should be.

P.H.

THE leaflet issued by the Notting Hill Anarchist Group and reproduced in FREEDOM (August 24) denounces the Franco regime that recently garroted the anarchists Granados and Delgado and which for the past 24 years has ruthlessly dealt with those who dared to oppose it. The leaflet concludes:

[Spain's] economy is run entirely for the benefit of Franco and a selected bunch of gangsters, with a few choice pickings left over for the foreign capitalists. Not only is the regime vile but, so greedy are Franco and his vultures, the economy is tottering. In fact, the Spanish economy is so ramshackle that the only thing that is preventing it from bursting apart at the seams is the income in foreign currency, derived from the Tourist trade.

If you go to Spain for your holiday you will be bolstering up the Franco regime and everything that it entails—including the garrotting of men who have been "tried" behind locked doors and with no right of appeal!!!

The leaflet was reproduced in FREEDOM at the earnest request of our comrades of the Notting Hill group, and since our journal seeks, among other things, to be a forum where sincere and active anarchists can freely express themselves, their request was implemented. However since the authors of the leaflet, as well as at least some of our readers, know of members of the Freedom Press group, and other active anarchist propagandists, who join the millions who throng to Spain's beaches every year from this country, insistence on the publication of the leaflet in FREEDOM could hardly be expected not to provoke some reaction from those of us who are in effect being accused not only of "bolstering" up the Spanish economy but of bearing our share of guilt for the garrotting of two of our comrades. If we reply through the columns of FREEDOM and not privately, it is because the Notting Hill group have made it a public issue, and by insisting on its publication in these columns have given to those who thrive on confusing issues, the opportunity of pointing out that we publish a manifesto denouncing

tourism in Spain while some FREEDOM editors and correspondents actually go there (rumour even has it that one member of the FP group is a travel agent of sorts—we confirm the rumour!).

So far as we are able, but without allowing concern for the purity of our souls to blind us to the existence of the other 2,000 million people in the world, we seek to regulate our lives and our relations with our fellow beings according to certain principles. We are aware of the shortcomings of our approach, and the ever present dangers of rationalising an attitude or position on any issue. On this subject of Spanish tourism we have declared our "interest". In opposing the views of the Notting Hill group we leave it to readers to judge whether our opposition is subjective or reasonable.

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(1) WHEN our Notting Hill comrades declare that Spain's economy is run "entirely" for the

## Tourism and Spain

benefit of Franco "and a selected bunch of gangsters", whilst sharing their indignation, we would remind them that this is not a special characteristic of Franco's regime. British Trade-Unionists last week at Brighton were reminding fellow delegates that 50 per cent of the national wealth in our country was owned by one per cent of the population. This is capitalism, and a state of affairs which existed in Spain before Franco came to power.

As a matter of fact our comrades do the fighters in the Spanish Revolution an injustice when they say that the economy is run "entirely" for the benefit of Franco & Co. In spite of his military victory Franco was unable to turn back the clock. Labour legislation introduced by the regime was obviously designed to protect workers and their jobs from

the kind of exploitation that prevailed before 1936. Certainly until recently it was more difficult for an employer in Spain to sack his employees over redundancy than it is in England. We are not praising State controlled syndicates; what we are saying is that even under Franco's regime the ruling class cannot ignore certain basic fundamental needs of the people except at the risk to its very existence.

(2) The regime and Franco are so "greedy" that the economy is "tottering" and "ramshackle" and all that is preventing it from "bursting apart at the seams" is the foreign currency derived from the Tourist trade. The simple answer to this statement is that it just is not true! We have heard for the past twenty years that the Spanish economy was

Continued on page 3

## SUPER-POWER AND THE HOT LINE ...

NOTHING illustrates the super-impotence of super-power more pathetically and ironically than the recently opened 'hot-line' between Moscow and Washington. This line is to be used by the two K7 if a crisis occurs, as it probably will in late autumn, early winter or spring, and the high powered conference between these two men in such an eventuality will endeavour to secure world peace.

There is no need for us to refute the arguments behind the 'hot-line'. We would do far better to see what the implications of it are. For here are two men, two states, so frightened of their own mountainous shadows that they are forced to co-operate in the hour of their enmity, that they are forced to drop the pretence of any ideological struggle and deal with themselves on the basis of 'rational', power political machines.

Neither Kennedy nor Krushchev want a cosmic war—this, cynicism apart, is quite obvious—but equally neither of

them want to stand down on their 'values'. A high level compromise on the 'hot-line' prevents either eventuality. Both can claim the peace as their own, both can refute the notice of compromise. Both will doubtless be attacked by their 'adventurist' friends and both will appeal to world opinion to justify them. Which thing world opinion will promptly do. And yet these two men are victims, victims of their societies, victims of their ideas, victims of their own war machines.

Seldom can the anarchist theories of power, particularly the more modern and less emotional cases, have been so roundly vindicated as they are today. Seldom can one event, like the hot line, have so convincingly proved what we have said about politicians, often despite themselves, being caught up in a power machine, of which they are the nominal masters and the actual victims.

Here at any rate we can sympathise with Kennedy and Krushchev. They are

neither of them evil men, though they may be psychological cases. They are both of them as much throttled by their system as we are. At the hour of reckoning it matters not a damn whether you are secretary of the Committee of 100 or Kennedy or Krushchev. You become one of the herd, running in a thousand different directions, panicky and impotent. Kennedy and Krushchev sit it out at a telephone, supported by the massive deterrent, the ICBMs, and the rest of the nuclear hardware, full of moral conviction and determined self-righteousness, the controllers of the world's destiny—but sweating with fear. The most powerful men the world has ever seen, and the most totally impotent to deal with the problems their power creates. The contradictions of power, the psychological effects of power are shown clearly for all to see.

Kennedy and Krushchev need treatment—we must continue our attempt to give it.

CHARLES RADCLIFFE.

**"THE BROKEN SPEARS,"** The Aztec Account of the Conquest of Mexico, various Authors, Constable, 30s.

SOME of the accounts contained in this book were written down only seven years after the conquest of Mexico, and were given by people who had actually witnessed the events that they describe. Undoubtedly these accounts are the product of an advanced civilisation. The description is vivid, the narrative flows along. It has been pointed out that the writers made much of the cruelties of the Spaniards, but passed over the ritual murders, that have given their culture such a bad name, without comment. However, in this they were no different from modern people who hold up their hands in horror at the doings of both Aztec and conquistador, but think nothing of bombing cities flat, or strangling certain kinds of criminal with ropes.

Morally speaking there was nothing to choose between sixteenth century Spain and pre-conquest Mexico. The Aztec people too were an expanding imperial power. The poems of lament included in this book much resemble the laments of the Indian peoples who had been subjugated, plundered or tricked by the Aztecs, whose wholesale human sacrifices appalled the tribes who were already in the land before them, and who were used to a more moderate policy of ritual murder.

The Aztecs fell because they lacked the cannon and the horse, but they had established their own empire by supremacy with the bow, which they later relegated to a subordinate role in war, rather unfortunately for them. They were a vigorous, aggressive folk, and had they had the technical knowledge, there is no reason why they should not have eventually invaded Europe.

As it was, after entering the Valley of Mexico, and being harried from one city state to another like a band of gypsies, they established themselves on a barren island in a lake, and little more than a century later had converted it into a flourishing city. At their height their power extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, and as far south as Guatemala. This meant that they

## Through the eyes of the conquered

had many enemies, and when the Spaniards arrived they found plenty of Indians ready to take their side against the hated Aztecs.

The Spaniards began with the advantage of being thought gods, and they had surprise on their side, since the power of their weapons was an unknown quantity, but once the Indians had overcome their sense of shock they resisted with ferocity, and came as near to success as they could possibly have done.

(This business about the supposed godhead of a band of European gangsters has misled many later writers who have dealt with the quaint ways of the "savage". No doubt European arrogance and racial pride—not that non-Europeans are devoid of this!—has contributed. Anyway, the Spaniards were not worshipped because they were strange, or had wonderful weapons, they were worshipped because in most of the Americas—to the dismay of orthodox anthropologists who hasten to explain the whole thing away—there were legends of pale-skinned and god-like beings who came from the sea a long time ago. Who they were, Christian Celtic missionaries from Ireland, or even Buddhists from the Far East, an unmistakable carving of a Buddhist monk has been found in Central America, no one can say. And since we are bidden to believe that pre-Columbian civilisation arose entirely on its own, all else being heresy no explanation is possible. It is notable however that all these pale-

skinned strangers seem to have taught, not only the arts of life, but also a humanitarian ethic, which could be early Christian or Buddhist. The main point here however is this, that while in Mexico and Peru, and even Patagonia, the Europeans were regarded as gods on their first appearance, they have not generally been so regarded by "savages" in most of the rest of the world, and even the Aztecs soon came to change their attitude when they found the Spaniards could be hurt and killed like other men.)

Although these painted men, with their barbarous rites, seem remote from us, this is not true. As their power increased they adopted the modern expedient of rewriting their history. A poem tells us:

They preserved an account of their history,

But later it was burned,

During the reign of Itzcoatl.

The lords of Mexico decreed it,

The lords of Mexico declared:

"It is not fitting that our people

Should know these pictures.

Our people, our subjects, will be lost

And our land destroyed,

For these pictures are full of lies . . .

(Aztec writing was partly in pictures).

On the contrary, the pictures probably told the truth. Aztec history had to be made more glorious. Why anthropologists refer to these most up-to-date people as a "semi-civilisation" passes my comprehension. The same "burning of

the books" is said to have occurred in Peru, where reckonings and historical records were kept on knotted cords thereafter. Curiously this is exactly what is advised in the *Tao the King*, but I suppose there is no connection.

"In the new version, recorded in a number of extant documents, the Aztecs claim to be descended from the Toltec nobility, and their gods—Huitzilopochtli in particular—are raised to the same level as the ancient creative gods Tezcatlipoca and Quetzalcoatl. But most important of all is the exalted praise given to what can only be called a mystical conception of warfare, dedicating the Aztec people, 'the people of the sun', to the conquest of all other nations. In part the motive was simply to extend the rule of Tenochtitlan, but the major purpose was to capture victims for sacrifice, because the source of all life, the sun, would die unless it were fed with human blood."

"The major purpose" . . . I wonder. Perhaps the modern historian had fallen victim to Aztec propaganda. I wonder how far the rulers of Tenochtitlan really believed the sun would die. May this not well have been for the masses, just as the rewriting of history was? Does Sir Roy Welensky believe in the inferiority of the black man when he takes Mr. Tshombe into his house? Was Hitler a genuine aot-semite, or did he just use this idea? On the other hand, do not rulers sometimes fall victims to their own lies?

## FREEDOM

Aztec poetry burns through a double language barrier, Mexican into Spanish into English, and retains its beauty:

Nothing but flowers and songs of sorrow.

Art left in Mexico and Tlatelolco,

Where once we saw warriors and wise men . . .

But this passage, with its final sentence, brings the sense of disaster even more closely home:

But then the fighting broke out again . . . The enemy forced us to retreat to Amamax . . . The general flight began. The lake was full of people, and the roads leading to the mainland were all crowded. Thus the people of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco gave up the struggle and abandoned the city. We all gathered in Amamax. We had no shields and no *macanas* [war-clubs]; we had nothing to eat and no shelter. And it rained all night.

The illustrations, based on contemporary Aztec drawings, are a delight, even though the scenes they depict are often gruesome in the extreme. Bearded Indian warriors sometimes make their appearance, which is strange, as the Red Indian generally has little facial hair. Doubtless there is a good orthodox explanation for this.

When I was a child, after reading some Rider-Haggardish romance, I remember regretting there were no Amerindian lost cities to explore nowadays. Now I realise I need not have worried. For weird practices, terrifying taboos and ghastly cruelty there is no need to leave Europe. Tenochtitlan is right here.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## MORE LETTERS

### Crime

DEAR FRIENDS,

Looking back over previous issues of FREEDOM it appears that there is a pronounced tendency on the part of many anarchists to regard crime, insanity, etc., as purely environmental. It is unlikely that they take up this standpoint from reasonable study of the facts and very likely that they take this standpoint in order to ratify their belief in anarchism which they subconsciously believe is incapable of dealing with the problems of moral and mental deficiency. Because they want to believe that a change in the environment, that is to say the destruction of the State and entrenched privilege, would mean an end to these things they are forced to believe that they are solely environmental. Because they want a society which is free from any compulsion and based on free contract, they have to envisage a society with no crime, mental deficiency and mental illness.

However, it is undeniably true, to anyone who studies the facts objectively, that heredity plays at least an equally large part in the development, physical, pathological, intellectual and temperamental factors affecting the individual. Eugenics cannot eliminate crime and insanity and anyway any attempt to lower the number of inherited cases of crime and mental illness and deficiency by eugenics would involve a partly compulsory programme, obviously hardly the thing for the "total freedom" anarchist.

It must be faced that the very idea of a "free individual" is unreasonable. Our thoughts, emotions and physique are determined by heredity and environment and the individual is a slave to these. An example of the unreasonable attitude of many anarchists over personal liberty is given by those who advocate the abolition of compulsory education for the young; many ducklings are too frightened to learn to swim, fledglings too frightened to learn to fly and fox cubs too uninterested to learn to hunt. If they were not forced by the parent to learn these things they would not survive long. So it is with humans only to an even greater extent.

The aim of the anarchist should not be to bring freedom to the individual for this is not possible. It should be to bring freedom to society as a whole. Freedom from fear, want, ignorance, disease, inequality and the need to labour. For this legislative and executive forces are necessary to protect society from asocial elements. These elements cannot be allowed to do as they want for they would take freedom from others. They would still exist after the liquidation of the state were achieved.

The Statist gives no freedom from any of the fear, want, ignorance, disease, inequality or the need to labour apart from the third and fourth—the anarchist could bring freedom from all these, he could also make us slaves to all of them. The "back-to-nature" and the "complete - freedom - for - the - indivi-

dual" types of anarchist are worse than the advocates of the nation-state for they would, in the name of freedom, condemn us to slavery to all these.

If Anarchism is the advocacy of the abolition of the State it is the road to freedom, but if it is the suggestion that society should make no attempt to defend itself against anti-social elements it is the road to slavery and misery.

Sincerely,

Upminster, Aug. 16. CHRIS ROSE.

### Freud

DEAR EDITOR,

Why is it that after all these years the great balloon of Freud is still unpricked? J.K.R.'s review of Freud (24th August) hit the ultimate acritical bottom. Something must be done.

Those who talk most about Freud often know least. I make a cruel practice of asking them what Freud himself took to be the foundation of his own theory. No one ever gets it right!

There is a logicity about Freud's ideas and they all stem—as he makes clear in his introductory lectures—from his theory of the Oedipus Complex of the male. If that theory is valid the rest may stand. If it is not then the rest has to fall. No wonder your deluded reviewer left this out!

Now there is no evidence to establish the actual existence of the Oedipus Complex. There are other and much more likely ways of explaining the emotional relationship of child and parents.

The poor old female has to get by with an Electra Complex that even Freud did not seem to be very convinced about. This lack of conviction was understandable since to Freud a girl was simply a cockless boy. He even built a ludicrous theory round that!

Girls! I ask you! Do you feel shattered because you haven't got one?

Psycho-analysis is self-centred, man-centred and redolent with the peculiarly male vice of vanity. Does one have to lecture anarchists—of all people!—on the social nature of consciousness?

Our functions, thoughts and feelings are a complex overlay of a million years of experience passed down genetically and by verbal tradition. Yet at the same time we are not immovably anchored to the past or even to our own childhood. Just as hands can change the physical environment so the mind can change the mental one—once it has learnt to appreciate its own processes. Our conceptual and creative power, geared to the future, is what makes us different to the animals. Freud thought that psychological origins were in the past—the revolutionary truth is that they lie ahead ahead of us.

Medicine and education are the two important fields of applied psychology. Psychiatrists have tried Freud and abandoned him and it is the same in education. No one in education gave Freud a better run for his money than A. S. Neill who eventually ran him out of town.

To those who are still not persuaded may I recommend Freud's essay on war. Cambridge, Sept. 6. PETER CADOGAN.

## Rules at a discount

*In this age of conformity our Bristol comrades had to supply their 'rules' before they could open a CWS bank account. These are their rules!*

Certified Copy of Rules of  
BRISTOL FEDERATION OF  
ANARCHISTS

1. The name of this society is the Bristol Federation of Anarchists.
2. They shall select four (4) conveners for co-ordinating the activities of the society. One conவர் shall be selected each month and serve four

months. All conveners shall be subject to recall by a meeting of the Federation.

3. All these rules are immediately changeable at the whim of any meeting of the Federation.

4. No other rules are necessary in a group of persons who believe in individual liberty and mutual cooperation.

*Formulated by General Meeting of the Federation on 16th July, 1963.*

BOB PRITCHARD, MIKE WALSH,  
NICK WILDE, JOHN SMITH.

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in Berlin (1933) Klaus Neukrantz 3/-; *An Outline of Political Geography* J. F. Horrabin 2/6; *22 Cells in Nuremberg* Douglas M. Kelley 4/-.

#### PERIODICALS

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## London protest march

On Sunday, 8th September, friends and comrades of the London Federation of Anarchists and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation joined in a protest march, organised by the Syndicalist Workers' Federation, from Trafalgar Square to the Spanish Embassy. The march was a protest against the garrotting, last month, of our two comrades Joaquin Delgado and Francisco Granados, and was led by a van on which was mounted a life-size model of a man being garrotted. Large photographs of the two comrades were also displayed on the sides of the van.

This model appeared to have quite a considerable effect on the passers-by in the streets for cat-calls from the tiny-minded were at a minimum and we had no difficulty in distributing our leaflets.

The Police were not informed of the demonstration and our start from St. Martin's-in-the-Fields at 3.30 p.m., was delayed a little by police interference. A squad-car was present and the occupants, though mildly offensive, did not stop the march. About thirty of us with the van left St. Martin's and marched round the Square, up Lower Regent Street, across Piccadilly, along Shaftesbury Avenue to Cambridge Circus. Here we were joined by a police escort that stayed with us the rest of the way—up Charing Cross Road and along Oxford Street to Marble Arch.

At Speakers' Corner a meeting was held at which a comrade explained to a large meeting why we were marching and asking people to join us in our march to the Embassy. The garrotte was taken into the park but police officers made us remove it, saying that it was against the Park regulations to have any sort of display there. As comrades carried the garrotte out of the Park the police again interfered—this time on the grounds that, as it was being carried out in an upright position (the only practicable method of carrying it), it was still on display! One name and address was taken.

After the meeting we marched, by

now twice our original number, to the Spanish Embassy. On arrival at the Embassy a short vigil was held and the demonstration ended at approximately 6 p.m.

The leaflet that we distributed contained details of all the sentences passed on our comrades in the past twelve months in Spain (starting with 18 comrades of the FIJL who received 300 years between them), and pointing out that, at the moment, there are three young Frnch comrades; Alain Pecunia, Bernard Ferry, and Guy Battoux, in Franco jails awaiting trial and that they are likely to get very severe treatment at the hands of a military tribunal in the near future.

## Travel Trouble

I  
Three American pacifists connected with the New York journal *Liberation* have been refused passports by the authorities because they refuse on principle to accompany their application with a sworn statement to the effect that they are not currently, or have been during the past year, "a member of any organization registered or required to register as a Communist organisation under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 as amended".

II  
MADRID, September 7.—Spain today abolished the exit visas that until now have been necessary for all Spaniards wishing to travel abroad, a Government spokesman said here. "The Government feels there is no longer any necessity for controlling the travel abroad of Spanish nationals."—A.P.

## THE TOURIST TRADE & THE SPANISH ECONOMY

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on its last legs, and needed only a small push for it to collapse. And it never happened (incidentally the only time it did happen, in 1936, was when, in fact, Spain's gold reserve was one of the highest in the world. Those who seek to overthrow regimes by economic strangulation should pause and think that one out!). It is particularly ridiculous to refer to a "tottering" economy just when the Spanish economy is "booming".

(3) "If you go to Spain you will be bolstering up the Franco regime and everything that it entails". It is quite true that the estimated £150m in foreign currency that comes to Spain from tourism serves to cover 80 per cent of the deficit on the commercial balance of trade, and the presence of tourists creates seasonal jobs for many people which in some cases are more profitable than their normal jobs. But why make a moral and political issue over Tourism, and not over the eating of Spanish oranges and other products which are being exported to Europe in ever-increasing quantities? And what about the tens of thousands of Spanish workers who have emigrated to W. Germany, France and Britain during the past few years, and who send money to their families to the tune of nearly £70m a year—more foreign currency to "bolster up" the regime? Should their actions be condemned and if possible stopped?

★

IF it could be shown that the life of the Franco regime will be prolonged by only one day as a result of the Tourist trade, then a campaign drawing people's attention to this and their responsibility, and connivance in "bolstering" up that regime if they travel to Spain would be justified. The effect of tourism not only has not strengthened the regime; if anything it has made a small but noticeable contribution towards undermining it. The principal characteristics of police states is that they tend to isolate themselves from the outside world by sealing the frontiers and by a strict censorship on news going out and on news coming into the country. The effect is to consolidate the regime by accusing the outside world, the "enemies" of Spain, of being responsible for her misfortunes and poverty, thus uniting the people behind their government against the foreigners. Whilst it is obvious that if the Franco regime decided during the past ten years to open its frontiers to let in foreign tourists and to let out its own people to look for work, it must have considered that the problems and disadvantages that would follow would be outweighed by the political and economic benefits that would accrue, we should not be blinded by our opposition to the regime into denouncing those measures which in another context we would be advocating, simply because they occur in Franco's Spain. The development of tourism in Spain has had several important positive repercussions: (1) it has opened up the frontier for Spaniards as well as foreign tourists, (2) it has permitted non-Spaniards to see how the Spaniards live—if they want to, (3) contact with foreigners has opened the eyes of many Spaniards, particularly the younger ones, to their country's material and moral back-

wardness, (4) Tourism benefits not only the capitalist operators, but thousands of humble workers who previously hardly managed to scratch a living on the land or from the sea. People who otherwise might have been driven to look for work in the towns or forced to emigrate now find their services in demand in their own villages: in winter on building work and in the season coping with the tourist invasion.

In the tourist areas as well as in the industrial centres in Spain today, there is a noticeable labour shortage. Even on the land, where, as in Catalonia is intensively cultivated, there is a shortage of labour in spite of an impressive programme of mechanisation. The effect of this and increased production, and productivity, has been to encourage workers to demand higher living standards—a good thing in our view. (5) Tourism and the opening up of the frontiers has considerably weakened the efficiency of press censorship, by the State and Church. There still does not exist a free press, but today the Spaniard who is interested to know what his rulers don't want him to know has access to the world's Press openly displayed on the kiosks; and not even Franco's secret police can prevent Spaniards from using their radios to listen to foreign programmes.

The influx of foreign tourists, the mass emigration to W. Europe, and the export-import "boom" have made the Spaniards language conscious for the first time. And our Notting Hill comrades should not assume that all the tourists they accuse of "bolstering up" the Franco regime are like the three brass monkeys who saw nothing, said nothing, heard nothing. There is, besides, a growing number of tourists who speak Spanish, who detest the Franco regime with the same intensity that they have learned, through contact, to love the Spanish people.

What impresses the observant "tourist" in Spain is a general political awareness, and a healthy cynicism of politicians, which, by contrast, is largely absent in this country with all its free press and free speech! Another aspect of the Spanish way of life which "shakes" the outsider who frequents them is the fact that in spite of lower material standards they seem more contented than their more affluent neighbours; and every tourist who descends on a Costa Brava resort must surely come away impressed by the way the "natives" obviously love all young children, those of others as well as their own, and by the way they look after their old folk. We would like to think that the tourist traffic is two-way.

★

WE hope that nobody, least of all our Notting Hill comrades, will look upon our lengthy treatment of this question of Tourism as an attempt to whitewash the Franco regime, or interpret our arguments as an indication that we discount the importance of the economic element in determining the fortunes of any regime.

To take the last point first. The fact is that the tourist industry large as it is and even assuming it maintains its present rate of expansion in the next few years (which is doubtful) is a relatively small item

THE WELL-KNOWN heel of Henry Brooke recovered from his Achillean injury but he was imperious to the shafts of others' misfortunes. The alienation-effect of the Berliner Ensemble was fully completed by a refusal to let them visit Edinburgh; Mrs. Patricia Kearney is to complete her purging of her contempt of court and Mr. Brooke sees no reason why she should be released although she is pregnant, Mr. Anthony Enahoro, who owes his presence in Nigeria in part to the offices of Mr. Brooke was sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment, Mr. Brooke as part of a babbling week told Miss Alice Bacon that he has no reason (in this case to believe allegations that the police put undue pressure on witnesses, in the Ward case). My italics. . . .

SIX NEGRO children were hurt when mounted State police in Louisiana carrying electric shock cattle prodders broke up a crowd of 150 negro demonstrators. About 300 people marched to the American Embassy in London to protest against racial discrimination. The Union Movement is putting up a candidate in Leyton, Essex, a Mr. Reg. Hughes, one of whose policies will be 'to clear Britain of coloured people'. In Atlanta, Georgia a 67-year-old clergyman was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment (including one year's hard labour) and fined £357 for having tried to accompany a Negro boy and girl into an all-white church. A writer in the British National Party paper *Combat* forecast that "the streets of Washington are likely to witness amazing scenes of Negro arrogance and racial violence . . . on August 28th. Bloodshed looks extremely likely but we can say beforehand that the majority press of the Western World . . . will be busily exonerating beserk Negroes and looking round for white scapegoats". Police in Birmingham fired into the air to disperse rioting negroes aroused by a bomb-explosion outside the home of a negro lawyer. By some feat of 'negro arrogance' or simply 'berserkness' a negro was shot dead by the volley into the air. Governor Wallace, that poor, unfortunate 'scapegoat' closed four white schools so that integration could not take place. In Little Rock, a white boy of six started attendance at an all-negro school. *Peace News* reports that John Lewis of the Students' Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee was ordered to delete parts of his speech at the Freedom march after the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Washington threatened to withdraw from the programme if it was delivered. One deleted portion read "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department nor Congress, but we will take matters in our own hands and create a source of power outside any national structure

# OUT OF THIS WORLD

that could and would assure us of victory". *Peace News* also reports that the march began ten minutes ahead of schedule without its leaders. To quote Martin Luther King quoting Gandhi, "There go my people. I am their leader therefore I must follow them."

THE TRADE UNION Congress leaders approved the 'Economic Development and Planning' report by the T.U.C. after suitable censorship. Mr. Frank Cousins approved of the report, and approved, by likewise voting for a motion opposing wage restraint of any kind, which opposed the report. Mr. Hill who moved the motion had a saving clause that if a Labour government were returned to power he would assist it to achieve a planned economy. The new Trotskyist paper *The Red Flag* bears on its mast-head the quote from the old man himself—"Without the Party we are nothing. With the Party we are everything". . . .

THE *Sunday Bulletin* of the Redemptionist Fathers distributed to Roman Catholic churches advises that it is a sin to pretend to know important people by weaving their names into conversation, it is a sin to build up some trivial success into an event that makes us look like a hero, it is a sin to feign sickness to have a day off to evade responsibility, and it is a sin to magnify adventures of our youth to give the impression that we have been irresistibly popular. The *Sunday Telegraph* repeats an anecdote about the Catholic Archbishop of Liverpool, Dr. Heenan. He appeared in Court to give evidence. The defence counsel asked, "You are probably the most intelligent man in England?" "Yes, I suppose you could say that," said the Archbishop. Later a friend suggested that his reply may have created a bad impression the Archbishop agreed saying, "I didn't want to appear vain, but I had to remember that I was on oath." A reader of *FREEDOM* wrote to Dr. Heenan suggesting that the Pope might intercede in the persecutions by a Catho-

lic government of Buddhists in Viet Nam. Dr. Heenan replied, "It is a pity that the Vietnamese Government allowed themselves to be provoked." He has now been appointed the Archbishop of Westminster which traditionally carries with it the red hat of a Cardinal. Cardinal Walter Holmes of the *Daily Worker* re-assures his readers that the Catholic church in Cuba is not persecuted. Daily masses are held and communion is still available; two Cuban representatives attended the Vatican council, Cuba is the only Marxist-Leninist country which has a representative at the Vatican and the Government in Cuba ordered three days' of mourning on the death of Pope John. These glad tidings come from Dorothy Day of the *Catholic Worker* via I. F. Stone's *Bi-Weekly*.

DIRECT FROM Moscow comes the story of Anna Yuryeva who was exiled from Moscow to Siberia as a "sponger" and "work-dodger" twelve months ago. *Izvestia* ever vigilant in its search for *pravda* looked into her case and found it "a shocking case of injustice on slander and lies; smacking of the bad old days under Stalin". Anna gave up her job to nurse her dying mother through the last weeks of a painful illness. Neighbours had told the police that Anna had been visited by several men and had hidden them in a wardrobe when anyone called. The woman chairman of the 'comradely court' where Anna was tried said falsely that she knew from personal experience that Anna was a 'work-dodger'. At the People's Court a police chief wrote that Anna had been sacked from a job for being absent and drunk. A restaurant chief confessed that the police had told her to give this false evidence. *Izvestia* says, "When we think of those hundreds and thousands of people who were innocently sentenced during the cult of Stalin's personality, then we remember that the repressions possibly started from just such information." Miss Christine Keeler and three other people were arrested on warrants alleging conspiracy to obstruct the course of justice, and perjury. . . .

"DAUGHTER OF JANE" died suddenly and the *News of the World* trying to dish *The People*, offered to print the *Daily Herald* for the T.U.C. A nude displayed her charms at the International Drama Conference at Edinburgh to the scandal of a great number of people who weren't there. *The Red Flag* found a new offence for the Labour Party "Once forced into office, they will dangle their impotence in front of the world."

San Marino signed the test-ban treaty.

JON QUIXOTE.

compared with Spain's industrial and agricultural production which last year showed an increase of 6.4 and 2.5 per cent respectively. According to the *Financial Times* (July 1963) only iron ore and coal mining suffered a setback and this, as a result of strikes in the Asturias. This and not financial juggling—and we put foreign currency, and balance of payments in this category—can make or break any government, Franco's or Macmillan's.

When the Iberian Liberation Council (CIL) directs its attention to intimidating tourists, it seems to us that these are only gestures of despair and frustration, in many ways understandable, but of no practical value, and which serve, if anything to lose sympathy for our cause.

The placing of time bombs in passport offices in Spain (which are frequented by Spaniards wishing to emigrate) and in airplanes bound for Spain are actions reminiscent of the OAS, not of self-declared libertarians. Again it is contrary to libertarian ideas to imagine that our kind of revolution will be made by people driven to action by empty bellies, or that improved conditions will result in a "bourgeoisification" of the workers. If we believe this we should start nearer home and oppose all attempts by the workers to win wage increases and improved working conditions, beginning with ourselves! Hungry bellies do not make men into good revolutionaries; a desperate man may well be prepared to do desperate things at

the behest of any able demagogue, but this is not revolution, or the kind of forces that will free Spain from its present regime.

As a matter of fact it is interesting to note that there is more industrial unrest now in Spain than at any time during the 24 years of Franco's rule. And the unrest comes from the regions of greater "prosperity". In a *Financial Times* Survey on Europe published at the end of last year, it is pointed out in connection with "Spain's Virile Economy" that as a result of "impressive gains both in production and efficiency"

the Spanish working classes have been demanding a share in the greater prosperity, and in the process have virtually wrecked the official system of labour relations.

Despite the fact that the Government-controlled "sindicatos" were already negotiating and often securing substantial wage increases, there was widespread unofficial and illegal strike action in May, centring on the Asturian coal fields but spreading to the metal industries round Bilbao and to other parts of Spain. The normal system of negotiation between employers and the men's representatives within the "sindicatos" was brushed aside in favour of direct bargaining, and the Government could not or would not step in to prevent this.

It begins to appear, in fact, as if the sindicato system will very gradually be replaced by something more like trades unionism. In September [1962] the Government recognised its weakness by authorising the elected bodies of shop stewards within the system, and made new provisions for arbitration procedures. If there is a trend towards greater freedom of association for the

workers, it is likely to be accompanied by a removal of controls on the labour market on the other side, notably the concessions to employers of the right to dismiss redundant workers freely, which they do not at present possess. This would to some extent compensate them for the more vigorously expressed wage demands they will certainly have to face if the sindicatos are replaced or made more representative of the employees' wishes. Pressure on wages is certain to continue and so far as skilled workers are concerned, it will be hard to resist, since emigration has caused the beginnings of a shortage of them.

Everything points to a period of "liberalisation" of the Franco regime and if so one can expect an intensification of the political struggle at top level—Church, industrialists, militarists, Falangists, monarchists, professional politicians, etc., all jockeying for power in any political reshuffle—as well as an attempt by the working class movements to reform some kind of skeleton organisations in anticipation of eventual recognition and legality.

It may well be that our speculations are over-optimistic, but we have no doubt that we can do more to help our comrades in Spain by keeping the frontiers open than by pursuing a tactically dangerous campaign of intimidation to prevent people from moving freely in and out of Spain.

Spain cannot be "liberated" from outside. All we can do is to make the workers of Spain conscious of the overwhelming sympathy and support that their efforts to free themselves from the regime will receive from the world outside.

Religions

To the Editors of FREEDOM,  
DEAR COMRADES,

Your correspondent Jeff Robinson make a strange appeal for anarchism to be backed up by morality from some religious sect or other; he does not appear to be very particular. He writes:

"People who adopt specific moral positions—Catholic, Quakers, Buddhists to name but three have all been dismissed, as woolly-headed in FREEDOM . . . Decent co-operative behaviour is something which has to be taught, it is not something that automatically appears out of thin air after a government has been kicked out. Whether the ideas come from Christ, Buddha, rational humanism or anything else seems immaterial to me. But they have to come from somewhere so let's have less sneers at those comrades who adopt specific positions."

If this is the result of the "long years of patient effort by the Editors, etc." then they have been years of wasted effort! I can only suggest that the writer is as fundamentally ignorant of the nature of the sects he mentions as he appears to be of the meaning of anarchism. Has he heard of a little trouble in Vietnam? Does he suppose for a moment that the three sects he mentions would be pleased to be lumped in one basket—or to be linked with anarchism and rational humanism? Indeed, as he states that it is immaterial to him where the basis of morality comes from, I suppose we can include Shintoism, Thuggee and Anabaptism.

I am aware that there are Catholics who claim to be anarchists, and with primitive and uneducated people, such as one may find in lands which are traditionally Catholic, I do not think that this necessarily implies a personal perversity of outlook. The fact is, however, that where people have realized the meaning of anarchism and been mentally awakened by it, they have generally turned bitterly against Catholicism, as in Spain. But although a simple and uneducated man may be a Catholic with integrity, the same is hardly true of more educated people. With the latter Catholicism is more often a contemptible and snobbish affectation, or the result of neurotic double-think. The mentally ill, of course, will retain their private devils and even pity those who do not acknowledge their phantasmagoria. To suggest that "morality" stems from this nonsense does not bear examination.

While neither Buddhists nor Quakers deserve to be lumped together with Catholics, I do not think that the particular, and different, moralities that they represent have got much to do with anarchism. Their moralities stem from supposedly supernatural sources, although Buddhism is suitably vague as to the nature of the supernatural. One of the very elementary implications of anarchism is that morality must come from social sources and not from supposedly supernatural sources. As long as people look to some Teacher, (Christ, Buddha, etc.) or religion, to lay down the basis of morality, they are a very long way off from understanding what anarchism is all about. TONY GIBSON.

OUR FINANCES

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT SEPTEMBER 7 1963

Week 36		
EXPENSES: 36 weeks at £70		£2,520
INCOME:		
Sales & Sub. renewals	£	£
Weeks 1-35	1,373	
Week 36	59	
		1,432
New Subscriptions:		
Weeks 1-35 (288)	313	
Week 36 (7)	9	
		322
		1,754
DEFICIT		£766

DEFICIT FUND

Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; Birmingham: H.D. 8/-; Prestatyn: C.S. 1/6; Los Gatos, Calif.: p. proceeds picnic, Aug. 18 (per Incarcato) £35; Oxford: Anon.\* 5/-; London: S. 8/-; London: W.A.W. 10/-; Hounslow: L.\* 7/6; Alberta: W.G.\* 6/6; Nuneaton: D.H. 3/6; New York: M.M. £1/1-; Surrey: F.B.\* 5/-; London: D.A.P. 10/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.\* 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.\* 3/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W. 2/-; E. Rutherford: A.S.\* Washington: L.D. 5/10; Los Gatos: L.M. & C.S. £6/10/-.

TOTAL 47 8 10

Previously acknowledged 704 7 10

1963 TOTAL TO DATE £751 15 10

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Belief and action

DEAR EDITORS,

Jeff Robinson's notably sensible letter to FREEDOM (28/8/63) was particularly valuable for evaluating systems of belief by the existentialist criterion of their results in practice. I believe that, for example, organised Christianity (particularly in the Church of England) and organised Communism are largely hypocritical and involve a constant betrayal of the ideals they pay lip-service to. But this does not prevent me from acknowledging that in practice some Christians and Communists act in a very creditable way, and that they find moral justification for their action in the system of belief to which they adhere.

Such acts should surely be welcomed, and should restrain those who wish to damn systems of belief out of hand. What should be attacked is not the system of belief as such, but the way in which it has been perverted. Christ and Marx provide salutary comments on the present state of Christianity and Communism. I am not suggesting that if everyone went back to first principles they would all agree. But I would suggest that it is a mistake to launch general attacks against ideological superstructures without considering the people who are honestly trying to use them to live a better life. To do this is to play into the hands of the most intolerant and coercive elements in the church or party or whatever—and these elements would doubtless welcome such attacks for this reason. It's like the cold war all over again.

In practice, I doubt if an anarchist who had been thrown out of a house by an extortionate landlord in Paddington or somewhere would spurn the help of Communists, even though he would object to being made into Party propaganda. Come to that, when I was hard up recently in Austria I was grateful for the chance to sleep in a police cell (unlocked) even though I take a rather dim view of police forces in general. So let's have more tolerance, and evaluate people by their actions rather than their ideological badge.

Yours sincerely,  
Middlesex, Aug. 29 JOHN ADAMSON.

DEAR FRIENDS,

I am so delighted to see and grateful for Jeff Robinson's letter. As a regular reader of FREEDOM for very many years I've for long wanted to write you on these lines but circumstances have always prevented my getting down to it. I imagine his letter reflects the feelings of many, at least, I hope so.

Very cordially,  
Surrey. CHARLES SLATTER.

Horrors in Spain

DEAR SIR,

How utterly horrible is the story from a correspondent in FREEDOM of 7 September!

Horror number one. C.I.L. members or agents plant a bomb in the Madrid passport office. They intend it to explode when the office is closed but they are so inefficient it goes off during business hours, blowing up some inoffensive citizens.

Horror number two. Two young men who had no connection with the passport office incident are falsely convicted of implication, and garrotted.

Horror number three. The young men were in fact concerned in a plot to set off a lethal device in the presence of another lot of inoffensive citizens, this time in the street outside the old Royal Palace.

Horror number four. Although the activities of the C.I.L. are shown to be fatally irresponsible, there is no statement of their affiliations and ideals. Casual readers of FREEDOM are allowed to assume they are anarchists.

DONALD ROOM.

Comradely thoughts

Open Letter to 'G'

DEAR COMRADE 'G',

I must admire your article "One Man's View" of the Summer School as a masterpiece of scholarly imprecision about the feelings of the majority of the people in reference to FREEDOM. As the one young man lumbered with the eminent Tolstoyan nut I feel that I cannot let your article slide.

In the first place, I pointed this doctor out only as an example and you appear to have missed the point entirely. Not one or two even, but a score or more are put off by FREEDOM. Not as you would have it, because of "The violent anarchist journal, to wit, FREEDOM". But because as I pointed out at the summer school, it is interminable in its long letter points and counter-points in the violent non-violent argument, mostly in my opinion, started by equally unending editorials answering the letters answering the editorials, etc., etc.

FREEDOM is no more a newspaper than the *Architects Journal*, it is merely a sheet for mutual self-praise or derogation by an in-group. We in the outlying dimwitted provinces are not with the in-group and do not understand half of the innuendo contained in the columns and letters. Maybe we ought to be, but quite frankly we would rather not be, if that is your idea of Anarchism.

We heard at the summer school from one of the Freedom Press Group that they didn't receive enough news. On two occasions Bristol has sent articles which have been published as letters—articles which have been purely news and have been placed amongst the correspondence columns. Surely too if it is possible to write leaders the length of which appear in FREEDOM then it is possible to write three or so different articles on news topics of shorter length. So many leaders are old hat, we know about them and would appreciate originality rather than repetition.

We all know that there are faults in FREEDOM but the paper doesn't take to criticism kindly. I don't know the historical and personal reasons for this. There obviously are some but neither is Bristol bloody well interested. We want an anarchist newspaper to be a newspaper putting the anarchist line over. Not preaching to the converted or acting like *Pravda* with a lot of black-market sheep.

Yours fraternally,  
Bristol, Sept. 4. M. J. WALSH.

Arms Drill

DEAR COMRADES,

Ernie Crosswell (FREEDOM 10/8/63) asks: "... where will they get enough efficient lethal weapons to take on the armed forces of the state? How many anarchists will know how to use the weapons effectively? Will they be able to conduct a battle against the state without having a leadership and submitting themselves to obeying orders without question?"

Perhaps comrade Crosswell hasn't heard of Spain? Perhaps he hasn't heard of Kronstadt and the Ukraine? Where exactly does he think their weapons came from? I'll tell him. They came from the State Armouries in the Barracks and Ordnance Depots. They came from the dead bodies of the "loyalist" traitors, the police and the soldiers—the professional murderers of the State. Where did they learn to fight? While serving in the State army. Who led them? Why, their own comrades led them. Some men are good at one thing, some at another; one is a good organiser, another is a good shot; and so one is a temporary rifleman, the other a temporary brigadier. It doesn't need much common sense to see there is a small difference between an architect and a bricklayer, in the building of a house, one is good at one thing, the other at another. Why should the planner in the army maintain his institutional social roles when the job is finished? If he tries to, then someone will soon show him differently. Unless of course you believe that your fellow comrades are the type who'll knuckle under like sheep without due reason.

True, the pacifist will say, but in the wars you mentioned, they didn't win. Perhaps you're right, but would sitting down outside the Kremlin or in front of Franco's Moorish cavalry have accomplished anything? The point is they tried, and they might have won, if a multitude of other external factors, never before faced, had not arisen. During the second World War millions of Jews died in German and Russian concentration camps. They practised non-violence. "Perhaps they'll go away if we keep quiet and do nothing." They didn't prepare for their enemies, but

waited in the Ghettos for the truck to take them to the gas chambers. They died. But those that are left learned something. The Arabs tried the same thing in Israel, and the Jews took on the whole Arab world single-handed—and beat them.

You pacifists, with your "Sit down or pay up" crap, and your no violence, please", are a pain in the neck, don't you ever read a history book? Or do you only read the parts that please you and conveniently forget about the rest. Gandhi and his crew may have been an inspiration to thousands of pacifist masochists, but they had as little to do with getting Indian independence as Lord Curzon had.

Don't misunderstand me, if we can succeed to get an anarchist society by non-violent means, okay! I don't pretend to be a martial hero. I'm as scared of dying unusefully as the next man. Further, unlike so many followers of Tolstoy and Fox, I haven't got a built-in religious faith of a heaven to come. If at all possible I want to try and live a full life now, and if some flat-footed fool of a copper tries to shove me, I hope I'll shove back. I flatly refuse to sit down and gormlessly wait while the police practice crowd control and anti-personnel warfare. The more Marhams, etc., the handier the state will be to work, and the more practiced its adherents will be to defend it.

Revolution, or evolution if you prefer it, is just not obtained by haphazard banditry as Zapata and Pancho Villa once found, but by full-scale warfare, and guerrilla warfare at that. Perhaps we should try and learn something from Castro and Mao tse-Tung. Some of us have had the basic stuff, what exactly do you think some of us did all day during our National Service, bashed spuds? Some of us, I say, quite a few may have learned other skills, as prisoners or hospital orderlies, very good for the soul, but useless at a barricade. It is rather curious though, that so many useful comrades should incapacitate themselves because of "conscience" troubles. Conscription is, after all, the one way that ensures that the anarchist army of the future will be well-armed, well-trained, and well-led, and there's nothing that so incapacitates a large army than the thought that the next bullet might come from your own men, or the realisation that the enemy knows everything about you: the way you fight, how you're organised, where you have your strong points and where you are weak. All this plus two other factors, firstly they know just a little more than you, and secondly, they know what it's all about; ask the FLN if you aren't sure, after all they were all led by French trained leaders, and licked the French army hollow.

Fraternally,  
Birmingham. PETER NEVILLE.

FILM REVIEW

Fellini and his freedom

"8½" (Cameo-Poly and Continentale).

FELLINI'S "8½" is a film by a man who takes a long time to say that he has nothing to say. It is done well and Fellini is a free man, but the film is too long and there is not sufficient substance to the rambling, aimless story.

The film is about a director (who is obviously Fellini) who has the stars for his film but cannot think of anything to write for them. We thus have Fellini careering madly through the wilderness of Nothing. Yet there are glorious moments in this film, especially the claustrophobic beginning which is conquered by the breaking of the rules as the hero flies away escaping the bondage of the world in an act of liberation. This is the feeling the film engenders, a feeling of liberation from space and time and surface reality. People could be killed and yet might calmly walk away, dream-like scenes flow wonderfully on lazy, drifting air.

But this is not enough. Fellini has not behaved himself because there is nothing in this film except the freedom. The attack on the Catholic Church, which seems to be the Devil incarnate, and the wish-fulfillment of the eager, flattering, servile and amorous harem are only scenes in an incoherent whole. There are the wonderfully pointed attacks on cinematic reporters carried in overheard questions: "Do you or do you not believe in God?", there is the unexplained magic of the mind-reader absorption for which Fellini can be excused. But the film disappoints.

CENTRAL LONDON

CHANGE OF MEETING PLACE  
"Lamb and Flag", Rose Street, Covent Garden, W.C.2. (nr. Garrick and King Streets; Leicester Square tube), 7.45 p.m.  
SEP 15 John Pilgrim (Record Recital): War and Folk Music  
SEP 22 Peter Lumsden: Ammon Hennacy and Anarchism  
ALL WELCOME

HYDE PARK MEETINGS

Sundays at 3.30 p.m., Speakers' Corner. Weather and other circumstances permitting.

GLASGOW FEDERATION

Meets every Thursday, 7.30, at 4 Ross Street, Glasgow, E.2 (off Gallowgate).

BRISTOL FEDERATION

Bristol Outdoor Meetings: The Downs (nr. Blackboy Hill) every Sunday, 3.30, circumstances and weather permitting.

PROPOSED GROUPS

Proposals have been made for forming anarchist/discussion groups or federations in the following areas. Will those interested please get into touch with the address given?

**BELFAST**  
Telephone 23691.  
**COUNTY OF STAFFORD TRAINING COLLEGE**  
John Wheeler, C.S.T.C., Nr. Stafford, Staffs.

**HEREFORD**  
Peter & Maureen Ford, 9 Poole Close, Hereford

**MANCHESTER**  
John McEwan, c/o Farrish, 4, Sanby Avenue, Mount Estate, Gorton, Manchester.

**PLYMOUTH**  
Fred Spiers, 35 Ridge Park Avenue, Mutley, Plymouth.

**ROMFORD & HORNCHURCH**  
John Chamberlain, 74 Upper Rainham Road, Hornchurch, Essex, or  
Chris Rose, 34 Newbury Gardens, Upminster.

**READING, BASINGSTOKE**  
R. Adair, Wantage Hall, Upper Redlands Road, Reading, Berks. or  
Road, Reading, Berks or 4 Castle Bridge Cottages, North Warnborough, Odiham, Hants.

**SHEFFIELD**  
Peter Lee, 745 Eccleshall Road, Sheffield.  
**TUNBRIDGE WELLS**  
J. D. Gilbert-Rolfe, 4 Mount Sion, Tunbridge Wells, Sussex.

OFF-CENTRE DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

2nd Friday at Brian and Doris Leslie's, 242 Amesbury Avenue, S.W.2 (Streatham Hill, Nr. Station).  
N.B.—Change of Day.

3rd Wednesday of the month, at 8 p.m. at Albert Portch's, 11 Courcy Road (off Wood Green High Road), N.8.

4th Thursday of each month, Tom Barnes', Albion Cottage, Fortis Green, N.2. (3rd door past Tudor Hotel).

Last Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at George Hayes', 174 McLeod Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald & Irene Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Notting Hill Anarchist Group (Discussion Group)  
Last Friday of the month, at Brian and Margaret Hart's, 57 Ladbroke Road, (near Notting Hill Station), W.11.

Freedom

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