

'The dead easily change their political beliefs.'

STANISLAW LEC

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

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THE reasons given by five leading members of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament for refusing to accept nomination for re-election to the National Council—pressure of other work—do not seem to constitute a very strong case for saying, as was to be expected from the national Press, that there is a crisis threatening the existence of CND. As *Peace News*, rightly in our opinion, pointed out in its front page Editorial "Is CND Finished?" (Sept. 20), if there is a crisis in CND it is not as some members think a problem either of organisation or leadership. What, it seems to us, is the attraction of CND is that its local groups enjoy the kind of autonomy which no political party would tolerate, and are as different in composition and activities as are the interests and politics of the people who animate them. It is true, as *Peace News*

## What is CND for?

sadly reflects, that the advances made by the peace movement "have not been very impressive", and that "the momentum of the great protests against nuclear war has declined". Some of us would argue that it was naive to believe, in the first place, that either the peace movement or CND could in fact hope to implement a unilateral, or multilateral disarmament policy. *Peace News* on the other hand argues that CND "tends to put too much emphasis on the negative side of its work—saying how evil and destructive war is today" while saying very little about "what they are for". And obviously

*P.N.* would not be satisfied by the obvious answer: "Why, for peace, of course!" for the problem that needs a positive answer, in our contemporary's view is "How to deal with conflict, aggression or invasion if it does occur". And if a clear answer to this question is to be found

it will be necessary to go beyond the thinking of all the existing peace organisations.

A further factor points to such a break from tradition. In opposing war the peace movements have often turned a blind eye not only to the danger of aggression, but also to the evils of totalitarianism. They have ignored in

sometimes cavalier fashion the human need for some kind of defence and for some kind of political power.

All this is true. But another point which *Peace News* should have added is that in opposing war the peace movements have with few exceptions always turned a blind eye to the institutions of State which depend on violence and various forms of punishment to maintain their authority, power and privileges. But it is clear from the question which our contemporary poses "how to deal with conflict, aggression or invasion if it does occur" (the words

we have italicised qualify the terms "conflict" and "aggression" and refer not to their daily manifestation within the nation, but to war between nations) that either they accept, or they choose to ignore, the basic role violence, and coercion play in the regulation of the daily affairs of mankind in authoritarian society—and that means the democracies as well as the dictatorships. For if they did not, then they would have to recognise that war is but one of the weapons in the armoury of authoritarian society. (To bring this "old-fashioned", oft-repeated, observation up-to-date, we would add:—"and in this age of automation and technology the 'cold-war' is the safety-valve of the capitalist economy"). And in that case war

Continued on page 3

## Spanish Comrades in France Arrested

In Toulouse, on August 28th, the French police arrested five Spanish comrades; Salvador Gurucharri, José Catala, Juan Quesada, Joseph Morato, and Estève Gonzalbo. Initially they were arrested for illegal fly-posting, however according to the Toulouse newspaper *Indépendant* (29/8/63), other charges were to be brought against Salvador Gurucharri.

On Wednesday, 11th September, the police arrested some fifty anarchists in many different parts of France. Apart from the arrests search warrants were issued for the homes of some of them and for the offices of the FIJL and the French Anarchist Federation. These comrades were all interrogated and, later the same day the majority of them were released. However, in addition to those arrested in August seventeen of them were kept in custody and charges preferred against them. They are being charged with "association with malefactors", and have been moved to Paris to stand trial. Those comrades awaiting trial in Paris are:—

From Paris: Robert Arino Sahun (28); Auguste Sanchez (27), secretary-treasurer of the Paris section of the FIJL; Nardo

Imbernon (26), general secretary of the regional and local federations of the FIJL and assistant-secretary of the CNT; José Pascual (48), who is 100% disabled with T.B.; Martin Armandarez (24); Bartolome Flores (25); Vincent Marti Verdu (37); Floreal Navarro; and Cipriano Mera Sanz (66).

From Toulouse: Antonio Molina Abril (26); member of the National Committee of the FIJL; Enrique Ferrer Otin (27); Victor Ferrer Otin (29); Antonio Ros Monero (26); Enrique Guinard Fabregat (24); and José Sos Yague.

From Isère: José Rios Cerdan.

From Avignon: Augurio Municha Larraona.

The "association with malefactors" with which they are being charged is a legal device that was used extensively at the end of the last century to curb anarchist activity in France at a time when some of them had resorted to individual acts of "propaganda by deed".

Ostensibly these investigations and the coming trials are an attempt to connect members of the FIJL (in exile) and other Spanish anarchists in France with the underground Consejo Iberico de Liberacion. In point of fact it is an attempt to smash all the activities of our Spanish comrades in France.

These repressions against our comrades are part of a deal between de Gaulle and Franco. Franco restricts the activities of certain OAS men in Spain and de Gaulle, for his part, breaks up the activities of Spanish anarchist refugees in France. It isn't coincidence that, at the time when the French authorities were rounding up our comrades, the Franco police 'discovered' a 'clandestine' OAS printing press in Spain which was being used to print 'subversive Propaganda' and forged French Treasury notes. Following the 'discovery' of this printing press Jean Bichon, Lajos Marton, and other OAS-CNR men were arrested in France (*Daily Telegraph*, 21st September).

A further result of the collusion between de Gaulle and Franco is the presence, in France, of an eight-man team of Spanish secret-police headed by the Chief of Police of Barcelona himself—Polo. Not only is this team working against our comrades but fascist thugs, operating from various Spanish Consulates in France, have started beating-up comrades where and when they find them alone.

It is blatantly obvious that our comrades are being used as pawns by the French Government in the dirty political game they are playing with Franco and already considerable protests are being mounted in France against this. There

has been widespread condemnation of the de Gaulle-Franco collusion and the resulting violation of the 'right of political asylum'.

Apart from protests from our comrades of the CNT, FIJL, the French Anarchist Federation, Jeunes Libertaires, and the Alliance ouvrière Anarchiste (the latter have appealed to André Malraux, Minister of State for Cultural Affairs, who himself fought against Franco), there have been protests from various sections of the F.O. (socialist trade unions), the S.F.I.O. (Socialist Party), the League of the Rights of Man, and the C.D.R. (Departmental Council of the Resistance) of the Haute-Garonne. In addition to these protests some thirty intellectuals and artists, among them Simone de Beauvoir, Christine Rochefort, Clara Malraux, Jean-Paul Sartre, Louis Lecoilin and Georges Brassens, have signed a statement of protest which concludes, "It is going to be necessary to fight, and we will fight, in order that Cervantes and Lorca can continue to receive the rights of citizenship in the land of Voltaire and Camus."

As yet, the British Press haven't found it necessary to print a single word of this affair.

These imprisoned comrades urgently need our assistance. A fund has been set up by the French Anarchist Federation and the Jeunes Libertaires to help pay for defence lawyers and to assist the families of the imprisoned men. Those comrades in Britain wishing to contribute to this fund can do so by sending money, as quickly as possible to: René Bianco, c/o Freedom Bookshop, 17a, Maxwell Road, Fulham, London, S.W.6.

### Rally to Hyde Park Saturday!

We cannot stress enough the urgency of this appeal.

In order to protest against the imprisonment of our comrades and to express our solidarity with them, the CNT-FIJL (in exile in England), the London Federation of Anarchists, and the Syndicalist Workers' Federation are going to hold a demonstration this Saturday (28th September).

We are meeting at 3 p.m. at Speakers' Corner, Marble Arch, and after a short meeting, we will march to the French Embassy in Knightsbridge.

In view of the silence, in this country, surrounding the whole affair we hope that as many comrades as possible will support this demonstration.

LFA, CNT-FIJL, & SWF



'It's the Reverend Martin L. King, Sir! He says that as a man of peace he can't use violence himself, so will you please send Federal Troops as the State Troopers are all acting non-violently!'

### INDUSTRIAL NOTES

## Strike for 42 hr Week

450 drivers who work for car delivery companies at Oxford, are on strike for a 42-hour week with extra payments for overtime. These men deliver cars manufactured at the British Motor Corporation's factories in the area. At the moment B.M.C.'s production is not affected because of their large parking lots, but it will be a different story when these are full.

Negotiations for this claim, which have been in progress since May, broke down last month.

At present the drivers earn 5/3d. per hour for unlimited hours, there being no basic week. The delivery firms have offered a reduced hourly rate of 4/9d. for a 43-hour week, spread over six days, with overtime rates and a guaranteed minimum pay packet of 10 guineas. This offer was rejected and now, without the official backing of the union, the Transport and General Workers, they have taken action themselves to secure what are, after all, very moderate demands.

After three days, this action gained support of some of the men who drive the large car transporter lorries. These 24 men are employed by the largest firm affected by the strike and they and their mates already work the basic 42-hour week.

If this strike action is to be effective, it must hit B.M.C. quickly. Delivery firms have made alternative transport arrangements. Cars are being delivered by rail, and other labour is being used to shift the vehicles. A spokesman for the strikers has said, "Non-union labour is being used by the distributors to move new cars during the strike and it is the official policy of the unions at Morris Motors not to work with non-union labour."

While this type of thing continues, the pile-up of cars at parking lots will be prevented and the strikers action will be ineffective. B.M.C. and the delivery

companies will continue production and disposal of vehicles while these men are left on their own to face eventual defeat.

Two delegates from the strikers have been to Birmingham to see Jack Jones, the assistant executive secretary of the T. & G.W.U., to try to get him to recommend recognition by the union, but so far this has not been forthcoming. Mr. Cousins, who has just announced a record membership of 1,385, 445 for the T. & G.W.U., and his executive seem unconcerned that a section of their membership does not even have an agreement for a basic 42-hour week.

With the union's large membership and power, the securing of the claims of these strikers should be a comparatively easy task. However, after long, fruitless union negotiations with the employers, the car delivery men have got fed up with these attempts and have taken action for themselves. But if they are to be successful, more support is needed. Morris Motors have said that they are "not worried" by the strike. If the demands of these men are to be realised, then Morris Motors have got to be worried about this stoppage.

The strike has to be extended to other transport drivers. The continuance of production can help, as long as these cars are not moved from parking lots. If cars are moved, then support should be sought from production workers. Only by this type of sympathetic action can these strikers, who are isolated at the moment, hope to win their demands. Their action must not remain isolated but be extended and broadened.

### 18 MINERS STAGE A STAY-DOWN STRIKE

Eighteen coal-miners at the Saville Colliery at Methly in Yorkshire, staged a 54-hour stay-down strike over a fall in earnings. After the management had agreed to talks over their grievances, they came up from the mine, and fellow

Continued on page 2

### READERS & DISTRIBUTORS PLEASE NOTE

Production difficulties have made it necessary to postpone publication of ANARCHY—32 until next week, this week, and it means that there will be no FREEDOM next week, when we will be publishing the October issue of ANARCHY. The next issue of FREEDOM will appear on October 12.

FREEDOM PRESS.

## ANARCHY 32 OUT NEXT WEEK is on Crime

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## What is CND For?

Continued from page 1

resistance must be seen as one prong in the struggle to undermine the authority, and power of Authority and the State.

But the Law—the judiciary, the police and the prisons—the monetary system, respect for authority, acceptance of the *status quo*, and the rules of the parliamentary circus are, in our opinion, far greater threats to peace than the presence of armed forces and nuclear weapons. They are the *raison d'être* for the armed forces and the threat of war!

★  
THE weakness of the *Peace News* approach is its reluctance to face the fact that war is a consequence not a cause. "For a long time *Peace News* has", we are told

advocated non-violent resistance as a form of power which can be used as an alternative to military power, as a means of resisting and undermining the organised violence of invasion and of totalitarian regimes. . . .

We believe that if the peace movement does not develop a non-violent defence policy and a new concept of power then it will become politically impotent. For at the present time, while military means of defence are increasingly immoral, destructive and self-defeating, the basic need for defence is perhaps greater than ever.

For those, like ourselves, who cannot follow the subtleties of meaning of that last sentence we quote the concluding paragraph of the editorial:

This fact underlines the obligation on *Peace News* to present more concisely what is meant by non-violent defence. And it indicates that it may now be necessary to form a new organisation to

## The Prerequisite of Peace

IN Monday's *Guardian* we read that

The Committee of 100 is planning to introduce into professions and industry groups which will work for what the committee call a "radical non-violent society." In Oxford yesterday, the national committee gave its sanction for its name to be used in connection with the groups.

One of the first professions will be teaching, where there will be a demand for educational reforms, including the abolition of corporal punishment and of compulsory religious teaching.

This sounds interesting and the kind of activities long advocated in ANARCHY and FREEDOM without much apparent direct success. The connection with Nuclear Disarma-

### MICHAEL SCOTT AND DOCTRINAIRE PACIFISM

The Rev. Michael Scott, one of the leaders of the Committee of 100, commented in Glasgow yesterday on the "state of disarray" of the peace movement in Britain.

Mr. Scott said: "There has been a tendency for pacifism and pacifists to take a lead in all movements opposed to war. I am not sure that doctrinaire pacifism has not resulted in a certain amount of confusion in Africa and the erstwhile colonial countries."

It had appeared to some people in these countries that peace was more important than anything else.

"I am one of those who has been caught up in various controversies which have involved the use of force for the purpose of liberating people from oppression, and this is one of the questions we have to think out much more clearly than we have up to now. We cannot say that all the uses of force are wrong."

Observer.

promote this policy.

Help! Yet another organisation! Randolph Bourne declared that "war is the health of the State"\*. It could well be said that "new organisations are the health of the peace movement". *Peace News* is already darkly hinting at a new organisation to promote a "policy" which so far consists of four words "non-violent defence policy".

What does *Peace News* really think? What does it mean when it talks of the peace movement developing "a non-violent defence policy"? As we understand it, it means a policy which could be adopted by governments as being more effective than one based on nuclear or conventional weapons. This is in fact the Stephen King-Hall line. Is that what they mean? If they mean that defence must pass from the hands of government (and the military) to the people why don't they say so unequivocally. If the peace movement is in need of a spring cleaning in its thinking, let *Peace News* which is insisting that it is, give a lead by making quite clear where it stands. It accuses the CND leaders of being anxious not to have frank discussion on vital topics, yet the front page editorial with its sensational headline is full of riddles worthy of the "New Left or the Labour Party politicians" it attacks.

\*pace comrade Morton in the September issue of ANARCHY, we would suggest that true as it may have been in Randolph Bourne's time, the contemporary slogan should surely be that "the cold-war is the health of the capitalist economy".

ment may seem remote but it seems to us that in the long term it is only by attacking and seeking to break down the values of existing society and, of course, offering what we consider to be better values, to take their place, that we can hope to change society and, incidentally, remove any threats of war. The Committee's reference to a "radical non-violent society" is a tautology, and also a somewhat self-conscious labouring of a thesis of non-violence which can only provoke unnecessary discussion amongst those who in fact are in agreement. A tautology because the kind of radical society envisaged, which is also envisaged by the anarchists, could not exist if it had to be imposed by violence; and self-conscious because those of us who do not label ourselves "non-violent" anarchists neither do we wish to qualify our anarchism with a "violent" adjective. The society we want to live in cannot, by definition be anything but non-violent. We say that to make that society possible we must break down authoritarian—that is, existing—society and in doing so we will almost certainly be resisted by a show of violence and intimidation which we in our turn must resist by the most effective means at our disposal. If we can defend ourselves by non-violent means, obviously we should avoid violence. But when the will of the people is resisted by the State then it seems to us equally obvious that if the people only by violence can remove that obstacle then they should not hesitate to use violence. We believe that the State must be destroyed as the prerequisite of Peace.

MR. HAROLD WILSON is reported to have pre-viewed the 50,000 word Denning report in 115 minutes. Meanwhile we must wait, fortified by the news that Mr. Frederick Read and Mr. Robin Cook have just finished a musical about Dr. Stephen Ward and "the general situation". It is called "Thank You for Everything". . . .

A WRITER to the *Mirror* justifies the use of "X" in "Xmas" but writes, "It is the use of the letter 'X' to describe court witnesses that is deplorable. Mass Observation discovered that eighty-seven people out of a hundred could identify Christine Keeler, although there was much hesitation in describing her exact status. The same proportion knew Tommy Steele, sixty-nine out of one hundred knew of Reginald Maudling—although some thought, rightly enough, that he was the father of a film-star. Only twenty-two out of one hundred identified Valentina Tereshkova and Greville Wynne. . . .

MR. RICHARD GOTT writing to the *Guardian* on the George Clark case states that two plain-clothes policemen who had followed George Clark on the demonstration said that they did not know who he was. In Mr. Gott's evidence he said that when George Clark was arrested, the plain-clothes man said "It is Mr. Clark, isn't it?" This contradiction was not mentioned by the chairman of the Sessions in his summing-up. A CID officer at Marlborough Street recognized what he thought was a wanted man at the back of the court where he was giving evidence. He told the gaoler to tell the man to stay. After 45 minutes the officer left the witness-box and found the 'wanted' man was a Sudanese judge visiting under the auspices of the British Council to see "the British processes of law in operation". . . .

THE SHEFFIELD enquiry into the dismissal of two detectives for assaulting three prisoners in custody, ground on. The Counsel for Sheffield Watch Committee asked one of the detectives, "Your conduct that night was not only criminal and a breach of discipline but it was inhuman". Peter Baker, a former MP, who served five years in prison, sent a petition to the Home Secretary asking for a Queen's pardon. He quotes the words of the Lord Chief Justice who dismissed an appeal application in 1957 by saying "I fully accept on the evidence that he is probably completely innocent . . . but this court has no power to act". The Acting Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia passed the death sentence on a man convicted of throwing a petrol bomb which smashed a window and scorched a carpet said, "There is a reasonable possibility that the accused did not throw the bomb, but the death sentence is compulsory also for accessories". . . .

## AROUND THE GALLERIES

FOR the many hundreds of thousands of men and women who people our overcrowded cities, the artist is but a joke or at the best a subject of casual curiosity. He is there to be laughed at or pitied according to the mood of men and women who would hesitate to give an opinion even to a choice of cheese but have no hesitation in offering an authoritarian judgment on any finished work that they might accidentally see hanging.

They will walk by an outdoor exhibition of paintings and openly and without shame ridicule the painter and his work, for the artist long ago accepted the status of the people's clown and he is accepted as such. But all this is with one honourable exception and that exception is the pavement artist.

Here is the only penniless and masterless craftsman who neither begs, fawns or cringes for his daily bread yet he has won the respect of the passing crowd, for he is the teacher who, from their earliest childhood, has given the townspeople their only glimpse of an act of creative culture for which they are not expected to applaud, pay or remove their hats to.

The pavement artist is respected by the crowd and what is more important, he respects himself and all over the Town this small open guild of men, old and young, spend their hours upon their knees with their backs to their audiences working at their pastel scenes. Indifferent to their watchers they mould with coloured chalks the repeating images, knowing, even as they work, that a passing shower and the gathering dark will destroy the work of hours, but for



MR. CHARLES MORGAN Junior's opinion about the bomb which killed four negro children at a church service in Birmingham, Alabama was "A mad, remorseful, worried community", asks, "Who did it? Who threw that bomb? Was it a negro or a white? The answer should be 'We all did it? Every last one of us is condemned for that crime and the bombing before it, and the ones last month, last year, a decade ago. We all 'did' it . . . The 'who' is every little individual who talks about the 'niggers' and spreads the seeds of hate to his neighbour and his son. The 'who' is every governor who ever shouted for lawlessness and became a law violator . . . We are 10 years of lawless preachments, 10 years of criticism of the courts, of our fellow men, a decade of telling school children the opposite of what the civic books say. We are a mass of intolerance and bigotry and shouted indictments before the young. We are cursed by the failure of each of us to accept responsibility by our defence of an already dead institution." In Birmingham (Ala.), after the explosion all available Negro ambulances were sent to the church. About 100 whites beat up two negro ministers at Anniston when they tried to enter the whites-only public library. . . .

THE U.S. Southern Railway gave way to a court ruling in favour of the railway unions that firemen must be carried on diesel locomotives. The railways thereupon appointed about one hundred ageing negroes who never worked on railways before. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen's constitution (according to *Time*) "until four weeks ago prohibited Negroes from becoming members. . . .

DENNIS BRUTUS, president of the South African Non-Racial Committee for Olympics was shot and wounded, according to the police, when trying to escape in Johannesburg. He is reported to have a Federal Rhodesian passport, to have been born in Rhodesia, and to have been handed over from Portuguese East Africa to South Africa. He had fled

to Swaziland from South Africa whilst on bail for attending a gathering in defiance of his banning order. He once wrote to a friend, "I cannot involve others in my own protest; I have no right to. If I have to suffer like Shakespeare's Cinna, for my bad verses, I should not mind. This barbarism of a doomed group . . . this brutality inflicted on the human spirit, must be fought—even at great peril—if we truly value the uncrushable spirit of Man." . . .

ON TUESDAY the *Express* leader ran "What splendid news it is that the Queen is going to have another baby, her fourth child. This is typical of a growing and healthy preference in the land for larger families. The Queen is just like countless other British women today who value home life and the laughter of children. And the people are delighted it should be so." On Tuesday, Mrs. Patricia Kearney, aged 19, who is also going to have a baby, was released from Holloway Prison after having purged her contempt of a court order by having served 28 days' imprisonment. Mr. Henry Brooke announced the establishment of a standing advisory committee on juvenile delinquency to carry out a continuous study of crime among people under seventeen. . . .

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE told Young Socialists at a rally at Skegness that she had been prepared to retain conscription when the conservatives had been prepared (in 1957) to "precipitate nuclear war" in order to abolish conscription. If the apparent choice of 1957 presented itself. "I would retain conscription and I hope we have the guts to do such an unpopular thing from time to time." According to the *Guardian* "it was apparent that a Labour Government might need to bring back a form of conscription. Mr. Bill Simpson of the Foundry Workers' Union commented that a Labour government intended to have full employment and therefore the supply of regular soldiers might fall short. In these circumstances some form of conscription might be unavoidable. . . .

MR. MICHAEL FOOT, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, Miss Jacquetta Hawkes, Mrs. Judith Hart, Dr. Antoinette Pirie, and Mr. Arthur Goss have all declined to stand for re-election to C.N.D. executive or office. Some disagree with C.N.D.'s tacit endorsement of various forms of civil disobedience. Others, notably Mr. Foot and Mr. Greenwood, are not standing because of the pressure of other work.

A CHURCH in Walham Green carried the notice "If You Belong to the Human Race You Will be Welcome at Harvest Festival Service". At the bottom of the poster appears the words, "Visitors invited".  
JON QUIXOTE.

faults of so many of his fellow artists in that he is not prepared to experiment with his subject matter and he is content to rely on the same landscapes and the same interpretations of them. He offers a perennial summer, for his trees never know an autumn and the same hot green pours down from his blue mountains to wash over his trees and grasses.

It can be argued that working in an outdoor light and attempting to catch the eye of the strolling Londoner necessitates a sacrifice of subtlety but it is unfortunate, for Blackburn appears to lack the desire to experiment and this is a major fault of those who work upon the stones. Having arrived at a certain subject and a certain style they are prepared to repeat it until it becomes a recognisable set of clichés. David Blackburn's work cannot be dismissed as primitive, for within his chosen sphere he is a competent craftsman but unfortunately he is content to pander to his audience by giving them work in the old academic traditions.

Blackburn likes to claim that he has produced more worthwhile work on canvass that others have been happy to buy and it is in this desire to divorce the two aspects of his craft that his failure lies, for he owes a duty to himself to expand his talents across the dry concrete. At the end of each working day Blackburn will sprinkle the coloured stones with a handful of sand and rub out the work of a single day and the experience of a working lifetime, for none must slip upon that deserted pavement if David Blackburn wishes to return. And each day he returns and sinks upon his knees with the dusty tools of his trade to win back some small measure of respect for the snivelling hack geniuses voluntary in thrall to the Bond Street dealers who will give them anything but self respect.  
ARTHUR MOYSE.

