

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly **6d**

MARCH 25 1967 Vol 28 No 9

IDEAS ON THE MARCH

THERE is a Greek legend of the dragon's teeth which, when sown, produced a crop of military men. In some strange way the discarded teeth of nuclear disarmament have as it were produced a battalion of anti-militarists, pacifists and direct actionists. By some strange alchemy two marches have grown up where one grew before, different in their accent and content.

Our comrade Donald Room had a recent cartoon in a newspaper of two demonstrators, one with a poster about Vietnam and another with a Rhodesia poster; the caption is: 'Whatever happened to the Bomb?' Well may we ask.

Last week the *Morning Star* printed, without comment, a story from Sweden of nuclear scientists who were hopeful of producing a 'clean bomb'. Such a story would have been jeered out of the *Daily Worker* but now presumably the Communists (and the Swedes) must learn to live with the bomb. Is this possible?

General de Gaulle has tested his bomb in Polynesia, and the Americans lost a bomb at Palomares, and every now and again the Americans and Russians make an underground test (which presumably pollutes underground caverns), so that Russia and America must be pockmarked with radio-active holes in the ground.

No, we have not learned to live with the bomb. It was reported recently that the scorch marks, outlining a vanished man on the marble steps of a bank at Hiroshima, were disappearing,

it was suggested that they might be preserved by covering with plastic film. Surely it needs no visible monument to remind us of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or indeed Belsen and Buchenwald or Hamburg and Dresden?

The message of the nuclear marchers was and is the universality of the menace and its message. It was a simple message unhedged with the 'ifs and buts' of political loyalties, diplomatic quibblings or economic double-think which encompass localized issues. George Melly in a message to *Sanity* for the Easter march said, 'The dead have no ideology, the wounded don't care who is right. Only peace is worth fighting for.'

The legacy of the anti-bomb movement (which may be dead, or may have been betrayed) still lives on in an approach, a method, and in action. Its approach is individualist, its method is unparliamentary and its action is direct. To us this seems like anarchism, but one can only learn by acting. Through betrayal by politicians, brutality by police, education by prison the anti-bomb movement ideas have marched on. They have proliferated in other fields—civil rights, university campuses (Berkeley influenced LSE, but Berkeley was influenced by Civil Rights struggles), homeless hostels, gypsies, factories—all have owed a debt in ideas to CND, the Committee of 100, and the anarchists.

When an idea is on the march nothing can stop it!
J.R.

Lies about Vietnam

WHAT CAN BRITISH anarchists do to aid the people of Vietnam? We can send medical aid to the wounded of both sides, and of no side, in the conflict. We can consider whether a boycott of goods of all the participants in the war is possible to organise. We must learn and spread the truth about Vietnam and expose those who make war propaganda for either side. The particular danger for us and for the peace movement is to appear to be associated with North Vietnamese and NLF propaganda which is being spread by many in CND, the BCPV and by the hangers-on to Bertrand Russell's name in the Russell Peace Foundation.

The main blame for the Vietnamese war clearly lies on the USA which has 430,000 troops there and is financing 300,000 Saigon government troops and which has already delivered bombs totalling more in explosive power than all bombs it used in all theatres of war in World War II. The Americans and their allies shoot and torture prisoners and kill many thousands of innocent civilians,

burning, blasting and slicing them to death with napalm, phosphorus and lazy dog bombs.

This far, I can agree with Bertrand Russell's *War Crimes in Vietnam* and with the statements already published by Russell's International War Crimes Tribunal. But the first response to Vietnam must be to establish the full truth and this Russell's book completely fails to do. It is grossly and absurdly biased: a disgrace to the peace movement and a sickening betrayal of the Vietnamese people.

Parts of the book are almost farcical cold war propaganda. According to it, the USA is plotting to destroy China and rule the world (p. 73), is to blame for all hunger, tyranny, torture, disease in the world (p. 99). The UN is just a 'tool of American aggression' (p. 98) and 'one out of three Americans live in poverty' (p. 108).

The book's account of the Vietminh's war against the French is totally one-sided. It implies that the Vietminh naively trusted the French in negotiations in 1945 and 1946, but doesn't mention the numerous and increasing acts of Vietminh terrorism (see Hammer's *The Struggle for Indochina*). Russell writes that 'general elections in January of 1946 confirmed the legitimacy of the Vietminh government' (p. 22), but omits to say that these were openly rigged and the Vietminh assassinated leading members of socialist and Trotskyite factions, of various Buddhist sects, of 'liberal' nationalists and even some communists.

His picture of post-Geneva agreement events begins 'North Vietnam decided to become Communist' (p. 78). Apart, that is, from the 850,000 refugees who fled to the South! The 'decision', in any case, was to submit or to be imprisoned or

Continued on page 7

ANARCHIST EASTER MEETING

CONWAY HALL,
RED LION SQUARE,
LONDON, W.C.1
7.30 p.m. EASTER SUNDAY,
MARCH 26th
SPEAKERS:
R. BARLTROP, D. ROOM
A. N. OTHER
AND SPEAKER FROM
S.W.F. AND 'SOLIDARITY'.

EIGHT PAGES THIS WEEK!

'Student Power' on the March

A BREEDING GROUND for tyrants has been lost for the Establishment at the London School of Economics. This has become obvious. One only has to listen to debates in free assemblies and to conversations of small groups in the milling crowds.

The Establishment may well win the battle. They can call in the police again. But they have already lost the war. This generation of LSE students say: we will not be manipulated.

Yet here was a school which was a favourite recruiting ground for the Establishment, where anarchist ideas have never penetrated the Fabian fog.

Now for several days the occupation of the school by the students was complete. The students visibly enjoyed that feeling of exhilaration give to very few in modern society: decision making and practical autonomy.

All students, even the reactionaries, should be complimented on their conduct and on the quality of their debates which were short, precise and full of good humour. They have learnt more during these weeks of crisis than they could possibly have learnt in their classes.

The struggle has transcended the immediate aim of the strikers. Now that they are hoping to set up an 'Open University' with the help of many sympathetic lecturers they intend to discuss such subjects as 'Academic Freedom', 'The Philosophy of Education' and the 'Role of the Student'.

Sir Sidney Caine has claimed that the LSE strikers were the work of a small minority of anarchist students. We would gladly accept this if it were true. But it is not. Only now that they have been labelled thus have the students started to consider the meaning of anarchism.

There are no anarchist lecturers at the school. No anarchist thinker is ever discussed. Peter Kropotkin only figures in the geography course.



Photo: Dave Burden

There is no anarchist group in LSE.

Nevertheless, our views and their ingenuous reputations are now the subject of discussion of LSE. Learned professors can be heard intoning the dangers of 'anarchy' and 'the collapse of authority'. Yet some of them do understand the nature of the problem. The interchange of ideas between teachers and students was well illustrated by an impromptu academic debate between Dr. Cohen, professor of sociology, and D. Schechter, a student, on the tyranny of the administrative machine. When it was interrupted by a returning deputation with news from the front we all felt cheated. This is what education means.

Whatever the outcome, this struggle has opened the eyes of many students to the nature and the methods used by the Establishment. The methods included already, not merely police measures, but press

labels, threats of expulsion, threats of loss of grants and the dirtiest of all: the threat of conscription of American students to Vietnam.

So just as six months period of fruitless negotiations brought students the need for direct action; so the use of DA teaches them the nature of the society outside LSE as well as in it. Provided that they do not now lose hope the future is bright for the growth of a Libertarian movement outside the confines of our little struggling groups.

Whenever a body of people, be they mineworkers, students or whores, take into their heads the running of their own lives, they have glimpsed a part of anarchist truth, which is that mine-owners, university administrators or ponces are not merely unnecessary, do not merely detract from the lives of those they manipulate, but positively impair the efficiency of the job.

JOHN REY.

Background to the Struggle

THE origins of what is happening at LSE are quite clear. Four hundred students voted to take part in a meeting of protest against the appointment of the new director, Walter Adams; this meeting was banned on short notice. In spite of the written submission of 250 students that they be held equally responsible or the charges be dropped, only six were charged by the Admin. and only two finally suspended, D. A. and M.B. The sit-down started last Tuesday as a protest against this victimisation.

The continuation of the demonstration is entirely due to the unwillingness of the Admin. (i.e. Caine, Kidd, etc.) either to back down or compromise on this issue. They were totally unprepared for any large-scale student opposition and when it took the form of direct action they made alternate threats and small concessions. In other words they were completely at sea. It is very reminiscent of a rather primitive employer confronted with his first serious strike. They saw it all as an immediate disciplinary problem and nothing more.

Not so the students; having been rebuffed over the two suspensions they were thrown back on to their own ideas, the latest is that a Free University be started. In addition, proposals for better staff-student relations have been made. Here is the positive side of events, which the press has largely ignored.

I think it is clear from the above that anarchists should support the LSE movement as have a large number of the members of the LFA in written messages of support pinned to the LSE notice-board. To make the point clearer. Firstly, the average attendance at an LSE union meeting is about 700/800, i.e. 25% of the entire student body, in fact much higher because it's not always the same people (but all that the Old Theatre can hold). The movement is thus considerably anarchist in the large percentage of people directly involved. Secondly, the fact that the students' methods, in particular the direct action of the sit-in, correspond directly to anarchists own ideas of social struggle. Thirdly, so do the ideas that are coming up such as direct student initiative in

relations with the staff and the Free University.

Even if the students are browbeaten into submission, these ideas will not be lost. The tremendous and continuing solidarity of the students with each other and over the two suspensions, the active co-operation of about 10% of the staff, and the sympathy of another 10% (figures given by a member of the staff), are to be welcomed and encouraged by anarchists everywhere.

It is obvious that the vast majority of students at LSE, with one or two exceptions (such as the writer of this article), are not anarchists. The whole movement was spontaneous; it is not sure where to go from here. My own feeling is that it would be asking too much of people to continue an exhausting intellectual debate throughout the vacation. It could be resumed at the beginning of next term, unless the authorities lock us out, which they can already do if they wish. Events are moving at such a speed that it might not be a bad idea to sit back and think for a couple of weeks for behind everything lurks the Government, which controls the money; it will hardly be willing to finance a free university.

To come back to an article in *FREE-DOM*; at LSE you have voluntary co-operation, direct action and mutual aid. What could be more anarchist than that?
LSE STUDENT.

What Students Want

Students want to SHARE power in their own universities. We want a voice in those decisions which affect our lives. We want freedom—but with responsibility.

'Beaver',
LSE newspaper,
March 9.

books?

We can supply any book in print

And we have in stock New Books of Anarchist/Libertarian interest. This month's selection:

- Summerhill A. S. Neill 30/-
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- Roads to Freedom Bertrand Russell (paperback) 6/-
- Pilate's Question Alfred Reynolds (paperback) 12/6
- Three Basic Problems of Free India Jayaprakash Narayan 15/-
- Prison Etiquette (ed.) Holley Cantine and Dachine Rainer 10/-
- Qu'est-Ce Que la Propriété? Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (paperback in French) 7/6
- The Spanish Labyrinth Gerald Brenan (paperback) 13/6
- The Self and Others R. D. Laing 25/-
- The Function of the Orgasm Wilhelm Reich (paperback) 21/-
- Listen, Little Man Wilhelm Reich (paperback) 15/-
- The Murder of Christ Wilhelm Reich (paperback) 16/-
- The Case of Joe Hill Philip S. Foner (paperback) 12/-

REPRINTS

- Anarchy 2: Workers' Control 2/-
- Anarchy 6: The Film 2/-
- 1,001 Ways to Live Without Working (pamphlet) Tuli Kupferberg 3/6

POSTAGE EXTRA

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ONCE in every while there flows into the stream of our minority culture a poem, a book, a song or a painting that holds and excites the imagination. We know, from the harsh reality of past experience, that what holds our clinical mind and our vagrant imagination is but a thing of passing pleasure for when we play the pedant a few brief minutes suffice to expose the inadequacies of the workmanship. It is for this reason that so many times we find disappointment when we turn to re-read the pages of the novel that for years hung like a diamond upon the dull canvas of our memories. For the bitterness of age and the slow beatings of the years must of necessity sour the wine of our innocence. And the answer is never to return for we can never recapture those moments of sweet glory when a new window was opened in the walls of night. For, if we try, with ageing hands, to grasp those past moments we will find that we are left with leaden prose, a canvas of mild interest, a song that jingles or a poem whose content is forgotten among the forgettable debris of the past.

So we despair and pad the corridors of the Tate rejecting this month's High Art or the Beatles' latest Liturgical Mass for the high priests of pseudo-intellectualism and the newest Logue Poem still hot from the ovens of the Turret Press. We sneer at *Private Eye* and cry that all art is but ash dusting the dead fire of our heart as we talk of Nye Bevan and reminisce about Aldermaston. Yet it is we who have failed for excitement in new-found trivia is part of the joy of youth and the beliefs and the ideas that we have chosen to discard come newborn to the nascent questing mind. But then we find it and once more a writer wins our praise, a song holds our lips, a poem cries our emotion of the moment and a painter wins back our lack-lustred interest.

Such a painter is Jeffrey Smart, the Australian artist, whose 22 canvases at the Redfern Gallery at 20 Cork Street, W.1, capture the emotions of our moment with the same bitter-sweet truth

AROUND THE GALLERIES

as the lyric of a pop song that headlines the joy or agony of the day. Painted in the same style as that of the English painter Tristram Hillier, Smart offers the dead and sterile locale of Rome and its Dead Sea coastline in place of the Englishman's pastoral landscapes. It is the same world as Hillier's in that all objects appear to be moulded from coloured plasticine. A world without textures wherein rocks, trees and skies are created by the same hand from the same common clay. For both these painters the sky is a brooding, silent, evil roof above their dead world but whereas Hillier shrugs off his empty world the Australian painter has used it

as a background for the universal and timeless theme of personal and individual loneliness.

Upon these barren rocks, silent and alone on newly-concreted roads within an empty city, isolated upon a flat roof or hand-flat against a sun-bleached wall Smart has placed a single figure, victims without an execution squad. A fat man in a clown's uniform, an ageing woman, a camp youth or a sad mad girl-woman prowl a world completely alien to their needs. They wear on their faces a smirking mask of amoral evil silent in this silent world. Time and repetition will kill the agony of Jeffrey Smart's essay in alienation as it has so

ANARCHISTS pop up in the most unlikely places. Even in the House of Commons, if we are to believe that inveterate pugilist Emanuel Shinwell, who said: 'Labour supporters expect Labour MPs to act like sensible people and not like a collection of philosophical anarchists.' Are we soon to announce a new group at Westminster?

ABERDEEN

Members of Aberdeen YCND and Students CND against Colonialism in Aden, held demonstrations at forces information and recruiting offices. These demonstrations were unofficial, spontaneous and almost illegal for they were asked by the police to move from the Army office, they transferred themselves to the Navy. After fifteen minutes the constabulary again appeared and they transferred their disloyalties to the Air Force. After twenty minutes the police appeared again necessitating a return to the Senior Service, but there the CID were on the job, so it was back to square one—the Army. By this time the Aberdeen police were fully alerted, so the demonstrators brought the pilgrimage to a close. 'At least,' Forbes Browne

NEWS FROM ELSEWHERE

says, 'we managed to convey our message in a variety of places in the city, adding a touch of novelty to the usual [immobile] demonstration pattern, as well as keeping the local constabulary on their toes' [and on Aberdeen YCND's heels].

Aberdeen Libertarians have also been engaged recently in educational activities and are holding weekly meetings devoted to the discussion of Socialist thinkers. They are also trying to outwit a cantankerous mechanical beast (a duplicator) and produce the latest edition of *Solidarity Scotland*. Hopeful advance orders to: O. Kane, c/o 20 Mount Street, Aberdeen.

SOLIDARITY WITH LSE STUDENTS

The following message was pinned on the notice board of the London School of Economics at about 10 p.m., Friday, March 17:—

'The London Federation of Anarchists welcomes and supports the actions of the students of the LSE.'

This was signed by 20 comrades present at the business meeting at the 'Lamb & Flag', and about a dozen comrades went along to express their solidarity with the students.

ANARCHIST CAMP

A committee for the International Camp has been set up. The site is located on a sandy shore on the upper reaches of Lake Como, in a locality called 'Boschetto Rosselli' (Pian di Spagna), and is 10,000 sq. metres and if more land is needed, it is available.

The committee intends to hold the camp for two months at least, from July 1 to August 31. Groups and individuals should write at once to 'Il Comitato del Campeggio', circolo 'Sacco e Vanzetti', v. le Murillo 1, Milan, Italy.

SHEFFIELD UNIVERSITY

Robin Lowell writes: We produced a leaflet for the Union elections. This produced 220 written abstentions in a poll of about 1,800—an all-time low (for President). Now we are making it an election issue for the prospective SRC candidates—the 'autodestruction' ticket.

Political awareness seems to be improving generally here, with action on overseas students' fees, Radical Students Alliance, and quite a few of us went to the Birkenhead demonstration.

ACTIVITY IN AMERICA

A correspondent writes: Winter and anarchists don't agree very much—I am convinced that our ideas flourish in warm

weather and, of course, in Latin countries. With the thaw now setting in, there has been a very considerable step-up in our activity. *Comment No. 2* will be coming out shortly, and so will our magazine, *Good Soup*. We will probably have a fourth group established in New York—as usual, mainly young people—and we are preparing for the anti-war demonstrations that are shaping up in the US for this spring. We are also preparing a conference, tentatively scheduled for April 15, which will embrace some eight or nine groups in separate cities throughout the north-east. There will also probably be a great deal of street activity in New York City conducted primarily by our own local groups, and people like the 'Diggers' of San Francisco, a number of whom have come to our city.

AND IN STANMORE

Evidently the district around Stanmore is a priority target in a nuclear war. This information is given in a leaflet published by the Stanmore Campaign (84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx.) who are organising a three-prong march on Saturday, April 15, at 2 p.m., starting from Edgware, Harrow and Watford. The leaflet states that Bentley Priory in Stanmore is the headquarters of both the ROC and the RAF and their underground warrens 'would be a top priority in the event of a nuclear war'.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

The Federation of Australian Anarchists are hoping to send a delegate to the Congress at Carrara. They propose a thorough and realistic reassessment of the anarchist position today in relation to changed conditions and circumstances. The London Federation of Anarchists are sending a delegate to Paris this April for a preliminary discussion with the Preparatory Commission.

OURSELVES

The next eight-page issue will be on April 29 and will contain a new translation of Kropotkin by Nicolas Walter and an extract on Vanzetti from a forthcoming book by Paul Potts. We thank all those who helped to increase sales by a considerable figure since we started on this experiment. But although all the editorial work on FREEDOM is voluntary and unpaid, printing and paper costs on the supplement are £35 an issue and we hope we won't over-reach ourselves. In this help is needed from those who can afford it.

COMMUNITY, CHAPTER HOUSE, LEVERINGTON, WISBECH, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

CAMDEN (LONDON). Provos. Anarchist/Provo/C.100/Action group—anyone interested please contact Chris Davis at 56 Chalk Farm Road, N.W.1.

WEST SUFFOLK. Please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

S.W. MIDLANDS. Kate, Bill and baby Jane Beveridge wish to contact libertarians in S.W. Midlands. Phone Mickleton 275 or write to Myrtle House, Mickleton, Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

MIDLAND YOUTH AGAINST AUTHORITY AND BUREAUCRACY. Proposed Group. Contact N. Jackson, 8 Leighs Close, High Heath, Pelsall, Walsall.

LEE, LONDON, S.E.12. Anarchist-Radical Group. Contact Rodney Hodges, 2 Cambridge Drive, Lee, S.E.12.

U.S.A. NEW YORK CITY. N.Y. Federation of Anarchists, c/o Torch Bookshop, 641 East 9th Street, N.Y., 10009. Meets every Thursday evening.

AUSTRALIA. Anarchist Group, PO Box A 389, Sydney South. Public meetings every Sunday in the Domain, 2 p.m. and Mondays, 72 Oxford Street, Paddington, Sydney, 8 p.m.

DANISH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. 52 Mindevej, Soborg-Copenhagen, Denmark.

VANCOUVER, B.C., CANADA. Anyone interested in forming anarchist and/or direct action peace group contact Derek A. James, 1844 Grand Boulevard, North Vancouver, B.C., Canada. Tel: 987-2693.

U.S.A. VERMONT/NEW HAMPSHIRE. Discussion group meets weekly. Contact Ed Strauss at RFD 2, Woodstock, Vermont 05091, U.S.A.

SWEDEN. Stockholm Anarchist Federation. Contact Nadir, Box 19104, Stockholm 19, Sweden.

CANADA: WINNIPEG. Anybody interested in Direct action/anarchy contact G. J. Nasir, 606 Matheson Avenue, Winnipeg, 17, Manitoba.

BELGIUM: LIEGE. Provos, c/o Jacques Charlier, 11 Avenue de la Laiterie, Sclessin-Liege, Belgium.

EAST AFRICA. George Mathews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

U.S.A. NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Cloquet, Minn. 55720, U.S.A.

The Gigantic Beast

SHOWING at the Mercury Theatre (Ladbroke Road, W.11), from March 27 to April 8, will be two plays by a young American playwright who for reasons best known to himself prefers to be called ED. B. It would be idle (as well as dishonest and physically impossible) for us to pre-view the two plays *Freeze* and *Stamp* in our columns but nevertheless we feel that they should be deserving of support and we hope to review them in our next issue. Meanwhile you can see the plays and judge for yourselves. (Tel: PARK 5812 for bookings.)

The author is opposing the US draft. He tells us he is, in fact, due to report in the US on April 5. He told us 'this entire affair can be seen as an individual refusing to knuckle under to the claws of the gigantic beast. Asking me to serve in the armed forces is ludicrous... there is no justification for the machine to call up any individual. Democracy is not an arbitrary style of government. Either the individual has complete freedom, or at the worst everyone has the same amount. To allow many persons to receive the benefits of the system and

only some to share the responsibilities seems to me as far away as one can get from freedom in the so-called "Land of the Free". And if the USA is also supposed to be "the home of the brave" why hasn't the courageous thing been done in Vietnam? Why is the greatest power in the world not taking a stand? Either a clear stand of war must be taken so the individual can understand the inhumanity that is being asked of him or peace must be declared.'

ED. B. says that his 'plays are not simply critical of American situations; the situations involved stand wherever the individual is found'. We found him a likeable, although slightly confused, young man, a Rhodes scholar, pitchforked (as so many young men have been) into a war (not even a declared war) as he points out) in a very doubtful cause. He is being asked to give philosophical and political answers to questions that his elders cannot answer.

His only answer can be that of Cummings' 'Olaf': 'There is some shit I will not eat.' His plays give his reason.

J.R.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

(As there is no national secretariat for enquiries, speakers, etc., please contact local groups.)

*Except in London—see below.

LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Temporary address c/o Wooden Shoe, 42 New Compton Street, London, W.C.2. Sunday evening meetings 8 p.m. Lamb & Flag, Rose Street, off Garrick Street, London, W.C.2 (Leicester Square tube). No meeting March 26.

ANARCHIST MEETINGS AT HYDE PARK EVERY SUNDAY AT 2 P.M.

FREEDOM SELLING. Every Saturday, 7 p.m. Meet in forecourt Charing Cross Railway Station for West-End selling. Volunteers wanted.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping.

LEWISHAM, LONDON, S.E.13. 2nd and 4th Thursdays. Meetings at Mike Malet's, 61 Granville Park, Lewisham, S.E.13.

NORTH LONDON ANARCHIST REVOLUTIONARY GROUP. Contact Michael Buchanan, c/o 17a Maxwell Road, S.W.6. Road, S.W.6.

SOUTHWARK ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Dave Burden, 45b Barry Road, East Dulwich, S.E.22. Proposed meetings to be held on first and third Thursday of each month.

NORTHOLT ANARCHISTS. Contact: Jim Huggins, 173 Kingshill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex. Meetings first and third Wednesday of the month at Jeannie's, 6 Epsom Close, Northolt Park, Middlesex, at 7.30 p.m.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Adrian Derbyshire, 2 Oakley House, Oakley Avenue, London, W.5.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS

3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Caspary's, 21 Rimbald Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.
3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Racoun's, now at 13 Savernake Road, London, N.W.3.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS

ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North Vale Road, Temperley, Cheshire.

ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to M. Day, 29 Springhill Crescent, Aberdeen.

BEXLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Correspondence to Paul Wildish, 2 Cumbrian Avenue, Barnehurst, Kent.

BELFAST. Contact: Roy McLoughlin, 46 Mooreland Park, Belfast 11, Ireland.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Keith Watkins, 104 Jerry's Lane, Erdington, Birmingham, 23. Off Centre Discussions: Geoff Bearwood, Smethwick, Birmingham, 41. First Wednesday of month starting April 5, 7.30 p.m. Birmingham, 23.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsford Road, Erdington, Birmingham 24.

BRIGHTON. All those interested in activities and action should contact Richard Miller, 1/2 Percival Terrace, Brighton, 7.

BRISTOL. Contact: Dave Thorne, 49 Cotham Brow, Bristol, 6.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Mike Caswley, 36 Whitaker Road, Tremorfa, Cardiff.

DUNDEE GROUP. Contact Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, by Cupar, Fife.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP ONE. Correspondence to Robert Lynn, 2b Saracen Head Lane, Glasgow, C.1.

HERTS GROUP. 'Anarchist Writers', Peter Ford, Saturday, March 4, 8 p.m. 48 Lonsdale Road, Stevenage.

HULL ANARCHIST GROUP. J. Tempest, 89 Fountain Road, Hull, Tel. 212526. Meetings 8 p.m. 1st and 3rd Fridays of month at above address.

IPSWICH ANARCHISTS. Contact Neil Dean, 74 Cemetery Road, Ipswich, Suffolk.

NEW HAM LIBERTARIANS. Contact Mick Shenker, 122 Hampton Road, Forest Gate, NORTH-WEST ESSEX. Meetings on the first

Saturday of each month at 7.30 p.m. at Robert Bartrop's, The Old Vicarage, Radwinter, near Saffron Walden.

ORPINGTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Knockholt, Nr. Sevenoaks, Kent. Every six weeks at Greenways, Knockholt. Phone: Knockholt 2316. Brian and Maureen Richardson.

OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact H. G. Mellor, Merion College, Oxford.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact: Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymouth, Plymouth, Devon.

READING ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Alan Ross, 116 Belmont Road, Reading, Berks.

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Emyl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester. Fortnightly meetings from Monday, February 13.

SHEFFIELD. Contact Robin Lovell, c/o Students' Union, University, Sheffield, Tel. 24076.

SWANSEA. Please get in touch with Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

NORTH-WEST FEDERATION

Regional Secretary: Alistair Rattray, 35a Devonshire Road, Chorley.

NORTH WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION. BUXTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: F. A. Gresty, Punchbowl, Manchester Road, Buxton.

CHORLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Anne Marie Fearon, 16 Devonshire Road, Chorley.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP. Brenda Mercer, 6 Breckside Park, Liverpool, 6.

LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA GROUP. Gerry Bree, 16 Faulkner Square, Liverpool, 8. Meetings weekly. 'Freedom' Sales—Pier Head, Saturdays, Sundays, Evenings.

MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Dave Poulson, Flat 9, 619 Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy, Manchester, 21.

EAST LONDON FEDERATION

WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Contact Stephen Higgs, 8 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

LIBERTARIAN TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION. Meetings—discussions—activities. Contact Peter Ford, 872 North Road, Highgate, N.6. (Tel: MOU 52.0)

PROPOSED GROUPS

WISBECH. Anyone interested write Albert

THE ANARCHIST!

THE POLICE RE-FORMED their ranks and in double file begin to advance towards the mass of demonstrators swirling like broken waves before them. A single black-and-scarlet banner rises above the heads of the demonstrators and they form around and behind it as they advance towards the waiting police, and the national press report that the anarchists have forced their way through Whitehall.

Families are broken up and the husbands are sent to prison for refusing to be separated from their wives and children, segregated in a local government centre for the homeless. The local bureaucrats inform the press that anarchists are responsible for the unrest.

Peggy Duff stands like Moses above Trafalgar Square surveying the mass troops of CND as they enter it, and openly discusses with a high-ranking police officer what methods he has seen fit to adopt to hold the small company of anarchists at bay. The police official tells her that both she and the public address system will be protected against those who, having marched year after year in this ban the bomb march, demand that they shall be allowed to speak alongside the guest politicians.

An appeal is made on behalf of a Scots youth imprisoned in a Spanish prison for the alleged crime of transporting explosives for a Spanish anarchist group. Men and women in the name of anarchism give of their time and health to help the needy and the sick. In Collets in Charing Cross Road a woman places a bundle of anarchist papers for public sale among the mass of communist literature.

Each time the black-and-scarlet flag appears in a demonstration of protest, each time the anarchists publicly and loudly lend their voices to attack the evils of a particular bureaucrat, each time Peggy Duff in her role as leader of the CND movement pours damnation upon the heads of her greatest cross, each time one reads a smaller and smaller news item of the Scots youth held in a Spanish prison, each time a chance mention of those men and women working to give a measure of social justice is made in conversation or in court, and each time a hand idly handles a copy of FREEDOM, the anarchist paper, the question is voiced, maybe but for a single moment, 'Who are the anarchists?'

Any person or persons may find their pleasure in brawling with the police or in baiting the leaders of authorised protest. Many a political shyster has found it advantageous to challenge some local dictum laid down by some small-time bureaucrat. Many men and women have given their lives in an attempt to help the sick, the aged and the destitute. A youth is accused of carrying explosives in a distant country but then such could be said of many an American airman. A minority paper continues to be published despite an ancient press and a huge debt, yet many a racing tipster could make the same claim. Why do we who march behind the black and scarlet act out these multifarious activities in the name of anarchy?

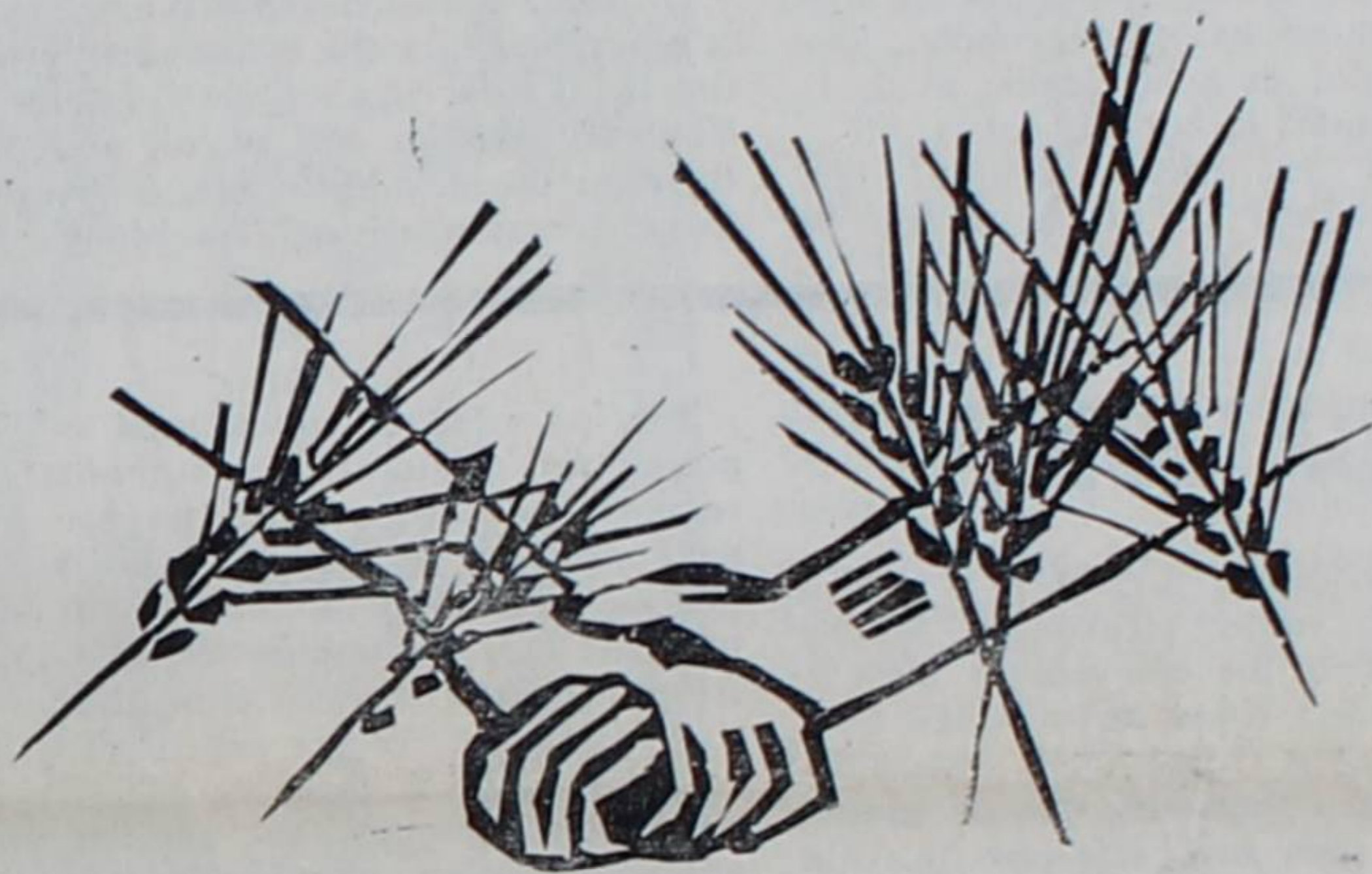
It is because we believe that within our own lifetime we shall lay the first stones for the foundation of a society that shall be based not on the fear of authority, the violence of governments or the daily struggle for the privilege of labouring for our food and shelter, but on a social harmony of voluntary associations that will in time cover each and every human activity. We are the ragged army of the future, the bearded jazzman and the staid clerk, the carpenter and the busman, the don and the sewerman and the bookseller, united in the elementary belief that man should not be the creature of fear, daily performing his allotted task under the threat of the economic whip, and the constant knowledge that the State is forever ready to bend or break him to its purpose, but that we can find our greatest happiness in a society of free individuals united for our own and the common good.

More than 2,000 years ago Aristippus informed the questing Socrates that he neither wished to govern or to be governed. In the cold and efficient world of this 20th century we may dismiss this as a tired piece of Epicurean mannerism.

freedom grow smaller with each passing hour.

We live in an age when we can count our murdered dead by the tens of millions, when the geographical frontiers of independent societies grow smaller with each issue of a daily newspaper, when schools and prisons become larger and more efficient, and the human mind is a meaty plaything for the amusement of the political scientists. When the State and the monopoly capitalist no longer compete but own and operate in black wedlock the means of production and distribution. In the centralisation of these expanding monopolies they have created a weapon of coercion as vile as the blacklist of any Victorian mill or mine-owner.

In country after country men have found that their vaunted freedoms perish with a slip of paper in their pay packet. The next man knows that he must either conform or die. Slowly we are entering the age of peaceful co-existence and then there will be no frontiers to creep across. Your only permit will be your work permit. There will be no escapist clause in private wealth or a few acres of land for, like flowing lava, the State must, by its very



What we cannot dismiss is Valeriy Tarsis's cry from his political prison within a Soviet psychiatric hospital:

'The conflict today is different from any other in history? It's nonsense to talk about peaceful co-existence—what is at stake is not a political regime or a system of balance of powers, but the one all-important issue: whether man as an individual, as a person, is to exist or not. Personal freedom is the one unarguable good on earth. The communists have put forward another: not man but the collectivity, not the individual but the herd. But do you imagine that humanity will ever consent to be a speechless and mindless herd? It would much sooner be destroyed.'

But despite Tarsis's optimism the issues are not as simple as that, for time and the technicians are daily building new cells and new walls to imprison the human spirit. The days when Zeno could sit under the hot Greek sun and leisurely discuss his conception of a free community, without the chains of government or the authoritarian use of force, as his answer to Plato's State utopia are meet for nought but academic pedants. But Zeno's argument for a voluntary society of reasonable men and women working together for their own and the greater good becomes more needful for us with each and every passing year, for the areas of individual

nature, absorb whatever lies in its path. To protest or to disagree is to become an enemy of the State with all that that must entail.

It is not because men are evil that these things happen, for we are born into a society already formed and we accept, and rationalise, the evils that form its cancerous veins. Therefore, it is right and fitting that we should attempt to alter the course of our society. That the majority may accept the society that gives them their creature comforts to the full, is no justification for accepting that society. This is the morality of the pig-sty and in that society one must either be prepared to exist as a well-fed hog ever-ready for the butcher's knife or become the butcher.

Yet it is idle to talk of personal freedom to a starving man, for life and liberty cannot exist without each other. It was Proudhon who in 1840 coined a new swear word for authority when he applied the name of anarchy to non-government and in the following passages put forth his case:

'What is to be the form of government in the future? I hear some of my readers reply: "Why, how can you ask such a question? You are a republican." A republican! Yes, but that word specifies nothing. RES PUBLICA: that is, the

public thing. Now, whoever is interested in public affairs—no matter under what form of government, may call himself a republican. Even kings are republicans. "Well you are a democrat." No. . . . "Then what are you?" I am an anarchist! and just as the right of force and the right of artifice retreat before the steady advance of justice, and must finally be extinguished in equality, so the sovereignty of the will yields to the sovereignty of reason and must at last be lost in scientific socialism. . . . As man seeks justice in equality, so society seeks order in anarchy.

'Anarchy—the absence of a master, of a sovereign—such is the form of government to which we are every day approximating.'

Yet even he was unable to find an answer for the act of distribution, and was forced by the nature of the society of the day to fall back onto a system of labour checks to be exchanged for other goods or services. But society is evolving into the era of State Socialism wherein private property will no longer exist, and the sea and the land will, within a few years, be harvested to the full so that despite man there will be an over-abundance of the material wealth of the world. The age of the moneyless society is within the seeable future and the problem of how to put into practice the socialist demand from each according to his ability to each according to his need is no longer a matter of polemics. It is a matter of practical politics, but only within a society wherein men are held to be free individuals. For, as long as we accept the claim of another man to stand in authority over us, then we must accept his necessity to impose that authority on us. This he can only do by threats and acts of punishment, and his greatest weapon is the control of the food of the community.

But the rational man looks around him at the complex pattern of our society and cries that, while he accepts our desire for individual liberty, he cannot accept that it is a practical proposition. The tribe, the clan, the village community, the small self-contained university and the isolated monastery may be practical applications of an anarchist way of life, but, he will state, you cannot offer these to a highly industrial and over-populated island desirable though they may be. But I leave him with the romantic dreaming of the past, for anarchism is no cry for a return to the loom and the spade but a practical and a desirable way of life that must be the logical and only alternative to State Socialism. It will accept all the simplified means of mass production that the technicians have evolved, yet will reject the need for abstract authority in their operation that the monopoly capitalist and the State Socialist must have to operate their society.

We must not be bemused by the acres of brickwork and the web of transport, for these are but bricks and iron and men operate these without reference to the nature of the government of the day or the nature of the society of the moment. Ours must be a society of local groupings within federations working together yet each responsible for its own contribution to the common good. I see London not as a festering scab upon these islands but as a unified federation of self-controlling groups accepting their responsibility for their contribution to the workings of the city we know as London.

It will be within a moneyless

society that men shall take according to their need, as our wealthy minority do now. The cloth, the bricks, the wood, the milk, the bread and all that we produce shall be placed to be freely available to all who should desire it. If you doubt the practicability of this then walk into your public library or turn on your tap to see if a moneyless society can operate. It is no idle dream to point out that the time must surely come when men can take all that the community can produce to fill their needs, not by virtue of wealth or power but because they are part of the community that created that wealth, and as such accept it or reject it as a right.

'But,' cries the rational man, 'what of the workshy and the sponger, will we all become as such?' The answer is, 'No' for within the small communities of the anarchist society public opinion will, as it always has, dictate that men shall play their part within that small community. As for the sponger and the workshy, let them take of the food that is freely laid before them and let them move into the vacant house or flat. But, when they ask the community to lay on the power, the water and the light to that house the answer is, 'Comrade, we shall help you, but what are you doing to help the community?' If the answer is, 'Nothing', then we can but say that our food and our shelter are freely given but not our committed labour. The choice is left to the workshy as to whether he wishes to play his part within the community.

Whatever he so desires no man shall be denied the food or the shelter of the community, for if that were so our claim for the future would be as false as that of the political shysters. Again, cries the rational man, within these small self-regulating communities there will be the drunkard and the hooligan. Let us pray that this will always be so, but we must again learn to control them as the men of any small and isolated English village have had to do. We must be prepared to accept our responsibilities as individuals or accept the role of battery-fed workers in the expanding paternal State.

If an anarchist society is less efficient in the manufacture of its mass products, if the majority of the people are indifferent to its aims and accept its emphasis on personal freedom as part of the human quirk, if it blunders in so many a minor undertaking and if outside powers decide to crush it for their own purpose, it must still be the guiding principle and the desired aim of all men. For this is the only path that the human race can offer as an alternative to its unthinking acceptance of the blinding horror of the world of the human ants. We are standing in the dawn of history as the universe unfolds before us.

Generation after generation will be spawned into that waiting void to seek the limitless frontiers that man will never reach. In this world of technical efficiency, when death and space have become a common goal, we offer man our crude torch for his salvation and with Tarsis's cry that personal freedom is the one unarguable good on earth ask, 'Where do you take your stand?'

Reprinted from *Caliban*, Winchester College, June 1966.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

WAR RESISTER

READING LECOIN by C. Parra. Taken from 'Umbral' published by the Imprimerie des Gondoles, No. 61, Jan. 1967.

MEMOIRS, when they are well written, are pleasant and instructive, above all, when the writer has had a somewhat adventurous life, full of danger and excitement. In this case, any tendency to regard it as fantasy is overcome by the sheer simplicity of the narration and reality is made more attractive than fiction. Memoirs have another virtue, to my mind more important; that of placing one in an environment, in an epoch in which, inevitably, evolves the one who

wrote them. Sometimes one may be vaguely familiar with a certain period of history, perhaps because one has read, heard or been told something about it at some time. One day, there came into our hands a biography, the reading of which offered us a panoramic view of a period of which we knew only a few parts.

I recently had in my hands a book by our old comrade Lecoïn, *Le Cours d'une Vie*. Easy and pleasing to read, and written with admirable simplicity, the episodes which Lecoïn describes from his lengthy life constitute some excellent stories, in which one comes into contact

with his captivating and attractive prose. Throughout the pages of the book there circulates a vital and heroic force, charged with the emotions of a man in open struggle, from the days of his tender youth, against the injustices of the capitalist society. To begin with, the author places us in the surroundings in which he spent his very early life. Later, in adolescence, he describes the awakening of his conscience, which rebels against hostile and reactionary surroundings until the moment arrives when he starts to participate in the bloody social struggles of the beginning of the century.

It is not my intention to relate in detail all the events which Lecoïn describes in his memoirs; such a review would be much too long for this modest commentary. But if one is to talk of his life, then it is impossible not to cite some of

the more outstanding instances of it. For example, his refusal, being a soldier, to take part in the crushing of the French railwaymen's strike of 1910, which caused him to be tried by a military tribunal and condemned to several months' imprisonment; the launching of the critical periodical *Paz Inmediata*, for which he suffered imprisonment by the governments of Daladier and Petain, and lastly, his campaign in favour of conscientious objectors, which ended in his famous hunger strike, and which moved and set thinking the great majority of the French people.

Lecoïn's book also recalls some events which happened in our early youth. From his pages come Macià and his revolutionary intents of the Prats de Molló, followed by the Spanish anarchists Durruti, Ascaso and Jover, eternally

persecuted, prisoners in a French jail and claimed by different governments; Sacco and Vanzetti, undergoing great moral suffering in a North American prison, to be finally immolated in the electric chair. We are present also at the great explosion of the Russian Revolution, and see the effect it had on the later struggles which the French and the international proletariat undertook. We see also the syndicate divisions, the antagonism between the political parties, the struggles between bolsheviks and anarchists and the tactical and ideological differences between them. In all, a past rich in events, some bloody and cruel, laid before us.

This all being very interesting, the fundamentals of Lecoïn's book are not the things which interest me. More important is the moral sense which is

Continued on page 5

Sanctity precedes Profanity

THE TEMPLE AND THE HOUSE by Lord Raglan, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 30s.

LORD RAGLAN, who died shortly after this book was published, was an anthropologist who loved to debunk popular, plausible but shaky theories, usually without putting one of his own in their place, a refreshing change.

His researches into the origins of religion, the queer taboo on incest, the folk tale of the hero, led him to some curious conclusions, which he was none the less well able to support by the evidence. Often he seems to have reversed what might be thought to be the obvious. In the present work he shows that the house, far from being a rational shelter, developed from some primitive protective structure, is in fact a temple, which later on lost its religious significance and became a home, but not without retaining some of its religious elements to this day.

A house is a place in which to cook you would think. Not a bit of it. In many parts of the world the cooking is done as far away from the house as possible. Even English 'stately homes' sometimes had the kitchen quite separate, or connected to the house by a long tunnel or passage of some kind. Even modern houses usually have the kitchen at the back, and a poky and inconvenient little place it is too, as many housewives will attest.

A house is a place in which to bring up children you would think. Not so. In many parts of the world a couple will try to send their children away as soon as possible. Perhaps, speculates the author, the English practice (a vicious one, say I)

of sending children to boarding school derives from this.

In fact the house was originally a temple, to celebrate the nuptials of a man and a woman who represented a god and a goddess, the sky and the earth. It was part of a fertility rite. Even the humble and everyday bed was originally a magical device. It represented the four corners of the world, while a canopy overhead represented the sky.

The significance of this lies in its implicit social criticism. Much of our society, which seems rational to us now because we are used to it, was really originally based on magic and superstition. Much of what we do really does not make sense at all, since its magical origin has been forgotten. We accept it because it has always been so.

The porch of the house is the entrance to the temple, where the worshipper leaves the secular world and enters the sacred place. It is itself an abode of supernatural beings. Practically every house you see has either a little room built out from the front door, or at least a little roof jutting out over the door. The superstitions connected with the threshold are well known.

Birth pollutes the house, also death. Is it altogether for rational considerations that people try to get into hospital for both these functions, despite some of the advantages of remaining in a familiar setting?

This being so, it is understandable that our houses should be so ill-planned for the most part. Only in a few of the very modern ones has simple comfort been the principal consideration.

A.W.U.

LESLIE MITCHELL: LEWIS GRASSIC GIBBON by Ian S. Munro, Oliver & Boyd, 42s.

IS man by nature social and kindly, 'good' as the word is usually understood, or anti-social or 'evil'? Or a bit of both together? It is probably not a very scientific question, but it is one that people will continue to ask themselves. The side one chooses is based on one's character. People who want freedom for themselves and others, who are kindly and easy-going will generally choose the first alternative. While the cautious, middle-of-the-road liberal will probably pick the latter. The people who believe man to be basically 'wicked' will almost certainly be found among those who, in one way or another, love power, and wish to exercise it, either with sincere or humbugging regret, or with real enthusiasm. They are the kind of people who like to think of themselves as 'tough-minded realists'.

The Scottish novelist James Leslie Mitchell passionately believed in the natural goodness of man. He believed in a Golden Age before the invention of agriculture, when men had lived by hunting and gathering wild growing things, and had neither gods nor governments, neither irrational fears nor war.

There is some evidence to support him. The accounts of food-gathering peoples which have come down to us from the 16th century to the early 20th, and there are still some food-gatherers left, are pretty consistent on the whole. The picture is not quite as idyllic as J. L. Mitchell painted it, but it is not far off.

Some of his friends claimed that towards the end of his brief life he

abandoned his Golden Age primitives in favour of a Marxist revolutionary future. It may be so. But he was probably too complex a personality to have remained long in the Marxist fold. He was sceptical of ordinary political solutions, and had a strong sense of the vicious and corrupt nature of power. In fact his books were criticised for their tendency to harp on scenes of torture and bloodshed. Mr. Munro speculates that this may have been because he felt that the fact that human beings could do such things to each other contradicted his philosophy of natural goodness. More likely it was the other way about. He fled to his primitive men as a consolation for the cruelty he saw around him and read about in books.

It is a pity that his books are almost all out of print. The diffusionist school of anthropology seems to be gaining ground again (since the Kon-Tiki expedition), which would have pleased him, as he was one of its champions. It now seems almost certain that Carthaginians were in the Americas long before the Vikings, and a novel was recently published, based on this theme.

Mitchell believed that civilisation, a settled way of life based on agriculture, was an aberration that had sprung up once only in a Middle Eastern country, and, because of its superior technical power, had then proceeded to spread and impose itself all over the rest of the world.

Orthodox diffusionists believe that there is no evidence for the independent invention of similar devices and customs in different parts of the world, and that therefore the most likely thing is that they had a common origin. The plough, the

bow, the outrigger canoe, gods and the rituals of their worship, all had common places of origin. The plough probably in the Middle East, the bow in Central Asia, and so on.

But for J. L. Mitchell it was a holy crusade, not a scientific theory. It was a weapon to smite the evils of mankind throughout the ages. They could all be blamed on civilisation, and its unnaturalness, which in turn could be shown to be something which had only happened once, and was therefore deprived of justification, a sort of freak.

No doubt this will seem a quixotic point of view, but at least it was something of a consolation, as all explanations are.

His masterpiece is his trilogy dealing with Scottish rural and urban provincial life in the early 20th century, *A Scots Quair*, which he wrote under the name of Lewis Grassic Gibbon. Even in this book there is an air of haunting melancholy. His characters, the more sensitive ones, go through life with their heads turned partly backwards, still listening for echoes of the Golden Age.

His tragedy was to die so young, in 1935 at the age of 34, though he missed the horrors of the Nazis and the Second World War. Nowadays he would have appeared on TV, written film scripts and probably done very well. Poverty, or the (very rational) fear of it drove him to overwork himself and so to his death. On the other hand, he was lucky in his age in some ways. His versatility, an anthropologist and historian as well as a novelist, would not be acceptable in our age of the expert.

A.W.U.

Law of the Jungle?

ON AGGRESSION by Konrad Lorenz, Methuen, 30s.

THE QUESTION of violent behaviour between man and man has always preoccupied anarchists. Authority is based upon the aggression of the strong against the weak. The anarchist ideal is a society where people no longer dominate one another.

The naturalist Konrad Lorenz studies the role that aggression plays in the relationships of animals, and comes to the conclusion that the results of aggression going too far are warded off by the diversion of the aggressive drive. This diversion is accomplished by the evolution of a ritual, which absorbs the aggressive energy harmlessly. Or, in certain circumstances, the aggression is simply inhibited. Among the higher mammals, males rarely attack females at all seriously. A wolf which feels itself vanquished by another wolf will bare its neck in such a way as to make itself completely vulnerable. But this action has the effect of checking the attacker.

Presumably similar mechanisms must once have existed among men, but the development of an artificial society, with elaborate rituals, technology and so forth, has overlaid them. We still say, 'You can't hit a woman'. Or, 'Don't hit a man when he is down'. But in fact the whole basis of modern warfare is that you attack the women and children, and defenceless male civilians, of the enemy first and foremost. His fighting men are secondary targets. Modern weapons of war, once one gets past rifles, machine-guns, and suchlike small things, are not weapons for fighting at all. They are slaughter machines, like a so-called 'humane killer'. They are not intended to be used against an opponent who actively resists.

An animal has to be aggressive enough to protect itself and its hunting grounds from intruders, but its aggression must not be directed at members of its own family or community. And even weaker members of its own species who intrude must be given the chance to get away. Nature, if one must use this anthropomorphism, is not invariably so ruthless towards the weaker creature as is usually supposed.

In natural conditions these inhibitions to unbridled aggression work well enough, but when animals are kept in confinement they sometimes break down. It is possible that human beings are really animals in captivity. The reason why this does not appear obvious is that the captivity of *homo sapiens* is created by man himself.

No other animal constructs a cage for himself, and then goes and lives in it.

Confined within an enclosure the defeated animal cannot run away, and may be murdered by its conqueror. A hierarchy of successful bullies may develop, which would be unknown in the wild state, where the less combative creatures would simply depart and found their own community elsewhere.

There seems to be a close connection between aggression and the bond of friendship. Animals who live in vast anonymous herds or flocks, and who do not display much individual aggressiveness, also do not display much affection, and form no permanent relationships. The resemblance this has to our vast anonymous city civilisation is striking. Here, too, people tend to become increasingly indifferent to each other.

Evolutionary blind alleys are by no means unknown. It is a fallacy to imagine that a species will always be forced by the processes of evolution to develop in the way most likely to favour its survival. 'What is the purpose of group hate between rat-clans? What species-preserving function has caused its evolution? The disturbing thought for the human race is that this good old Darwinian train of thought can only be applied where the causes which induce selection derive from the extra-specific environment. Only then does selection bring about adaptation. But wherever competition between members of a species effects sexual selection, there is, as we already know, grave danger that members of a species may in demented competition drive each other into the most stupid blind alley of evolution. . . . Competition within the species would therefore seem to be a Bad Thing.

I found this an interesting book, although one could not help drawing sinister analogies between the behaviour of many animals and man. Konrad Lorenz is fairly optimistic in his conclusions. He thinks for instance that the development of space travel will tend to bring West and East together. Hm. . . . He also believes that laughter forms an important bond, and quotes G. K. Chesterton to the effect that 'the religion of the future will be based, to a considerable extent, on a more highly developed and differentiated, subtle form of humour.'

Anyway this is an extremely valuable book for anyone who feels impelled to make at least some effort to put the world to rights.

A.W.U.

EDUCATION?

ALTHOUGH EDUCATION is such a tricky subject, Farquhar McLay seems to find the answers to such a difficult subject come very easily. First of all, 'What is Education?' According to McLay it is something that one draws out rather than what one puts in. He quotes the case of Socrates but conveniently forgets that Socrates was dealing mainly with adults and certainly not with children, least of all 35 or 40 children which is what most teachers in the present situation have to contend with. If one has unlimited time, no doubt one can wait like the midwife to draw forth the brain-child, but if it is a matter of dealing with around two score of culturally deprived adolescents, then it is less a matter of drawing the intelligence or mental processes out than of forcing them in.

Secondly the knowledge that McLay deems worthwhile, i.e. 'That which enhances life, that enables you as an individual to live as an individual' is a purely adult conception which most adults have not yet attained, otherwise the Anarchist case would merely be a matter of preaching to the converted. McLay seems to fail to make the distinction between what Education should teach and the finished product, which is the truly educated man. Where McLay, like many so-called Anarchists, falls down is in believing that all people can be educated into Anarchism instead of recognising that it has been and most almost certainly always will be a minority creed to which the vast majority neither aspire nor are capable of assimilating. 'The poor you will always have with you' and this certainly includes the poor in spirit, the time-servers and the lumpen members of all social classes. Capitalism or whatever system of organisation only exists because it is the system best suited to the mental capabilities of the vast majority of its victims. One cannot be educated into freedom because freedom is a state of mind and not the end-product of a conditioning process. Therefore telling people how to be free is somewhat akin to teaching the lame to walk and the blind to see. Perhaps Education, in McLay's sense of the word, means this, but to most people it is much more down to earth and practical. Like all utopians he makes an unnecessary dichotomy between what is real and what is rational.

McLay lays most of the blame on (a) Society, and (b) the schoolteacher. He conveniently ignores that we, each and every one of us, is 'Society' and each and every one of us is responsible to a greater or a lesser degree for what 'Society' does, either in our name or against it. Even as an Anarchist one cannot contract out unless one gives up collecting dole money or walking on the roads or paying fines.

The schoolmaster is accused of imposing an unnatural and 'authoritarian' relationship between the teacher and the pupil as an inferior who knows nothing. Certainly no one would wish to argue that the teacher learns nothing from his pupils but that is not the same thing as putting teacher and pupil on an equal footing. It must by necessity be an unequal footing but certainly not an authoritarian relationship. Present trends point to a more democratic set-up in the classroom and it is comforting to know that it is only in Britain and West Germany that corporal punishment is still permitted. Certainly things may not be changing as rapidly as we might wish, but the days of Whackford Squeers are drawing to an end.

McLay makes the astonishing statement, 'Even at university level to disagree with a tutor is nearly always fatal when exams come along'. I would like to know what evidence he has of this or is he merely making use of his imagination? The greatest criticism of universities that can be made is not their victimisation of students, but their impersonal way of dealing with them; indeed, being victimised would at least prove to the student that his alma mater was aware of his existence.

In the present set-up teachers are forced, unless they are of exceptionally strong personality, into being authoritarian, at least in some respects. They must either dominate or go under, that is the basic law of survival in the 'class struggle'. Children are so repressed both at home and by other teachers that the teacher attempting to teach by purely 'anarchist principles' will be regarded as a 'softy'. He must either change his tactics to suit their style of play or go to the wall. It is a necessary prerequisite that the teacher should dominate, otherwise he has both 'anarchy and chaos' in the classroom and under such conditions nothing can possibly be taught. Unlike McLay I am talking from experience and not from any empty theorising or 'thinking from the heart or blood', whatever that means.

McLay's solution is drastic but characteristically extreme, in his own words the ideal Anarchist solution. 'Don't send the children to school.' Has it not dawned on McLay that he, or any parent for that matter, has no need to send his child to school so long as a suitable education is otherwise arranged? Why not start a school for Anarchist children rather than go into such melodramatic histrionics as 'I wish only to spread awareness of the wrongs our children must undergo. . . . If I have done something in that way my time has not been wasted.' Big deal, Mr. McLay, I am sure you will get an honourable mention along with Saint Peter Kropotkin and Saint Michael Bakunin, when we recite the Anarchists' Apostles Creed.

TOMMY PHELAN.

Carry on Living!

EARLY THIS YEAR Bill Knott, a young American poet, committed suicide. The note said: 'I'm incredibly lonely . . . no girl has ever loved me. I'm already dead from starvation' . . . etc.

There are two ways of looking at this, both right. The first says that anyone who can't do better than that at mixing himself into humanity might as well kill himself. We have had enough of these dissociated ones, the spiritually dispossessed. They are a deadly weight on society, terribly adept at forcing their desolation on the rest of us. What is wanted is the man who, whatever his psychological difficulties, no matter how badly his persona was knocked about as it grew, is prepared to force himself to turn into a fully social animal.

But here is where the other attitude comes in. One can take Bill Knott and all who fail so drastically to establish communication, as representatives, even surrogates, of us all. For we are not social beings at all; there is not a day when every one of us does not fail to live in and for others, discovering his own identity by sinking it into the common flow. In a sense, Knott's is the obvious course. If, finding yourself in the same mess, you decide to kill yourself you will be taking a logical step. And no doubt you have thought of suicide at least once in your life.

Yet you are still here above ground, while Bill Knott is either rotting or a spoonful of dust—I forget which. And if one can really make a choice between the ultimates of life and death, it is probable that by living on you are adopting the more realistic policy.

More realistic, because life as we know it is not stable, not static. Human existence is thoroughly composed of tricks and chances, a multidimensional kaleidoscope. To exclude chance from your life is to deny its scope and flexibility. Deliberately to admit death into your existence, is to appeal to ultimates. And the ultimate, the absolute, has no place in human affairs.

That is why, as we remember Bill Knott and all unhappy people who call death in to judge between life and themselves, we do not follow them. Let us remember what they, perhaps only for a moment, forgot; that one never knows; and in a typically human, contradictory way, vindicate them by plodding on.

L. M. HERRICKSON.

10.7.66

A SPEAKOUT

RECENTLY ON FRIDAY evenings I have made my way down into the Blarney Club where the weekly Freakouts organised by *IT* and UFO take place. *IT* is a fortnightly journal called in full *International Times*. I don't know for sure what UFO stands for. The term psychedelic—consciousness expanding—is associated not only with the Friday gatherings but with the drugs, particularly LSD, which *IT* promulgates as a means of achieving states of expanded consciousness. What happens and does not happen in the enormous, crowded Blarney Club cellar is bound to arouse important reflections in the mind of anyone concerned with social and political problems.

The first point that impresses me is the ludicrousness of attaching any claims of mind expansion to the proceedings in the cellar. The overwhelming atmosphere is of inertia. If most of those in attendance are drugged, they are drugged by the frustration and attrition of chronic failure. Most of them stand most of the time, stultified, an upright, static herd in the middle of the main chamber facing the small platform upon which from time to time groups of various kinds perform. Round the edges a few people dance languidly, chat, wander about, or sit against the walls, but the main impression is of stillness, waiting, and non-participation. Over everything non-participation. A rush hour crowd packed along an underground platform is more alive and involved. The comparison is unavoidable. The commuters wait for a train, the freakouters wait for something to happen. They seem completely unprepared to initiate anything; they wait for someone or something to do something to them. And yet when this happens they do not respond. They neither act nor react. None of the stimuli provided by the organisers seems to rouse them from their apathy.

INFANTILE STIMULI

In some cases this is the fault of the stimuli, some of which is feeble, infantile and boring to an extreme degree. So much so that one might expect the crowd to deride it. This is not the case. A West End audience of middle-aged squares reacts more animatedly in an equivalent situation. The crowd, however, although undemonstrative, is redolent of unexpressed inner unrelaxedness.

When the stimuli are of a genuinely attention-provoking nature, the crowd's reaction is hardly less inert. They do not express pleasure, they do not express displeasure. Beat groups, amplified to ear-shattering level, bomb out harsh rhythms, stroboscopic slides and lights flash violently, a man caresses a girl's crutch for all to see but the reaction is always the same—hardly any reaction at all. Even when a young bloke stripped to the buff it was the same story. To the accompaniment of a farting trombone he shed his clothes, garment by garment, he got down to his underpants, he got down to his pubic hair—if he'd stripped that off I would have given him marks for originality. Were there titters, blushes, gasps, cheers? Did the women shout with derision and the men with envy? Did they vice versa? Was anyone amused? Was anyone shocked? Did anyone even look away? Not that I could see. There was a little desultory applause from about five people, the artiste pulled up his knickers and shuffled off. One must hope that for his sake he excites more attention in his private capacity.

PRICKEDLIC EXPANSION

I am talking now about a man's performance as a male. The crowd at the Blarney Club is predominantly composed of this sex. The other one is outnumbered by about four to one. If the majority of the lads had more to attend them and attend to in their private lives, would they sweat out the early hours in a hot, dim, stag hole? I doubt it. They are down there looking for something but it isn't mind expansion. David Calderisi has used the term prickedelic for the kind of expansion they are after.

I was talking to a journalist on the fringes of the crowd, she suggested this was just the sort of situation in which an agitator might incite the masses. For better or worse it seemed to me that the opposite was the case. Hitler himself would rant in vain, receiving the same attention as the naked noise and bared balls. Just another act to watch and ignore. Better than approval? Yes, of course. But the other implications haven't even this kind of negative virtue.

The point behind the journalist's suggestion was that surely these people were dissatisfied and that the dissatisfied have always been the soil from which the demagogue receives his sustenance. He promises them what they yearn for and incites them into becoming his army. If a

Ours is the age of the sado-masochistic voyeur. We are all of us potential concentration camp victims and many of us dream of being concentration camp guards. One half of the personality cringes under the lashes, the other wields the whip. In the wishful dream both roles may be enjoyed equally, but in outward reality the percussive punch-ups and electronic screams do not stimulate the audience into any visible or audible reaction except almost cataleptic stillness. The freakout is, in this sense, a microcosm of the everyday world we all inhabit, the larger world narrowed down to an extremity, and the denizens of the cellar are merely more advanced in their symptoms than the majority of the population. But it is in the extreme case that we can more easily discern the nature of the condition.

CUTTING THE CORD

Man is a social animal. Isolate the individual and he goes mad. To be isolated from others is the most terrible of all prospects. Solitary confinement is an ultimate punishment. Only in relation to other people can the individual find fulfilment and maturity. The most basic relationship is the hetero-sexual love relationship which serves as the umbilical cord linking the individual psychologically and biologically to the rest of the human species. Without this connection the adult individual is alienated from the world, a lost and fretful stranger in his own house. However much it may be disguised and projected into abstraction by metaphysics, the only world we know is the world of human activity. Once the love of male and female has been established, other loves can follow. Love for anything non-human, though, must always be suspected as a dangerous substitute. There are those who would kill to add a stamp to their collection. Alienation is a social disease. The waiting ones of the freakout, and millions like them all over the Western World, are suffering from an inability to love. They are suffering from a social disease and the only solution is thorough social action.

In the United States there are those who seek to construct a religion around the use of LSD and here in Britain *IT* is advocating a similar approach. What this approach boils down to is that LSD is the answer to alienation. There seems to be some confusion as to how it is the answer. Is it the answer because it enables the taker to relate more satisfactorily or because when under its influence he no longer feels any need to relate? If the latter, then it is only an escape and when the tripper has descended from his hallucinations he will find himself as lonely as ever.

USES OF LSD

What about LSD as a solution to psychological-social-sexual problems? From what I have read and heard of the drug, I gather that it is capable of inducing either sublime or harrowing hallucinations depending upon the psychology and metabolism of the taker at the time of taking it. Given that it can produce a slackening of tensions and the removal of mental blocks, I can see that it may be of great value in the treatment of mental disorders, but only in the hands of doctors who are in possession both of full data concerning the drug and complete knowledge of their patient's case history and metabolism. And, even then, its use can surely only be as a means of inducing in the patient a frame of feeling within which he will be better able to co-operate with his doctors in the social therapies necessary for his cure.

There can be no quick and easy short-cut. A jab in the arm, a gulp of the throat and all's right with the world for ever more. Maybe if you're lucky a few hours—or days, what does it matter?—amongst the splendours of stroboscopic nirvana and then, THUD, splatted back naked onto the cold stone floor. And this is if you are fortunate enough to go up, but what if you go down? Exits have been made from umpteenth story windows by explorers who could no longer stand the terrors of the deep. You can't take

going down, down, down, and so you climb up a few stories and jump. Shot whilst trying to escape. I have been told that some people have had such excruciating experiences whilst under LSD that they have destroyed the balance of their minds for good. The mind can only bear a certain amount of torment before it gives way. Why wait for something nasty to happen? Do it yourself now. Your very own private concentration camp inside your own head.

CHEMICAL THEORY OF MAN

The main issue however is not the danger involved in taking LSD or any other drug for that matter, but whether or not they can in themselves provide a solution to the social problems which beset so many of us. I can't see that they can do the job. Let those who are old enough to know better continue taking them but don't let them take us in at the same time. A chemical answer to all your problems? Yes, if your problem happens to be a chemical one. Otherwise the road to salvation is circuitous, stony and hard—though never so hard as before you start out on it.

LSD is being proffered as the latest labour-saving device from the land of Uncle Sam. It is in this labour-saving claim that its principal attraction lies. The chemical theory of Man, the chemical theory of love, the chemical theory of history, the chemical theory of crime. A couple of injections and Lenin would have been a different guy. A world run on chemicals is so much neater to grasp than one run on responsibility. Nobody has any choice any more, nobody can make decisions. Your chemicals make them for you. What a relief! During the night whilst asleep one of your glands goes into under- or over-production and, lo and behold, you wake up a Charlotte Bronte or a Jack the Ripper or a J. F. Kennedy or a Boston Strangler! If their juices had gone awry Jack might have shot President Oswald. Or whoever did what Oswald is alleged to have done.

This chemical concept seems to be a source of comfort for those who hold it but I find it a terrifying idea. If the truth is really as simple and arbitrary as this, then we might all as well give up right now. If self-direction is impossible, and self-knowledge worthless, then there can be no hope whatsoever for a happier, more beautiful world.

ENLIGHTENED SELF INTEREST

Of course this concept of Man as a chemical robot is anathema to the anarchist whose whole argument is based upon the proposition that each individual member of the community is at least potentially capable of choice and self-government in the most literal sense and that it is these factors which to a great extent define what being human is all about. To be human means to discern goals and decide what steps have to be taken to achieve these goals. And, since almost all actions of any importance are social actions, this entails responsibility to the other people involved in the actions. If one wishes others to aid one in the fulfilment of one's designs, then one must treat them in a certain manner and never forget that they too have their own designs. Each of us needs others. For us to satisfy our needs we must seek to satisfy theirs. This is what responsibility means to me. There is nothing sentimental about it. It is enlightened self-interest.

Enlightened self-interest. Yes. Another name for Anarchy. And if every individual were capable of it, we would be living in an anarchist society. Each man and woman would be able to make the right decisions and no communal sanctions of any kind would be required. With love for those near to them and empathy for those further afield they would at all times act and react with perfect apposition. They would know that self-interest and social interest are ultimately indivisible.

ANARCHIST EVOLUTION

A dream. A noble dream. We shall never see it. Nor will our children. Or theirs. It would be magnificent if the Anarchist Revolution could happen whilst we slept or

even in 50 years time. The chances of it happening in 50 years or 100 or 500 are just the same as of it happening whilst we sleep, for we are thinking in terms of the miraculous. Those who imagine that the world could rapidly become anarchist are indulging in another version of the chemical panacea. A sudden political realisation and we shall be in paradise. There can be no Anarchist Revolution. All we can hope to do is to help on its way a very, very slow Anarchist Evolution.

This means, in terms of society at large, that we should always try to opt for the policy in public affairs which may make circumstances a little more conducive for the emergence of individual self-regulation. Until each and every member of the community is governor and governed combined, somebody has to be given the job of running the outfit. We must do all we can to ensure that the rather better, as opposed to the rather worse, get the job. In personal terms we must strive to relate to others and develop the self-knowledge, application and responsibility which are essential. This truth is embedded in our language—we speak of making love.

ANARCHY IN OUR LIFETIME

I believe that it is possible for individuals to attain a state of anarchy in their lifetime though very few manage it. Some of these rare people are artists. I aspire to the state myself but I have a long way to go. Just about as far as the frequenters of the Friday freakouts. But at least I know that passive waiting interspersed with hallucinations will not take me one inch further along the road than I am now.

I am not against the existence of *IT* and its promotions. I am against the vision the paper seems to be pushing and I reject the claims made for the so-called psychedelic gatherings. But however misguided the solutions proselytised by the editors of the paper and all who share their views may be they are attempting to deal with the central problem of our shriekingly disjointed times. These bewildering times through which so many of us stumble dazed and aching like the survivors of a two-continent wide street accident. The question is: what is living and how do you do it? If the paper can continue to stimulate the debate, then it will easily have justified its existence. *IT* is wrong, but wrong about the right things. Issues so important that in reaction *IT*'s views must be refuted. If *IT* had never existed, some of us would have had to invent *IT*.

DAVID HALLIWELL.

WAR RESISTER

Continued from page 3
constantly present. An isolated show of heroism could be made by everyone if the occasion arose, but to constantly adjust one's deeds and ideas throughout a lengthy existence is yet more difficult. Because of this, among all the apostasies and lapses, it is heartening to see an old anarchist follow, undaunted, the road upon which he set out in his youth. Further, the author does not dismiss the deceptions he suffered in his life as a militant, nor does he hide his disappointment at seeing the course which various revolutions have taken, having done no more than reinforce the slavery which Humanity has suffered up to now.

We should remember also, that Lecoq possesses talents of initiative and psychological penetration which allow him to choose the most propitious time at which to embark on his 'crusades'. We all remember the great impact his campaign for conscientious objectors had. One might or might not agree with him, but one must acknowledge his mastery of timing.

These lines, written long after the publication of Lecoq's book, may now seem irrelevant, but it is not always possible to read a book immediately after it is published. I have only tried to allow others to participate in the emotion its reading caused in me and to introduce it to those who do not know of it. I believe it is a book of interest for all, and particularly for youth.

Translated by R.J.B.



demagogue made the right noises down in the Blarney Club on a freakout night could he not fire for himself a following? I don't think so. In the main these people seem beyond accepting promises and the relinquishing of responsibility to a leader, not because they are positively against leadership of the demagogic kind, but because they seem to believe that no one is capable of responsibility. They inhabit a world of unintelligible accidents and they wait for accidents which will somehow make good things happen to them, the sexual scene being made for them, by accident. They do not know that unwittingly they are also by omission waiting for other accidents which are not accidents at all and that one day they may find themselves herded together in another place wherein chemicals will be introduced into their systems which will close their minds for ever. The Dark Night will be upon us with a vengeance if we ever get the government these people deserve.

As it stands there, mute in the indignity of its frustration, the crowd listens to the authentic voice of our age. I believe that the sounds made by such groups as the Pink Floyd and the Soft Machine who perform at the freakouts form at least one of the characteristic utterances of these times. Those who do not recognise this voice and do not feel a direct and immediate response to it well below the threshold of coherent consciousness, in one might put it, their nervous system, these people belong to another period. This response is beyond choice, beyond approval, beyond aesthetics. By proxy the voice expresses the violence, bitterness and aggression which lie on the flip side of the record labelled passive frustration.

Revolutionary Perspectives

IN THE YEARS from Suez to Cuba the main feature of the Left in this country was a campaign on what was perhaps an oversimplified slogan, which was able to unite a diversity of disparate groups.

The bulk of the active members of the movement were either left social-reformers who had become disillusioned with either orthodox Labourism or orthodox Communism, and were open to influence from reformist brands of Anarchism or Trotskyism; or they were humane people with a liberal concept of society to be found on the left of either the Liberal Party or the constituency rank and file of Labour.

The campaigning was done on a basis of the misconception that unilateral disarmament could be won without other change in society; while many of those who had advocated the formation of CND in the first place (such as Priestley) did so on the basis that they wanted to mobilize radicals behind the Labour Left. In result, the immediate beneficiaries in power terms were not those who supported the CND by actions but those who used the CND.

There is, however, another side of the coin. Not merely did CND put gumption into the Labour Left and cause it to carry its party to power in a way that it had almost despaired of ever doing again; but it significantly affected the

ethics of the system. Elsewhere I have suggested that the Folk Boom, though not the herald of revolution it is sometimes painted, is nevertheless considered seriously a helpful symptom of a feeling of insecurity on the part of the system. Similarly anyone who has followed Government advertising for the armed services will have seen that these are now obviously written in the consciousness that the military is criticised and that a fairish number of the recruits they want will previously have met anti-militarists and be harder to brainwash.

In the years since the Cuba crisis, CND has of course been nothing more than a laughing stock and only a small hard-core has remained with the direct actionist wing of the nuclear disarmament movement. But on the other hand there has been a significant growth of militancy on such issues as the homeless and the gypsies; there has been far more industrial militancy in response to those policies which the Tories did not dare (however much they wished) implement and which Labour (secure in the collaboration of the TUC) did. There has also been a significant growth of the Left of both the Liberal and Labour Parties, with ex-anarchists (such as David Spreckley) gaining a significant measure of influence.

One way and another, the foundations of a new conventional Left appear to

have been laid. Beyond these one sees the shadow boxing of the Cousins-Woodcock wing of the TUC against the wage freeze and of the Liberal leadership against East of Suez policies, but the pottery workers and Nalso show promise of something more substantial.

The lines of battle, however, are not on the desirability or otherwise of a set of social changes (as they were in the pre-Cuba period) but of their necessity or dispensability. The new conventional Left fights for no policies that were not six years ago espoused by Greenwood, but merely for the implementation of such policies. From the pages of *The Times*, in the portals of the bien pensant liberal establishment, in the pulpits of the politically-conformist churchmen, one finds condemnation of the war in Vietnam and so forth, but coupled with no conception of how to do anything about it; or where there is a conception of this, a fear of what it would involve.

The years of CND led not merely to a change in Government—though this was done without touching the realities of power—but also to a modification of the orthodox (consensus) climate of opinion, to the extent that before the last election the Young Tories published a pamphlet on the need to build social-democracy. In conventional ethics, as in Government, though not in power Britain is now a Social Democratic State for

what that is worth.

In present circumstances, that part of the Left openly propagating an essential change in the system is very different from the CND. Whereas the latter, while advocating a far-going change—which could not be implemented in reformist terms—nevertheless confined itself almost exclusively to reformist phraseology, and therefore sought its political arguments from the highly reasonable but not particularly active and militant New Left, the present equivalents (such as Nalso) tend to belong to Trotskyist-type organizations whose analysis of society probably goes no deeper than the best of the New Left, but which insist on a very much greater level of active participation both in the propaganda work of their own groups and in the day-to-day work of their unions or constituency Labour Parties.

Should these achieve commensurate success to that in its time achieved by Nuclear Disarmers, the probability is that as with the immediate post-Cuba years it will not be the former militants who reap the fruits of the campaign, but who cheered them on from the sidelines, in this case the Tribunist 'critics' of Wilson. If this happens, if the Tribunists should, as they desire, be able to force Wilson to freeze profits as well as wages and perhaps tackle a commanding height or two of the economy, we will

have, in fact as well as in name, a social democrat system and for the first time the anarchists case against social democracy will be really put to the test. For if we are right in what anarchists have always said in this respect, a Left Labour Government will be, if anything, worse than a rightist one for the workers it rules, and the tyranny of the Stalinist regimes is not merely the product of a one-party State but is the inevitable result of workers delegating the job of their own emancipation.

In that case, should the present radical era continue, one could reasonably hope for a movement of CND-type size advocating some form of anarchistic social change, with the bulk of its ideas made up of a mixture of a somewhat oversimplified anarchist communism and a consciously socialist pacifism. It is improbable that in the first instance it would lead to anarchism, but it might well cause a further significant change in the climate of opinion and less significant changes in social organization.

It will be only after this that the real battle to attain anarchism will be possible, and then only if the revival of radicalism that came after Suez still continues. If it does not, I doubt if one can be optimistic that the world will survive long enough for our children and grandchildren to try again.

L.O.

Soviet Revisionism

RECENTLY an eminent Russian historian visited Aberdeen University—a charming gentleman, who gave an interesting discourse on 'Historical Studies in the USSR'. Later he had an opportunity to discuss more general subjects in a seminar attended by about 20 students and staff, and one of the questions asked was why Indonesia, formerly a country rich in resources, had become more poverty-stricken in 20 years of communist rule. The questioner approached the subject with some caution: 'If we are allowed to ask about Sukarno', he said, clearly afraid that the rabidly communist professor would refuse to admit that there could be anything wrong with a regime calling itself communist. Such fears were reassured by the affable response of the Russian visitor.

You see (he explained), when Indonesia became independent profit-making private enterprise was owned by foreigners; there was no native bourgeoisie, and skilled technicians were in acute short supply due to the lack of higher education—no university, only a not-very-advanced technological institute. At first the new government dealt with capitalist business by imposing a high tax on its profits, and permitting only a fraction of the remaining increment to leave the country; the rest of the money was placed in Indonesian banks. By this cunning device the foreign entrepreneurs were still able to make profits, while lots of money rolled into the coffers of the State. Then the decision was taken to expropriate the foreign capitalists. Their businesses were not handed over to the natives, perhaps because none were capable of taking them over; instead, everything was nationalised, and that was when things started to go wrong.

In the absence of skilled direction mistakes were made, such as failure to retool at the right time, so that production decreased. Profits, however, were still coming in, only to be appropriated by ministers and administrative officials who deposited vast fortunes in foreign, especially Swiss, banks, with the result that no returns were being ploughed back into the Indonesian economy. Any revenue that did find its way to the State coffers was absorbed in expenditure on the army, on the new administration, and on education. (In education, notable achievements were five universities, staffed by foreigners or foreign-educated natives, and a great increase in literacy; before, 80% of the population were illiterate, and now literacy in the capital, where 75% live, is said to be complete.) Generally, emphasis was placed on the fight for socialism when economic advance would have been more beneficial and progressive. The professor concluded with his 'private opinion' that the only solution

for Indonesia now is the return of all businesses, factories, etc., to their former owners.

Several of those present were visibly impressed at what they no doubt regarded as an enlightened, empirical assessment expressed in the free academic atmosphere of Britain, away from the restriction of the Soviet regime. The 'private opinion', however, does not seem so surprising to anyone who has been watching the latest trends in Soviet economic ideas, with the speedy and determined introduction of the new profit-linked system of industrial management*, and the encouragement of foreign capitalist enterprise such as Ford's prospective factories on Russian soil.

Another question asked at the same session related to Soviet interpretations of history. We were told that analyses are always in class terms though taking account of other factors. Reassuring, perhaps, for Marxist historians. But the old historical writers of the Victorian and Edwardian type also went in for analysis in class terms. The only difference(?) was, they tended not to be on the side of the workers.

E.A.S.

*See quotation from the *Financial Times* on Kosygin in the new *Solidarity*.

Haas

PERHAPS we have expected too much of Haas. The review in *FREEDOM*, as those in other journals of the revolutionary and libertarian Left, have regretted that though he has come far and though (despite his Trotskyism) he is far from being under the delusion that the Soviet Union is in any sense socialist, he has nevertheless not rid himself of all too much of the Leninist heritage.

If we were looking for new ideas to add to our own thinking from the Polish Left opposition this attitude would be fair enough; but if we look back before Hungary to the Petofi Circle and its ideas the significance is not in what they said but that it was being said in the context of a Stalinist Party.

Then Lukacs had been read in the West, and the need for socialism to be humanist had been said by Western socialists whose reputation went far beyond the then minuscule revolutionary left. Such household names as Cole, Camus, Deutscher, Gollancz and Read had all prepared a ground for the accep-

A LONG TIME ago, P.T. in *FREEDOM* wrote of the relation of the car and public transport to anarchism, only to be greeted by a critic that it is not the mere economics of transport that cause people to insist on their own little car but the psychological factors involved. No doubt this is partially true, no doubt the feelings of power, the kingship of the castle that the driver at the wheel derives from his engine will still be there, though these are often part and parcel of the selfishness inculcated by a class-divided society, and would be lessened when the present conditioning processes are abolished. But there are here two quite separate points; it would be perfectly possible in a society where public transport was free also to give free access to car race courses where, if people derive pleasure from driving cars unreasonably fast, they could so do, at risk only to themselves and others similarly courting a broken neck, without endangering pedestrians or causing yet more agricultural land to be ruined to make way for the almighty motorway.

Unfortunately this criticism served to change the subject and no further consideration was given to the main point. It is a matter of real importance as to whether a libertarian society is a possibility on the basis of continued private

ownership and control of transport. Those who object that the majority of people like having cars or want to have cars, are not in fact making a valid argument; the majority of people as of now approve of the State having police, prisons, nuclear weapons and a monarchy, to mention just a few things which anarchists wish to abolish. It is not because we are authoritarians who wish to deprive the majority of such baubles, but that we consider these are the valueless tinsel that the system uses to disguise itself, sometimes designed to make it palatable, sometimes to convey a phoney aura of necessity and permanence.

Of course if everyone voted tomorrow even under the freest possible circumstances, with no heavily financed propaganda to distort the truth, no power-seeking politicians and none of the other appurtenances of our glorious 'democracy', they would decide to continue the system with no fundamental differences. If this were not so, it would hardly be necessary to publish *FREEDOM* or engage in anarchist propaganda. The ruling class is powerful and exploitative but a significant part of its power is bound up in its ability to condition the thinking of its subjects; if even 1% of the population were committed to anarchism and propagating it, the present democratic facade would be dropped as the rulers, finding themselves basically and fundamentally menaced, resorted to naked tyranny to suppress libertarian protest. The day when the majority are convinced of the possibility and desirability of an anarchist society, however firm the ruling class's hold on the coercive instruments of the State, unless it can convince the greater part of the non-anarchist minority of the need and beneficial results of the massacre of the anarchist majority, then the rulers may as well pack up, the battle by then will be won; which does not lessen the enormous way we have to go before then.

L.O.

CARS AND ANARCHISM



ownership and control of transport. Those who object that the majority of people like having cars or want to have cars, are not in fact making a valid argument; the majority of people as of now approve of the State having police, prisons, nuclear weapons and a monarchy, to mention just a few things which anarchists wish to abolish. It is not because we are authoritarians who wish to deprive the majority of such baubles, but that we consider these are the valueless tinsel that the system uses to disguise itself, sometimes designed to make it palatable, sometimes to convey a phoney aura of necessity and permanence.

Of course if everyone voted tomorrow even under the freest possible circumstances, with no heavily financed propaganda to distort the truth, no power-seeking politicians and none of the other appurtenances of our glorious 'democracy', they would decide to continue the system with no fundamental differences. If this were not so, it would hardly be necessary to publish *FREEDOM* or engage in anarchist propaganda. The ruling class is powerful and exploitative but a significant part of its power is bound up in its ability to condition the thinking of its subjects; if even 1% of the population were committed to anarchism and propagating it, the present democratic facade would be dropped as the rulers, finding themselves basically and fundamentally menaced, resorted to naked tyranny to suppress libertarian protest. The day when the majority are convinced of the possibility and desirability of an anarchist society, however firm the ruling class's hold on the coercive instruments of the State, unless it can convince the greater part of the non-anarchist minority of the need and beneficial results of the massacre of the anarchist majority, then the rulers may as well pack up, the battle by then will be won; which does not lessen the enormous way we have to go before then.

We have to convince people that they can be free, that the man down the road, and they themselves, together already do all the important work affecting their own lives and that there is therefore no reason for them to accept orders from someone else. They have for the most part accepted the assurances of those whom society has chosen to teach or otherwise indoctrinate them, that society cannot last on any other basis. They have at the same time accepted the tinsel as substantial matter and come to believe that private cars are essential to life, just as they believe that arms are necessary to protect them against an enemy rather than as weapons the State uses to scare them of 'weapons'.

This indoctrination reaches, of course, right into the ranks of the far left. Marxism, of course, always made a fetish of material affluence, and in an oh-so-revolutionary-article recently an anarchist contrasted car workers as members of a major industrial force, with workers in peripheral industries. But cars are today made so that they will not last and in order to force people to buy new cars which will be useless in ten years' time we are treated to hypocritical drivel about how dangerous old cars are; old cars that were made to withstand a glancing blow from a wall, made not to roll over at the slightest opportunity, are thus banned as unsafe; while the speeding death traps daily manufactured are treated as the divinity of our age.

L.O.

**DON'T FORGET
THE
PRESS FUND!**

THE FRANCO REPRESSION

THE ARREST and forthcoming trial of our five comrades coincides with a period of agitation among workers and students in Spain, and with a hardening of the police persecution.

Luis Edo, Antonio Canete, Alicia Mur, Jesus Rodriguez, and Alfredo Herrera were arrested and will be tried for planning to carry out an action to show that the 'democratisation and liberalisation' of the Franco regime is mere lip service and to demand the release of all the political prisoners in the Spanish jails. Yet, at the same time, hundreds of students and workers have been arrested during the same period for simply having believed that the 'liberalisation' was a real thing. There is a certain irony in this. Nevertheless events are showing how wrong are all those who think that a fascist dictatorship can 'liberalise' itself peacefully through the mere democratic claims for the fundamental rights.

The numerous arrests of students and workers for having taken part in the peaceful demonstrations or in the so called 'free assemblies', together with the exclusion of all those University professors who have dared protest against police brutalities or who have talked against the regime, shows clearly that the Franco dictatorship is still faithful to its totalitarian nature and that it is in no way prepared to give in to the democratic aspirations of the Spanish people.

The much boasted 'reforms' approved by the mock Cortes, the political dispositions of the Penal Code, the new Press Law, and all the other 'democratic' blueprints announced by the regime, are mere paper projects and publicity stunts.

Students, workers, University professors, and even priests, are daily persecuted and jailed for holding unauthorised meetings, campaigning against the Referendum, editing opposition bulletins, etc., etc.

Stuart Christie, sentenced in September, 1964, to 20 years' jail on another false charge of terrorism, is still in Carabanchel. A recent appeal for clemency was refused and this 20-year-old British militant shares the lot of many other democratic Spaniards.

Now the regime threatens to sentence the five anarchist militants to new heavy sentences.

We appeal to all anti-fascist and democratic organisations to increase all their efforts and to pressure for the release of all Spanish political prisoners. We urge them to lobby their MPs, to send notes, telegrams of protest to the Minister of Justice, San Bernardo 45, Madrid, Spain, and to help us with our work by sending their donations so that we may increase the scope of our action.

Clément Fournier, COMITE ESPAGNE
B.P. 105, REVOLUTIONNAIRE.
75 Aubervilliers, France

'Drugs are Money-Spinners'—Guardian

A MAN ASSAULTED by the Lancashire police was awarded £300 damages. Defence counsel claimed that only sufficient force to restrain him was used. He was caught taking an emblem from a car at Chorlton-on-Medlock. One officer forcibly twisted his arm behind his back, then held him down and repeatedly struck him when in the back seat of a patrol car. He was then lifted bodily on to the pavement, stretched out and kicked three times in the back. At a police station later several officers punched and struck him and refused him a doctor. His injuries were a bruised back and shoulders, a nose bleed, and a permanent hearing defect. At the inquest on a 32-year-old student, Moses Tagoe, of Brixton, who died after a struggle with three policemen (he died in police custody after being arrested), a policeman gave evidence that he saw Tagoe carrying a briefcase and a parcel and looking over his shoulder. 'He looked a bit suspicious,' said the constable. 'I walked over to him holding my warrant card. He let out a scream and hit me in the face with his case. I chased him. He hit me again and I fell to the ground.' The other two policemen explained how they had to use rugby-type tackles to hold the man. Evidence was given that when Tagoe was taken to the police station he rolled round on the floor and did not seem to understand what was going on. The pathologist said that Tagoe had few signs of injury in view of the circumstances. The coroner brought in a verdict of 'accidental death' saying, 'This case has been thoroughly investigated. This man had nothing to hide because he was not carrying anything or doing anything that he should not have been doing. He was approached correctly but seemed to act as if he had a persecution complex. This man had an impact—being knocked to the ground possibly—which seems to have led to his death. But there was no reason for him to struggle with police. . . . There is no evidence of undue violence from the police.' . . .

AFTER A TELEPHONE MESSAGE from a student, York police seized (the pre-censored) *International Times* one hour after it was put on sale at York University. The Lord Chamberlain has ordered cuts in a new play *The Commission* to be staged in Liverpool. The play (says

the *Guardian*) 'deals with the problems of a playwright trying to write a play'. The Lord Chamberlain has refused a licence to Barbara Carson's *MacBird* due to be produced by Joan Littlewood at the Theatre Royal, Stratford, London, on April 8. The play deals, by implication, with the Kennedy assassination and therefore it must be a club performance, to members only. Membership costs 1/- and one must be enrolled twenty-four hours before the booking. (Box office tel. MARYland 8207.) . . .

MEANWHILE TO QUOTE Humphrey Bogart in the *Barefoot Contessa*, 'Life sometimes behaves as if it has seen too many bad movies' and in Florida Mr. Jim Garrison, District Attorney, continued his scripting of his version of the Kennedy assassination including accusations of hypnotism and an umbrella as a suspected murder weapon. . . .

MR. EMANUEL SHINWELL, 82-year-old Chairman of the Labour Party, speaking at a presentation (to himself) of a silver salver by the World Sporting Club, announced that he was 'about to vacate the middleweight championship of the Parliamentary Labour Party. . . . I have suffered not to any considerable extent what might be described as a technical knock-out. . . . I must say that in the course of the contest there have been some unfair tactics, particularly in-fighting to which I thoroughly object. Nevertheless I don't repeat the quotation I hear so often, "We wuz robbed". I am going to throw in the towel into the ring, but only temporarily, and I propose to undertake a period of intensive training.' In that organ of the body politic the *News of the World*, Mr. Shinwell 'breaks his self-imposed silence' (of four days) and claims that party discipline was better handled (without his enemy Mr. Crossman of course) when Labour's majority was seldom more than three. Later in the week Mr. Shinwell said, 'Labour supporters . . . expect Labour MPs to act like sensible people and not like a collection of philosophical anarchists.' . . .

MR. DENNIS HOWELL, a football referee and Joint Under-Secretary for Education and Science, speaking to the Norwich Referees Association said that any referee's most important task was to main-

tain reasonable authority on the field. If he failed to do so he might as well pack up for in no time at all he would be faced with anarchy. This was exactly the situation which seemed to have developed at the London School of Economics. He went on, 'When one realises that many of the ringleaders at the LSE are overseas students who are being subsidised to the tune of £800 each then I think we are entitled to say to them that although you can waste your own money if you like, you certainly can't waste ours. We should say to them, "Your behaviour in coming here and disrupting a full-time educational institution is an impertinence and it is time you were sent packing." Penelope Milsom, writing to the *Guardian*, says that when she visited Berkeley (California) University in 1960 it was alleged that British graduates, with experience of direct action tactics in the Peace Movement, provided the core of the opposition to the administration. "Who," asks Penelope, "has imported what from whom?" . . .

FATHER HERBERT MCCABE who was relieved of the editorship of *New Blackfriars* magazine after writing an editorial criticising the Catholic church, said, 'The church, that is to say the institution of the church, is in a right mess'. Italy's Finance Minister said in the Italian Senate that shares owned by the Holy See bring in a yearly dividend of £1,860,000 a year. The Vatican has invested about £32 million in Italy. More than half is owned by the Institute of Religious Works (the Vatican bank!). Another financial administration of the Holy See started with a fund of £20 million which was paid by the Fascist Government as compensation for loss of temporal power. In 1963 the Vatican was exempted from paying dividend taxes. . . .

AN EDITORIAL in the *Jewish Observer and Middle East Review* (from which the editor, Jon Kimche, was dismissed last week) concludes, 'But enough of this tomfoolery. The flight into imaginary grievances and artificial issues is wholly irrelevant to the real tasks of our Movement. Let the curtain descend on this ugly episode. Let us return to the urgent tasks which inspire our very existence. Let the hand return to the plough, whence it should never have been compelled to deviate. Let us rededicate ourselves to the Movement which we seek to serve.' They, not surprisingly, advertise for an experienced journalist as editor. By an amazing coincidence the two editors of *Bul* whose imprisonment inflamed the Kimche incident have now been released. Will they apply? It is denied by the *JO* that the Israel Government put any pressure on the Zionist Federation to sack Kimche. . . .

THE MORNING STAR proudly announced that Railer (their tipster) selected thirteen greyhound winners last week. . . .

PEACE NEWS, in what is doubtless a worthy article 'against the drug culture', puts forward constructive proposals to expand consciousness. 'We've had a lot of fun trying to assume the attributes and movements of familiar objects. For example, have you ever pretended that you were an egg being broken, dropping into a pan, and frying?' Frankly . . . no.
JON QUIXOTE.

£30 SHORT!

WEEK 11, MARCH 18, 1967:
Income: Sales and Subs.: £674
Expenses: 11 weeks at £90: £990
DEFICIT: £316

Falmouth: R.W. 2/10; Bexley, N.S.W.: C.W. 10/-; Carnoles, France: D.C. £1; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 4/-; Toronto: E.A. £3/3/-; Leeds: D.S. 1/3; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; London, S.W.10: S.W.T. £5; Knockholt: B.R. 15/-; London, N.6: P.F. 5/-; London, N.W.9: A.D. £1; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; London, N.8: C.C. 10/-; London, N.W.1: G.M. 10/-; London, S.E.11: M.D. £1/10/-; Wolverhampton: B.L. £2/0/6; Frodsham: D.P. 4/-; Chelsea: Anon. 5/-; London, N.W.11: S.C. 10/-; London, S.W.9: P.S. £1/10/-; Toronto: C.R. 18/6; London, W.6: G.W. £2/10/-; Hebrides: B.J. £2/8/-; Wilmington: M.H. 4/-; Newcastle, U.S.A.: A.P. 3/5; London, S.W.18: A.H. 5/-; London, S.W.15: J.M. 10/-; London: Anon.—special donation to 8-page issue £35.

TOTAL: £61 15 6
Previously Acknowledged: £225 2 0
1967 Total to Date: £286 17 6

*Denotes Regular Contributor.

LIES ABOUT VIETNAM

Continued from page 1

killed. Russell omits all mention of the 50,000 North Vietnamese peasants slaughtered during the 1955-57 land reforms or of the many thousands who were imprisoned in forced labour camps. (Bernard Fall's estimate of deaths—some go up to half a million killed.) Russell and many others imply that the 1956 elections were sabotaged solely by the USA and Diem, but clearly the communists were equally to blame. Diem was at this time executing or imprisoning thousands of opposition members, but it is nonsense to assert, without quoting a source, that 'between 1954 and 1960 more Vietnamese died than since 1960' (p. 108).

The book's portrait of the resistance to Saigon is absurd. Russell says that it began in 1960 when the NLF was officially founded, when, in fact, it began in 1957. He takes the NLF programme on trust, ignoring the failure to implement many provisions of the Vietminh programme. He writes that 'the "Vietcong" would descend upon a village and acquire the support of its inhabitants' (p. 78), but doesn't say that it is 'acquired' by terrorism, torture, assassination and a choice of conscription or death for the young men.

All non-communist nationalist elements are virtually ignored, except for the Buddhists whose fierce criticism of the NLF is omitted. His most often quoted atrocity figures come from a Thich Thien Hao whom Russell calls 'the leader of the Buddhist hierarchy'. In fact he is in the NLF and quite unrepresentative of the majority of Buddhists.

Russell makes no mention of the torture and shooting of prisoners by the NLF and the killing of many civilians through shooting, landmines and street-bombs.

He says that the US paid for 80% of the French war in Indochina, when, in fact, US aid only began in 1950, though it reached 78% in 1954. He does not mention that in 1948 Chinese advisers and senior Russian officers attended the annual conference of the Lien Viet Front to arrange for military training in China for Vietminh personnel.

Adam Roberts, in an excellent article in *New Society* of February 2—to which this article owes much—pinpoints the book's main weakness when he demon-

strates that many of the supposed sources of facts are quite hopelessly distorted. For example Russell writes: 'According to the *New York Times* of October 3, 1965, there have been up to the beginning of October, 170,000 civilians killed; 800,000 maimed by torture; 5,000 burnt alive, disembowelled or beheaded; 100,000 killed or maimed by chemical poisons; 400,000 detained and tortured savagely.' Roberts points out that, in fact, the *New York Times* makes it quite clear that it is quoting Hanoi radio which is itself quoting a Vietcong source. Russell goes even further. He actually misquotes the Hanoi radio report which refers to 170,000 South Vietnamese killed and doesn't say that these were civilians. It also refers to 100,000 killed or affected by chemicals, not 'killed or maimed'.

I cannot believe that the Russell of so many sane and brilliant books which I have admired is capable of this kind of ridiculous and disgusting distortion, though I do believe that he wrote most or all of this book. Russell acknowledges his debt and gratitude to Christopher Farley, Ralph Schoenman and Russell Stetler Jr. for undertaking 'considerable research at newspaper offices and libraries and preparing material. . . . Contempt, not gratitude, would be the earlier Bertrand Russell's response to such faking as the *New York Times* 'quote' and the flimsiness of 'research' which has led him to such total one-sidedness.

To anarchists, the concept of 'war crimes' is a meaningless one and we would view the North Vietnam land reform slaughters and their possible repetition in the South, if the NLF come to power, with the same horror as the US atrocities. But what of the claims to accuracy of the coming International War Crimes Tribunal? Its members assert that their conclusions will be independent of those made by Russell and his associates, but how true is this?

The tribunal's general secretary is Schoenman who is also Russell's secretary. A majority of the officers of the tribunal are also in positions in the Russell 'Peace Foundation' or its offshoots. The tribunal's press secretary shares an office with the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. The majority of the members of the tribunal support the NLF fighting. None of the investigating teams speak Vietnamese so that they will usually have to rely on interpreters. So far very slack investigating procedures have been used. There are no present plans to send a team to the South and almost every indication seems to be that the tribunal will turn into a propaganda exercise for one side in the conflict and make peace even more unlikely than it is at the moment.

If the book and the tribunal had been deliberately designed to discredit anti-war propaganda and close people's minds to the possibilities of peace, they could not have been worse. There is to be a 'March of Shame' for Britain's support of the US in Vietnam. Let it also include the shame which the British peace movement must feel for once being associated with these apologists, and war propagandists, for communist tyranny.

GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.

Through the Anarchist Press

PORTUGAL

OVER the last twelve months 100,000 people left Portugal, a large number of them secretly. And while the pacification of the African colonies boosts its share of the budget to 40%, at home the PIDE (political police) hots up its campaign against troublesome intellectuals.

Fernando Namora, one of the signatories of a letter to the President demanding the removal of Salazar, is being harassed in various ways; nobody may publicize his novels, or even mention them at all in print, and his name has been withdrawn from the publicity for books of which he was co-author. Latest news is that similar steps have been taken against the other 117 signatories of the letter.

All the major names in Portuguese poetry were passed over when an official prize was given recently; the award went instead to a poet whose admiration for the régime has been made only too clear. Similarly, a film that was in line for a prize suddenly found itself out of the running when its director, Antonio Macedo, refused to make a film openly glorifying Salazar.

Francisco Sousa Tavares, a lawyer who made the mistake of speaking his mind, was arrested and forced to stand in the same place, without moving, for 48 hours; and playwright Stau Monteiro has been freed after spending three months in gaol for the crime of writing material which 'reflected unfavourably on the Portuguese military effort'.

NICARAGUA

In Managua, the capital (pop. 160,000), an estimated crowd of 50,000 anti-government demonstrators was fired on by the army; twenty dead, fifty wounded. The demonstrators burned cars and snipers

returned the army's fire.

PUERTO RICO

In 1898 the island passed out of Spanish hands and its inhabitants became American nationals. In 1951 a referendum gave Puerto Rico an independent government and a year later the island was declared 'a free state, associated with the USA'. Free state or not, Puerto Rico still has to provide 1,000 men per month for the American effort in Vietnam; and in spite of objections and court cases, the coffins continue to come home, preceded by a telegram and a cheque for 10,000 dollars.

The country has other problems over which it has equally little control. An atom bomb which fell into the sea off the coast has still not been traced. And 'American Metal Climax' has a tax-free monopoly of copper mines in two sections of the island; this convenient arrangement gives the US copper at 38 centavos a pound instead of the 72 they would be asked for on the world market. Of these 38 centavos, two remain in Puerto Rico; of these two, some 20% finds its way to the people who own the land from which the copper is taken.

MEXICO

Forty-three years after his death, Pancho Villa has been proclaimed a 'Mexican National Hero', and his name will appear in letters of gold in the House of Representatives. Villa, whose real name was Doroteo Arango, was born in 1877; in 1910, after a number of years as a bandit in northern Mexico, he joined the ranks of the revolutionaries, and along with Emiliano Zapata and the anarchist theoretician Ricardo Flores Magon, was one of the movement's most active militants.

JOHN THURSTON.
(Source: *Le Monde libertaire*.)

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Rank & File and their Unions

BOTH THE SUNLEY'S and the Myton's building sites disputes have drawn attention to the wide gulf that separates the union leadership from their rank and file membership. The two disputes have shown that when workers make what can only be described as a principled stand, national union leaders do not see it in the same terms. Their first thoughts are of a return to work, a settlement, the usual compromise in which not only are trade union principles forgotten, but men are thrown out of work as casualties of the dispute.

As in many disputes, nothing is clear cut. Some of the lads have received national support from the unions, but even here it has only been half-hearted and with reluctant backing. An example of this is the Transport and General Workers Union which is giving official backing to both disputes, and yet cannot instruct its lorry driver members to stop bringing loads to the Sunleys

Contact Column

This column exists for mutual aid. Donations towards cost of typesetting will be welcome.

Easter Sunday. Irish Workers' Group Social at Lucas Arms, Grays Inn Road (Kings Cross tube).

Folk Club. Every Wednesday, 8 p.m. 'General Picton', Caledonian Road, N.1. Admission 4/- (cheaper if there is a full attendance).

Badges. 'Free Stuart Christie—Franco's Prisoner', 3/6 for six (including postage), minimum order. Proceeds to new campaign expenses. Orders to John Rety, c/o Freedom Press.

House or Apartment wanted for July. American comrades (4) need house or flat to rent for month of July. Box 50.

Speakers. Harlow Anarchists intend to run a series of public meetings and indoor forums. Comrades willing to speak on anarchistic topics will be paid expenses if necessary. Please contact the Harlow Group (see groups column) with offers or suggestions.

Christian Anarchists wishing to meet other Anarchist or Libertarian Christians please write to Carl Pinel, c/o West Suffolk General Hospital, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds.

School. Could parents/teachers please give me information about any enlightened primary (especially Junior) schools in London area or S.E. England. Box 51.

Accommodation Wanted. Cheap sleeping accommodation/dry floor. Anywhere in London for seven days June-September. No cooking. Write Alan Murgatroyd, 28 Sun Street, Haworth, Keighley, Yorks.

Elizabeth Windsor. Hull Anarchist Group require any anti-royalist information or literature. Particularly about the Queen. H.A.G., 89 Fountain Road, Hull.

Poetry Readings, Manchester. Free, informal, at Castle Hotel, Oldham Street, off Piccadilly, Manchester. Thursdays, starting March 2, 7.30 p.m. Further information/kip required, contact David Stringer, c/o International Centre, 64 George Street, Manchester, 1.

Lecture in Spanish. Sunday, March 26. José Cabañas 'The CNT and the Future of Spain'. Royal Hotel, Woburn Place, W.C.1, at 3.30 p.m. CNT Great Britain. All welcome.

Educational Courses. Creative Thinking and Writing; Direct Action and Non-violent Techniques of Resistance; Libertarian Education; Foreign Languages (practical modern methods). Other interesting subjects. Nominal fees. Send 2s. 6d. (Blank P.O.) for details to Box 52.

Unaligned in Vietnam? Easter Pamphlet. 'Neither Washington nor Hanoi but Libertarian Socialism.' Duplicated pamphlet for sale, price 3d. Write Laurens Otter, Tolstoi, New Yatt Road, North Leigh, Witney, Oxon.

If you wish to receive contact list no longer.

site, where a few sub-contractors are still working.

Even this official union support is suspect, because it is given by two unions who are in competition for the recruiting of workers doing the same job. The T&GWU was the first union in both disputes to give recognition, followed closely by its competitor, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers. But the weakness of this national backing has been the position of the unions when the constitutional machinery has been used and has worked against the lads, for the unions are party to this procedure for settling disputes.

Agreements are articles drawn between equals, but in the day to day industrial struggle, who can say that the unions and the employers are equals, when the latter owns and, more important, controls the means of production. However, granting this inequality, the unions' position has become increasingly the seller of labour. Some, such as *The Economist*, think that even on this basis, the unions extract too high a price. They would like to see some permanent restraint upon collective bargaining. While they are in favour of a 'freely functioning economy', this does not extend to the trade unions.

SUPPORT AT DISTRICT LEVEL

While *The Economist* might blame the power of the trade unions for inflation, trade unionists are not only dissatisfied with wage settlements, but also with the unprincipled attitudes, compromises or just plain failure to make a stand. But whereas in the majority of disputes workers have given up, in these two disputes, they have stuck it out. It is this stand that has not only sur-

Would You Scab?

FOR the past 22 weeks the lads on Myton's Site, Barbican Re-Development, have conducted a struggle in defence of Trade Union organisation and against victimisation.

On February 14 an agreement was made between the employers and National Officers of the Unions involved for the Site to re-open on February 20. Re-employment was offered to all operatives with the exception of the Works Committee. The Myton lads who had been offered re-employment voted unanimously against returning to work without their Shop Stewards.

The Myton Management, with the help of certain Trade Union Officials, are now proposing to re-open the Site on March 29 with a new labour force, including non-unionists, if this can be found.

We, the operatives of the Laing's & Turriff Sites, Barbican Re-Development, on which approximately 1,000 Trade Union members are employed, have taken a unanimous decision to support Myton's pickets in the event of a NEW LABOUR FORCE being introduced.

Building workers will refuse to break this 22-week-old dispute on the Myton's Site, and where possible we call on you to support a mass picket at Myton's gate on Wednesday, March 29, from 7 a.m. onwards.

Express your opposition to a sell-out by forwarding resolutions through the branches to the ECs and District Committee.

VICTORY FOR MYTON'S WORKERS WILL SAFEGUARD YOU FROM SIMILAR ATTACKS!!!

Published by: Unanimous Decision of Trade Union members, Turriff & Laing's Sites, Barbican Re-Development, E.C.1.

We received the above leaflet after the other article was written. We are printing it because we feel they should get every support possible.

prised the employers, but also the union executives. It should be recorded that the district officials, especially those of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, have given good support and have been hauled over the coals by their executive because of this.

In a society where the unions are themselves an authority, with disciplinary powers, members who exceed the limits, do not accept the constitutional machinery, and defy their executives, can consequently face disciplinary action. The Myton lock-out has now reached this stage. Disciplinary action has been threatened by the executives involved. Through their Federation, the unions have said that all those who were employed before the 'close-down' (their choice of word), should have until March 28 to go back. From that date the management need not employ them and can start new trade union labour.

'DISCIPLINARY ACTION'

The unions warn the men who have been picketing the site during the dispute that 'operatives maintaining unofficial picketing or in any way obstructing the re-opening of the site will be subject to disciplinary action in accordance with the rules and constitutions of the unions concerned'. This could mean expulsion from the union, but I think the ASW would be the only union that would go this far. In fact it has already tried to discipline Lou Lewis, the Federation steward, and has always been ready to make attacks on militants. However, after 22 weeks in dispute, it seems unlikely that these threats will deter the pickets, and after two previous votes not to resume work without the six stewards, I cannot see the re-called men starting on March 28.

The unions will, it seems, have to try to escort other trade unionists past a picket line and onto the site. This is no easy task. If the picket line can be held, helped by the assistance already pledged, the union will find itself in an embarrassing position. On the other hand, if the unions cannot 'scab' the job, then their whole position, via the agreement with the management, is undermined and their authority gone.

This struggle is now against the union executives and the NFBTO and is an attempt to run their own dispute. This is basically what is involved in any unofficial dispute, but at Myton's it has gone much further. Solidarity and financial assistance have been given by other building workers, for support at this level will be the only guarantee of success.

Financial help for the Myton dispute can be sent to Mr. A. D. Leadbetter, 9 Wells House, Rosebery Avenue, London, E.C.1, and for the Sunley dispute to Mr. H. Cassidy, 61 Bengarth Road, Northolt, Middx. P.T.

Protest

Comrade,

I think perhaps your readers would like to be informed of a disgusting situation, the treatment by the State of the long-term sick and disabled, the blunt refusal of the Ministry of Social Security to see deputations on the subject of extra help to supplement sickness benefit. We, disabled under capitalism, get the worst end. 'Try to live with it' seems the favourite answer. Hoping FREEDOM will lend its support to the Disablement Income Groups Summer Crusade to invade London, by all means of transport possible—trains, ambulances, bath-chairs, invalid cars.

Fraternally,
Slough, Bucks. R. E. WILLIAMS.

Freedom

For Workers' Control

MARCH 25 1967 Vol 28 No 9

'Curiouser and Curiouser'

AS REFERRED to in last week's FREEDOM, the Prices and Incomes Board cut back on a Wages Council award for retail drapery. The Wages Council has reaffirmed its award and has passed it to the Minister of Labour for him to issue an order in the normal manner. The fundamental basis of Wages Council awards is their independence, normally a Minister of Labour accepts their awards without question.

What Gunter will do on this occasion is anyone's guess, as prior to Prices and Incomes he had no power to reject a Wages Council award outright.

The PIB has just accepted the validity of a pay increase for over a million public employees. Some of the workers concerned earn more than the workers in the drapery trade. So where does that leave the drapery workers in view of the Government's sympathetic consideration to 'the lower paid worker'?

Aubrey Jones, the PIB chairman, has confessed to the fact that there is no way of identifying the lower paid. Surely anyone below his salary must be rated lower paid. Bob Willis, the Council member in charge of the report, must agree, for as an ex-compositor I am sure he would not work for the wage demands that he turns down through the Board. How these boys can justify their position I will never know. At least £30 a week for me but £18 per week for you will ruin the country.

NOT AGAIN

THE WOMEN'S CONFERENCE of the AEU called on the Government to introduce legislation to enforce the principle of equal pay for equal work. They urged the AEU national executive to instruct district committees to initiate a campaign in an endeavour to obtain this long overdue demand.

Carron, AEU president, warned the conference that it would not help the cause of equal pay to have an organisation set up against the Government. However, union policy was to support equal pay and it would combine to press the matter.

The amount of pressing Carron is likely to do, wouldn't put a bloody crease in my trousers.

Women shop stewards have the reputation for being 'real goers', when roused—blimey! they have been 'pressing' for equal pay for long enough. I am sorry to say it ladies, but the only people who are stopping you from getting equal pay are not only your own male members, but a fair percentage of other male trade unionists. You will have to take the same action as the Greek women took, no support for your struggle, then no 'home comforts'.

LETTERS

National Dividend

Dear Editors,

Bill Christopher, in his article 'No Wage Thaw This Spring' (11.3.67), refers to 'Major C. M. Douglas [read C. H. Douglas] of the Social Credit Party ... 1920'.

Major Douglas disapproved the idea of a Social Credit political party. In fact, he disowned his original approval of the then 'Green Shirt Movement for Social Credit', led by John Hargreave (founder of the 'Kibbo Kift' which finally accepted Social Credit into its programme).

In 1920 there was no 'Social Credit Party'. That has been in existence for a relatively few recent years; although, in a different form, there was an SCP many

CONVENOR BACK OR NONE BACK

AT Babcock and Wilcox 800 boiler-makers walked out in protest against the sacking of their convenor. After a few days they went back to allow discussion to take place. 'No joy', so they struck work again. The men claim their convenor was victimised, the employers claim industrial misconduct.

The action taken by the men is against the advice of their union. Probably the Boiler-makers' Union officials want the lads to swallow and they will fix the convenor up with another job elsewhere, this is the usual form. Obviously the boiler-makers are not having it, they want their convenor back on the job. Any other way means that the employer will determine in the final analysis who should be shop steward or convenor.

SO TIRED

ABOUT 5,000 workers at Plessey's of Liverpool decided to take a half an hour's rest. They didn't leave their machines, just took a count of thirty minutes. Their action was in protest against a management decision not to allow more than 100 shop stewards to meet local full time union officials during working hours. What could the management do? Nothing, which is all they can do when workers decide they have had enough.

VAUXHALL'S KEEP UP WITH THE BMCs

VAUXHALL MOTORS is to declare redundant several hundred of its 'non-productive' workers mainly in Luton but a few at Dunstable. The excuse given is restricted trade conditions. With their hearts on their sleeves, the management have declared that redundancy payments will be above the 'Redundancy Payments Act'. Big deal! No thoughts of shorter hours just 'sack 'em with a bit of silver'. When will we ever learn?

WE ARE ALL ONE

MR. A. H. TURNER, Professor of Industrial Relations, Cambridge, in his submission to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions proposes another form of workers' participation in management.

Under this scheme, part of company profits which would normally go for re-investment should be capitalised as workers' shares (with full voting rights) and attributed to individual workers. Proxies would be given to elected employees' representatives who would have the normal right to propose candidates for the Board. Shares would not be saleable only by retirement when the works committee could be given an option to purchase. On the occasion of a shareholding worker getting the sack the company would be required to purchase his shares at market value. The professor claims that his plan would be attractive to those trade unionists who criticise the present incomes policy because it does nothing to redistribute either incomes or wealth. Prof., we get the message: 'If you can't beat 'em, then join 'em'.

Another point in support of his proposal, which Professor Turner makes, is that it would ease the fears of people who claim that wage restraint merely gives higher profits to employers.

Every carrot imaginable is used to 'buy the workers off'. It's about time we made our point very clear, we do not want a larger share of the cake but the whole cake.
BILL CHRISTOPHER.

years ago, headed by John Hargreave. Wilson's 'national dividend', of course, has no relation to the scientific, mathematical, National Dividend of Social Credit.

SUBSCRIBER JOHN LESLIE,
London, W.11 Ex-Green Shirt.