

Freedom

Anarchist Weekly

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Black Gold

fect the lives and property of all foreigners residing in Biafra. We shall extend friendship to those who respect our sovereignty and shall repel any interference in our internal affairs.

It was felt at one stage that the Western Region would follow the East's example of secession, but since the appointment of 11 civilians to the Federal Executive Council which includes Chief Awolowo of the Western State as in charge of the Finance Ministry, the possibility has receded.

Since May 30, Biafra has been subjected to blockade by the Federal Government. The land and sea blockade has been recognised by the shipping conference which is responsible for most of the trade between Britain and Nigeria. The Federal Government is defending an economic sanctions to bring Biafra 'into line' but blockades work both ways, nothing going in but also nothing coming out; the Eastern Region is Nigeria's main supply of coal and the rest of Nigeria faces a critical shortage. From a war of attrition could develop a military war.

Whilst it can be said that tribal differences do not assist the situation in Nigeria, the comparatively new and overriding factor is oil. Proceeds from oil exports in 1965 totalled nearly £70m., of which £20m. was paid to the Government. Two-thirds of Nigeria's oil is produced in the Eastern Region and of this two-thirds, another two-thirds comes from the Ibo districts which formed one of the States of Gowon's plan to split the East into three.

Britain looks on with anxious eyes. Nigerian oil could be the alternative to the Middle East supply. Once that is established, we will see how much sympathy any government has for Arab problems.

Would confederation be a solution to Nigeria's problems? Obviously federation is out, but one thing is for sure—the only people who can decide are the Nigerians themselves, but not through crooked politicians and military dictators as they are learning to their cost.

BILL CHRISTOPHER.

Is the Queen Really Necessary?

This leaflet came into our hands by chance. It purports to be from the Hull Prices and Incomes Board but we have reason to believe that an administrative error has been committed, if not LESE MAJESTE.

It was originally entitled 'A Message to the Citizens of Kingston upon Hull'. THAT IS THE QUESTION—study it before you give your answer.

Let us analyse the reason of this visit. SHE is here to open the new hospital (which is absolutely necessary) but is SHE?

The hospital is already open, in fact it has been in full swing for ten months. So this visit is NOT necessary—only an expense—OUT OF YOUR POCKETS. Who invited her and why? We will tell you. The City Fathers, Sheriff, Mayor, Aldermen, Councillors and Big Businessmen—in fact Uncle Tom Cobley.

Who pays? YOU! What for? Lavish luncheon (about 8 courses), cocktails and all the trimmings (most probably a special lavatory for HER personal use). YOU are not invited—you are only HER peasants. YOU can line the streets and wave the Union Jack—that is your only contact with HER.

Have you been near the new hospital lately, which we as citizens have paid for?

Have you noticed all those slums near Argyle Street, Anlaby Road, and Down Lansdowne Street? Of course not. THEY HAVE BEEN PULLED DOWN—not to rebuild there, but because you cannot let HER see awful slums like they were. SHE will not even see the new SLUMS which we call little boxes made of ticky-tacky on the Orchard Park Estate, with built-in fungus. HER husband landed near the Estate to see the Sir Leo Schultz School—but not to look at the damp and fungi in some of the new slums. HULL has one of the highest slum rates in Britain. THIS IS A DISGRACE.

Will SHE notice the other hospitals (old and out-dated)? NO, of course not. The City Fathers and retinue will have a grandstand view of HER majesty.

The Police will be there in their hundreds—uniforms all over the place. The CID in plain clothes, and we must not forget the Special Branch (Britain's Secret Police), etc., mingling with the crowd, probably chatting nicely to you—YOU will have to line the streets for hours beforehand if you want a view—then SHE will probably flash by in a limousine. The police are not there to protect YOU, they are to protect one person—HER.

Again we ask you WHO PAYS?—US MUGGINS—HOW MUCH???

You have asked this question before in the supermarkets, the butchers, estate agents, etc., but for the Queen and company have you really thought to ask?

SEVERE RESTRAINT
As this is supposed to be a period of severe restraint, we would suggest that the Prices and Incomes Policy be made to include the Monarchy.

As you have probably read in the

national press, Prince Charles, already on £13,000 per year, is being given a rise of £12,000, making a grand total of £25,000 per year. All for his 18th birthday, and the intention is to convert a house on one of the Queen's estates for him—to be able to entertain his friends in private. When your lad becomes 18 what will his wages be: £5, £6 or £7? Certainly not £25,000 per year. Charles has had the best schools and now Cambridge (can one imagine him being turned down?)—the next stop after that will be in the armed services, the Royal Navy—just like Daddy (as an Officer of course).

These are only part of the Incomes and Expenses of Mr. Mountbatten and hangers-on:

Privy Purse	£60,000
Household Wages	£185,000
Household Expenses	£121,000
Royal Bounties	£13,000
Supplementary Provisions (in case the cost of living goes up)	£95,000
Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother gets:	£70,000
Philip gets:	£40,000
Duke of Gloucester gets:	£35,000
Princess Margaret gets:	£15,000
Princess Royal gets:	£6,000

These wages and expenses are for each year and are on the increase. They never go DOWN! AND THEY ARE TAX FREE. If you are wealthy the only way to escape death duties (legally that is) is to leave your cash to the Queen—she is excused death duties and is free from TAX on all of her many incomes.

What of the Queen's personal assets, Sandringham, Windsor, Balmoral, Buckingham? Rent and rates free, no electric bills to pay; their furniture, decorations and maintenance runs into untold millions of pounds—the Household Cavalry and the Guards, the cost of these borne by YOU is unmeasurable. What of the Queen's Personal Treasure? The Crown Jewels are not hers; they belong to the state (that is supposed to be me and you—'joke'), oil paintings, sculptures, even coin and stamp collections run into hundreds of millions of pounds. Real estate leasehold property includes slum areas of London, belonging to Her, and other estates up and down the country yielding millions. Do you remember the aircraft carrier 'Vanguard' converted at enormous cost for a Royal Cruise in the '50s?—now it is the Royal Yacht 'Britannia' costing £2,000,000 to convert. When it is in use it costs £7,000 per week and when not in use £4,000 per week—NOT per year! I don't suppose she would lend it to you and me for our honeymoon as she did for Margaret and Jones—277 sailors were involved as crew members all at our expense. Have you ever given a thought for the Royal servants?—they are the lowest paid in Britain, £4 to £8 per week (of course theirs is the honour of being employed by the Queen). That doesn't feed the kids. A lot of secrecy is involved around the expense of the Monarchy. It is impossible to find out her personal fortune—it is much in excess of £100,000,000 + £100,000,000 in wages and expenses direct or indirect. What could be done with the £200,000,000:

- STUDY THE FACTS
- 250 new hospitals like the one she is here to open;
 - All slum property wiped off the face of Britain;
 - Double the number of teachers and schools in Britain;
 - Double pensions for everyone over 60 NOT 65;
 - Cancer wiped off the face of the earth;
 - Poverty and malnutrition ended in Africa, India and all the under-developed countries.

IN JANUARY 1966 General Ironsi took over power in Nigeria and in the process dispersed some of the tribal chiefs. The Nigerians really thought that this was a step toward some form of emancipation, but as with all military coups it's the survival of the fittest, at the time.

Politics and politicians in Nigeria have always operated under a cloud of suspicion of corruption in some form or other, and when the chiefs Akintola and the Sardauna of Sokoto were killed there was no sense of a deep loss.

The military authority was greeted with enthusiasm, urban class rents were cut by 10%, with the promise of a cheap housing programme. Corruption was to be investigated and dealt with, regionalism was to end and commissions were to probe into the legacies left by the politicians.

After the period of the 'new broom', the military realised they had to govern, and the only people who knew anything about civilian administration were the Civil Servants, therefore the people who really governed the country were the Permanent Secretaries.

Many outside observers expected tribal friction to follow the military takeover, but in fact this did not happen (or was not apparent). The Muslim Northerners did not seek revenge for the death of their premier, Sardauna of Sokoto, their attitude was 'good riddance to bad rubbish'. It appears that the rule of the politicians was so corrupt and incompetent, that anything or anybody that took their place could not be worse. Under the federal system, duplication of industrial projects was common, investment brought in by contractor finance left a legacy of £35 million in short term debts. The allocation of contracts is one of the easiest ways to make quick money.

Ironsi's military regime, whilst

popular, was precarious; many of his best officers were killed in the coup, the four young officers in charge of the four regions had ambitions. By August 1966 the struggle for power began within the military set-up. Troops mutinied in Abeokuta and Ibadan and their leader, Army Chief-of-Staff Lieut.-Colonel Yakubu Gowon, announced in a broadcast that he had assumed power. Tribal loyalties now became apparent—although Gowon is a Northerner, he is not a Muslim but a Christian from a small tribe. Ironsi is an Ibo officer, and was accused of Ibo bias and incompetence.

Gowon is now head of a Central Government which is 'shaky' to say the least, with the various regions watching each other like hawks. The biggest rebel is the Eastern Region under Colonel Ojukwu who wanted and has now seceded from the Federation. Attempts were made to prevent the secession through a National Conciliation Committee but its proposals were rejected by the Eastern Region, who claimed that the four members nominated to represent the Eastern Region were not acceptable because they were Eastern residents in Lagos who had not visited their region for some time.

The Central Government's present policy is to split the four Nigerian regions into 12 states and to divide the Eastern Region into three separate states, hoping to weaken Ojukwu support.

At the end of May the Eastern Region proclaimed its independence as the Republic of Biafra and is prepared to co-operate with any sovereign unit or units in the former federation or in any other part of Africa desirous of association with them for the purposes of running a common services organisation and for the establishment of economic ties. An all-important clause in the Proclamation states, 'We shall pro-

A US VICTORY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

A PALESTINIAN ARAB once showed me a series of maps which he claimed were part of a Zionist publication. The first showed the small area of Palestine that was allotted to the Jews by the United Nations partition agreement of 1947. The second showed a considerably larger Israel which now included the land won from the Arabs in the war of 1948-49. The third showed the situation after Israel's attacks on Egypt at the time of Suez—a slightly larger Israel again; and the last showed the Zionists' final ambition: an Israel, or Israeli empire, covering everything from the Nile to the Euphrates. At the time I took all this was a large pinch of salt. Now I believe it.

These maps, if they are authentic, show that Zionism in its extreme form is an imperialist doctrine. I would go further and say that it is a fascist doctrine. The Zionist A. J. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary whose Balfour Declaration of 1917 was the first major step in Western endorsement of Zionism, wrote:

'Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.'

So, the equally age-long traditions, the present needs, the future hopes of the Arabs are, it seems, of no account. How can that be? Presumably because the Jews are 'the chosen people'. I would not say that this phrase is identical in meaning with Hitler's 'Herrenvolk', but I would say that, if Mr. Balfour's words are anything to go by, there is a resemblance. Substitute 'National Socialism' '700,000 Arabs' in the above quotation, for 'Zionism' and '6,000,000 Jews' for and perhaps you will see what I mean.

Of course, not all Jews are Zionists, and not all Zionists are fanatics. The eminent Israeli, Martin Buber, advocated a more liberal policy of real co-operation

and friendship with the Arabs. I believe that the reason why Balfour's brand of Zionism has got the upper hand is that it suits the Western Governments right down to the ground.

The Middle East is vitally important to capitalism: the Suez Canal is vital to world trade, and oil is vital to practically everything. Therefore, the West wants to control the Middle East. A time-honoured method has been to prop up corrupt and tottering old regimes such as the Ottoman Empire, which could be relied on to keep the Arabs under control and stave off Russian advances. After the First World War, Britain and France between them carved the Middle East up into nation states (previously unknown in that part of the world; there is no Arabic word for 'nation'), which they administered often through equally corrupt and tottering monarchies. Thus they successfully divided the Arabs against themselves and kept them politically immature; the effectiveness of this policy can be seen throughout Arab affairs to this day.

However, by the 1940s, imperialism was out of fashion. We could no longer keep pro-Western regimes in power by open force of arms. But something must be done, for as long as the recurrent desire for Arab unity struggled with the political and economic handicaps the West had left them with, anything might happen to the precious oil supplies—even the dreaded Communism. Israel was the answer; since a large part of Israel's population—and certainly the great majority of her wealthier citizens—would be European in origin, she could be relied upon to be staunchly pro-Western, particularly as she would be dependent on Western support for her very existence. Thus, Israel came into being already fully equipped with American money and arms. In the first year of her existence Israel's army was already larger than the combined forces of all the neighbouring Arab states. Well may America and Bri-

tain loudly proclaim their neutrality; for whenever fighting breaks out, Israel, backed to the hilt by Western money, arms, training and overwhelming moral support, cannot fail to defeat her Arab enemies; and when an armistice is signed, each time a little more Arab land comes within Israel's frontiers. And each defeat leaves the Arab nations a little more demoralised, a little poorer and a little less united. This method has all the advantages of open imperialism and none of the disadvantages, for all we appear to be doing in the eyes of the world is helping a new and tiny nation to defend herself against large and hostile neighbours.

If the Zionist extremists get their way, this process will go on until the entire Middle East—Suez Canal, oilfields and all—will be under Israeli (that is to say, American) control. The prospect must have capitalists all over the world rubbing their hands in glee.

ANNE-MARIE FEARON.

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Dancing — Paintings — Food

Social Evening

(a get-together got together by Mujeres Libres and London Anarchists)

Programme:
Films by Peter Whitehead, Steve Dwoskin, George Barker and Willard Maas, etc.
'The People Show' (no. 13)
Ian K's Royal Puppets
F. Ricotti's Jazz Quartet
Paintings by David Jenkins
Los Vel Campos Spanish Dancers
JULY 1st (SATURDAY) 6 p.m.-11 p.m.
CONWAY HALL,
RED LION SQUARE, W.C.1
Tickets 6/- (children 2/6)
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ANARCHY 77

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ANTONIONI'S FILM *Blow-Up* is a study of a young photographer who treats his art, not as the instrument of any purpose, but as an end in itself. The young man is neither hero nor anti-hero; he does not ask the question. His occupation is neither to experience reality himself, nor to communicate it to others, but to present it; and to present it, not even in its most exciting or aesthetically most pleasing form, but in the form which will demonstrate most clearly the subservience of reality to his own cleverness. The act of cleverness is his existence. There is something unpleasantly gross or unimaginative, it seems, about the scenes with the girl model in which the photographer contemptuously ignores the sexual relationship and exhausts his virility in his camerawork; in a similar scene some other models are to him but artistic mannerisms or styles of dress; in these scenes the shoddiness of the film parallels—perhaps it could even be said to identify with—the shoddiness of the life lived simply as a camera. Perhaps such a life is better described as threadbare, or insubstantial. To the young photographer the very insubstantiality of his existence is his chief delight and glory. I am nothing, and my creation is nothing; and yet it cannot be denied that I exist. The painful hero of Dostoyevsky's novels discovers at last that it is possible for a human being to be a dishrag; and to like it; or, at least, he can enjoy not caring whether he likes it or not.

There is a sort of nihilism in *Blow-Up*. It is not the nihilism of the nineteenth century Russian revolutionaries who desired to strip away all the trappings of conventional society which bound the natural or the potential man—the man who could, if he but would. The nihilism of *Blow-Up* seeks to destroy that very human potential for the sake of which the Russian nihilists sought to destroy. Perhaps the nihilism which *Blow-Up* portrays does not seek even anything so positive as destruction; its object is simply to ignore, to retreat from, the whole area of human existence.

The central human act of the film—the murder of a man in a park—is a blurred outline in a series of photographs in which it is originally an accidental detail: in the hands of the artist a deliberate and definite act becomes an unintended and imprecise intrusion upon the picture he has created. Reality intrudes itself upon the artist's vision, and proves to be unacceptable, and is passed by on the other side. In the most exciting part of the film the young photographer develops the photographs he has taken in the park of the wild and beautiful young English girl and her elderly lover; his intention being to use them to conclude a book he is making with a friend, with a picture of peace and quietness; but he suddenly notices in the photographs—that he had not observed when he took them—a hand holding a gun and a recumbent figure vaguely outlined; he enlarges these areas on the photographs and of course enlarges their blurred and tantalising imprecision.

But the encounter with reality is but short and soon abandoned. The photographer's book-making friend is at a party smoking pot, and refuses to be involved; he returns to the scene of the crime twice, the first time in the middle of the night to confirm that the recumbent figure vaguely suggested by one of his blow-ups does exist, the second time early in the morning to photograph the body, when he finds that it has been removed. In the new morning he wanders round the park and meets some gro-

FILM REVIEW

Blow-Up

PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST AS A PHOTOGRAPHER

tesquely masked rag students who leap out of their lorry and occupy the tennis court, two of them skilfully and seriously playing tennis with an imaginary ball, while the others attentively follow the game. When the ball goes out of the court—Antonioni's camera follows its flight and its landing in the grass—all look to the photographer, who is nearest, to retrieve it, which he does. In this, the last episode of the film, he accepts the

world of illusion and of make-believe which he has himself made—his exclusion from any other, more real existence because he himself has excluded it.

Blow-Up is a melodramatic and perhaps rather superficial picture of the way we live now: the way some of us—the complete pop artists—live almost all of the time, and the way all of us perhaps live some of the time. In its portrait of the young photographer it has invented or discovered a new myth figure: the complete pop artist who uses the coruscations of his art, neither to exorcise nor to express his passions, but as though these were alone all his passion; who uses his vision, not to see, but to avoid seeing. The world of the complete pop artist is the world of the sacrificial king of the mid-twentieth century. His is a public existence; he lives in the fantasy-world of the alienated and the dispossessed; in his total freedom—the complete pop star is young and hand-

some and athletic and rich without showing any interest in these things or concern for their preservation—he lives not only for himself but for all the unexperienced moments of ecstasy in the lives of those to whom life is a daily grind. Such lives do not experience 'the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world'—or its transcendence; they experience an appalling and ever-present intelligibility; such lives are bound in myth because the reality is at once both intolerable and inescapable. The pop artist presides over the dissolution of the total human consciousness of identity and society; he has not initiated a process which has been a continuous aspect of human history; but in his unashamed nihilism he stands perhaps at a crucial point in the emergence of some form of consciousness and sensibility out of a wasteland of collective self-delusion and inertia.

MARTIN SMALL.

ROUND THE GALLERIES

IT IS TO be expected that, when any venerable figure of our times offers for public applause the flickering echoes of an acknowledged talent, every critic and every committee man will rear up onto his hind legs and bay his applause so that, as with the regimented brass section of a north country marching band, we accept the sheer volume of mindless noise as an end in itself even though we cover our own ears to the prostitution of the mind. So perishes yesterday's rebels, sad old comedians, arthritic ballet dancers, seventeen-stone prima donnas, old horses and Pablo Picasso. Harsh words? Truly. Yet are they as harsh as the mealy-mouthed patronage that is now being offered by the Town's *hoi polloi* as they window-shop through the Arts Council's Exhibition, at the Tate, of Picasso's sculpture?

Covering an age from 1901 to 1964, we are offered 203 pieces of sculpture, 32 ceramics and 42 drawings and etchings, and it is sad to see how swiftly and surely the pseudo-intelligentsia of King's Road and the suburbs have taken over, for no longer do they discuss in muted tones their acceptance or rejection of Picasso's work as they did in the thirties when they might inadvertently have been called upon, in isolation, to explain their endorsement or denouncement of the artist's exploration of new frontiers of individual expression, but now they stand in loud and shallow judgement and the word *clever* is the semantic key that has finally unlocked the empty attics of their minds.

I would hold that there is little of Picasso's sculptures that could be used to judge the man as an artist for at their best they are but sad three dimensional shadows of his major paintings and at their worst the clever doodlings of an active and agile mind too bored to transmute into heroic action the demands that history makes on him.

The early work within this exhibition can be dismissed as the not very talented fumbblings of a young painter playing with a new medium, and it is after the painting of his historical and revolutionary *Les Femmes d'Alger* that Picasso began to warrant attention, for his brilliant essays in the uses of non-aesthetic materials as a new media for the practising sculptor opened the gal-

leries of the West to the talented and the non-talented men who chose to emulate his visionary creations. It was a series of audacious and magnificent gestures on Picasso's part and always his reputation as a painter protected him from the critics of the day who challenged the aesthetic validity of this new use of metropolitan dress.

Yet by 1932 Picasso appears to have found his limitations as a sculptor and the *Great Heads* must have surely been his quietus. These huge bronze heads, modelled in clay or plaster in his studio at Boisgeloup, again echo his paintings and though beneath the elephantine noses, the slack erotic mouths and the dead outline of unrelated eyes there still smiles the face of Marie-Thérèse Walter, she exists as hardly more than a reflection upon the surfaces of these bronze abstractions, like a figure in a Gerald Scarfe drawing, despite the flippant gimmickry of the artist and not because of him. It is from this date on that the Town's *ton* take over, for after 1932 Picasso descended to the level of his audience and each and every piece becomes as amusing as the one before.

It is all there, and pedantic youths and callow ancients can caw their delight as each little bronze gimmick catches their supermarket eyes. The clay flower in the battered watering can, the bicycle saddle with the handlebars to make a bull's head, the goat with a straw basket for a bulging gut, a tap, a shovel and a fork to make a bird, a female baboon with a head created from two toy motor cars placed base to base. Cast them all in bronze and the Town roars its applause. The small sticks of wood whittled and daubed to give a cheap-jack resemblance to women, the Picasso-line in expensive scarf decoration now used to enhance cardboard-size and shaped pieces of sheet iron, the clever trick of squeezing unfired clay pots into crude figures of pigeons.

I will smile with the rest but Pablo, Pablo, you are doing these things in 1960 and even the shyter galleries no longer bother with this trivia, should it be offered to them by someone who does not carry the cachet of your past reputation, for its only economic value lies in the use of your name and even your once-gifted hands cannot give them the

divinity of the true glory. If we must form a judgement, and all things are relative, then judge your life-size *Man with Sheep* alongside Epstein's beautiful pregnant woman.

With this magnificent carving Epstein added one more figure for the future to evaluate our claim to be remembered as his pregnant woman holds her swelling belly in an acceptance of the agony that must be hers while the brute face bends in unconscious adoration illuminated by a gentle peace that marks Epstein's carving with a universal beauty. Place Picasso's *Man with Sheep* beside it, and Picasso's clay figure without bone or muscle, and carrying the weightless sheep as though it were a bag of tomatoes, turns Sir Roland Penrose's boast that this seven foot figure was modelled in a single day into an apology.

This summer the citizens of Chicago will see a sixty-foot steel structure arise in that drear city and when they have paid the bill they can then claim that they now own the biggest Picasso in the free world. Give me one six-inch figure by Henry Moore, monumental and timeless, and Chicago's tin shed, yea, even though it carries the name of Picasso, would be unworthy to house it.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

LETTER

Aberfan

Dear Sir,
It's strange how situations repeat themselves.

Some years ago, the great floods of Cornwall brought thousands of pounds to the people of Cornwall, from people far and wide.

Did these people get this money? Not on your Nellie! I believe it was put in trust, and I believe it is still there, making by now many more pounds. For whom and for whose interest? Not those poor people who suffered in the floods, and now, it seems to me, that the same kind of thing will happen to the money sent to the people of Aberfan.

Yours,
ANNE RICHES.

P.S. A cutting is enclosed giving details of quarrels over legal points which make it probable that persons affected by the disaster will not receive any money.

WE GO TO PRESS ON MONDAY. LATEST DATE FOR RECEIPT OF MSS., LETTERS, MEETING NOTICES IS THE MONDAY IN EACH WEEK OF PUBLICATION.

Anarchist Federation of Britain

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

1967 AFB CONFERENCE. Oct. 6, 7, 8. For details of London venue and proposals for agenda apply to LFA.

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).

JUNE 25 Discussion Middle East War Literature seller at Speakers' Corner, Sunday afternoons.

HARLOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Enquiries to Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow or John Barrick, 16 Centre Avenue, Epping.

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

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 Huggon, 173 Kinghill Avenue, Northolt, Middlesex.

EALING ANARCHIST GROUP. Get into touch with Ken King, 54 Norwood Road, Southall.

OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS 3rd Wednesday of each month at Jack Robinson and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m.

3rd Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald and Irene Rooum's, now at 13 Severnacke Road, London, N.W.3.

REGIONAL FEDERATIONS AND GROUPS ALTRINCHAM ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP. Get in touch with Stephen Richards, 25 North

Vale Road, Timperley, Cheshire. ABERDEEN GROUP. Correspondence to Michael Day, 86 Rosemount Place, Aberdeen.

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

BELFAST: Contact Tony Adams, 11 Winetavern Street, Smithfield Square, Belfast.

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary: Geoff Charlton, 8 Lightwoods Hill, Bearwood, Smethwick, 41. Regular meetings at Geoff and Caroline's above address, top flat. First Wednesday of month.

RESISTANCE GROUP. C/o Birmingham Peace Action Centre (formerly CND office), Factory Road, Birmingham, 19.

UNIVERSITY OF ASTON GROUP. Contact: Dave Kipling, 87 Kingsbury 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.

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. Contact Stuart Mitchell at 46 Hughendon Road, Marshalswick, St. Albans, Herts.

PLYMOUTH ANARCHIST FEDERATION. Contact J. Hill, 79 Underlane, Plymstock, Plymouth, Devon.

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

ROCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Eryl Davies, 22 St. Margaret's Street, Rochester, Kent.

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

SLOUGH. Contact Sid Rawle, 4 Hillperton Road, Slough, Bucks.

SOUTH WEST MIDDLESEX ANARCHIST GROUP meets alternate Thursdays and Saturdays, on Eel Pie Island. Contact P. J. Goody, 36 Norman Avenue, Hanworth, Middlesex.

TROWBRIDGE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact P. Weston, Chivele, Butts Lane, Keevil, Trowbridge, Wiltshire. Meetings every Tuesday 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House (opp. Bus Station).

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 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, 3 Westbury Road, Forest Gate, E.7.

ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence to: Julian Ross, 11 Wellfield Close, Bishopston, Swansea.

PROPOSED GROUPS NORTH EAST ESSEX. Would readers interested in proposed group write to P. Newell, 'Maybush', Maypole Road, Tiptree, Essex.

ELTHAM. 'Sons of Durutti' Group. Get in touch with T. Liddle, 83 Gregory Crescent, London, S.E.9.

KILBURN, LONDON, N.W.6. Anarchist Group being formed—contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, London, N.W.6.

BIRKENHEAD. Please get in touch with G. Woodhouse, 59 Cambridge Road, Woodchurch, Birkenhead.

MUCH HADHAM, HERTS. Get in touch with Leslie Riordan, High Street, Much Hadham, Herts.

ROCHDALE. Please contact Richard Crawford, 4 Hargreaves Street, Sudden, Rochdale.

ABROAD AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. 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, USA.

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 Matthews would like to make contact. Secondary school teacher from UK. PO Box 90, Kakamega, Kenya.

USA: NORTH-EASTERN MINNESOTA. Contact James W. Cain, 323 Fourth Street, Coquet, Minn. 55720, USA.

Kropotkin: Two Early Speeches

THE Jura Federation held its Annual Congresses at La Chaux-de-Fonds in October 1879 and in October 1880. On each occasion a major speech was made by Peter Kropotkin, who was then living in exile in Switzerland and editing *Le Révolté*.

The main item for discussion at the 1879 Congress was the practical application of anarchist theory. Kropotkin spoke on October 12 (under the pseudonym of Levashov) to emphasise the need for the development of anarchist thought in a practical direction, and to introduce his own report on the subject. The Congress agreed to circulate his report, which was published in *Le Révolté* and as a pamphlet (for a translation, see FREEDOM, 25.2.67).

The main item for discussion at the 1880 Congress was a long Socialist Programme put forward by the Courtelary District Workers Federation. Kropotkin spoke on October 9 (under his own name this time) to emphasise the difference between anarchists and other socialists, and to propose the use of the term communism—which he had used the previous year in his speech, though not in his report—to describe the form of anarchism he favoured; it is interesting that he distinguished his conception of communism from those of Fourier and Saint-Simon, but not from that of Marx. The Congress accepted his proposal and welcomed the Courtelary Programme with the rider that communism was the 'logical consequence' of collectivism and that 'anarchist communism will thus be the necessary and inevitable consequence of the social revolution and the expression of the new civilisation inaugurated by this revolution'.

Reports of the two Congresses, including Kropotkin's speeches, were published in *Le Révolté* on October 18, 1879, and on October 17, 1880. The French text of the 1880 speech has been reprinted as part of the Congress report in the recent historical anthology of anarchism, *Ni Dieu ni Maître* (Paris, 1965, pp. 338-342). Neither speech has ever been published in this country before.

Incidentally, it is necessary to correct the account of these two Congresses given in George Woodcock's history, *Anarchism* (Cleveland, 1962; Harmondsworth, 1963). In the chapter on Kropotkin, they are treated as a single Congress taking place in 1880 (p. 303/189); and, in the chapter on the international movement, they are treated as separate Congresses but are described as 'the last congresses in the Jura', despite the one at Lausanne in June 1882 and the one at La Chaux-de-Fonds in July 1883 (p. 257/240).

1879

Levashov, while giving local agitation the importance it deserved, explained the necessity of a general point of view, and put forward the following ideas.

There was a time when the anarchists were virtually denied the right to exist. The General Council of the International treated us as trouble-makers, the press treated us as dreamers, almost everyone treated us as extremists. That time is past. The anarchist party has now proved its vitality. It has overcome obstacles of all kinds which used to hinder its development. Today it is accepted. For this to happen, the party first of all had to maintain a struggle on the ground of theory, to establish its ideal of the future society, to prove that this ideal was the best one, to demonstrate more than this—that this idea is not the product of pipe dreams but that it springs directly from popular aspirations, and that it is in accordance with the historical progress of culture and ideas.

This work was done. Our theories, our way of conceiving the future society, even though they were never stated sufficiently completely in their entirety—this is still a gap to be filled—have appeared often enough in our pamphlets, our papers and our meetings, for it to be generally known that the anarchists want in the future: 1. *Anarchist communism* as the end, with *collectivism* as the transitory form of property; and 2. The abolition of all forms of government, and the *free federation* of producer and consumer groups. We have established, moreover, that anarchism is the sole means of resolving the social problem which occupies the most distinguished thinkers today—that



KROPOTKIN
at work in his garden

of reconciling the welfare of society with the aspirations for independence of the individual. And we have demonstrated that society, far from tending to concentrate power in the hands of a few, is moving on the contrary towards the complete destruction of this power to replace it with the free consent of all.

This basic work was done. And although there still remains an immense amount for us to do to spread our ideas and to elaborate them in detail, nevertheless this essential part of the task—the theoretical elaboration, which above all gives moral strength to a party—is for the most part complete. Received at its first appearance with a sceptical smile, our party has been able to force its adversaries to admit that anarchy is the most splendid ideal which the human mind has con-

ceived up to our time.

But if the theoretical aspect of our programme has been well elaborated and stated, the same could not be said of the practical aspect. The way we must follow to reach the realisation of our ideal in the conditions we have been given by history has not been stated with same breadth and depth of imagination. Preoccupied with laying the foundations of a programme without which the party could not even have been formed, preoccupied at the same time with the ceaseless work of the practical organisation of the party and the struggle, our Sections have necessarily had to put off until later the statement—the theoretical statement, as it were—of ways and means. It was a matter first of all of formulating a fertile idea, of choosing our ground, of outlining the general idea of the structure, of guessing the general tendencies which society would show during the erection of this structure, leaving until later the discussion of the details of putting it into practice—and this is the work which the anarchist party must do today.

True, we have established one fundamental principle of ways and means—we have demonstrated that the transformation of society can be carried out only in a revolutionary way. And we have said often enough that by revolution we do not understand the replacement of one government by another which would be as incapable of carrying out a revolution as every other assembly of delegates, that we therefore want a revolution by deed, carried out by the people itself. But we have not explained fully enough the way we conceive this revolutionary movement. We have said that the propagation of our ideas must be carried out not only by word and by writing, but also and above all by action. But—judging by the way we have been understood—one would be led to suppose that we have not yet explained fully enough the way we understand action. Perhaps we have not made it clearly understood that in our opinion this kind of propaganda is possible only when the deed springs from life itself—from favourable circumstances, without which it will certainly have neither a wide field of action nor the necessary continuity.

Finally, we find in our papers, in Guillaume's *Ideas* [on *Social Organisation*], and above all in Bakunin's last writings, some sufficiently precise indications on the problem of ways and means. But these ideas are too scattered in different writings, and have never been considered in their entirety. And we know that in so far as a party has not clearly formulated its programme of action, it will not have enough attractive force to bring together those who want a clear and precise formula first of all.

Comrade Levashov therefore proposed that the Jura Federation should make a study of this subject in its Sections during the course of the coming winter, and to provide a basis for this discussion, he presented the conclusions of the work he had done on the subject, and proposed to circulate it to the

Sections.

1880

Comrade Kropotkin reported that he was present at a meeting of the Geneva Section, which found the Programme much too long to be used effectively for popular propaganda. This Section had therefore requested him to express its desire that a summary of the Programme should be published.

Passing on to discussion of the Programme, he said that socialism had been becoming fashionable for some time, and even where one would least expect it one heard people saying, 'We are socialists too!' So we have socialists of all shades—red and pink, blue and green, white and even black. All those who accept the need for any kind of modification in the relations between capitalists and workers, however tame it may be, have come to use the word *socialist*.

We needn't bother about those who call themselves socialists with the confirmed intention of holding up the development of socialism; let us leave them on one side for the moment. But if we study all the other schools of reformist socialism, state socialism, democratic socialism, and so on, and if we compare them with anarchist socialism, we soon see one idea which constitutes a clear-cut difference between the various schools and ourselves. It is the way of seeing the work the revolution must carry out.

A common idea is met with in all the evolutionary socialists, and even in some revolutionary socialists. They do not believe in an approaching great revolution, or rather, if they do believe in it, they are persuaded that this revolution will not be a socialist revolution. 'At the time of the next movement,' they say, 'the people will not yet be ready to bring about a serious revolution in the property system. That is why it is necessary to bring about a political revolution first which will make it possible to prepare minds for a social revolution.' So, if we are to believe them, the latter won't come until our great-grandchildren have turned grey! Study the writings of the socialists of all schools, and you will see that in the end this idea dominates all the rest, whatever phrases may be used to disguise it.

We cannot protest too strongly against this conception, with which the timid try to limit the importance of the next revolution in advance. We are firmly convinced that expropriation will be the end and driving force of the next European struggle, and we must do everything we can to make sure that this expropriation will be carried out following the battle whose approach we foresee. It is only expropriation, carried out by the people and followed by the immense movement of ideas it will give rise to, which can give the next revolution the strength necessary to overcome the obstacles standing in its way. It is expropriation which must become the point of departure for a new period in the development of society. And even if the efforts of our enemies—backed by those who already want to say to the people, 'You mustn't go too far!'—succeeded in defeating us, at least the fact of having attempted the

communalisation of all social capital and the products of labour, even on a limited scale, would be a salutary example, foreshadowing the final success of the subsequent revolution.

Expropriation, put into effect by the people as soon as an insurrection has disorganised the bourgeois authorities; the immediate seizure by producer groups of all social capital—that will be our method of action during the next revolution. And it is on this point above all that we differ from those socialist schools which, having no confidence in the people, want in the end to turn the next revolution into a simple change in the form of government—some under the pretext of establishing the liberties necessary for the development of the idea of socialism, and others under the pretext of putting a gradual expropriation into effect in small doses when they, the governments, think them proper.

If the Jura Federation accepts the idea put forward by the Geneva Section, of publishing a summary of our Programme, it would be a good idea for such a summary to bring out more clearly this essential difference which exists between our party and the evolutionary schools.

Comrade Kropotkin then observed that the use of the word *collectivism* in the Programme could give rise to misunderstanding. When this word was introduced in the International, it was given a meaning quite different from that which it is given today. In view of the prejudices then existing in France against communism, by which was understood a monastic order shut up in a convent or a barracks, the International accepted the word *collectivism*. By this is meant that it wanted the communalisation of social capital and the complete freedom of groups to introduce whatever distribution of the products of labour they found most appropriate to the circumstances. Today we are given to understand that the word means something different—among evolutionists, it means not so much the communalisation of the instruments of labour as the individual consumption of the products of labour. Others go still further, and try to limit even the social capital which is to be communalised—only the land, the mines, the forests, and the means of communication. As for all the other things, collectivists of this kind would be ready to take arms to defend them against those who would dare touch them to make them collective property.

It is time to put an end to this misunderstanding, and there is only one way to do it—this is to abandon the word *collectivism*, and to describe ourselves frankly as *communists*, and in doing so to bring out the difference existing between our conception of anarchist communism and that which was spread by the schools of mystical and authoritarian communists before 1848. We shall be able to express our ideal better, and our propaganda can only be strengthened by this. It will gain that impetus which is brought by the idea of communism and which will never be given by that of collectivism.

(translation by Nicolas Walter)

Living Free

GYPSIES, DIDIKOIS AND OTHER TRAVELLERS by Norman Dodds published by Johnson Publications, London at 25/-.

IT IS HARD to escape the commercial and bureaucratic pressures to conform to the drab standards of modern technological society. Middle class anarchists like myself resist on an intellectual plane and express our dissent on sporadic demonstrations.

The 'Gypsies, Didikois and Other

Travellers' described in the late Norman Dodds' book are struggling to maintain a way of life distinctly different from the state imposed norm, and express their dissent full time.

Dodds recognised that this makes them victims of some outrageous behaviour from both public and officials, and out of his great sense of humanity sprang to their defence without seeming to take up the issue of authority versus freedom as such.

The travellers are particularly attractive to anarchists because of their disregard for authority, coupled with self-reliance. They like to be, and usually are, self-employed, make little use of social and welfare services and hardly ever become homeless. They do not commonly go through established forms of marriage, register as electors, or pay tax. While keeping themselves clean enough for comfort they do not become obsessed about personal hygiene to the degree desired by advertisers of deodorants.

They exasperate authoritarians because they are unregistered, unclassified, even unnumbered, people not contained in the carefully controlled, settled community. They represent an implicit threat to order. Norman Dodds quotes a

Rural District clerk as saying 'People find the gypsy is not acceptable. His way of living is an offence to everyone. He is destructive, nasty and lives on his wits', and in the *Evening News* recently travellers were described as 'unkempt primitives who defile beauty, turning green fields into muck ridden cemeteries for wrecked cars . . . a profane abuse of the countryside transforms pastures into eyesores . . . smoke from their fires pollutes the air . . . little more than layabouts, they slip through every loophole in the law'.

Norman Dodds came somewhere between the two attitudes. He liked the gypsies, and did not judge them. But he was an MP and it was in this role that he moved among them and launched what

he called 'my crusade' on behalf of the gypsies and other travellers.

His attitude was sympathetic but paternalistic. What is astonishing and sobering to anarchists was the depth of his commitment. He spent time and energy on them out of all proportion to their political significance, and indeed courted great unpopularity among his settled constituents by his actions. When a particular campaign reached a crisis point and a group of 300 gypsies in Darenth Woods were to be evicted in spite of an impassioned appeal from the floor of the House (printed in full in the book), Dodds then took the heroic step of acquiring a caravan and moving in with them. When this too

Continued on page 6

'NATION is nothing MAN is all'



BAKUNIN

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL, 1864-1914. By Julius Braunthal. Translated by Henry Collins and Kenneth Mitchell. Pp. xiii + 393. Sixteen plates. Nelson, 1966. 95s.

JULIUS BRAUNTHAL is one of the few surviving active socialists of the pre-First World War generation. He has been associated with the international labour movement all his life and, as Secretary, he was largely instrumental in reviving the Socialist International after the Second World War. Now in retirement in England, he has set himself the task of writing the definitive history of the Socialist Internationals. The present volume, originally published in German in 1961 but revised for the English edition, takes the story up to 1914. A second volume dealing with the period 1914-1945 is promised later this year.

The book appears to be based on original and secondary sources familiar to students in this field. It adds little, if anything, to scholarship and at 95s. is an expensive product. In its favour, however, it can be said that Braunthal gives us a readable narrative and one—granted his own social democratic viewpoint—which is reasonably detached and dispassionate.

The bulk of the book deals, of course, with the First International, founded in 1864, and the Second International, founded in 1889. However, the accounts of these are preceded by a useful discussion of their forerunners. The feeling that the oppressed peoples of the world should join forces on an international scale sprang directly from the ideas of the French Revolution of 1789, in particular the idea of the Rights of Man. This feeling found expression in the French National Assembly's conferment of French citizenship on eminent men of all countries, such as Tom Paine, who were deemed to have 'paved the way for the liberation of mankind'. In the decree granting citizenship, it was explained that although the Assembly could not hope to see as yet 'men establish by law what exists in nature, a single family, a single society, nevertheless the friends of freedom must be dear to a nation which has renounced all conquests and proclaimed its desire for the brotherhood of nations'. The same spirit inspired the first political movement of the working class in England—the Corresponding Societies (1792) and the first socialist movement in France—Babeuf's Conspiracy of the Equals (1796). In the period of reaction that followed the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the ruling classes of Europe formed a kind of counter-revolutionary international in defence of the existing political and social system. This took the form of co-ordinated actions by conservative governments against all movements for democracy and national independence. From this experience the subject classes drew the conclusion that they must confront the counter-revolutionary international with one of their own, through which they would co-operate to secure

the defeat of reaction and the furtherance of revolution.

Among the organisations which sought to give expression to this idea were Blanqui's Society of the Seasons, the League of the Just, the Communist League, the Society of Fraternal Democrats, the International Committee, and the International Association—all precursors of the International Workingmen's Association which was finally launched on September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, Long Acre. In this period there was a broad alliance between the growing working class socialist movement on the one hand and the radical section of the bourgeoisie on the other. The latter were principally interested in defeating the remnants of the feudal aristocracy and in establishing sovereign nation states. The perspective of the socialists at this time was well expressed by Ernest Jones, the Chartist leader, explaining the social significance of national liberation movements: 'For us, nation is nothing, man is all. For us the oppressed nationalities form but one: the universal poor of every land, that struggle for life against the nation of the rich, that mighty race of which every man gives health, labour, life unto society. . . . We begin tonight no mere crusade against an aristocracy. We are not here to pull one tyranny down only that another may live the stronger. We are against the tyranny of capital as well.'

By 1864, however, the bourgeois-proletarian alliance of the 'oppressed' had more or less collapsed. Experience had demonstrated that the solidarity of the 'oppressed' classes was a fraud. The bourgeois elements in the national and political revolutions were not aiming at rule by 'the common people' but at an illusory form of democracy which would conceal the supremacy of the middle class. The First International, therefore, was designed as a purely proletarian organisation and the opening sentence of its statement of General Rules declared categorically: 'The emancipation of the working classes must be won by the working classes themselves'. With its foundation a new phase of the class struggle began and socialism stepped on to the stage of history as a world movement.

The effective life of the First International was a mere eight years. In that short time it made an indelible impression on the politics of Europe. To millions of workers it seemed to possess a legendary power which made it the repository of their hopes of final emancipation. Its enemies were no less impressed. The Pope condemned it as 'the enemy of God and man'. The rulers of Europe saw in it a gigantic and menacing conspiracy and joined together in concocting plans for its persecution and extermination. Police spies reported that it had a membership of 2,500,000 and that a fund of over £5 million was deposited in London at the complete disposal of the International. It was seen as the funder of numerous strikes and, above all, as the power behind the ill-fated Paris Commune of 1871.

In fact, both workers and rulers were deluded. Completely reliable statistics are not available but, as Braunthal shows, it is clear that the International never disposed of anything like the strength attributed to it by friend and foe alike. That its financial resources were ludicrously exaggerated is evident from the fact that payment of rent and the general secretary's salary (originally £1 per week but soon reduced to 10/6d.) was a source of constant worry to the

General Council. As for its role in the Paris Commune, it is true that a few of the Communards were members of the International but the General Council itself shared Marx's view that an insurrection at that time would be a wasted effort which would undoubtedly end in defeat. This foreboding explains why the International remained silent during the two-month life of the Commune. Marx's Third Address of the General Council—better known as *The Civil War in France*—was, of course, written only after the Commune had been bloodily overthrown. At no time was the International in control of great masses of working people. It was rather, as *The Times* once described it, 'a great idea in a small body'. Its major source of strength lay in the fact that it did succeed in making the idea of working class solidarity come alive for a large number of people: it was this which inspired fear in the breasts of the ruling classes of its day.

In historical perspective, however, the significance of the First International lies not so much in what it did or did not achieve in its own time, as in the fact that it provided the arena for a fateful decision on the strategy of the proletarian revolution. In simplified terms, what the decision involved was a choice between the Marxian and the libertarian roads to socialism. It was the debate on this issue which rent the International from top to bottom and which led to the final chiasm and disintegration. In this debate the Marxists were ranged first against the Proudhonists and then against the followers of Bakunin.

There were several side issues and others—such as the nature of the organisation itself—which were linked to the main issue, but on the central issue itself there was no room for compromise. The anarchists argued that the state must be abolished in the course of the revolution and that political action (in the generally accepted sense) must be avoided. The Marxists retorted that the bourgeois state must, indeed, be destroyed but that in its place a proletarian state should be erected which would carry out the task of socialist reconstruction leading to the ultimate goal of the classless, stateless society. And, meanwhile, the workers should seek to acquire political power within the existing framework, fighting for extension of the suffrage and for legislative enactment of improved conditions.

As we all know, the Marxists won the debate. Marx himself preferred to liquidate the International rather than to see it fall into the hands of the anarchists. The tactic paid off and, thereafter, the Marxist view began to prevail in the international socialist movement. The anarchists, of course, were not completely routed. For many decades they continued to be a force, particularly in the Italian and Spanish labour movements. And at the end of the 19th century, anarchist ideas in the form of syndicalism were revived in sufficient force to offer a powerful challenge to orthodox Marxism. But by that time political socialism, both Marxist and reformist, had become too strong to be dislodged.

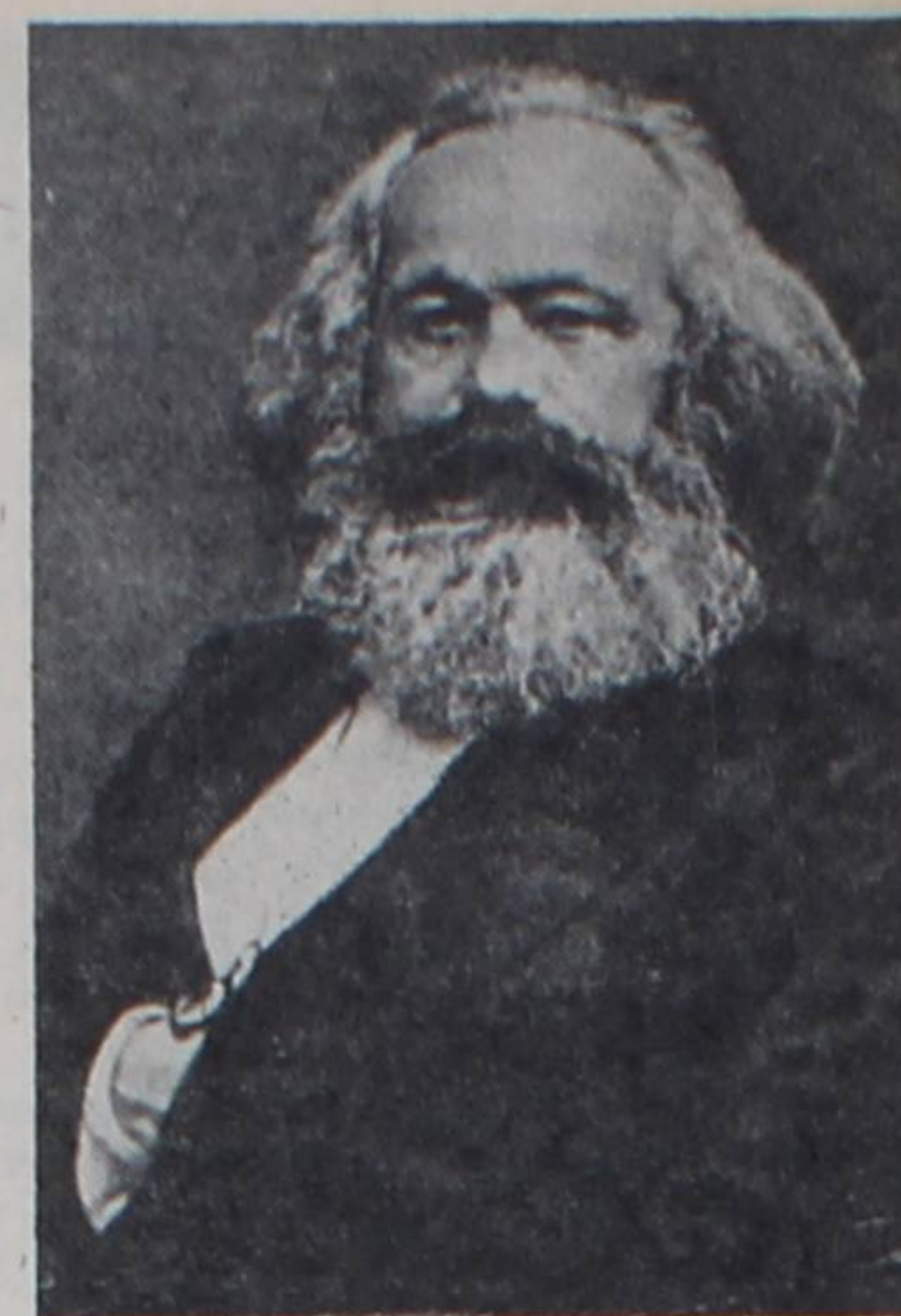
For those who can read, the story of the Second International provides the required commentary on the decision taken as a result of the debates in the First International. The Second International consisted largely of parties modelled on the German Social Democratic Party and, after 1896, the anarchists who had come in as delegates of trade unions were effectively excluded

by the ruling that membership was confined to those who acknowledged 'the need for political and parliamentary activity'. With the exception of a few small parties such as the ILP, the socialists of the Second International thought of themselves as Marxists. They talked in terms of the class struggle and of the coming revolution which would establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it was not much more than talk. In practice these revolutionary socialists acted like reformists seeking to win concessions for the working class within the framework of the bourgeois state. In 1896 Bernstein, launching the first revisionist movement, had the temerity to point out that the Emperor had no clothes. He was severely squashed for his pains; revisionism was formally repudiated by the majority; but his Marxist colleagues continued nevertheless to tread the reformist path. As the wily old Bavarian socialist, Felix Auer, put it to Bernstein after the latter's defeat: 'My dear Ede, one doesn't formally decide to do what you ask, one doesn't say it, one does it'.

The reformist tendencies of pre-1914 Marxism were nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the prolonged debates on how the workers of the world could unite to prevent wars. The idea of an international general strike was mooted but rejected by the German Social Democrats as simply 'impossible and undiscussible'. At the Stuttgart Congress of 1907 a resolution, including the following statement, was moved: 'If a war threatens to break out, it is the duty of the working classes and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, supported by the co-ordinating activity of the International Socialist Bureau, to exert every effort in order to prevent the outbreak of war by the means they consider most effective, which naturally vary according to the sharpening of the class struggle and the sharpening of the general political situation. In case war should break out anyway, it is their duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination, and with all their powers to utilize the economic and political crisis created by the war, to rouse the masses and thereby hasten the downfall of capitalist class rule.' It was passed unanimously with what the Minutes described as 'tumultuous, long and continuously repeated applause'. After seven more years of heightening crisis, war broke out. When it came it took the socialists, as it took almost everyone else, by complete surprise. Most of them, however, quickly recovered their wits. With the German Social Democrats and the French socialists in the lead, the socialist deputies in their respective national parliaments voted in favour of war credits.

'These acts,' says Braunthal, 'struck a mortal blow to the International. It fell, the first victim of the world war. It had been conceived as a brotherhood, uniting the workers of all countries in a spirit of solidarity for the joint struggle against the ruling classes. Now the socialist parties of the belligerent countries were making common cause with their own ruling classes, which bore the sole responsibility for the war, against peoples of other lands who had had war forced on them. The bond of brotherhood between the nations had been broken and the spirit of international solidarity of the working classes superseded by a spirit of national solidarity between the proletariat and the ruling classes.'

But Braunthal fails to point out that this tragicomic finale was no more than a logical outcome of the earlier decision



KARL MARX

to take the political and the parliamentary road to socialism. In the controversies in the First International, right was not all on one side. But, whatever may be said in criticism of the anarchists, they at least had seen clearly that conquest of political power would be fatal to the achievement of the proletarian revolution. The attempt to do so would only result in the incorporation of socialists in the national state. Marx had ridiculed Proudhon's view that 'all nationalities and even nations were "antiquated prejudices"' and had argued that the workers should not destroy the nation but, rather, that they should take it over. 'They must, as he put it, "rise to be the leading class of the nation". But in the event what happened was that the nation took over the workers.'

Marxism, despite its profound analysis of capitalist development and all its talk of class war, proletarian ascendancy and international brotherhood, stood revealed as essentially no more than a left-wing variant of bourgeois ideology. The sovereign nation state was itself the classical political form through which the bourgeoisie achieved social dominance. It was, if we may be pardoned the expression, sheer utopianism to imagine that the same political form could be utilized by the proletariat in its quest for emancipation. If the proletariat was ever to achieve social dominance and to liquidate class rule, it needed to construct its own political form.

It had not done so by 1914 and it has not done so since. Indeed, after 1914 the tragicomic turned to pure farce. Repudiating the socialists of the Second International, the Bolsheviks seized political power in Russia and proceeded to construct 'socialism in one country'. From having no fatherland, the workers suddenly found that they had their 'own' fatherland—the USSR! And, despite subsequent disillusionment, the farce continues. The political socialists continue to win political power but the end result is always the same: not socialism but socialist states. It is true that we are living in an era of social revolution and in the advanced industrial countries the classical bourgeois nation state is on the way out. But only to be replaced by the supernational state. The social revolution we are living through is not the proletarian revolution but the revolution of the managerial-bureaucrats and its political form is the supernational state. Small wonder, then, that for those who continue to dream and to work for the end of class domination, it remains true today as it was a century ago that above all 'The State is the enemy'. For them the time has come to establish what the French National Assembly thought premature in 1791: 'What exists in nature, a single family, a single society'.

GEORGE OSTERGAARD.

Joan and the Press

THE PRESS CONFERENCE was held in a sort of ship's restaurant within the holds of the Savoy Hotel. Joan Baez arrived with Ira Sandpearl, the director of the Institute for Nonviolence. (Details from Box 5535, Carmel, California, USA.)

She looked relaxed and friendly, carrying a rose given to her by the wispy Wheatcroft, although surrounded by photographers.

I expected a barrage of personal and frivolous questions but the great national press, so used to interviewing false and superficial ladies and women-of-the-moment, remained silent when she asked for questions. I was embarrassed for them not for her.

Some woman journalist asked what was it like being a 'heroine' and did Joan

Baez ever get worried about losing her position as the folksong princess. She replied that some things worried her such as the likelihood of the world being blown up by respectable men; that although it's accepted as criminal to kill the neighbour across the street, the nation-state still accepts the killing of people without its boundaries.

Then, apart from Maurice Rosenbaum of the *Telegraph* who asked what she thought of a translation of *La Colombe* (The Dove), a Jaques Brel song, the press stayed mum. Bob Overy of *Peace News* asked if she knew the seats were expensive at her only concert in England, at the Albert Hall. She didn't, and expressed hurt that they were. Then he went on to ask if she had taken part in any of the 'be-ins' and she said 'she'd

rather be in her own home'.

But she had visited the free-shop in Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco, where food and clothes could be chosen and taken—a part of the digger movement there, and she hopes to spend a fortnight with them this summer.

Her Institute for Nonviolence, which was started and is supported by her money—the participants also contribute what they can afford—is being investigated by army intelligence; there have been complaints from residents in the Carmel region of California and they took part in the Free Speech Movement of Berkeley University. She refuses that percentage of tax which it is estimated goes on defence. She asked that people in Britain seriously consider this form of action against military policies. Last summer she spent some time in Grenada, Mississippi, with Ira Sandpearl and other members of the school. This is a very poor area in which the kids just sing and dance naturally and well because 'in Grenada there isn't even a pool-room or cinema'. Ira Sandpearl spoke of the kids

who would walk on the dangerous side of the street, after dark, when with him, as a protection for him, although normally they would not leave home after dark, for children are readily beaten up and occasionally shot by the fearful whites.

Joan Baez has widened her choice of songs which still includes those haunting traditional songs like *Mary Hamilton* and *Will Ye Go Laddie*, but included in her London concert such songs as Tim Hardin's *If You Were A Carpenter*; the Beatles' *Yesterday* and Jaques Brel's *La Colombe*. *Saigon Bride*, a poem sent to her by a Californian housewife (not Malvina Reynolds), was a lament for the Vietnamese, and the American soldiers—pawns in the game. She did three 'Bobby' Dylan songs and regretted that she could not sing his more recent songs, because of their rhythms and backing. But her beautiful interpretation of *One Too Many Mornings* was some dedication to Bob Dylan itself.

If one person were to attempt a simplification of Joan Baez she might be

described as a folksinger turned Chansonniere—like the tradition of French singers Georges Brassens and Jaques Brel. But in the last year this current tour of Europe and Asia is her first such work for she has been engaged in the nonviolent revolution and her contribution is no more than, no less than, any other single person, except that she gets the press following her and perhaps thereby preventing or reducing violence by the potential news coverage to a wider and less friendly world than the neighbours of Grenada, Mississippi, USA.

When she left after singing a song for Jesse Fuller, 72 now, author of songs like *San Francisco Bay Blues*, she was met by Donovan and they went off happily together. Love to them.

DENNIS GOULD.
PS. I asked her what she thought pacifists and nonviolent anarchists could do to support the radical anti-war movement in USA—and spontaneously, as always she is, she laughed: 'help to dismantle the American military empire'.

WILLIAM GODWIN

GODWINIANS will rejoice to hear of a new and elegant edition of the correspondence of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft.* Ralph Wardle, Professor of English at the University of Omaha, has printed 151 letters and notes from the collection of Lord Abinger at Cleeves Hall, Bures, Suffolk, that is all but nine of the original 160 which Godwin collected and numbered after the death of Mary, which nine 'careful search of other libraries and collections has failed to reveal'. The collection contains more communications from Mary than from Godwin, but whether this is accounted for by her greater facility with words or by Godwin's greater care for their preservation, the correspondence—if it is as complete as Professor Wardle thinks—shows both the philosopher-lovers to have been remarkably laconic. One hundred and fourteen pages of text, graced with a liberal allowance of white matter—at a rough estimate I should say not more than twenty thousand words in all, cover an intimate association lasting from July 1796 until August 1797, when Mary died of the after-effects of giving birth to the baby who was afterwards to become the second wife of the poet Shelley and the author of *Frankenstein*. 'My affections have been more exercised than yours, I believe, and my senses are quick, without the aid of fancy', Mary wrote to her lover in an early stage in the correspondence; it was an association founded not so much upon similarity of sentiment as upon similarity of dedication to the rational examination and use of sentiment, and one of its chiefest bonds was the frank interchange in these notes and letters of information, explanation and even occasionally of apology; it is something of a healthy surprise to read, in Godwin's reply to the above-quoted letter, 'I have now only left to apologise for my absurdity, which I do even with self-abhorrence. The mistake being detected, it is for you to decide whether it is too late to repair it. For my own part, I have not the presumption to offer even a word to implore your forgiveness' (pp. 19-20). The whole correspondence gives a fascinating glimpse of what was an unfortunately abbreviated experiment in intellectual and emotional companionship conducted by two equally strong-willed human beings.

Professor's Wardle's notes are concise and, as far as they go, informative. Their chief value perhaps is that they suggest the need for a fuller examination of the whole scene of literary, intellectual and argumentative England in the 1790's on which these letters themselves throw some light. 'Robert Bage was a self-educated paper manufacturer who turned novelist at the age of 53 to divert his mind from the loss of £1,500 suffered from the failure of an iron factory in which he and Erasmus Darwin were investors' (p. 102). This is Professor Wardle's note to Godwin's long account of his meeting with the man whose novels in their liberality and clarity of thought and sentiment were the forerunners of the novels Godwin and Mary, Thomas Holcroft and Mary Hays and others, wrote. The changing philosophical and political temper of novel-writing in England at the end of the eighteenth century has been documented by Miss Allene Gre-

gory in *The French Revolution and the English Novel* (New York: Putnam, 1915); but her account is partial, unsympathetic and often simply inaccurate. More sympathetic and—within her limits—more encyclopaedic is Miss J. M. S. Tompkins' *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (London: Constable, 1932; new edition by Methuen, n.d., 1966); although she does not concern herself much with the specifically political aspects of novel-writing, nor does she go beyond the end of the century—and, for instance, most of Godwin's novels were published after 1800: *Fleetwood, or the New Man of Feeling*, 1805; *Mandeville*, 1817; *Cloudestley*, 1830; *Deloraine*, 1833. Miss Tompkins has also edited a new edition, just published by the Oxford University Press in its Oxford English Novels series, of *A Simple Story* by Mrs. Inchbald, the equivocal friend of both Godwin and the revolution.

In England in the 1790's a group of

rationalist intellectuals of whom Godwin was the leader were examining and exposing the deficiencies of the existing social order by the standard of the rational life which all men had not only a right but a duty to lead; the novels of the writers mentioned above were one of their chief means of putting their views across to the public, and they introduced a new puritanism into novel-writing to which later novelists are perhaps indebted without knowing it; their opponents, seeking to vindicate the old order in terms of democracy and the recognition of the individual worth of every



Mary Wollstonecraft

man, used the same method of novel-writing. In their abstract consideration of the value of the individual rational life and of the way prejudice is its enemy, the revolutionary writers did not provide much if indeed any clue to a method of mass politics—i.e. a method of awaking and involving the whole people—and Godwin in particular seemed to conceive of the revolution as taking place by means simply of proliferating private discussions, as his arguments with Thelwall in 1795 and with Shelley in 1812 show. But they did provide a standard of intellectual endeavour and an ideal of rational behaviour which is of value even to the Marxist revolutionary most immersed in the dialectics of the class struggle; whilst the ability to continue and to continue more effectively the struggle will also be increased by a consideration of the arguments of those 'anti-Godwinian' writers who helped to set the counter-revolution going, by providing honest Englishmen—and not just Englishmen—with arguments whereby the critics of mercantile

and military empire might be confounded and the unpleasant sight of one's own economic motivations avoided. But of the novels today only Godwin's *Things as they are*; or, *Caleb Williams* seems to survive (the facsimile reprint edition of the third edition of *The Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, with full support of textual and critical introduction and notes, done by Toronto University Press in 1946, went out of print in November 1966); there is an American paperback edition, and last year it was published in two English paperback editions, one (Cassell's First Novel Library—the other edition is by Four Square, in its 'Gothic Horror' series, which looks an interesting venture) claiming it as Godwin's first novel, whereas in fact there are three early novels which Godwin himself thought lost and did not regret, but two of which have since been rediscovered and reprinted, *Imogen* in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* (1963), edited by Professor Jack Marken, and *Italian Letters* by the University of Nebraska Press (1965), edited by Professor Burton Pollin, who has also written a study of *Education and Enlightenment in the Works of William Godwin* (New York: Las Vegas publishing house, 1962) and has hopes of finding and reprinting the last of the early trio, *Damon and Delia*, as well. Other straws in the wind which perhaps indicate a revival of interest in the literary and intellectual activity of Godwin and his contemporaries—apart from the perennially interesting figures of the romantic poets and Burke and Paine—are, an excellent recent life of Dr. Samuel Parr (Warren Derry, *Dr. Parr. A Portrait of the Whig Dr. Johnson*, Oxford University Press, 1966), whose domestic difficulties bulk large in some letters Godwin wrote to Mary from the Midlands, and whose friendship Godwin lost by his unflattering analysis of the clerical character in *The Enquirer* (1797: part 2, essay 5, 'of trades and professions'), and a study of the political controversy surrounding Burke's *Reflections on the Late Revolution in France* in the second part of Professor James Boulton's *The Language of Politics in the Age of Wilkes and Burke* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), which does not hesitate to take seriously such obscure figures as the honest merchant John Butler and concludes with a chapter which excel-

lently examines both the strengths and the weaknesses of the rigorously unemotional even ascetic style of argument and discussion which Godwin used. Later this year is to be published Professor Pollin's monumental *Annotated Bibliography of Godwin Criticism*, exhaustively indexed and cross indexed by means of computer, and made as complete as it can be made by devoted research, to which I made a small and increasingly



William Godwin

fascinated contribution; and then perhaps it will be possible to see more clearly how good a case there is—and also how ready people are to accept it—for the serious re-examination, proposed earlier in this article, of the work of people who may not have been of the very profoundest literary, intellectual or emotional sensitivity, but who for that very reason are perhaps at times closer to us than the poetry of *The Prelude* or *Tintern Abbey*, and who concerned themselves more openly and single-mindedly than we do now, who perhaps are not so ready to admit its existence, with the problem of the possibility and the desirability of the rational life.

MARTIN SMALL.

**Godwin and Mary. Letters of William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft*, edited by Ralph M. Wardle, University of Kansas Press, Lawrence, and Constable, London, 1967, pp. x + 126, 30s.

When Tomorrow Was Never

SIX MILLION JEWS, five million Russians, two million Poles, more than 520,000 gypsies, 100,000 aged or mentally or physically disabled people and 32,000 German political prisoners were killed by the Nazi regime. Now those 13,652,000 people could be killed with one 20-megaton nuclear bomb as the result of a preparation for global suicide which most people still calmly accept. Yet we haven't even begun to comprehend how the Nazi slaughters could have happened or how to imaginatively penetrate the experience of the concentration camps. Every variety of sadism occurred, yet officially it was frowned on as impeding efficiency and productivity. As Hartley Shawcross said at Nuremberg, 'it was murder conducted like some mass production industry'. Though this is now a cliché, its implications for all countries which have as their main dynamic centralised industrialism for private or state profit have not begun to be explored.

Is there a complex of causes linking up, for example: the slave-trading of fifteen million human beings, in which a million died during shipment, which provided the single largest source of finance for Britain's industrial revolution; the deaths of between 8 and 12 million Congolese between 1900 and 1912, resulting from the amputations of rubber-collectors' arms or legs as an incentive to higher and faster productivity; the deaths of between one and ten million Russian peasants resisting Stalin's farm collectivisation; the Nazi killings; the deliberate elimination of between two and fourteen million 'reactionaries' by Mao's China in 1949-52; the actual or prospective manufacture of nuclear weapons by states superficially so unlike as the US, Russia, China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Sweden, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Israel, etc.? An anarchist viewpoint and Marxist insights about alienation are the starting-points for research and analysis on this aspect, but the work involved would be on such a scale and need such research money that it is

unlikely to be forthcoming, though a well-financed and very thorough seven-year project has just begun on other aspects—less subversive ones—under Professor Norman Cohn at Sussex University.

The events were so large-scale and of such an appalling nature that no single mind is likely ever to be able to hold their full implications. In fiction or impressionistic documentary, it would seem impossible to convey the complete experience, even of individuals. Written as fiction, the events would be considered as monstrously incredible. For example, the SS chief of guards, at this moment on trial, who 'caught about 60 children under ten years of age who had tried to hide, stood them up alongside a pit, killed them individually through repeated blows on their heads with a hammer whereupon the bodies fell into the pit, while their parents were forced to watch'. Or Commandant Wilhaus of Yanov extermination camp, who entertained his family 'from the balcony of his office, he frequently shot prisoners walking across the parade ground partly for the sport of it and partly to amuse his wife and daughters. Occasionally he would hand the rifle to his wife so that she could have a shot. To entertain his nine-year-old daughter he sometimes used very young children for "clay pigeons", having them thrown up in the air so that he could take pot shots at them. His daughter would applaud and say, "Papa, do it again." Papa did.'

How could art possibly convey the complexity of motives here or in the case of an Eichmann (as presented in Hannah Arendt's *Eichmann in Jerusalem*), a completely banal little man who, to the end, disclaimed responsibility? How could it convey the intolerable experiences of the prisoners and the incredible resilience, and sometimes luck, of the survivors? Only Primo Levi's impressionistic memories of Auschwitz, *If This is a Man*, has even begun to do this. Of the band at the camp, Levi writes that the incessantly repeated few tunes

'lie engraven on our minds and will be the last thing in Lager we shall forget: they are the voice of the Lager, the perceptible expression of its geometrical madness, of the resolution of others to annihilate us first as men in order to kill us more slowly. When this music plays we know that our comrades, out in the fog, are marching like automatons; their souls are dead and the music drives them, like the wind drives dead leaves, and takes the place of their wills. There is no longer any will; every beat of the drum becomes a step, a reflected contraction of exhausted muscles. The Germans have succeeded in this. They are ten thousand and they are a single grey machine; they are exactly determined; they do not think and they do not desire, they walk.'

For them, 'history had stopped' and tomorrow may be the same camp routine or may lead to total extermination or transference to another camp. The experience is so deadening that, Levi asks, 'But who can seriously think about tomorrow... Do you know how one says "never" in camp slang? "Morgen früh", tomorrow morning.'

The only drama which deals appropriately with the subject is Peter Weiss's *The Investigation* which simply cuts and edits the proceedings of the 1965 Frankfurt War Crime Trial, reducing it to a dramatically performable shape and dividing up the participants words into short 'verse' lines, like: *'Female Witness 4: I came into the barracks / that was full of bodies / Suddenly I saw / something moving among the dead / It was a young girl / I took her out onto the street / and asked her / Who are you / How long have you been here / I don't know she said / Why are you lying among the dead / I asked / And she said / I can no longer be among the living / In the evening she was dead.'*

Albert Maltz's *A Tale of One January* (Calder, 25s.), sent to me for review, is thus an inevitable failure, but an honourable one. It concerns the escape from a forced march, from Auschwitz to an-

other camp, of Lini, a Dutch Jewess in her mid-twenties, of Claire, her French friend, and of two Germans, a Pole and a Russian, all of whom had been political prisoners. It is January, 1945, and the Russians are advancing in Poland. The women have shaven heads, shrunken breasts, pinched boys' faces, have lost the ability to ovulate and weigh about seven stones. They see others who have tried to hide and escape killed by having bayonets shoved up their arse and then shot. Claire, a survivor because she was secretary to a Gestapo second-in-command, has seen her husband's name on the death lists. She tells her boss "My husband was gassed four days ago." He looked at me then as though I were an idiot. "So what about it?" he asked. "That's how you'll end, too, don't you know that yet? Hurry up now!"

She has seen an officer take an apple from a Jewish child, then pick the child up and smash its brains out against a wall: 'But don't think that was all! He put the apple in his pocket. And that afternoon his wife and child came to visit him. He took the boy on his lap—kissed him—and then he said, "I have something for you"—and he reached into the desk drawer and gave him the apple.' The men have been similarly physically and mentally affected and the two German political prisoners have been in camps for seven and twelve years respectively, surviving because they were good carpenters and were always needed to build camps.

The six take refuge in a factory and are fed and helped by a nearby Polish farmer. Their gradual return to individuality, to an experience of human relationships and freedom is most movingly described by Maltz. Love very gradually develops between Claire and the Russian and a kind of companionable lovingness between Lini and the older German. The younger German, who saw his father beaten to death, was put in the camps too young to have had a woman, and who is 24 with the emotions of a 16-year-old and the look of a 40-year-old, develops a murderous and impetuous jealousy of the Russian. The women's shy delight at feeling the first thin fur of hair growing on their heads, the attraction-repulsion tensions about looking into a mirror for the first time, the happy-grotesque parodies of camp life suddenly turning into a raw bitterness; all these are affectingly presented: "Time for the count?" Lini asked.

The room exploded with laughter, a laughter that was harsh, joyless, bitter, and private to these six. More dreadful than almost anything else... had been the dawn and dusk counts when all

prisoners... had been forced to stand at attention, or kneel with arms upraised, for two or three hours in whatever weather, with the whip and the club waiting for those who fell. Their laughter didn't last long. When it stopped, there was sour anger in the room, and a rawness of nerves, and the clear air was filled with odours that each of them could smell: of the fetid blocks in which they had lived, of their own bodies unwashed week after week, of engorged lice crushed between fingernails, of human flesh burning day and night in the crematoria.

The delight in food and a bucket of cold water to wash in; in ill-fitting clean clothes; the dream-fantasy quality of their freedom and return to life and the carelessness it leads to: all these emerge well. The central theme of re-awakening love does, most unfortunately, fall into sentimentality too frequently, though it is sometimes tenderly and beautifully treated. In a flood of tears and after a long struggle for words, Lini cries out, "It wasn't my body you loved, Norbert, it was my naked heart. When you poured into me, it was life itself kissing me." She began to sob again. "Oh, my God, what a man and a woman can be together."

The real and symbolic story-levels shift abruptly to their climax. After the escape from the camps, after the re-awakening of life and the dream-like, happy and bizarre festival of renewed freedom in the factory (industrialised society?), suddenly the Nazis return. The women escape to the oncoming Russians, but all the men are killed. The factory is smashed by Russian shells. Maltz clearly intends this to warn, to symbolise the falseness of the dawn of freedom after World War II and the lethal dangers of a relaxing of vigilance towards a dormant, not a dead, fascism.

Maltz's book is by no means great—too much is said, instead of being imaginatively enacted, it is too simplified, sometimes sentimental and insufficiently rawly actualised—but it has tenderness, some humour and some talent for conveying sharp physical details and the bitterly grotesque. It is an imperfect act, but an act against fascism nonetheless.

GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.

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FELICANI— a Fighter for Freedom

John Nicholas Beffel reported the Dedham trial for the New York Call (Socialist daily) and other labour papers across the country, was publicist for the defence in 1920-21, and handled the news about the case as a copy-editor for the New York World in the weeks leading up to the executions in 1927. Likewise he wrote the first magazine article concerning the desperate plight of the two Anarchists, entitled Eels and the Electric Chair, which appeared in the New Republic, New York weekly, on December 29, 1920. That alerted liberals far and wide to the flimsiness of the 'evidence' against Vanzetti in the Plymouth trial.—Eds.

POIGNANT MEMORIES of a world-shaking New England social tragedy were evoked in countless minds on April 22 by press dispatches telling of the death in Boston of Aldo Felicani, 76, printer and publisher, and founder and treasurer of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee.

He gave greatly of his time and energy to the cause of the two Anarchist defendants—both during the seven-year battle to save them from the electric chair, to which they were finally sentenced six years after their conviction by a jury of alleged robbery and murder, and through the years since their execution in 1927, to exonerate them of guilt.

In the early days he issued the committee's *Defense Bulletin*, which carried news about the case, and in three magazines which he published in different periods he and other writers dealt many times with the contradictory circumstantial evidence which led to the verdict of guilty. Those magazines were: *L'Agitazione*, in the Italian language, which had far-flung circulation in the Nineteen Twenties; *The Lantern*, first anti-Fascist periodical in this country; and *Counter-current*, assailing both Fascism and anti-Semitism.

Issued originally in English, in afterwards that publication appeared in Italian as *Controcorrente*. Often it contained timely writings by anti-Fascist exile scholars, including Gaetano Salvemini, noted history professor at Harvard University, George de Santillana, Max Salvadori, and Niccolò Tucci. Felicani had corrected the page-proofs of the current issue on the day before his death.

And from 1959 to 1965, he worked closely with the Committee for the Vindication of Sacco and Vanzetti, the founder and secretary of which, Tom O'Connor, died early last year.

Born in Italy in 1891, Felicani became an apprentice in a Bologna printing shop as a youth. From radical co-workers he learned the facts about the class struggle, and at the age of 20 edited a paper

which opposed Italy's war on Tripoli. Hearing that he was about to be arrested, he fled to France, and later made his way to the United States. In Cleveland, Ohio, where friends had preceded him, he edited an Anarchist journal entitled *The Social Question*. Next he worked as a printer in New York for a couple of years, and settled in Boston in 1918.

He is survived by his wife, the former Julia Marchetti, and two sons, Anteo and Arthur, who were associated with him in the Excelsior Press, which he acquired in 1925.

On May 5, 1920, Nicola Sacco, 29, skilled shoemaker, and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, 32, fish peddler, both philosophical Anarchists, were arrested on suspicion that they were among five or six men who committed a payroll robbery and the murder of a shoe company paymaster and his guard in South Braintree, Massachusetts, on April 15. Vanzetti also was accused of participating as a shotgun man in an unsuccessful attempt to seize another shoe company payroll in Bridgewater on December 24, 1919.

For the record, both came from Italy in 1908, though they did not know each other then. Sacco was born in Torremaggiore and Vanzetti in Villafalletto, near Turin.

On the day after the arrests Felicani who was Vanzetti's closest friend, formed the defence committee, which primarily comprised a few Italians and one Spaniard; later it expanded and took in more than 20 American-born liberals. At that time Felicani was a linotype operator on the Boston Italian daily, *La Notizia*.

THE TRIAL

Both trials were held before Judge Webster Thayer of the Superior Court, with Frederick Katzmann, Norfolk County prosecutor, officiating.

Vanzetti was tried in Plymouth in June, 1920, for the Bridgewater crime. There "identification" witnesses gave testimony that differed from what they had said at the preliminary hearing or had told to a Pinkerton agency investigator, particularly about the size and shape of the shotgun man's moustache. Other persons gave questionable details about the hold-up.

Vanzetti's alibi was that he was delivering eels, a traditional Italian day-before-Christmas delicacy, in Plymouth, where he lived, on December 24. Several customers and a 13-year-old boy who helped him with deliveries bore out his claim about the eels.

But the jury found him guilty of assault with intent to rob and assault with intent to kill, and he was sentenced to 12 to 15 years in prison.

In 1926 Vanzetti, in a pamphlet,

accused his counsel of failure to call known eye-witnesses, and of persuading him, after much argument, not to testify, on the ground that he would be cross-examined about his political views and would be convicted because of them.

New lawyers were brought in by the defence committee for the trial of the two in Dedham for the payroll-robbery murders. They included Fred H. Moore of California, former attorney for the Industrial Workers of the World, and Jeremiah and Thomas McAnarney of Quincy, those two brothers being described as "conservative and highly respectable" and supposedly in good standing with Judge Thayer.

In Dedham, Sacco and Vanzetti were tried in an open-top cage, with armed guards on either side. Twenty-eight such guards, their guns in full view, surrounded the prisoners, who were handcuffed to two of them, as they moved on foot four times daily between the jail and the courtroom. Thus the jurors could not fail to get the impression that the pair of swarthy foreigners and their friends were dangerous characters.

NOT EVEN THE LAW

During that proceeding, too, Judge Thayer openly showed prejudice and frequently made unfair rulings against the defence. Outside the court, he spoke to various persons in derogatory terms about the accused. In the presence of several newspapermen, of whom this writer was one, he displayed hostility toward Fred Moore, counsel for Sacco. Shaking his fist, he exclaimed: 'You wait till I give my charge to the jury. I'll show 'em!' And after denying a motion for a new trial in 1924, Thayer said to Prof. James P. Richardson of Dartmouth College: 'Did you see what I did with those Anarchist bastards? I guess that will hold them for a while.'

In that trial also, witnesses changed the stories they had told shortly after the arrests, about not being able to make an identification, and now identified Sacco as one of the bandits.

WITNESS NOBBLED

For instance, Mary E. Splaine, shoe factory book-keeper, looking from a second-storey window 70 feet away, saw the getaway car as it left the murder scene, for no more than three seconds. Yet at the trial she positively identified Sacco as a man who sat in the rear seat leaning forward, estimated his weight and described him as muscular, active-looking, with a clear-cut face, high forehead, dark eyebrows, greenish-white complexion, and long hair, brushed back; and said he wore a grey shirt. She even pictured his left hand as large; actually it was not large.

Under cross-examination, Miss Splaine was compelled to admit that at the preliminary hearing, 14 months earlier, she had testified: 'I don't think my opportunity afforded me the right to say he is the man.' Then, in the Dedham court, she asserted that 'on reflection I am sure he is the same man.'

And Prosecutor Katzmann connived with Captain William H. Proctor, head of the State Police, ballistic expert, in

framing a question and answer which would indicate that one of the murder bullets came from Sacco's gun, when Proctor had no such evidence. In October, 1921, he revealed this in an affidavit used in one of the motions for a new trial, which Thayer denied.

Sacco had been away from work on the day of the South Braintree murders, and declared that he was in Boston, visiting the Italian Consulate to obtain a passport for a trip to Italy to see his father, his mother having lately died. This was confirmed by witnesses with whom he had lunch, and by a former Consulate clerk, who recalled in a deposition, taken in Rome before a U.S. Vice-Consul, that Sacco had mistakenly presented a group photograph with his application, and was instructed to bring a small photo of himself instead.

But in the end both defendants were found guilty.

One ironic circumstance which obviously was a large factor in convicting Sacco and Vanzetti was not brought into the open until May, 1963, when Justice Michael A. Musmanno of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court appraised a book, *Tragedy in Dedham*, by Francis Russell, for the *Kansas Law Review*.

Wide publicity had been given prior to the trial to the fact that in 1917 the two men went to Mexico to avoid registering under the Conscription Act. And throughout the examination by Judge Thayer of more than 500 talesmen summoned for possible jury service, he repeatedly urged them to do their duty as citizens, and made dozens of references to 'our boys who died upon the blood-stained fields of France', saying that they loyally found time to serve their country. Too, Katzmann stressed heavily the flight of the two to Mexico in cross-examining them. Sacco stayed there for three months and Vanzetti a year.

Their flight, however, was impelled by an erroneous idea about the draft. 'As Italian citizens,' Justice Musmanno points out, 'they were not amenable to American military service, but they did not know this. Thayer and Katzmann knew it, but constantly portrayed the defendants to the jury as slackers.' And it was a patriotic jury, the foreman of which saluted the national flag each time he entered the court.

Clearly also the defence attorneys did not know that aliens in this country in 1917 were not liable to combat service. And Felicani told me four years ago that he did not know it.

DEFENCE COUNSEL CHANGE

In 1924 Fred Moore and the McAnarneys withdrew from the case, and William G. Thompson and Herbert Ehrmann, both of Boston, succeeded them. Various motions for a re-trial were made, based on newly discovered evidence, all being denied by Judge Thayer, and moves in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts were of no avail.

Just as Messrs. Thompson and Ehrmann were about to file an appeal in November, 1925, they learned that Sacco had received a note from another prisoner in the Dedham jail confessing that he had

taken part in the South Braintree crime and avowing that Sacco and Vanzetti were not in it. That was from Celestino Medeiros, who had been found guilty of first degree murder, but in whose case an appeal was pending. He had seen Sacco's wife, Rosina, and her children in the jail and felt sorry for them.

Following an interview with Medeiros, in which he averred that he was one of six professional criminals who committed the fatal hold-up, Attorney Ehrmann investigated and turned up substantial evidence pointing to the Morelli gang of Providence, Rhode Island, which specialized in stealing shipments from shoe manufacturers. (Later Ehrmann wrote a book about his findings, entitled *The Untried Case*.) But one defence handicap was the refusal of the prosecuting authorities to co-operate in the investigation.

Now another motion for a new trial based on the Medeiros confession was made, and was argued before Judge Thayer, who denied it. So did the Supreme Judicial Court.

Not until April 9, 1927, did Thayer impose the sentence of death on Sacco and Vanzetti, setting the executions for the week beginning July 10.

Earlier, as time went on, more and more news of the case had been published in all the continents, both the press associations' cable dispatches and articles mailed to foreign papers by the defence publicists. And with the word that the defendants had finally been sentenced to the electric chair, a great hue and cry was heard from many cities, especially in Europe and South America, where huge mass-meetings of protest were staged.

Meanwhile cablegrams and letters also voicing protest or appeals for leniency poured in on Governor Alvan T. Fuller. They came from such distinguished individuals as H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, George Bernard Shaw, and Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Party leader and past and future Prime Minister of Great Britain; Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, and former Premier Joseph Caillaux of France; Albert Einstein, Fritz Kreisler, Thomas Mann, and Paul Loebe, president of the German Reichstag.

Then the Governor granted a respite of the electrocutions, and a second respite, and on June 1 appointed an advisory committee headed by A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard University, to investigate the whole situation.

Fuller asked for documentary evidence of Vanzetti receiving eels from Boston for sale on the day of the Bridgewater crime. So Felicani and Ehrmann began hunting for it on the South Boston fish piers, and after a long search discovered an express receipt book showing a shipment of live eels to the defendant in Plymouth three or four days before Christmas. They hastened to the Governor's office with that precious document, but Fuller ignored it in his decision dooming Sacco and Vanzetti, and the Lowell Committee, informed about the receipt, did not mention it in its report, which also damned them.

JOHN NICHOLAS BEFFEL.

GYPSIES

Continued from page 3

failed, he managed to obtain a two-year licence and opened his own camp site for 38 caravans.

This was set up with his own money, and in the most highly charged atmosphere of local resentment, so it is not surprising he felt personally responsible for the camp. Even so, he set up a committee to run it composed of local Rural and Parish Councillors, an MP, a vicar and a gypsy though it is clear from his account that he was in day-to-day personal control.

He accepted the limitation of two years on the understanding that official sites would be constructed throughout Kent during that period. He was betrayed, of course, and there are gypsy families on the road to this day who were with 'Mr. Dobbs' as they invariably call him, but are now being harried from one muddy verge to another.

His memory is held in great esteem among the travellers, with whom he had great influence, and one can only speculate what would have happened if he had gone even further, placed less reliance on pleas for enlightenment to the authorities and encouraged the travellers to organise and resist for themselves.

Chronologically, his campaign overlapped with the beginning of a more radical movement. In Ireland, Grattan Puxon became involved with the travellers on the outskirts of Dublin who were trying to get a foothold in the teeth of all and sundry and the Corporation in particular. He and his family moved in with them for two years, and in spite of pressure on him to accept a leadership role, fostered their spirit of self-respect by encouraging them to build defences against eviction and to build their own school. He also stirred their interest in

the World Romany Community, an organisation strong on the continent but hitherto without branches in Britain and Ireland.

News of the Irish struggle gave new heart to the travellers in Kent who, now without Norman Dodds, were facing eviction once more.

Grouped together for mutual support (in spite of their aversion to and ineptitude for any form of organisation) and with the encouragement of local libertarians, they resisted eviction by Council and Police forces on the ground and in the courts, the National Council for Civil Liberties yet again giving invaluable legal advice.

Grattan Puxon returned from Ireland and introduced his continental friends from the WRC to this group, a British Gypsy Council was formed this winter, and has been active at local and national level since.

Now at last there is some promise that the value to us all of a thriving travelling community will be recognised, and that mutual respect and toleration between the travellers and the settled community can develop. But there is a long way to go forward from the near breakdown situation that has prevailed in recent years, and which concerned Norman Dodds so deeply, and many libertarian voices will need to be raised.

This book is full of relevant information, and much enlightenment can be gained from it.

BRIAN RICHARDSON.

SIX SHILLINGS EACH WILL BRING THEM 'FREEDOM' AND 'ANARCHY' FOR TWO MONTHS WITH YOUR COMPLIMENTS.

LANGUAGE & LIBERTY

LANGUAGE is a means of communication; this has often been said in relation to the Irish language. Thus it is intended to simplify the question of language and according to this view Irish should historically give way before the advance of English; as English, being the language of British Imperialism (using the word in its class sense) subdued the independence of the people. This of course is quite true if you accept that Imperialism is here to stay and you have finished your argument. But we are not living in an era of Imperialist expansion; rather on the contrary, popular movements are springing up all over the globe, the present war in Vietnam may be seen as part of this development. It is not the intention of this article to deal with the society thrown up in the aftermath of these struggles, merely to record their existence. As part of the decomposition of British Imperialism is the rise of Irish, Welsh, Scottish and even Cornish nationalism nearer its heart. These peoples on the fringes of the heart were among the first to be taken over by the growing British capitalism, mainly at that time to gain strategic advantage over its enemies, France, Spain and Holland, and to provide its fattened princes with holiday playgrounds. Later these people provided the heart with ample cheap labour (Ireland) and cheap resources (Wales and Scotland). Now, however, it can be seen that these early conquests were not final and the rise of these people is part of the social struggle of our times.

Ireland, or part of it, gained political independence in 1921 but the problems of the people were betrayed or rather never intended by those who became

the authorities in the state then established. The various political parties in the state have, since 1921, played a game of bluff, kidding the people that it was their intention to solve their problems—even if they were able. Part of this bluff was the Irish language and a recent pamphlet published by Seim na gCeardchumann illustrates this point very forcibly. The pamphlet *Irish: a political question*, a working-class view proposed by Seim na gCeardchumann, traces the decline of the Irish language as having gone in line with the conquest and exploitation of the people, particularly after the failure of the 1798 revolt. It sees the dwindling of Irish as being part of the rise of British capitalism in the 19th century. It takes to task those who wish to restore the Irish language in isolation from the social problems of the people. The traditional forces of Irish nationalism grouped around the Gaelic League and the Fianna Fail Party today have consistently failed to see the restoration of the language as being part of the social struggle. They have sought to ignore this fact and blind the people with repetitive clichés about restoring the Irish language. The pamphlet quotes Connolly who told the language enthusiasts that the struggle for the restoration of Irish cannot be divorced from the struggle for social emancipation.

Of course language is not simply a means of communication comparable with, say, a bus or a train. This comparison by many is false, language also betrays our feelings and our emotions not just of love or hate, happiness or regret. It tells a story of its own as to whether we are free or suppressed or a bit of both. For instance Icelandic and

Faeroese retained the independence of their language through hundreds of years of Danish occupation. It was retained in spite of the ruthless efforts of Danish conquerors to suppress their language and merge them with the absolute Danish monarchy. The fact that 26% of the Welsh speak their language tells us that these people have not forgotten their independence and some day the Aberfans and the pit closures will be avenged. Again, the fact that some Welsh-speaking nationalist politicians may sell out or try to sell out is another argument. The same may be said of the Bretons in resisting the inroads of the French State. To the people of Tristan da Cunha, who had such hard things to say about our 'civilization', their old Victorian English was as much part of their story as the roar of the sea that one of their number was reported as missing in England. So you see language is more than simply a means of communication. This pamphlet lashes out at those who want to see a language without a people 'Cead Mile Failte' written over the gates of a people without a job and whose sole destiny is to emigrate and dig the Victoria tunnel, or live in a slum not knowing when the ceiling will meet the floor and sandwich its children in between. Or shackle the people into iron trade union laws without the right to strike, or make them valets for wealthy European capitalists in their Connemara holiday resorts, or take orders from clerics as to whether they will have a welfare state or use contraceptives. And so on. It would be endless, and to isolate the language apart from these struggles is to cut off your own head and then try to wash your hair. The pamphlet may be obtained price 6d., postage 4d., from Seim na gCeardchumann, 203 Clogher Road, Dublin 12.

DAVE PICKETT.

NOW THAT three libraries in Glasgow have stopped stocking FREEDOM the list of public libraries at which you can read our publication would not fill the space in print this sentence has taken.

A reader in Glasgow, Mr. Robert McKean, has written to the City Librarian, Mr. C. W. Black, telling him of his concern and asked if 'Minority schools of thought were being censored by minority groups in authority. Are the people of Glasgow having a moral dictatorship imposed on them by the withdrawal of FREEDOM from the reading room?'

Here is Mr. Black's considered reply: 'I have to inform you that the weekly paper FREEDOM was withdrawn from Parkhead Library because there was no evidence of a demand for this paper.'

Sympathisers in Glasgow should help Mr. McKean's efforts to reinstate our paper. As Mr. McKean says, 'All eyes are on Vietnam while "Freedom" at home is threatened. . . .'

PROPAGANDA BY DEED

Another town whose public library does not stock FREEDOM is Bolton. This official ruse has not prevented the formation of an active group there.

Their activities to date have included the burning of an Army Recruiting Office and participation in this year's Easter March.

They intend to affiliate to the AFB or the NW Federation.

POLICE BALL

Howard Young and Eryl Davies have written to thank all those who sent them contributions towards their fines for leafletting the police ball at Rochester. The fines were enormous and the help was much appreciated.

DEMONSTRATION

The newly-formed Slough group's first venture is a 24-hour fast and vigil June

30/July 1 outside Ruislip Air Base against American Militarism. Details: Slough AG.

RECOVERY

Since the note in FREEDOM about Dave Cunliffe's accident, when he was knocked down by a motor-car whilst cycling, we have received a message from Tina that 'Dave came home this week and is doing pretty well now'. This was the only good news in a gloomy week.

PROVO IS DOOD!—LONG LIVE ANARCHY!

A new paper tiger is roaming the streets of Amsterdam. 'After the death of provo and the failure of the sigma experiment, the only way out is the paper guerilla, which prints real revolutionary news. By giving this news and by showing other alternatives this new 'underground' paper in Amsterdam wants to create a new chain of activities.

The editor is W. Houtkoop (Amstel 10, Amsterdam, Holland) who would like information and addresses of other revolutionary groups or papers.

'LE LIBERTAIRE'

We are also very pleased to announce the birth of a very impressive anarchist newspaper *Le Libertaire*. It is published in Liege, Belgium, and is printed in French. The first issue gives details of their activities, a declaration of principles, an article on Vietnam and on 'the parliamentary illusion' by Saintal.

JEWISH ANARCHISTS

Freedom Press receives numerous requests from students to help with their researches into anarchism. Some even expect us to write their theses for them! Most of these requests come from people whose interest in anarchism is purely academic.

This is positively not the case with the Rev. Ken Leech, of Holy Trinity Vicar-

Continued on page 8

'Swop Drugs for Christ, says Billy Graham'

—Evening Standard

CHINA EXPLODED HER H-BOMB, France prepared for more tests in the Pacific, and clearing up after a conventional six-day war continued. The Big Two are meeting in America, the United Nations are meeting to chide Israel and the Little Two are meeting at Versailles (Harold and Charles).

THE POLICE VISITED *International Times* again but since, on solicitor's advice, *IT* refused to sign an undetailed receipt, the police once more returned *IT*'s property to the Black Museum or wherever. . . .

A DELAYED COPY of *IT* publicizes editor John Hopkins' imprisonment, this was followed by a supplement giving biographical details and a story (on the borderline between fact and fantasy in which *IT* lives) of a girl hanging on to the Black Maria in which John Hopkins was conveyed, presumably to prison. An *IT* photographer took photos of the scene but these were seized and exposed by the police. *IT* also found out that flowers cannot be sent into prison. More positively an Absent Friends Benefit is being staged at the 'Roundhouse', Chalk Farm, Saturday, July 8, 8 p.m. to 8 a.m., and on May 21 a smoke-in (of cannabis) was held at Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park. No one was arrested. Mick Farren in *IT* gives a list of suggestions on how to foil police on narcotic raids. Paul McCartney confessed to having taken LSD. He is reported to have said (in *Life*): 'One effect was to get rid of the cynicism I had about God. . . . What it did was make me think about God logically. And I felt I could say I believed in God without sounding like some sort of freak.' . . .

BILLY GRAHAM, visiting Britain, was asked for his views on Vietnam. He said he

could not commit himself and he had no public views on the subject. The war, he thought, was a matter for the American Government. When further pressed, Mr. Graham said, 'If the President of the United States looked me straight in the eyes and asked me for a solution I'd say "pray".' He said that mini-skirts were just a matter of fashion. 'I don't see anything wrong with them unless they are deliberately worn to entice men to have sensual thoughts. That is the wrong motive.' He said that the best brains in the Security Council should be studying the writings of God, in the Books of the Prophets, to find a solution to the Middle East situation. He said, 'There are literally hundreds of passages about the area. Some of them are symbolical, but many of them are literal and I think the text usually shows quite plainly which is which.' Mr. Graham told reporters of the president of the Humanities Club at Columbia University who wrote to him: 'Doctor Graham, we do not accept your beliefs. We are professing atheists. But we are haunted by the figure of Jesus.' . . .

A MODEL ARRESTED on a drug charge was acquitted when it was found that the tablets were mainly aspirin supplied on a French doctor's prescription. She was, however, ordered to pay costs, and claims to have lost jobs worth £500 because of the false charge. . . .

INVESTIGATIONS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT by a senior Scotland Yard detective into allegations that policemen were in the pay of the accused in the recent London 'torture' trials. Three of the men against whom allegations were made served in the Metropolitan Force and two belonged to the City of London police. It is understood that none of the five men is any

longer in the police. A police constable and his wife who went on a 'concentrated burst of shoplifting' were charged at Kingston, Surrey. When police went to search his home they found fifty-seven pairs of nylons behind the PC's uniform in a cupboard. . . .

AFTER FOUR MONTHS ON REMAND a fifteen-year-old youth who was identified by three women as the youth who molested them has had the charges dropped. His parents investigated the case and obtained another identification parade and the women picked out a different boy. . . .

ENQUIRIES ARE TO BE MADE in the circumstances in which four prisoners at Wormwood Scrubs have recently committed suicide. John Gordon in the *Sunday Express* (not normally the kindest of men) tells the story of a man who expected three to five years in a psychiatric prison for a schizoid attack on a girl who had thrown him over. He was sentenced to life imprisonment and hanged himself in an observation cell with his belt. . . .

AT MARYLEBONE POLICE COURT a 52-year-old homosexual was sent for trial for attempting to suffocate a boy whom he had picked up. He was also charged with committing an act of indecency. The man explained that he had tried to kill himself before and had written a letter to the police in which he said, 'I hate boys who have sex with men. I shall kill him in the night with a knife. No one cares about my life, so I may just as well die with him.' In answer to the charges accused said, 'I am guilty of attempted murder, but I am not guilty of the other charge.'

JON QUIXOTE.

Latin American Volcano

IN RECENT YEARS in no other part of America has native colonialism been so genuinely represented as in Nicaragua.

Before he was assassinated, Anastasio Somoza was one of the few classic dictators who remained in Latin America. A similar personage to Trujillo, the Dominican dictator, Somoza possessed, along with the members of his family, one third of the best land in Nicaragua and its most important industries, in addition to governing by means of torture and execution, like all dictators.

The dictatorial regime in Nicaragua has been, and in many respects still is, the most typical example of North American policies in Latin America.

Gerard Clark, an American writer, referring to Nicaragua in a study of Latin America, says:

'This is one of the most surprising places in Latin America, and I curse the United States for permitting to happen what does happen. . . . Half, at least, of the population are without work or work only a few days a month and live by selling non-alcoholic drinks on street corners, cleaning shoes for a few cents, or begging. God knows how they manage to live, even though they can buy a small ration of rice and beans at reasonably low prices. . . .

The cabins where most of the people live are wretched. I stopped in front of

one of them to talk to a man sitting on a chair with a little boy in his arms, whom he was gently rocking. The child, with eyes that did not blink, but stared, seemed to be sunk in an abnormal immobility, almost without life. I asked the man, his father, if the child was ill.

"No, he's not ill, he's dying," was the answer.

'He said it with Indian fatalism, and continued rocking the child.

'I asked the taximan to take me past the presidential palace of Somoza, an immense and luxurious edifice on top of a small rise, next door to another, somewhat smaller palace, occupied by Tachito. It is in the middle of some fine tropical gardens with a private zoo. They told me that sometimes Somoza puts political prisoners in cages, next to those of the animals, so that his children can look at them.

This brief but pointed description by a North American gives some idea of what Nicaragua was like in the times of Anastasio Somoza. When, in 1958 Somoza was assassinated by a young idealist, the situation in Nicaragua was the prototype of the most shameful and predatory despotism which has ruled in America.

Following a historic policy of intervention, which had already begun in 1860 when the pirate Walker was executed after a military defeat, the United States has always supported the satraps who ruled in Nicaragua. President Franklin D. Roosevelt said on one occasion 'Somoza is a knave, but he's our knave'.

Now, when it seems that American policy has changed a little, with an eye to avoiding communist subversive possibilities, the dictatorship of the Somoza family continues, although masquerading behind a liberalism which deceives no one.

According to a detached liberal, who is an enemy of the Somozas, 25 per cent of the population sympathize with Fidel Castro and his regime. And as a matter worthy of attention, it needs to be pointed out that the Somozas also flirt with the communists, helping them to control the working class organization in the country. And the communists, just as they did with the dictator Baptista, have no hesitation in receiving this type of aid.

Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan people are disorientated, supporting with great ill-will a hereditary and plutocratic dictatorship, without seeing any other way out except a communist dictatorship, perhaps less plutocratic but no less criminal.

Translated: j.w.s.

(Source: *Tierra y Libertad*.)

VIETNAM

Dear Sir,
I'll try to reply to Dr. Caldwell's criticisms of my article, 'Lies About Vietnam' (FREEDOM, March 25), as briefly as I can, particular points first and then general comment.

(1) Dr. Caldwell: 'It is very clever to point out piddling factual errors . . . and to ignore the most overwhelming fact of our time . . . the slide of the US government towards fascism.' My article began: 'The main blame for the Vietnamese war clearly lies on the USA. . . . 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, phosphorous and lazy dog bombs.'

(2) Dr. Caldwell, supporting Russell: 'And absolutely bloody certainly one American in three lives in poverty—see Michael Harrington's *The Other America* . . . Harrington (pp. 177-8) writes: '32 m. people can be taken as a minimum definition . . . somewhere between 20 and 25 per cent are poor . . . between 40 m. and 50 m.' Dr. Caldwell distorts his own source by a mere 20 or 30 or 38 million people.

(3) Vietnam provocations and terror, like French ones, began long before the end of French-Vietnam negotiations in 1946 as Bernard Fall's *The Two Vietnams* records.

(4) Dr. Caldwell attributes the flight of 850,000 refugees from North to South in 1954 to US propaganda and land hunger. The US 'Christ has gone to the South' campaign did have a strong effect, but the actual persecution of Buddhists and Catholics in other Communist regimes must have had an even stronger one. Fall comments: 'there is no doubt that hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese would have fled Communist domination in any case. . . . The Tongkinese Catholics fled because they had a long experience of persecution at the hands of their non-Catholic fellow citizens—not because of the psychological warfare campaign . . . (pp. 153-154). Many of the Buddhist leaders, in South Vietnam, such as Thich Tam Chau, Thich Tam Giac and Thich Duc Nghiep, are themselves refugees from the North and they ascribe their deep involvement in politics to their 'awareness of the communist persecution of Buddhists in China, Tibet and North Vietnam' (reports Professor Kenneth Morgan in *Buddhists in Saigon*, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia). As a country-unifying war tactic, Ho Chi Minh allows some religious freedom in the North now, as did Stalin in World War II. Understandably, the refugees were mostly from the better-off peasants and did not leave their Northern land because of land hunger! Indeed, the predominant domestic problem in the South is the land starvation of the peasants, where 3% of landowners own 45% of the land and about 75% of landowners own 15% of the land. (Fall, p. 153.)

(5) Dr. Caldwell: 'The mistakes made by the DRV during land reform are not denied by them . . . on learn-

ing the facts, great efforts were made to rectify the harm.' Fall writes: 'probably close to 50,000 North Vietnamese were executed in connection with the land reform and at least twice as many were arrested and sent to forced labour camps' (p. 156). How could the DRV possibly not know of, or deny, or rectify the deaths of 50,000 people?

(6) Dr. Caldwell denies that the NLF relies on terror. Obviously it does have a good deal of popular support, increased by its social programmes in captured villages, but it has killed atrociously not just thousands of village headmen, but also their wives and children, school-teachers and nurses, and has destroyed many schools. Like the Saigon governments, it gives the choice of conscription or death to the men.

(7) Russell's attribution of NLF estimates to the *New York Times*, his changing of 'South Vietnamese' killed to 'civilians' killed, giving the impression that these didn't include military casualties, and his changing of 'affected' by gases to 'maimed' all demonstrate the utter unreliability of the book.

(8) Dr. Caldwell distorts both me and Russell, whom he's supposed to be defending, when he writes: 'Nor is it "farfical" to blame the US for perpetuating poverty, disease, etc., throughout the world.' I agree, but Russell blames the US for all the hunger, tyranny, torture and disease in the world (p. 99) and this account leaves out the hunger caused by hugely botched agricultural programmes in most Communist countries, by feudalism, by overpopulation; the Communist tyrannies that dominate a third of the world, etc.—just a little farfical, you might think. The UN has been 'a tool of American aggression', but far from invariably so—witness U Thant's brave stand on Vietnam itself.

Clearly the US pursues stupidly dangerous policies towards China, has no right to be in Vietnam and uses 'non-lethal' gases, which, at the very least, kill some of the very old, the very young and 'the infirm': no one in the peace movement would or could deny this. But to proceed from this, to manufacture gross stereotypes of villains—the US 'plotting to destroy China'—and heroes—'the great and unbeatable Asian revolution . . . currently spearheaded by the gallant Vietnamese people'—is only to make more likely the killing and maiming of hundreds of thousands more Vietnamese and an escalation from this conflict or some future one into global nuclear annihilation. The Vietnamese have suffered the most savage damage for over twenty years: I want the war to stop while there are still some of them left alive whereas Dr. Caldwell wants an NLF victory. If the war is to be stopped, vast numbers more must be persuaded to join the protests against it. They are not going to join if people in the peace movement can plainly be seen,

not just to support one side, but to distort or suppress every piece of evidence that is unfavourable to it.

Malcolm Caldwell has seen some of the destruction in North Vietnam and the wanton misuse of resources and gigantic poverty, partially caused by capitalism. The emotional impact of this (and the strain caused by encountering very often selfish and sometimes racist reactions to these problems) must cause the very peculiar articles and letters he now writes: distorting in FREEDOM, a *Freedom* article in ways which readers can see for themselves by comparison; distorting Russell's own words; distorting his own source which a simple check can detect; scattering charges of 'disguised racialism' and pro-Americanism about. If a sincere man is someone who believes his own propaganda, then Dr. Caldwell is sincere and he is undoubtedly dedicated, making great personal sacrifices for his beliefs.

I've worked in the peace movement for eleven years and have organised the contribution of about £15,000 to the fight against starvation and disease, but like many others, who've done the same or much more, I cannot see one single 'Asian revolution', and one single obstacle to it. Most so-called revolutionary governments in Asia, like most pro-capitalist ones, are drenched in spilt blood and spend the bulk of the resources they have on preparations for more killing, not for feeding their own hungry peoples; the Asian peoples cry out in the agonies of hunger and slaughter perpetuated by their own governments as well as by the neglect of foreign capitalism and state capitalism. India oppresses the Nagas and the Kashmiris; China slaughters two million between 1949 and 1952, rapes Tibet, killing between 30,000 and 65,000, joins the race to nuclear annihilation; Sukarno's Indonesia had, proportionately, one of the highest military budgets in the world and kept up continuous aggression towards Malaysia; the new Indonesia has seen the deaths of between 300,000 and a million Communists and their families, etc., etc. Asia does need revolution, an international non-violent revolution which will depose all masters, Communist, capitalist and feudalist, but it is yet as unlikely as it sounds. We can only work with everything we have to make it more likely. A non-violent revolution in Britain would be a good way to start.

GODFREY FEATHERSTONE.

HELP!

WEEK 24, JUNE 17, 1967:
Expenses: 24 weeks at £90: £2160
Income: Sales and Subs.: £1551
DEFICIT: £609

London, S.W.6: E.R. 2/6; California: C.L. £1/8/-; Bangor, N.I.: J.T. £5; Sutton Coldfield: K.D. 4/-; Aylesbury: N.T. 5/-; Cheltenham: J.L. 5/-; Leiston: A.S.N. £2/10/-; West Kirby: R.P. 10/-; Salisbury: N.H. £1; Langley, B.C.: W.P. £1/10/-; London, E.7: P.C. 4/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; J.L.* 3/-; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* 10/-; Bolton: Anarchist Group £1/12/-; London, S.E.21: A.L. 10/-; Grantham: G.I. 2/6; Heslington: T.D. 2/-; St. Albans: K.L. 10/-; Saffron Walden: A.R. £5; Bristol: R.C. 4/-; Margate: P.D. 10/-; London: Anon 2/-; Sidcup: R.L. 2/-; London, N.W.11: A.U. 10/-; Northolt: Anarchist Group* 4/6.

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*Denotes Regular Contributor.

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Members vs. Executives

THE ACTION of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers in sacking the London District Secretary, suspending three elected members from office and expelling militants has really shaken the membership. Because of the fact that it was London members that were involved, the majority of the membership did not know the facts behind the action. However, since the ASW conference at Dunoon, the facts have become more widely known and the campaign to reverse the decision of the Executive is growing.

No reason was given for the sacking of Bro. Jack Rusca from his elected post. One only assumes it was because, acting on a decision of the London District Management Committee, he paid out a hardship grant of £4 per week, for five weeks, to members in dispute at Myton's and Sunley's. When my own union branch wrote to the Executive asking for the actual reasons for the sacking, we were informed that the matter was now *sub judice*. In other words, the members have no right to know why one of their

elected officials has been sacked. The Executive Council and George Smith, the General Secretary of the ASW, have acted as prosecution, judge and jury, and the common rights under law have not been observed by the authoritarian leadership of the union.

Many branches in London and the provinces have called special summons meetings of members and sent resolutions to the Executive Council asking them to call a special meeting of the General Council. This is made up of nine lay members and has the power to reverse the Executive's decision. Many branches have appealed to it for the reinstatement of Bro. Rusca.

At the recent ASW conference, the Executive came in for attack after attack from the delegates for their witch-hunting of militants. The two Myton stewards, Lou Lewis and Rolph Langdon, were there and made sure that every delegate knew about the Executive's activities. They addressed delegates outside the conference hall and took a collection of £23 for the lads still on the picket line.

The campaign to reverse the decisions of the Executive could have wide repercussions throughout the union. Many members have woken up to the fact that the Executive Council has extreme power. It is not responsible to the membership and does not have to give an account of its actions. If we, as members, are successful in reversing the decision of our Executive, then we can go on further from this and change the structure of the union, so that the members run the unions and not an all powerful Executive. One expelled member, Jim Hiles, has already gained re-admission after applying to the High Court.

Carpenters from the Turiff and Laing sites on the Barbican organised a meeting of ASW members at the Conway Hall last Thursday. In order to avoid victimisation, the leaflet calling the meeting was issued collectively. The Chairman was a retired carpenter, who was still a member of the ASW and who had been expelled from the union in the thirties for 'unofficial activities'. He was finally readmitted some ten years later.

Those who attended the meeting heard Jack Rusca speak of his dismissal and the other suspended members and expelled militants also spoke. Members of the Executive had been invited to speak, but nothing was heard from that quarter. Some of those present remembered the expulsion of the Chairman and other brothers in the thirties and advised against any committee being formed from this meeting. This advice was taken and the organisation of the struggle to reverse the decision of the Executive was left to existing unofficial committees, who are carrying out this campaign at present.

INDUSTRIAL UNION?

Of course, a great deal of this work will be and has been done in the union branches, but other means should be used as well. A demonstration is being planned for the day in July when the General Council meets to consider the appeals of the persecuted members and the resolutions from the Branches. In theory the constitutional appeals to the General Council could work, but the members affected do not appear before the Council personally. What happens if it upholds the decision of the Executive?

The ASW, in common with other unions, has a constitution which gives wide powers to the Executive

and this is where the trouble lies. Because the history of the trade unions is full of examples of good militants who subsequently align themselves against militancy when elected to official positions, Anarcho-Syndicalists have always insisted on the right of recall. But what is the militant trade unionist to do, especially those anarchists, syndicalists and other comrades of similar views? The chances of forming an industrial union, which is run and controlled by the membership, is doomed to remain only a paper organisation.

I think we have to work within our own trade unions. As Anarchists, we should help to ensure that the unions do not have appointed officials, which is a plan that the ASW Executive has in mind. Elected officials should only serve short terms of office and then return to the tools. To quote Malatesta: 'In my opinion, the executive personnel should be renewed as often as possible, both in order to give as many workers as possible experience of administrative jobs, as well as to prevent organisational work from becoming a profession and inducing those who do it from introducing into the workers' struggle concern about losing their jobs.* We have a long way to go before we reach the position outlined by Malatesta, but I think we have to strive for it.

COURT OF INQUIRY

The necessity for doing just this has been well illustrated by the evidence at the Court of Inquiry in the Sunley and Myton disputes. The collusion between union officials and employers, which Mr. Mills, an executive member of the ASW, later denied, shows what happens when position becomes a profession. Mr. Mills had advised Sunley's to provoke a strike and then sack the stewards. He said he would see that a National Disputes Commission backed the management's action. Sunley's followed this course of action and also informed their client, the Ministry of Works, what they were doing.

I should think these admissions will cause the Court to instruct Sunley's, or whoever may finish the contract, to re-employ the stewards. When it finally gives its report, the Court will, no doubt, make some recommendation on bonus negotiations. The dangers here are that they will probably take up the advice of Bro. Kemp, an official of the Transport and General Workers' Union, who said that special bonus agreements should be negotiated at national level. This would deprive the rank and file members on the sites of direct negotiations by their elected stewards, and would give more control to the executives of the union.

This same increasing trend of centralisation of executive control was shown at the conference of the National Federation of Building Trade Operatives. Jack Marshall, an executive member of the ASW, moved a resolution that no one union could make a dispute, which involved other unions, official until all the other unions concerned had been consulted and had agreed. Not all the unions represented at the conference supported this move. Both the Transport and General Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Union of Building Trades Workers, the two unions who backed their members at Sunley's, voted against it.

These executives are, if they get their way, destroying the trade unions as an effective organisation of struggle against the employer. The Federation conference illustrates further how vital it is to change this process.

*Malatesta, *Life and Ideas*, by V. Richards, page 128.

P.T.

Freedom For Workers' Control

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ONE-MAN BUSES

BIRMINGHAM CORPORATION are introducing new one-man double-decker buses shortly.

These are not the usual provincial 56 seaters, nor even the larger London Transport Routemasters, but the new large 76-seaters (Leyland I think) with the rear engine and auto-gear change, which were originally used by Ribble Motor Services experimentally some seven or eight years ago and are now being introduced almost universally by many provincial firms and corporations.

The buses used in Birmingham 'experimentally' (how often have we heard this before?) have a new gimmick, a 'periscope' system of mirrors to enable the driver to see how many seats are vacant on the top deck—a system which has already been passed by the Ministry of Transport Engineers.

The system is being tried out on three routes—No. 6 (Sandon Road), No. 42 (New Oscott) and No. 43 (Nechells) and will be used only on Sundays during this experimental period. Now here the Transport Department is being real foxy. None of these routes are what might be called main routes. The No. 6 route starts from the terminus at the city boundary and after a quarter of a mile joins the No. 9 route, so providing an additional bus on this route. After another quarter mile it is joined by the No. 10 and later by the Nos. 1A, 3, 5, 7 and 12. Therefore it does not carry the load of one whole route such as the No. 9 which goes two miles further along a busy main road through the suburbs. The other two buses are both in similar positions.

It is being used on Sundays, just the time when those routes which are essentially to and from workers buses for weekday travel are likely to be at their slackest. Not one of these routes is considered important enough to be a

night service and run after 11 p.m. Now if everything was left there one could say, yes these routes are less important routes, covered by other services. But of course it won't be left there will it? They will 'prove their worth' and be introduced on all routes on Sundays, then Saturdays and 'off peak hours' then peak hours, then... Well you know the pattern. As the *Birmingham Mail* says: 'The outstanding problem no bus undertaking has yet solved satisfactorily is that of giving tickets and issuing change on one-man operated buses.' Nothing about working conditions and fatigue, nothing about increasing leisure time for driver-conductors, nor of increasing pay, nor of increasing safety on the roads, or for passengers, nor of reducing the fares paid, just making life a greater hell for both drivers in doing two jobs, road users due to traffic delays, and passengers due to the need to fiddle with coins in the dark and often rainy bus entrance. No doubt it will eventually help people to become a more highly disciplined work-force, tokens instead of coins but nobody is going to be made any happier for it, crews or passengers.

Who wants it apart from the employers? Nobody else I've heard of. I'll let the General Manager of Birmingham City Transport have the last word: 'I think considerable credit should be given to the trade unions for their co-operation in these experiments.' There now you have it all along, you are getting them because you wanted them—or somebody in union headquarters who stabbed you in the back. Birmingham Corporation Transport Department is losing drivers at the rate of 10 to 15 a week—why not stay and fight instead—you have workers' power—use it.

PETER NEVILLE.

LETTER

News from Elsewhere

Continued from page 7

'Going to the People'

Dear Comrades,

I was one of the few London anarchists who went on the Corsham demonstration. Apart from the rain it was quite successful. On the second day I met three Wiltshire anarchists, all in their teens. After speaking to them for about a quarter of an hour, I then asked how they had come to be anarchists.

They replied that every Easter they went on the march and there would meet and mix with other anarchists, so they decided in 'the back of beyond' they would form an anarchist group.

I spoke to them about FREEDOM but they were not quite sure what I was talking about, I then told them about Freedom Press and Bookshop and the Anarchist Federation of Britain.

In return I asked about the history of Trowbridge Peace Action Group (which is the name of their group). They said it was started about two years ago by five Labour Party supporters (left-wing). It still has those supporters plus 25 anarchists.

Their activities have included slogan painting, heckling at political meetings and—a new one this!—heckling at church meetings.

My sympathy goes out to them, for not only are they in a small village but one has a mother in the Ladies' Conservative Association and a father in Civil Defence.

There is a lot of rubbish talked about 'Easter Anarchists' (which is a phrase which I think should be dropped) and how they appear and disappear—I cannot remember seeing any of the critics at Corsham.

If we want to find other anarchist sympathisers it is up to us to go to them—not to wait for them to come to us.

Yours Very Disgusted,

P. J. GOODY.

Contact Column

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

Holiday for Children. Weekend holiday offered for children in Kent. Deprived or hard-up, gardenless children welcome. Small contribution. 8 Montacute Gardens, Tunbridge Wells.

Flats and Houses Cleaned. Simple re-decoration and gardening jobs wanted. A. W. Uloth, 75 Templars Avenue, London, N.W.11.

Woolwich Demo. Saturday, July 1. Meet Woolwich Arsenal (BR) Station, 12 noon. Picketing Chemical Warfare Establishment.

Accommodation—London. Any kind of accommodation wanted from Aug./Sept./Oct. for anarchist-inclined student (male). No petty restrictions. Apply Paul Kidney, 1 West Hill Way, Totteridge, London, N.20.

Accommodation—London. Argentinian comrade (60, male) requires room with a family (some board if possible) and opportunity to learn English. Will pay £4 p.w. (approx.). Box 61.

Help! Libertarian-run Oxfam shop, besieged by bureaucracy, needs intelligent helpers any time Tuesday-Saturday between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. Even one hour per week appreciated. No pay. Lots of laughs. 166 Kentish Town Road, London, N.W.5.

Summer School. Committee of 100. Aylesmore Farm, Shipston-on-Stour, Warwick. July 29-August 9. Details from John and April Majoram, 47 St. Alban's Road, Leicester.

Sleep-Out. Hampstead Heath (near Whitestone Pond), June 30 dusk to July 1 dawn. Poetry readings. Bring sleeping bags; music; poems; little magazines; bells; incense; beautiful women; gentleness; enquiry. Dusk and dawn poets, write Dennis Gould (below).

Former Junkie. Wants job and accommodation in London. Box 54.

Accommodation. Anarchist seeks accommodation in Camden Town or Islington. Box 50.

Accommodation Wanted—London. Two secretaries. Peace-loving, thoughtful, require bright flatlet; good cooking facilities essential. No petty restrictions. Wanted end of May. With easy access to town. Approx. £5 to £5.5 p.w. Box 56.

International Camp. Has anyone going to International Camp room for one more in car or van? Share expenses. Anyone hitching want travelling companion? After July 21. Bob Blakeman, 5 Grosvenor Road, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Staffs.

If you wish to make contact let us know.