



IN 1649 the execution of Charles I heralded the end of a centuries old system of absolute monarchical power; an era involving the brutal oppression and ruthless exploitation of the people by a highly privileged family, who, considering themselves to be vastly superior to other beings, indulged in lives of decadence and



British people, and who still personify the class system.

Why must the people bear this burden? In the present situation monarchical power is symbolic only, it has no authority in its own right. Monarchical decisions are a repetition of government policywhatever senseless measures the ruling bureaucrats decide upon, monarchy will repeat it like a parrot. Clearly the existence of this national parasite, together with its symbolic power, is helpful to these ruling factions, due to the use they can make of many people's misguided loyalty to this family. 1. It provides an essential stable element in this society (continually changing because of its capitalist nature).

perialism, for example in Wales and the Commonwealth (witness Biafra). 4. The loyalty of British people to the monarchy is used to persuade them to fight in British imperialist wars (Malaya, Borneo, etc.).

The monarchy is retained at great expense to the British people in a situation where there are many unemployed, vast housing shortages, falling standards of living, inadequate hospitals and a grossly degenerate education system, etc., etc. Huge amounts of money are squandered in supporting this parasite whose only real function is involved in the trickery of the people.

## ME ARSEV

AMNESTY

THE announcement of the 'amnesty' for all involved in 'political disturbances' since October 5 has been greeted with an incredible farrago of slobber by all concerned, from new parliamentary secretary to the ministry of injustice jovial John Taylor to green tory McAteer (the racketeer). The CRA's inane statement went to the effect that it seems very good but there must be a catch. The reasons for it are in point of fact quite obvious.

Firstly it must be seen in the context of the Derry trials which were to come up next week. These had all been adjourned from October 5 and the accused included Hume, Cooper, McAteer, McCann and most of the Derry CR people. 'La Pasionara' Devlin was due to appear soon too as well as two other opposition MPs.

Legally the cases would have been very difficult to prosecute and most would have had to have been acquitted, to the wrath of the Paisleyites who are incensed that their Führer and his corporal have been incarcerated-they of course were also offered the first six month adjournment but refused it for publicity reasons. Acquittal or light penalties for October 5 would have sent them on the rampage, but conviction or stiff penalties would have been even more disastrous for the new 'liberal' regime of Chichester-Shark, for the people of Derry, eagerly awaiting a chance to repay their countless scores with the police and the corrupt unionist careerists of the city would have gone on the streets to demonstrate their solidarity with CR. Thus by calling an 'amnesty', dropping the charges against the CR people and freeing Paisley and Bunting, they hope to appease their extremists and at the same time appear to be making a 'magnanimous gesture' to the opposition. Thus cowardice can be presented as a courageous virtue. Secondly, by doing so they can make the 'moral equation' of peaceful CR marchers who take part in an unjustly banned march and are viciously attacked by uniformed thugs-armed B Specials arrested in Armagh while trying to prevent a legal CR march and the Burntollet ambushers. This has consistently been government policy. The day before Burntollet 'Captain' Long met Bunting and Paisley and had a 'congenial chat' (sic). The same day our new PM Chichester-Shark had talked to Bunting during the march at Beragh and the next day when Bunting and his bully boys were smashing up the marchers they were benignly watched by Chichester-Shark's brother Robin, the Westminster MP, along with Anderson, Derry Unionist MP. Next day the 'liberal' O'Neill, the white hope of the intellectual pigmies and middle class, spent three paragraphs denouncing the injured marchers and one the attackers. Now with his henchman and aristocratic relative at the helm he has been availing himself of the mass media and boring Canadian viewers by telling them that the worst troublemakers are the PD who 'are composed of anarchists and trotskyites and have had a bad influence on poor wee Bernadette'. His latest oracular pronouncement being that it is obvious that the civil rights movement has been the work of revolutionary students and is connected with all the ungrateful and revolting students around the world.

this will document the ambush and name names. Full of photographs it will give the identities of over sixty B Specials, off-duty policemen and prominent citizenry, including a local JP who all took part in the infamous ambush. Full details of how, where and by whom the ambush was planned will embarrass the authorities who have quietly been 'conducting inquiries' into the 'incident'.

Any attempt to ban the book will result in sales rocketing and even more publicity and various people have made it quite clear that if the government doesn't institute prosecutions they will take private ones. In the light of yet more evidence of B Special partiality and criminality toady Taylor's admission that at present more than 4,000 of these armed Paisleyites have been called up to 'maintain law and order' can hardly reassure anyone concerned with civil and human rights.

To end with a footnote for the religious amongst us, alas too few in these days of brou-haha and hurly-burly. The much publicised tour of the Bogside and the Fountain ghettos by the swinging ecumenical bishops of Derry, teague and prod, was conducted not on foot but in a chauffeur driven Rolls-Royce, the poor man's car. Dr. Tyndall has subsequently had a heart attack and Dr. Farren, exblueshirt, has had to cancel all his appointments for the time being because of overwork. Further manifestations of the almighty at work have been the thunderbolt (erroneously described in the press as a 'meteorite'), and the release of a 'plague' which escaped from Crumlin Road jail. God is not to be mocked. comrades.

luxury at the expense of their impoverished subjects, and whose policies were based entirely on selfinterest and the suppression of liberty.

The falling of the axe onto Charles' head was indeed a great blow in the cause of freedom. However, in spite of this we now have a situation where vast power has fallen into the hands of comparatively few bureaucrats whose policies are no less based on self-interest. and whose methods, although now highly disguised and devious, involve the oppression and exploitation in no less ruthless a manner than that of the old system. And to emphasise the matter further we still have remnants of this archaic institution who insist on parading about flaunting their wealth and privilege, who still indulge in luxury and decadence at the expense of the

2. Loyalty to 'Queen and Country' is often quoted in the call for increased productivity, i.e. increased profits for the employers.

3. Monarchy is a tool of imperialism-the loyalty of many foreign peoples to the monarchy is used in the covering up or healing of differences caused by British im-

It is 300 years since the axe fell on Charles' head; monarchy survived. Let the axe fall again-LET MONARCHY DIE!

NO CLASS SYSTEM NO MONARCHY NO CAPITALISM NO BUREAUCRACY FREEDOM AND ANARCHY!!!!! ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS.



CTUDENTS AT Liverpool University pours in quite freely. A house with a voted last week to support local N

habitable top floor is a rarity. Entire families have to live and sleep in the basement.

**REVEREND AUGUSTUS BERKES.** 

tenants in picketing the official opening of a new Senate House. Their protest was against the University as a slum landlord.

The University Administration may own up to 130 houses inside the campus. The property is bought up as a prelude to new University developments.

Recently tenants in two streets owned by the University have attacked its failure to keep the property in a fit state for human habitation.

In Vine Street, just bought by the University, the roofs gape and water

SE STUDENTS are at present fighting a losing battle. What is this battle, who is fighting and, more

importantly, what has gone wrong? The socialist society here believe it is a revolutionary struggle involving continuous confrontation with the school absolute academic authorities, breaking down the fabric of were true commu the school and thereby (somehow) unit-But the vio' lectures and m ing students and workers against the LSE) and the common enemy of capitalism. Fair teachers enty academic / enough, but where are the bases for these

it is even an 'official strike'-it is hardly going to have the foundations of

LSE: Revolutionary logic LAST week's protests inst the dismissal of two members of the teaching staff of the School of Economics show once again. School of Economics show once again, as Michael Beloff writh that much greater sympathy is aroused by any atteny line those guilty of ' revolutionary ' conduct th tes. The tradition of Head of when universities Legal Departm 

capitalism crumbling. We have this terrible fixation however, on working tactics and terminology be it completely irrelevant to our situation. It is hardly going to gain the respect, far less the support of the working class. Let us drop these foolish pretences.

For a couple of months now we have had six out of eight union council members also being members of the socialist society. (Mostly IS and more or less in order of hierarchy.) Just like Wilson and his jolly band in power, more bureaucracy leading to less efficiency and of course no signs of revolutionary socialism anywhere. Fight Marxist bids at union elections-do not be duped into apathy or even tacit support. So much for our little lot resigning on election, disbanding union and setting up the general assembly. Predictably they are still there. We were not conned and we have now been proved right though the lesson has yet to sink in all round. . . . Where is all this 'confrontation' actually leading? If it was genuine, mass-based or even honestly based, I suggest students would learn a great deal from the involvement, draw wider conclusions and relate these to the outside world. As it is, the students are manipulated cannon fodder, aware only of some sterile issues at this particular institution and led blindly into making the right noises at the right times. The general idea seems to be to push the

Director into closing the school. Well,

there will not be the massive support

and left backlash then, mates, it'll be a

couple of token strikes round the

B.M.

provincial universities if we are lucky.

For over 8 years in Melville Place, the University failed to keep the houses in a fit state of repair, to combat the dangers of damp to children, to alleviate squalid overcrowding, or to fight the problem of rat-infestation. The houses were declared unfit for human habitation by the Corporation.

In at least one instance the University bought a house for £75. Since then the tenant has paid a total of £624 in thirty shillings a week rent.

Pressure on the University and the Corporation intensified last autumn with the formation of a Tenants' Association in the area. In its few months of existence the Tenants' Association has been successful in fighting cases of repair or rehousing against the University and the Corporation.

The picket of the University's new Senate House is a protest by the tenants about the conditions in which they are forced to live, many of them with the University as landlord. Senate House cost £600,000 and the opening ceremony -featuring Princess Alexandra-£500.

The demonstration by tenants and students will question and condemn the distorted spending priorities of both the University and society as a whole. It will embarrass the University on a prestige occasion.



Furthermore the 'amnesty' can be seen as an attempt to forestall action over Burntollet when the book of the same name appears in five weeks' time. (Copies can be ordered from Freedom Press.) For as the government knows full well

glorious expectations?

The majority of students at LSE are liberal, they are not revolutionary students at all. How, therefore, can a revolutionary struggle be waged through majority decisions at union meetings? Either the meeting has been packed out with soc-soc members and the 'majority' is meaningless and fail to back up subsequent action, or the resolution is at best a liberal act of conscience. Only when people are involved in direct action to change their lot (be it a decent house or honest course of study), bypassing LSE authorities, the state or the boss, when people take power and responsibility in their own hands, will an honest revolutionary struggle develop. The Marxists in fact blame the Anarchist minority for any direct action (Observer, 4.5.69)! They deal in empty majority paper resolutions that don't and can't involve the mass of students in anything except mere aquiescence to a nice 'naughty, naughty Wally Adams' sort of resolution.

Last week we were on strike. The analogy is of course ridiculous. So what if we 'withdraw our labour', so what if



ARTHUR MOYSE

GERRY CORDON. (For the Tenants' Association, University Soc-Soc, Anarchist and Labour Groups.)

## Freedom Scottish Anarchist Issue First issue out May 31

Sellers wanted contact: Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

Subscribers wanting to receive Scottish Anarchist **Edition should inform** Freedom Press

## books?

## we can supply any book in print

## SECONDHAND

We have a large stock of secondhand books. Try us for what you want. This week's selection.

## Battle for the Mind William Sargant 12/6 **Economic History of England**

Milton Briggs and Percy Jordan 15/-The Age of Reform 1815-70 Llewellyn Woodward 20/-

Nineteenth Century Britain

Anthony Wood 12/6

**Evolution or Extinction** 

Guilfoyle Williams 7/6

The History of Mathematics in J. W. N. Sullivan 3/-Europe News from Nowhere William Morris 5/-My Right to Work (1906)

> R. B. Suthers (paperbackloose covers) 3/-

The Citizen Mrs. H. A. L. Fisher 3/-

**DURAL BERKSHIRE** seems to be the part of Britain that the State has set aside for its dirty work. It houses Aldermaston AWRE, Burghfield ROF, RSG6 (Warren Row), USAF Greenham Common, USAF Welford, Mr. Stanley who exports arms to Nigeria, Dow Corning (that I wrote of a few weeks ago), Elliot Automation Space & Weapons Factory, and just over our county borders the Fighting Vehicle Research and Development Establishment and good old Porton Down.

It is not surprising therefore that peace activists view any large government establishment with suspicion, especially when it is secluded.

One large establishment that has drawn attention is the Road Research Laboratory in Crowthorne, near Bracknell New Town. The following facts and theories about this place have come from people who have worked in the RRL as employees of sub-contractors or who live near the establishment.

The most interesting sight, once past the security checkpoint and inside the grounds, is the strange structure on the roof of the new, multi-storey office block. This is not visible from the road and closer inspection shows it to be a full blown, green glazed control tower complete with radio antenna. A local lady complained that, at times of intense activity, helicopters are coming and going day and night. They land on the large central test area which, with the off-shooting trackways, could take a fair sized aircraft.

## Road Research ... or RSG?

4 ft. wide by 3 ft. deep solid concrete troughs. I have been told by two different builders that this is, and is not, standard procedure on government contracts. Perhaps an architect reader can throw some light on this? It is not known whether these are connected to the two wells inside the establishment's boundaries.

Employees of Triduct Ltd., the Sloughbased air-conditioning sub-contractor, have told me that the air-conditioning

plant would handle an air volume of two to three times the volume it is in fact handling. Triduct have been involved recently in contracts at Aldermaston AWRE and USAF Upper Heyford.

The main building group contains a radioactive store but the size of this and its contents are unknown and it may be used only for the inspection of test cores.

The building contractors would work without question from the security department over the weekends. However, on



Humana (Tandem paperback 5/-, post 8d.).

THEN I BECAME acquainted with anarchism at the beginning of the 'fifties, which was before the mass demonstration filled the scene and before our society acquired its 'permissive' appellation, free love was a major interest in the anarchist movement. This novel was reviewed in FREEDOM when it was first published in 1954. Now it has appeared in paperback. Set in poor, peasant, priest-ridden Sicily, it is about an unbeautiful woman seemingly predestined to a companionless life of duty to an aged blind parent and a lone struggle to wrest a living from the stony soil, to whom love and liberation come at the age of thirty-five. I have called it a fairy tale because, while the ugly duckling does not turn into a swan, there is a mysterious air about the appearance on the scene of the 'fairy prince', whom the author impishly names Fausto. Reality convincingly takes over in the drawing of the tiny timeless Sicilian town and its people; ignorant peasants, the hardness and rigidity of whose lives have bound their responses into resentful hostility towards anything or anyone from 'outside', into a hatred born of envy for lives touched by magic. All astutely channelled into the course set by the interested upholders of the status quo. It is here that the author's insight

A LOVER FOR LUCIA by Charles good values from depredation by what he (mistakenly) identifies with the meretricious; the mayor, seeking to remain a big political fish by keeping the pond small; the doctor, whose calling doesn't quite let him range himself with a good conscience on the side of privilege and prejudice against justice and mercy. And, above all, in the police chiefperhaps the real hero of the story-who is the tool to do their dirty work, a victim of his vanity and taste for power, but conscious of the hollowness of his authority and the insipidity of his own life and marriage. Perhaps I have been wrong to categorise this story as a fairy tale. While this is a lyrical work and not a powerful drama, there is an element of the inevitable progression of tragedy of which the Greeks made their dramas in the death of Lucia's father which sets the subsequent events in motion, and the final deliverance is brought about by the 'Deus ex machina'. The motive of the story is the courage with which the lovers assert the simple, natural dignity of their relationship and undergo the persecution meted out to the non-conformer. (If you're sceptical about how two people emerge from the chrysalis of that restrictive environment with fully-fledged libertarian attitudeswell, how is it that you are an anarchist in this society?) The persecution reaches the extreme pitches of the imprisonment of the man and the rape of the woman. This is the second of Charles Humana's be no doubt that it is a road research draws the most incisive strokes: the novels I have read containing a rape priest, dedicating himself remorselessly scene, and while in this one it fits and tyrannically to preserving what he logically into the plot, yet in the The fresh water piping is enclosed in believes (with some justification) to be optimistic, lyrical, and yes, I think

the Friday before the October Vietnam Demonstration last year, when even stout state hearts faltered, the Director of Road Research sent around a memo to contractors requesting the names of employees who proposed to work over the weekend. Workers attempting to enter whose names were not on the security department's list would be turned away.

A local journalist attempted to do a legitimate article on the activities of the RRL but was 'discouraged' maybe because it is better that the RRL was not there at all; as it is on seventh series Ordnance Survey maps the laboratory is shown as 'woodland'.

There is, as ever, a precedent. Two buildings (and a wind tunnel) house the US road research laboratory in the grounds of the multi-million dollar Central Intelligence Agency headquarters in Langley, Virginia. Presumably because of this all the approach roads to the American intelligence nerve-centre are signposted 'Bureau of Public Roads. Road Research Laboratory'.

**Easy Outline of Economics** Noah Ablett (paperbackloose covers) 3/-

A Preface to Morals

Walter Lippman 3/-Urban Government Benjamin Baker 10/-I Will Still be Moved (Reports from S. Africa) (ed.) Marion Friedmann (paper) 6/6 Socialism and the Individual

John Lewis 3/6

## Socialism and Socialism J. Ramsay MacDonald 3/-

### The Labour Party Today Mary Agnes Hamilton 3/-

Aims and Means John Boynton 5/-

## POSTAGE EXTRA Freedom Bookshop

## **HERE WE ARE!**

Editorial office open Friday, May 16, 6-8 p.m. and Monday, May 19, 2-8 p.m. Note new telephone number: BIShopsgate 9249

## New address:

84B WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET. (entrance Angel Alley), WHITECHAPEL, E.1.

Local conjecture ranges from a replacement for, the now exposed and therefore useless, RSG6 (Warren Row) to just plain suspicion of the groups of foreigners who arrive for courses on Road Research.

The test track used for experiments goes off deep into an enclosed pine forest which has no visible buildings but workers have seen a large domestic fuel tanker go deep into the woods only to return the way it came and leave the establishment completely. The test track is used for some spectacular crashes using radio controlled cars. The cars are controlled from Land Rovers fitted with large telescopic pneumatic aerials, Military observers will recognise these vehicles as those used by the British Army for remote control missile launching.

As for the construction of the buildings themselves they are almost all new and with up to three storeys of basement. The above ground buildings are offices and laboratory/workshops and there can laboratory. What people are asking, however, is what else is it?

LARRY LAW.

sentimental work of this author the X-certificate scene usually seems incongruous. It reminds me of a film in which Bob Hope entered a saloon in the Klondyke full of great bearded brutes of gold prospectors and asked at the bar for a lemonade. Desperately reacting to the menacing, silent incredulity of the assembled toughs, he twisted his face into a grimace intended to look like ugly brutality and added: 'In a dirty glass'.

Most people will be aware of the astronomical numbers of paperbacks churned out every month, and some will have noticed recent references to moves to cut down on the number of titles circulated; principally by W. H. Smith who have set up a single selection centre for a restricted list which will be circulated to the very large proportion of the market for which they are sole distributors. Naturally the James Bonds and Barbara Cartlands will be included. It is good that one work of good craftsmanship by a competent advocate of a liberatory morality has slipped through the net.

(Underground: Aldgate East. Exit: Whitechapel Art Gallery. Turn right on emerging from station.)

### **FREEDOM PRESS and Bookshop Opening times:**

Closed Monday, Sunday. Tuesday-Friday, 3-7 p.m. Saturday, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

## FREEDOM PRESS

are the publishers • the monthly magazine ANARCHY and the weekly journal FREEDOM

specimen copies will be gladly sent on request.

## **Subscription Rates**

(Per year)

### Inlend

'FREEDOM' ONLY £1 138. 4d. 'ANARCHY' ONLY £1 7s. 0d. COMBINED SUBSCRIPTION £2 14s. 4d.

#### Abroad

'FREEDOM' ONLY surface mail

M.C.

## SURREY FEDERATION

EPSOM. G. Wright, 47 College Road, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 23806.

KINGSTON. Michael Squirrel, 4 Woodgate Ave., Hook, Chessington.

GUILDFORD. Peter Cartwright, 33 Denzil Road, Guildford.

DORKING. Mungo Park, 16 Overdale, Dorking. MERTON. Elliot Burns, 13 Amity Grove, London, S.W.19. Tel. 01-946 1444.

## SUSSEX FEDERATION

Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Eddie Poole, 5 Tilsbury, Findon Road, Whitehawk, Brighton.

BRIGHTON & HOVE ANARCHIST GROUP. Sebastian Melmoth, 6 Foundry Street, Brighton. Regular fortnightly meetings. On Saturday, May 17, a FREE SCHOOLS meeting, 3 p.m., Unitarian Church Hall, New Road, Brighton.

CRAWLEY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Richard Ashwell, 87 Buckswood Drive, Gossops Green, Crawley, Sussex.

SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP (see details under Student Groups).

## YORKSHIRE FEDERATION

Meetings every 8 weeks. Next meeting in Hull, May 4. Secretary: Colin Beadle, c/o Oakwood Farm, Cliffe-cum-Lund, Selby, Yorkshire.

Parade, Harrogate.

thorn Avenue, Hull.

Keighley.

Watkins, 6 Ebberston Terrace, Leeds, 6.

Regular activities, 'Freedom' sales.

SHEFFIELD: Dave Jeffries, c/o Students Union,

LSE ANARCHIST GROUP. C/o Students' Union, LSE, Houghton Street, W.C.2.

KINGSTON COLLEGE of Technology, Penhryn Road, Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey. Contact G. Wright.

MANCHESTER COLLEGE of Commerce. Contact Kevin Hill, c/o Students' Union, College of Commerce, Aytoun Street, Manchester, 1.

## WELSH FEDERATION

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS. Contact Steve Mills, 4 St. Michael's Place, Aberystwyth, Cardiganshire, Wales.

CARDIFF ANARCHIST GROUP. All correspondence tor-Pete Raymond, 18 Marion Street, Splott, Cardiff.

SWANSEA ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Ian Bone, 22 Glanmor Road, Uplands, Swansea. Weekly meetings, 'Freedom' sales and action projects.

LLANELLI: Contact Dai Walker, 6 Llwuynnendy Road, Lianelli, Carm. Tel: Llanelli 2548.

## SCOTTISH FEDERATION

All correspondence to Bobby Lynn, Secretary, 12 Ross Street, Glasgow, S.E.

ABERDEEN ANARCHIST GROUP. Bob Comrie, 288 Hardgate

ABERDEEN FREEDOM GROUP. All those wishing to sell both national and Scottish editions of 'Freedom' contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

GLASGOW ANARCHIST GROUP. Robert Lynn, 12 Ross Street, S.E.

EDINBURGH. Tony Hughes, Top Flat, 40 Angle Park Terrace, Edinburgh 11. HAMILTON AND DISTRICT ANARCHIST

GROUP. Robert Linton, 7a Station Road, New Stevenston, Motherwell.

FIFE. Bob and Una Turnbull, 39 Stratheden Park, Stratheden Hospital, By Cupar. MONTROSE. Dave Coull, 3 Eskview Terrace, Ferryden, Montrose, Angus. ROSS-SHIRE. Contact David Rodgers, Broomfield, Evanton, Ross-shire, Scotland.

nate Wednesdays. Phone Brian 672 8494.

ground

Active groups in: LEYTONSTONE, STEPNEY, NEWHAM, ILFORD, DAGENHAM, WOOD-FORD and LIMEHOUSE.

## **OFF-CENTRE LONDON DISCUSSION MEETINGS**

**Anarchist Federation of Britain** LONDON FEDERATION OF ANARCHISTS. Road, Chells, Stovenage. All correspondence to LFA, c/o Freedom Press.

LAVENDER HILL MOB. Contact C. Broad, 116 Tyneham Road, S.W.11 (228 4086). LEWISHAM. Mike Malet, 61B Granville Park, S.E.13. (852 8879). MALATESTA GROUP. Contact Reg Broad

5 Welbeck Court, Addison Bridge Place, W.14. 603 0550. Meetings every Thursday at "The Cedars', (upstairs room), next to Baron's Court library, 8 p.m.

PORTOBBLLO ROAD ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Andrew Dewar, 16 Kilburn House, Malvern Place, N.W.6. Meetings 8 p.m. every Tuesday.

Regular meetings. Contact P.P., 271 Portobello Road, W.11. BEXLEY ANARCHIST MOVEMENT. Steve

Leman, 28 New Road, Abbey Wood, S.E.2. Tel.: ET 35377. Meetings every Friday, 8° p.m., Lord Bexley, Bexleyheath Broadway. S.W. LONDON ANARCHISTS. Meeting alter-

## EAST LONDON LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION

Support wanted for numerous activities in area. Secretary: Anthony Matthews, 35 Mayville Road, London, E.11. Meetings fortnightly on Sundays at Ron Bailey's, 128 Hainault Road, E.11 (LEY \$059). Ten minutes from Leytonstone Under-

LEICESTER PROJECT.

action and debate. Every Wednesday at 8 p.m. at 1 The Crescent, King Street, Leicester. MUTUAL AID GROUP. c/o Borrowdale, Carriage Drive, Frodsham, Cheshire.

NORTH EAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Peter Ridley, 4 Rockcliffe Gardens, Whitley Bay, Northumberland. Phone 25759.

Peace/Libertarian

NORTH SOMERSET ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Roy Emery, 3 Abbey Street, Bath, or Geoffrey Barfoot, 71 St. Thomas Street, Wells.

NOTTING HILL. Meetings at John Bennett's, Flat 4, 88 Clarendon Road, W.11. Every Monday evening, 8 p.m.

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

REDDITCH ANARCHISTS AND LIBER-TARIANS. Contact Dave Lloyd, 37 Feckenham Road, Headless Cross, Redditch, Worcs. WEST HAM ANARCHISTS. Regular meetings and activities contact Mr. T. Plant, 10 Thackeray Road, East Ham, E.6. Tel.: 552 4162.

## **ESSEX & EAST HERTS** FEDERATION

Three-monthly meetings. Groups and individuals invited to associate: c/o Peter Newell (see N.E. Essex Group). Group Addresses:-

BASILDON & WICKFORD, Steve Grant, 'Piccola'

Casa', London Road, Wickford, Essex. NORTH EAST ESSEX. Peter Newell, 91 Brook Road, Tolleshunt Knights, Tiptree, Esser. Regular

HARROGATE. Contact David Howes, 16 Park

HULL: Jim Young, 3 Fredericks Crescent, Haw-

**KEIGHLEY:** Steve Wood, 26B Cavendish Street,

LEEDS: Direct Action Society. Contact Martin

SELBY. Contact Colin Beadle (address above).

#### (US\$8.00) £2 16s. 0d. airmail 'ANARCHY' ONLY

THE TREE CALL CLIME			
surface mail	£1	6s.	0d
airmail (US\$7.00)	£2	7s.	0d
COMBINED SUBSCRIPT	ION	1	
surface mail	£2	10s.	0d
Both by airmail			

£1 10s. 0d.

(US\$12.50) £4 5s. 0d. 'Freedom' by airmail, 'Anarchy' by surface (US\$10.50) £3 17s. 0d. mail

## **PUBLICATIONS** include

Berkman's ABC of ANARCHISM 2/6 (+5d.) Rocker's NATIONALISM AND CULTURE 21/- (+4/6) Richards MALATESTA: His Life and Ideas. Cloth bound 21/- (+1/3); paper 10/6 (+1/-) Berneri's NEITHER EAST or WEST 6/- (+9d.) all list on application. Woodcocks THE WRITER & POLITICS 7/6

Every Wednesday at Jack Robinson's and Mary Canipa's, 21 Rumbold Road, S.W.6 (off King's Road), 8 p.m. SIEGE OF SIDNEY STREET APPRECIATION SOCIETY. Frances Cooper, 2a Fairfield Gardens, Hornsey, N.8. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

## **REGIONAL FEDERATIONS** AND GROUPS

BIRMINGHAM ANARCHIST GROUP. Secretary. Peter Le Mare, 22 Hallewell Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham, 16. Libertarian discussion groups held 8 p.m. on each Tuesday at 'The Crown', Corporation Street (Opp. Law Courts), Birmingham City. S.a.e. to Secretary for details. BOURNEMOUTH AREA. Local anarchists can be contacted through Nigel Holt, Rossmore, Harvey Road, Canford, Wimborne, Dorset. (Wimborne 2991.)

BROMLEY BLACK FLAG. John and Maggie, 2 The Mount, Susan Wood, Chislehurst, Kent. Meetings as above Fridays, 8 p.m. 'Freedom' sales.

CORNWALL ANARCHISTS. Contact Arthur Jacobs, 13 Ledrah Road, St. Austell, Cornwall. Meetings on the second Friday of each month at 42 Pendarves Street, Beacon, Camborne. 7.30 p.m. Visiting comrades very welcome. CROYDON LIBERTARIANS. Meetings every 2nd Friday of each month. Laurens and Celia Otter, 35 Natal Road, Thornton Heath (LIV

EDGWARE PEACE ACTION GROUP. Contact Melvyn Estrin, 84 Edgwarebury Lane, Edgware, Middx. HERTS. Contact Val and John Funnell, 10 Fry

meetings.

BISHOPS STORTFORD. Vic Mount, 'Eastview', Castle Street, Bishops Stortford, Herts. CHELMSFORD. (Mrs.) Eva Archer, Mill House,

Purleigh, Chelmsford, Essex.

EPPING. John Barrick, 14 Centre Avenue, Epping, Essex.

HARLOW, Ian Dallas, 18 Brookline Field, Harlow and Annette Gunning, 37 Longbanks, Harlow.

LOUGHTON. Group c/o Students' Union, Loughton College of Further Education, Borders Lane, Loughton, Essex.

## **NORTH-WEST FEDERATION**

Secretary: Phil, 9 Boland Street, Manchester, 14. BLACKPOOL. Contact Christine Seddon, 111 Harcourt Road, Blackpool.

BOLTON. Contact John Hayes, 51 Rydal Road, Bolton.

CHORLEY. Contact Kevin Lynch, 6 Garfield Terrace, Chorley.

LANCASTER AND MORECAMBE. Contact Les Smith, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Meetings Monday at 8 p.m., Phil Woodhead's, 30 Dunkeld Street, Lancaster. Regular literature sales. MANCHESTER ANARCHIST GROUP. 'The

Secretary', Felix Phillips, 6 Draycott Street, Manchester, 10.

Regular weekly meetings. Contact Secretary for vonne.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHISTS. Contact Jenny Rathbone, 20 Sefton Park Road, Liverpool, 8. Meetings every Tuesday, at 8 p.m., at Pete Duke's, Flat 6, 70 Huskisson Street, Liverpool, 8.

PRESTON ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact J. B. Cowburn, 140 Watting Street Road, Fulwood, Preston. Meetings: 'The Wellington Hotel', Glovers Court, Preston. Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

STOCKPORT. Dave Crowther, 1 Castle Street, Edgeley, Stockport.

Western Bank, Sheffield, 10. YORK: C/o Students' Representative Council, Goodricke College, University of York, Heslington, York.

## STUDENT GROUPS

ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY GROUP. C/o Ian and Peggy Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 45L.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact Matthew Robertson, Trinity CARDIFF UNIVERSITY LIBERTARIAN/ANAR-CHIST GROUP. Contact Chris Short, UWIST Union, Cathays Park, or Chas. Ball, UCC Union, Dumfries Place.

College, or John Fullerton, Jesus College. SUSSEX UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. John Byford, 26 Bedford Square, Brighton, Sussex. Meetings every second Thursday jointly with Brighton Group; bookstall every Monday outside J.C.R., 12-2.30 p.m.

YORK UNIVERSITY. Contact Nigel Wilson, Derwent College, University of York, Heslington, York.

EAST ANGLIA UNIVERSITY. Contact Dave Lomax, E.A.S. II, U.E.A., Norwich, NOR 88C. LIBERTARIAN STUDENTS FEDERATION. Contact address: Keith Nathan, 138 Pennymead, Harlow.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY ANARCHIST GROUP. Contact us at the bookstall in the Students Union Foyer every Friday lunchtime.

**OXFORD ANARCHIST GROUP.** Contact Francis Casline, Pembroke College, or Steve Watts, Trinity College.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY. Contact Mike Don or Bill Jamieson, c/o University Union, Oxford Road, Manchester, 13

SOUTHAMPTON UNIVERSITY Revolutionary Anarchist Federation. Contact Student Union Bookstall lunchtimes on Tuesday and Friday.

## NORTHERN IRELAND

BELFAST ANARCHIST GROUP. Meetings every Saturday, 2 p.m., 44a Upper Arthur Street (top floor). 'Freedom' sales.

## SOUTHERN IRELAND

ALLIANCE OF LIBERTARIAN AND ANAR-CHIST GROUPS IN IRELAND. Please send aff communications with stamped envelope to The Secretary, c/o Freedom Press.

## ABROAD

AUSTRALIA. Federation of Australian Anarchists, P.O. Box A 389, Sydney South, NSW 2000. Phone No. 69-8095. Open discussion and literature sale in the Domain-Sunday, 2 p.m. Call at 59 Eveleigh Street, Redfern, NSW 2015 for personal discourse, tea and overnight accommodation. BELGIUM. Groupe du journal Le Libertaire, 220 rue Vivegnis, Liège.

USA. James W. Cain, secretary, the Anarchist Committee of Correspondence, 323 Fourth Street. Cloquet, Minnesota 55720, USA.

TORONTO LIBERTARIAN - ANARCHIST GROUP. 217 Toryork Drive, Weston, Ontario. Canada. Weekly meetings. Read the 'Libertarian'. Third issue now out and it was well worth waiting for!

## **PROPOSED GROUPS**

NORTH DEVON. All those interested in forming a local group please contact Hugh Bensley, 'Boathyde', Northam, Bideford, Devon.

MONTREAL, QUEBEC. Anyone interested in forming a Montreal area Anarchist group please contact Ron Sigler. Tel. 489-6432.

# The Nazi Front

FOR SOME TIME NOW an organisation calling itself the National Front has, on quite a number of occasions, hit the headlines in both the national and local Press. Last December about a dozen-and-a-half Front members heckled the Archbishop of Canterbury at a church hall in Basildon. In January of this year a group of Fronters attempted to break up a meeting organised by the Free Schools Campaign, and at the end of March about forty of them were involved in persistent barracking, flourand tomato-throwing and some scuffles at a Labour Party by-election meeting in Walthamstow. Again, at the end of March, forty members of the National Front attempted to gatecrash a Co-operative conference on racism at Kingsway Hall. On this occasion, however, the Co-operators were able to prevent them from entering the building.

Who, then, are these people? What is the National Front? And what are its aims?

The Front came into existence in February, 1967, through the amalgamation of the British National Party, formed by wealthy Norfolk farmer Andrew Fountaine and John Bean (Britain's Goebbels) in 1960, and the League of Empire Loyalists, led by A. K. Chesterton, a South African. Some time later most of John Tyndall's Greater Britain Movement, much of Colin Jordan's National Socialist Movement, large numbers of the crisis-ridden Racial Preservation Society, the Birmingham organisation, the Association of British People and two small radical-right 'parties', the English National Party and the Liverpool-based People Progressive Party, joined. Of the National Front today, John Tyndall, writing in the January/ February, 1969, issue of his journal Spearhead observes: 'After a series of teething troubles, mainly involving the purging of elements who wanted to put the clock back and return to the days of splintering, the National Front has now grown into unquestionably the largest and most powerful patriotic movement in Britain, with a membership many times greater than any other.' In its early days—and even to some extent today—the National Front was indeed an unholy alliance of radical-right, neo-Fascist and Nazi groupings, with perhaps the Nazi element and ideology predominating over the purely nationalist and High Tory. Like the pre-War British Union of Fascists, the Front appears to attract membership from the two extremes of the social spectrum-the aristocracy (including some Top Brass from the armed forces) and the lumpenproletariat. The National Front, however, is hostile towards Sir Oswald Mosley, the ageing 'leader' of Union Movement, whom it claims is not a genuine nationalist or National Socialist. Mosley is, says Tyndall in Spearhead, by inclination '... a European internationalist rather than a British Nationalist.' To many of the National Fronters, the Mosleyites are as 'left-wing' as the Communist Party!

notorious members of the National Front. Recently the Front has been desperately trying to improve its image. I can quite well understand why.

## POLICY

The National Front has a list of thirteen objectives, or to use Stalinist phraseology, immediate demands. They include: 'To establish in Great Britain a strong Government. . . . To preserve our British native stock . . . to eradicate racehatred, by terminating non-white immigration, with humane and orderly repatriation of non-white immigrants (and their dependants) who have entered since the passing of the British Nationality Act, 1948. . . . To give unremitting support to British and other European communities overseas, . . . To ensure that

expulsion of 'coloured' immigrants from Britain, the Front seeks, in the words of the Observer (30.3.69), 'a "white dominion power block" incorporating Britain and the white Commonwealth - including South Africa and Rhodesia-and our withdrawal from the United Nations'. It, naturally, considers 'race mixing' treason, and claims to have 'expert' evidence which it interprets as showing the 'congenital superiority' of the white man (Caucasoid?) over the rest of humanity. The National Front is a 'parliamentary' party; and aims to contest a considerable number of constituencies, particularly where there are relatively large numbers election.

Although not actually published by the National Front itself (but sold and distributed by the organisation) John Tyndall's booklet British Nationalism contains a lot of information on how the dominant leadership and faction think. It was

Apart from the 'humane and orderly' each other in spirit and culture blended together as harmonious twigs of a family tree. . . We therefore oppose racial integration and stand for racial separateness, that is the separate development of the different races and nations along lines corresponding to their differing qualities." Tyndall, like all Front members, stresses the need for 'strong government'. Putting the usual élitest arguments, he claims that 'At the root of many of the ills of government in Britain lies our system of equal franchise. Under this system everyone over 21 has one vote, and everyone's vote is worth the same. . . . In such circumstances it is inevitable that the power of government, such as of 'coloured' immigrants, at the next it is, accrues not to the most capable and principled men of the nation, but the most articulate at "selling themselves" to the voter. . . .' So Tyndall proposes that 'government should be elected and judged by an informed and responsible public opinion . . . that once elected it should be given the power necessary to properly published in 1967. In his chapter 'A tackle the most essential national tasks, Nationalist Economy', Tyndall argues, long term as well as short term. . . .' very much like Mosley did before the How can we do this? By reforming the could have more votes than those who are less fit. This could mean some kind of occupational or professional status and franchise-shades of pre-War BUF policy! Tyndall is in favour of what he calls the 'moral regeneration' of Britain. Moreover, 'The first necessity is a clear programme of legislation which will render liable to prosecution all persons or agencies responsible for the promotion of art, literature, or entertainment by which public moral standards might be endangered'. Existing laws must be strengthened. Patriotism must be encouraged in our schools.

What is the numerical strength of the National Front?

Mr. Martin Webster, the national activities organiser, and one-time friend and associate of Colin Jordan, says: 'We boast 8,000 members, but a more realistic claim would be 7,000.' The Front is, of course, growing. It claims 150 applicants for membership a week. And it is, as Tyndall boasts, far larger than any other of the far-right splinter groups-including Mosley's somewhat ailing, and ageing, Union Movement. But I doubt whether its actual paid-up membership is 7,000. Activists number less than a tenth of that figure. About fifty or so members of the Front, however, can generally be called upon-often at quite short notice-to attend other people's meetings or demonstrations in the Greater London area. The National Front could, therefore, become a potential danger if not exposed in good time. year-old men. We succeeded in disrupt-SOME 'LEADERS' ing the meeting-that's all I was there for.' Obviously not the type to invite to Probably its most notorious 'leader' is tea and crumpets with Admiral Sir Barry the already-mentioned A. K. Chesterton, "Chairman of Directorate' and editor of Domville or Lady Elizabeth! Of the same stamp as Wade are people Candour, which he has edited for many like Ron Tear and John Cook. Tear is years. Formerly one of Mosley's BUF also a former member of the British 'intellectuals', and one-time editor of the National Party, and a one-time candidate BUF publication Blackshirt, Chesterton in the Goodmayes area of Ilford in broke away from the British Union of Essex. According to Andrew Kitt of the Fascists just before the war, presumably Guardian (26.3.69), 'At one time the most because of Mosley's 'moderate' attitude noticeable decoration in Mr. Tear's home, towards Nazi Germany. Before that, in front of which he proudly posed for a Chesterton worked with the late A. Raven press photograph, was a shrine to the Thompson and the notorious William late Adolf Hitler.' Ron Tear is highly 'Lord Haw Haw' Joyce, BUF director of thought-of by A. K. Chesterton, 'the propaganda. Undisputed 'leader' of the leader'. He is Area Organiser of the National Front today, he is able to spend West Essex and East London National quite a considerable amount of time in Front, and is a member of the Front's his native South Africa. National Directorate. Tear was also at Membership of the Front's National the Walthamstow fracas. Admitted Ron Council looks quite impressive—if one is some while ago: 'I frankly admit that we impressed by aristocratic titles, DSOs, are National Socialists.' Closely asso-MBEs, MCs and the like. Perhaps the ciated with him is John Cook of Ilford. most well-known is Admiral Sir Barry He is Deputy Area Organiser in East Domville, KBE, CB, CMG, a founder of London and West Essex, and is a member the pro-Nazi 'Link', and a guest of honour of the National Directorate. He was -together with Sir Oswald Mosley-at formerly with Colin Jordan's National a large 18b Detainees' rally in London Socialist Movement. And, according to in March, 1945, and again in December Tom Iremonger, MP for Ilford, he 'infilof the same year. Other Top Brass intrated' the local Tory association, and clude Major-General Richard Hilton, actively promoted the cause of racial DSO, MC, DFC, Air-Commodore G. S. separation. A. K. Chesterton also thinks Oddie, DFC, AFC, who said recently, 'Of highly of him as well. And he's welcome course I am a racialist,' and Lieut.-Cdr. G. K. Rylands, OBE, JP. Then there is to him. Elizabeth, Lady Freeman, MBE, and a According to the Sunday Times (30.3.69), couple of parsons, the Rev. Sidney Atherly there are twenty-two members of the Directorate, whose previous affiliations and the Rev. G. H. Nicholson, vicar of St. were: Greater Britain Movement, British Mary the Virgin, Burfield, near Reading, National Party, League of Empire a supporter of Ian Smith and writer of Loyalists, the Racial Preservation Society various tracts and articles purporting to and the Communist Party (!). The Times, show Bible support for racial segregahowever, omits to mention Colin Jordan's tion. To complete the list there is a lady National Socialists. The paper does menwith the very English name of Mrs. von tion John Tyndall, 'former GBM and Goetz. Of course, most of these people Nazi leader', and Miss Rosine de Bouneare just important-sounding names to vialle, an ex-Leaguer. The inner leaderdecorate National Front notepaper. None ship of the National Front, according to are known to have been particularly the Sunday Times, is the Leadership active throwing rotten fruit or bags of Council, comprising Chesterton, Aidan flour at opponents. This they usually Mackie, Frank Clifford, a former Mosleave to Stephen Wade of Forest Gate, levite. Denis Pirie, a former National 'leader' of the Front's Newham Branch, Socialist, and another former National and a former member of the British Socialist Movement member, Martin National Party. It was Wade who denied Webster. Andrew Fountain, the former kicking Arthur Bottomley, MP, in the president of the British National Party, groin at the Walthamstow meeting. Said has now resigned from the National Wade after the meeting: 'There was a struggle, but I only brushed against Front. These, then, are a few of the more revolutionary' are typical Communist Bottomley. I don't go about kicking 62-

just profits, salaries and wages, founded War, that 'The British world must be franchise so that those who are most fit freed from the clutches of the interon a fair partnership between employers national financial system, and must firmly and employees, are guaranteed by main-



taining the principle of private enterprise within a framework of national guidance. . . . To create a national movement to give guidance for the healthy mental and physical development of British youth' (emphasis mine).

control all the financial forces through which its economy is fed. This means strong government direction of financial enterprise within defined national and Commonwealth bounds. . . .' In his section on 'Race Preservation', he says: 'We

are British nationalists first and foremost and are determined to preserve our British civilisation in the many areas of the world where it has taken root. . . We don't want to change our national character and assume a new and different character; we want to stay as we are, giving to the world those particular things that our inborn qualities as a people have fitted us to give.' And: 'It is no refutation of this to trot out the old tale about the British being a mixed tons first. . . .' And yet in another: 'Sup- stock. Our only mixture is of stocks of

## BACKWARD-LOOKING

The National Front is not, as has been suggested in some quarters, a revolutionary organisation. It is a reactionary, backward-looking, totalitarian one with a predominantly 'Nordic-style' Nazi ideology. It believes in 'leadership' and a highly centralised, élitest, and hierarchic socio-political structure. It advocates strong government, elected largely by those whom it considers most suited. It would, within a capitalist system of 'national guidance' (shades of Hitler Germany), ensure 'just profits, salaries and wages'but ensured by whom it does not say. Obviously not by the workers.

At the moment the National Front is 'riding high', its members enthused by some success and notoriety. This is not surprising, considering the ineptitude of Britain's traditional reformist parties and politicians, and the political and social backwardness of large sections of the working class. I am not going to suggest, however, that only the building of a strong and influential libertarian movement in this country can stop the march of such an organisation as the National Front; but, at least, it could make a lot of difference. It's up to us.

The National Front also publishes numerous leaflets (often showered indiscriminately at opponents' meetings) on various topics. In one such leaflet, the Front proclaims that 'Britain's entry into the Common Market would mean digging her own grave,' and asks: 'Do you want foreigners to govern our country? Do you want them lowering our living standards?' And in another leaflet, it demands: 'UNITE the nation-instead of waging the "class war" . . . PUT Briport the Police and the Prison Warders'. North Western Europe closely akin to

P

## THE DOUKHOBORS Continued from page 3

Orthodox Russian bishop as a term of abuse. He meant that they wrestled against the Holy Ghost, but they have adopted the name for themselves, regarding themselves as 'wrestlers in the spirit' against the forces of evil. We anarchists have also adopted a name given us by our enemies.

In fact Doukhoborism is a manyheaded monster, rather as anarchism is. There are Doukhobors who have always been prosperous, individualist farmers, their only nonconformity being their pacifism. These Independent Doukhobors have steered clear of the millenarian enthusiasms of their co-religionists. The bombing and incendiarism in Canada has been the work of a small section only of the Doukhobors, the Sons of Freedom. They have striven always to bring the sect back to its pristine virtue, by force if necessary.

restricted to the Sons of Freedom, which has brought them much unfavourable publicity, has been the naked march, conducted through the nearest town or village. So puritanical are the Canadians that they found this deeply shocking, and a law was passed making it an offence, to be punished with three years' imprisonment, to strip oneself naked in a public place.

In Russia the Doukhobors' trouble was mainly on account of their rejection of almost all religious rites, and their refusal to do military service. In Canada their religion was their own affair, and they were not compelled to do military service, but they got into trouble because, with their taboo on books, they did not allow their children to attend school There was also a muddle over the marriage question. Doukhobors do not have state or church marriages, but in the end the Canadian Government came round to recognising the Doukhobor marriages as valid. If remained, however, uncompromising on the matter of schooling, and seems to have won on this point.

One of the characteristics of the sect has been the liability to sudden waves of enthusiasm for migration to a better land. Even at midwinter they have been known to abandon everything, and, men, women and children, suddenly set off across the prairie on foot. Various schemes have been started to leave Canada and go to South America, or even back to Russia. So far little has come of these plans. Until recently many of the sect, although born in Canada, still spoke Russian, and knew little English. One gets the impression of a nation of wanderers, at home nowhere. With the dawn of space travel there can be no doubt that some will take advantage of the opportunity to escape our over-populated planet, and recommence their voyaging, ever onwards to some land or planet where they can live their lives free from the interference of earthly governments.

One form of Doukhobor protest, not

ARTHUR STONE.

## ANARCHISTS ATTACKED

Continued from page 4 tions and prejudices on the working class is felt not only in capitalist States, but also in countries which have stepped on to the socialist road. We often hear utterances and witness practical actions which do not differ in essence from anarchism.' Indeed, says Pravda, 'There are also in some countries today anarchosyndicalist sentiments in relation to Trade Unions. Statements that Trade Unions must be made "independent" of the Party are nothing but a direct reproduction of the views of the Workers' Opposition.' All of which, says the Communist writer for the umpteenth time, marks anarchism as a system of petty bourgeois views and policy.

Of course, such phrases as 'petty bourgeois', or 'anarchist deviation', or 'pseudo-

munism' advocated, in various ways, by Pleckhanov when it came to misrepre- at one time. senting anarchism.

cratic parasites) who pay the workers Soviet press. wages; and the productive resources are geared not to the satisfaction of indivi-

swearwords, used partly to cover up the dual needs, but to the 'maximisation of obvious fact that Russia has nothing in profit'. Russia, like Harold Wilson's common with freedom or the 'free com- Britain, is not socialist by any stretch of the imagination; it is a bureaucratic form such people as Makhno, Kollontai, Med- (obviously) of State Capitalism. It has vedev and others during the Russian nothing in common with the free, State-Revolution and after the coming to less, moneyless society advocated by power of Lenin and the Communists. Russian and Ukrainian anarchists and And, of course, Lenin and his adulators such Communist 'anti-Party deviationists' in present-day Russia learnt well from as Kollontai and, indeed, Lenin himself

Much to the consternation of some of Modern Russia is the world's second Russia's rulers (and their paid scribes) a most powerful State, and the world's few workers, as yet, in the so-called most totalitarian; there is only one poli- socialist and communist countries appear tical party, the Communist Party; the to be groping towards a rather vague means of production are owned, not by anarchist, anarcho-syndicalist or 'free' the Soviet people, but by the State (of communist position. Hence, the attacks Top People, of functionaries and bureau- on 'petty bourgeois' anarchism in the

PETER E. NEWELL.

## **'Direct Action' Library**

FOR a number of reasons the Syndicalist Workers' Federation have been unable to publish Direct Action for some months and comrades might be excused for thinking that we had packed up. That is certainly not the case. We believe that in the face of attacks by the Government and employers on the trade union movement, as witnessed by the notorious legislation proposed in Barbara Castle's White Paper 'In Place of Strife' and the Ford's court case, that Anarcho-Syndicalism or revolutionary industrial unionism can provide the weapon needed by the working class. Accordingly we propose a propaganda campaign to get our ideas out through our existing stock of pamphlets and some others yet to come.

The Syndicalist Workers' Federation has over the years published pamphlets dealing with a variety of aspects of the labour movement. Broadly speaking, they may be divided into those dealing with historical subjects in Britain and abroad and others on the industrial struggle and the ideas of Syndicalism.

jailings in the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Kenya. Peacetime conscription and a foreign policy supported to the hilt by the Tories. Diplomatic relations established with fascist Spain, and deporting of escapees from Franco's terror form the sad tale told in this pamphlet.

In 'The Unholy Alliance-the 1966 Seamen's Strike; an analysis', price 6d., George Foulser, seaman and author of The Seaman's Voice tells of how the leadership of the National Union of Seamen betrayed the members during the strike of 1966. He gives an account of how the General Secretary Jim Hogarth led the men out on strike in face of the threat of rank and file action to form a breakaway union. He points out how the activities of the Communist Party in the docks through Jack Dash and through Gordon Norris at sea. sabotaged the strike in alliance either consciously or unconsciously with Jim Hogarth and the NUS leadership, because of the CP's hostility to breakaway unions. A point-by-point criticism of the Merchant Shipping Act 1894 is also included. 'Lenin and Workers' Control', written by Tom Brown and priced 4d., is an account of the rise and fall of the 'soviets' in 1917 and the spontaneous actions of workers and peasants who seized factories and lands without the aid of the Bolsheviks and subsequent to October, in spite of their opposition and also the various controlling boards which they established. He quotes from the books written by the Stalinist apologist M. H. Dobb, MA, Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution and Soviet Economic Development Since 1917. He quotes from Lenin to show how the Bolsheviks became the counter-revolution and created a repressive machine greater than that of the Czarists to impede the development of the revolution in factories and countryside.

cracy. He quotes the strength of the Russian Anarcho-Syndicalists at the time of the First All-Russian Trade Union Convention in January 1918 as 88,000.

'The Hungarian Workers Revolution', price 6d., is an account of the heroic effort of the Hungarian workers to throw off the rule of the Russian-placed bureaucracy and to create a society based on the Workers' Council. The pamphlet traces the events that led to the famous march of students to the radio station in Budapest on October 23, 1956, and the events that followed the AVH (secret police) opening fire on the students. First, the Hungarian Army went over to the revolution and then the workers. These workers organised councils federated into regional councils and the Central Council of Hungarian Workers. The pamphlet tells of the industrial struggle which followed the brutal repression by Soviet armour. The isolation of Imre Nagy and other Hungarian 'Titoist' politicians from the main body of struggle by the workers is shown. Mention is made of the gestures of solidarity with the Hungarians in Romania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany and the Soviet Union itself. In retrospect the events in Hungary at that time can be seen to be a sequel to the present struggle in Eastern Europe particularly in Czechoslovakia where the Czech Trade Union movement is waging a struggle for greater independence from State interference, the right to strike and recognition of genuine Workers' Councils. The current events in Czechoslovakia give this pamphlet a new relevance.

structure to pieces as being too big and unwieldy and branch organisation bears no relation to the place of work. The pamphlet calls for revolutionary industrial unionism and cites the many forms of strike action introduced into the class struggle by Syndicalists. The lightning strike, the guerilla strike, 'work to rule', the boycott, the sympathetic strike, the 'good work' strike and the stay in strike. Each one of these forms of industrial resistance is examined in this pamphlet and their efficiency in different circumstances has been proved beyond all shadow of doubt. If every trade unionist underwent as part of his apprenticeship a detailed study of these forms of non-violent industrial resistance then capitalism might well be part of history, indeed the wage slave system of any description would be part of

Party. This pamphlet exposes the myth of nationalisation as a step towards a new society. It argues the case for, workers' control against those who say that 'it won't work' and outlines how it will be achieved through Syndicalist (Revolutionary Industrial) unions. The pamphlet also cites the cases of where the workers have seized factories in Italy and France, of social revolution in Spain and the Kibbutz movement in Israel in which workers' control is the central pivot of their administration.

'Smash the Wage Freeze' by Bill Christopher, price 2d., analyses and exposes the myths of the Prices and Incomes Act. He describes it as a WAGES and Prices Act. He exposes the inability of the present trade union leadership to smash the wage freeze because of their unwillingness to challenge the freeze in the one arena where it can be defeated-industrial action on the shop floor. Recent events in the motor-car industry and the Government's White Paper 'In Place of Strife' reinforces the common sense argument of this pamphlet. The anti-trade union legislation will only be defeated by industrial action. 'Strike Strategy', price 2d., is a guide to effective strike action. In this case, as in the case of 90 per cent of strikes, it will be unofficial strike action. Three points should be clear before taking strike action, the pamphlet states: (i) it must be a working class issue; (ii) the decision to strike must be taken by the workers concerned; (iii) striking frivolously must be avoided. The pamphlet goes on to deal with the topical subject of agreements. Apart from the election of a Strike Committee, three other sub-committees are suggested in order of importance: (i) Picketing; (ii) Propaganda; and (iii) Finance.

'The British General Strike 1926' by Tom Brown, price 4d., is an account of how the General Council of the TUC led the British workers into the General Strike in much the same manner as the Generals led the troops into the muck and dirt of Passchaendale some ten years earlier-from behind, and to defeat. Tom Brown has numerous quotes from the memoirs of J. R. Clyne and from the speeches of Ramsay MacDonald in the House of Commons to prove his point that the General Council called the abortive General Strike to ensure that others did not seize the reins of social revolution, nevertheless the workers did show splendid solidarity and their improvised local Councils of Action federated in Northumberland and Durham into a Regional Council of Action,

'How Labour Governed 1945-1951'. price 6d., is a very well-documented account of how the Labour Government, during the post-war period, used conscript troops to break a number of strikes in the docks and sent gas-workers to prison for striking for a pay increase during the wage freeze. At that time the wage freeze was supported by the TUC. How the Labour Government became involved in a number of wars to bolster the failing fortunes of Imperialism in Indonesia and Indo-China is told and how Jewish prisoners of the German concentration camps were interned in British concentration camps in Cyprus. The use of British troops to suppress the Jewish national struggle in the then Palestine. Gunboat diplomacy in Persia, shootings and

The SWF published the pamphlet 'Syndicalists in the Russian Revolution', price 6d., in October 1917, to commemorate the great events in Russia 1917. The pamphlet is an extract from The Guillotine at Work by G. P. Maximoff who edited the Anarcho-Syndicalist paper Golos Trouda (Voice of Labour) in Petrograd during the Revolution. This pamphlet traces the activities of the Russian comrades during the period between February and October and quotes Stalin's dictum 'through federalism to centralism' used so successfully by the Bolsheviks. Differing attitudes among the Anarcho-Syndicalists to the role of the Factory Committees is blamed by Maximoff for the subsequent victory of the bureau-

'What's Wrong with the Unions', a Syndicalist answer by Tom Brown, priced 4d., takes the present trade union

#### history.

'The Social General Strike', priced at 2d., is another of Tom Brown's pamphlets dealing with the Syndicalist Social General Strike or General Lock-Out of the employing class which, as he says, is a more apt description. This strike is intended to be the curtainraiser to the social revolution, the 'grand finale' of capitalist society. The workers would take control of the means and instruments of production and distribution. They would supply their fellow workers with his or her needs but would lock out and boycott the capitalist class. He cites the occupation of factories in Northern Italy in 1920 and in France in 1936 and the social revolution in Spain of the same year.

clarifies the meaning of these two magic words which have currently become the 34 Cumberland Road, London, E.17. mascot of many groups including a pamphlet published by the Labour

This selection of pamphlets should be 'Workers' Control', priced at 6d., in every readers' library. Order from SWF National Secretary, Bill Christopher,

DAVID PICKETT.

## **'BUT, MR. SPEAKER** . . . '

'BUT MR. SPEAKER . . .', Jim Huggon (6d.) c/o Freedom Press.

U not escape from the joy-joy-joy school of writing on anarchism to which the duplicator is often prone. There is no relation to any economic factors which (one presumes) all will admit are at the basis of present-day society, and need to be tackled if it is to be overthrown (but of course not if it is not to be). Jim Huggon plugs away at 'nonviolent resistance', apparently not realising that this is what the people have adopted for centuries (induced enthusiastic co-operation is a modern invention)

without great result; indeed, without lasting result even when it has become violent. Something more is needed; in white nightshirts. one saying that some pacifists are not anarchists!) but to equate 'non-violence' roneovedantic school would present it. with anarchism as completely as the

author does is another matter-whilst saying he does not wish to force his pacifism on to others (and omitting to notice the essentially authoritarian basis of Gandhism), he does not perceive that most people are neither 'non-violent' in the Gandhian sense nor 'violent' (which COOD of its type, this pamphlet does NVR would appear to be a good break- is not the opposite). They are, in short, fast but a poor supper. Jim passes neither Mahatmas nor Krays, nor is it at laughingly over such matters, saying all desirable that they should be. (He airily that 'work will become play' and should read that theorist of guerilla wargaily defying one to say otherwise; one fare, and opponent of established feels it is only his sense of humour that Christianity, L. Tolstoy.) It is accepted prevents him clothing the New Jerusalem that there are usually considered to be only two logical alternatives-'one's own, It is true that some pacifists are anar- and some far point of inconceivable chists (though it has been recently held folly'-but there is no reason why the in your columns that to say so precludes anarchist movement should be saddled with the alternatives with which the ALBERTUS MAGNUS.

ET'S STOP DEBATING about whether this singer is more commercialised than the next, what constitutes ethnic music, etc., and just be realistic and state the truth-FOLK MUSIC IS DEAD.

It just no longer exists. Before the time of mass communication and entertainment, people had to entertain themselves, the ceildidh reigned supreme. A get-together would be arranged to take place in someone's house and all the neighbours would come-each one prepared to do his bit, by telling stories, singing, playing an instrument, reciting poetry, etc. Folk music was alive at that time. Ordinary people were creating music and, in some instances, developing it to the stage of a fine art, e.g. pibroch. Each new development in mass communication/entertainment was another nail in the coffin of folk music. Today people have poor quality pop music sold to them by the high pressure salesmanship of the Radio One disc jockey. 'What about the folk boom?' ] hear someone say. My answer is, 'What happened to skiffle, the Trad Fad, and the sack dress?' There are comparatively few people left in Britain who like to hear and to participate in traditional music. Pub audiences roar out the 'Wild Rover', week after week, until you wish the bloody thing had never been written. But have you ever tried to get them to sing, even listen to, anything else? The Pibroch Society, and similar organisations, do great work in preserving traditional music, but having your girl friend stuffed in a glass case is hardly the same as having her alive. Sing what you like. I know what I like to listen to, and you have your favourites. But folk music is dead, and we are the poorer.



i.e. the issuing of the Caedmon series, working class, an outlook scarcely in-'Folksongs Of Britain', has probably item which shows the folk fad to be a reading. worthwhile after all is Archie Fisher's first solo LP.

and think again. There are some popular songs, but they are sung accompanied so well that it is like listening to brand new material. In fact my favourite track is the otherwise hackneyed '3 Gypsies'.

tended to endear him to those bourgeois been the most important thing to have elements who seek to deny what folk happened in the folk scene. Another really is. For that alone Lloyd deserves

One hates to moan about a painstaking life work like this, but why, oh why, has This record basically demonstrates how an alleged 'socialist' publishing house put genuine folk music, were it still alive, this volume out at such a price? It would have sounded. All the tracks are strikes me that the least they could have traditional songs, except for McColl's done would have been to issue it in 'Terror Time'-a song about the hard- paperback form, or in say three volumes ships of Britain's travelling people dur- at 10/- each. Outraged folk fans might ing winter. Anyone who thinks that ring up Lawrence and Wishart, whose traditional music means a 90-year-old Communist outlook is well known, and peasant croaking about maypoles and tell them there's a freeze on! Groans marrow-dangling, should listen to the apart, get round to the library now, beautiful love story of 'Matt Highland', there's 433 pages and 100 songs for the drooling over.

good folk for life and hooking them on the ersatz bluegrass from the rootin' tootin' backwoods of Huddersfield. One can almost imagine the whining country groups wearing ten gallon hats and spurs. The 'folk music' purveyed by this dreary programme is of the lowest kind and what sensitivity any song may have is blunted by the thud of an apparently obligatory double bass accompaniment. This arrangement, whereby a brilliant guitar player is saddled with a bass player, seems to be the rule on both radio and TV. It's about time that performers told the BBC to stuff it. The compere of the programme reviews folk records right enough, but Topic and the other small companies scarcely get a mention. Comperes should also compere and leave disc jockeys to plug their own review. If you just want to make a point, records. Wally Whyton always has a good word for the latest product of Wally Whyton.

The Wednesday programme, 'My Kind Of Folk', is more of a step in the right direction. This all too short half-hour gives us everything from the most traditional to the latest. No one wants to ban C and W, jazz or anything else. All folk music needs is equal rights with the rest. Especially when it happens to be a damn sight more popular than the all-of-a-same country stuff. The BBC is a bureaucracy and, like all bureaucracies, does what nobody wants. A few sharp letters might budge bumbling Auntie.

'MAC' AND IAN S. SUTHERLAND.

'FREEDOM FOLK' is envisaged as a fairly regular feature. If you have a record that you're in love with, or a book that you're mad about, send us a send it in. Material to . . . Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, AB2 4SL.

### **ARCHIE FISHER LP XTRA 1070**

Although the 'folk boom' was just an-

## FOLKSONG IN ENGLAND by A. L. Lloyd. Published by Lawrence and Wishart, 63s.

This is the last word in folk books. as to folk? A. L. Lloyd, not nearly as well known bible. Lloyd tackles the subject from all jazz. angles, musically and historically. He

## THE BBC AND FOLK

Most music lovers would agree that jazz has, as a popular craze, had it. Our local jazz club folded the year I got long trousers. The local folk club still thrives. From what I can see the same goes all over. Why then, does the BBC devote three times as much air space to jazz

It wouldn't be so bad, except for the as he richly deserves to be, is one of the fact that another, even less popular small band of people who flew the flag music, synthetic Country and Western of folk whence all but he had fled. He (which, apart from the horrible Jim has long been one of my disc favourites Reeves, is scarcely bought in this and his book will, henceforth, be me country), gets about the same airing as

One of the most annoying things about traces folk music from its primitive stage, the whole business is the weekly prothrough feudal England, into the crucible gramme 'Country Meets Folk', recently other fashion craze, a lot of good came of the Industrial Revolution, and takes rechristened 'Country Swamps Folk', by out of it. Topic Records would have bit a sharp look at the product of the present Karl Dallas writting in the Melody the dust years ago had it not been for day. He firmly relates the development Maker. The whole tone of this hourthe 'revival'. As it is, their latest venture, of folk music to the development of the long drag is aimed at putting people off



# **Revolution and Coup d'Etat**

WE ARE OFTEN TOLD that there has never been a successful 'Anarchist revolution', whereas there have been successful 'Socialist revolutions', the implication being that this is due to some inherent fault in anarchism itself. But nowadays almost any event, ranging from a spontaneous armed uprising by masses of workers to the take-over of a state by a group of generals, gains the title of revolution. It might be worthwhile, therefore, to state briefly what Anarchists mean by revolution and what we see as something else which goes under the same name.

The kings of France and their ministers, in order to increase their own power in their struggle with the nobility of the regions, had worked for centuries to build up the state, that is, to increase the centralisation of the political, administrative and social life of the area around themselves, their courts, and their capital. One of the results of this was the rise of an administrative middle class which eventually became involved in a struggle for power with the monarchy and nobility. The administrative section of the middle class, being born of state centralisation and state power, knew what was necessary for increased power. So the Jacobins, after they had defeated the monarchy and the nobility, increased state centralisation even further, systematically destroying local initiative and autonomy where it had still remained under the monarchy. 'Everything was centralised: government, legislation, public administration, religion, language and legal murder' (R. Rocker<sup>1</sup>). Such was the belief in the power of the law and the centralised state that Babeuf, one of the forerunners of the socialists, believed that society could be given any desired form, provided that one controlled the political power of the state. If all that was necessary was the take-over of the state, the relevant instrument to do this was a small group of dedicated militants who would strike at the centres of power and create a new government, a new power. Thus the idea of the revolutionary élite arose. Babeuf's group, under the utopian assumption that they expressed the will of the majority or knew what was best for the majority, intended, once they controlled the state, to confiscate all individual property and administer it in the interest of all, allotting to everyone equal shares. The attempt failed and Babeuf was executed.

## before the revolution! THE SOVIETS

In 1917 the soviets appeared again and the Bolshevik Party took the same attitude as the Social Democrats before the Bolshevik-Menshevik split. The astute Lenin, however, realised that such was the strength of the soviet movement that the Bolshevik Party would not be able to take power unless it appeared to change its attitude. And so, to the horror of his-Bolshevik contemporaries, Lenin turned 'Anarchist', taking up the Anarchist slogan "All power to the soviets!' intending all the while to create all power for the state. By such lies the Bolsheviks were able to gain a respite after the coup d'état, which gave them time to build up the Red Army and the secret police. which then proceeded to destroy the independent soviets and defeat the Anarchist Insurrectionary Army which was operating in the Ukraine. The last attempt of the workers7 to re-create free soviets was crushed by the Red Army at to legal, rights, by the spoken and Kronstadt in 1921, in which campaign written word. Trotsky took a prominent part on the Bolshevik side.

these nobodies away. We should never have allowed them to divert us, should have occupied the Ministries and public buildings, not to put in a new lot of "revotionary" bureaucrats, but to smash the entire state apparatus, to show the people and how the whole of society had to be reconstructed afresh on the basis of workers' control.

'It is now clear that if, on May 25, Paris had woken to find the most important Ministries occupied, Gaullism would have caved in at once-the more so as similar actions would have taken place all over the country.'

But if the people themselves are capable of making revolution, what is the role of the Anarchist movement?

theless so effective that their ideas and revolutionary experience spilled over into the streets and factories' (Cohn-Bendit).

While the revolution is in progress the job of the Anarchists should be to warn how well they could get on without it, the people of the methods that the authorities will use to defeat them, and of the dangers of pseudo-revolutionary parties and groups, their would-be rulers. This must be explained, moreover, in language that all the people can understand, a terminology that is only for the initiated should be done away with.

> How should the Anarchist movement be organised to prevent it degenerating into another bureaucratic group?

The movement should be decentralised; without hierarchy and without permanent secretaries, equipment being held in common and its use available for all. Each group should be autonomous; each group and individual being able to take the initiative, for the revolutionary impetus always comes from the base, and in a libertarian organisation it can be expressed and acted upon. Co-operation between groups and individuals is extremely important: 'One has to know how, when and where to find one another and whom to turn to for possible cooperation. We are not rich, and it is only when we unite and co-ordinate our means and joint actions that we shall be able to create the power of organisation capable of competing with the combined forces of our adversaries' (Bakunin). If this cooperation is based solely on ideology it creates within itself the seeds of authoritarianism; the movement must be linked with chains of a genuine fraternity and solidarity, for these chains are the strongest of all. Anarchists are not for the coup d'état, or for a condition of chaos that facilitates the take-over of the state, but for the destruction of the state itself, all states, and their replacement by a free society organised industrially by federations of workers' councils and geographically by federations of free communes or autonomous districts. The revolution cannot be made to order by a selfappointed revolutionary élite, but arises from an objective situation and needs 'the conscious and creative participation of the working and peasant classes'. B.B.

## BLANQUI

These ideas were developed further by Blanqui, who organised conspiratorial societies of a self-appointed revolutionary élite who would 'represent' the proletariat, establish 'working class' rule and usher in socialism through the state.

At one stage (1847-50). Marx was strongly influenced by Blanqui and even agreed to set up an international organisation with the Blanquists in 1850.2 Later, however, this extreme authoritarian standpoint was quietly abandoned by Marx, but the influence of Blanqui was felt for so long that it enabled Leninism to be accepted by most Marxists. But with Marx and Engels the state was still to play an important role in the creation of socialism. Any tendency towards state centralisation was described as progressive, which provided the Marxists with some unusual allies. Thus Engels wrote that Bismarck served the cause of revolution because he unified and strengthened the German state.3 Capitalism itself is not so afraid of revolutionary groups that wish to take over the state. And so, when an Indian MP tried to get a bill passed to make a communist party illegal, he was told that this was unconstitutional: only groups that planned secession could be proscribed. The rulers of India know that the state is the foundation of all power: the real and effective revolutionary threat comes from those who wish to break up the state. How much more revolutionary would be a threat from those who wish to break up the state, not to create other states under the guise of 'national liberation', but to abolish the state altogether.

cession, expressing a revolt by the poorest against the hardening power of the middle class. The militants were known as the Enragés.<sup>5</sup> They took an opposite view on the nature of the state and the revolution from the Jacobins and the Babeuvists. They were not organised as a party but as a movement: a loose group of like-minded, revolutionaries who co-operated with each other. They were opposed to the idea of state authority, and said that 'every kind of government must be proscribed' as they had learned that a revolutionary government, like any other government, produces a ruling class and is the negation of freedom, equality and justice. The idea that the state must be demolished was developed further by Proudhon, the first person to call himself an Anarchist; but it was Bakunin, the man who might be described as the founder of the Anarchist movement, who combined the need for the abolition of the state with the realisation that the state can be abolished only by revolution, that is by the people as a whole, for if the people are not to have rulers no one can abolish the state for them, for a minority can only run the state and not society. Only the people can run society and only the people can make revolution.

## BAKUNIN

Bakunin said that revolution 'can only take place when people have a general idea of their rights'. Anarchists should propagandise these natural, as opposed

The movement should be 'a catalyst activating a larger section of the public'



### **RUSSIAN STATE**

The Russian state in 1917 was in a condition of disintegration. A revolution was in progress and 'the masses at the turning point were a hundred times to the left of the extreme left party' (Trotsky4). Lenin realised this and engaged in a struggle with the 'revolutionary vanguard', the Bolshevik leadership, to push them to the left. In the end Lenin was forced to go over the head of the Central Committee, against the principles of democratic centralism. The October coup d'état took place and the Bolshevik Party took over the reins of government, or what was left of them. From then on the Party worked to increase the power of the state it controlled. Within a few years its grip on the country was greater than that of the monarchy, which was a remarkable feat. All opposition outside the Party was crushed, and later the Party turned upon itself, and the dictatorship of Stalin was the result. Today the socialist states have all the basic characteristics of capitalism: bureaucracy, wage differentials, armies, police, censorship, neo-colonial territories and rockets to the moon. The Babeuvist 'revolution' had been a success and the results of this method are there for all to see.

But are the people themselves capable of making revolution?

## THE COMMUNE

In 1871 the people of Paris rose up against their rulers to create the Commune, to make Paris a free city, not to rule the rest of France as the state centralists wished, but to be an autonomous part of a federation of free communes, each city in France being autonomous. The risings in the other cities such as Lyons were easily crushed however, and Paris later fell to Jacobin rule, a danger that is always present, as Malatesta explains: 'Revolution is the destruction of spontaneous: no one gave the order for all coercive ties [and] lasts as long as freedom lasts, that is until others, taking advantage of the weariness that overtakes the masses, of the inevitable disappointments that follow exaggerated hopes, of the probable errors and human faults, succeed in constituting a power . . . and then begins the reaction."8 But in spite of defeats the people always prove themselves more revolutionary, practical and determined at the height of the revolutionary impetus than the left parties and even the Anarchists. In 1905 the people ruled by the Czar of all the Russias rose up in revolt and spontaneously created something newthe soviets or workers' councils. These were formed in factories and communities and federated industrially and geographically to run society on free and Place de l'Opéra, took charge and led us egalitarian lines. The Anarchists and some Marxists (particularly Pannekock and the council communist movement) realised that these councils could be the basic structure of a future free society, whereas Lenin declared: 'The participation of Social Democratic organisations in councils composed of delegates and workers' deputies without distinction of left them far behind and was still gainparty . . . or the creation of such councils ing momentum. were in power in France a movement cannot be countenanced unless we can

### **HUNGARY '56**

But the Bolsheviks had to fight the revolution again in 1956. The workers of Hungary rose in revolt against the Communist bureaucracy. Once again 'There were no governmental directives or any central leadership. . . . Workers' Councils took over the management of the factories. . . . In Hungary they were born of a spontaneous popular movement, and they soon became the living organs of a rising democracy and the effective instruments of a fighting revolution'.8

Part of the workers' programme was the 'Constitution of Workers' Councils in all factories to establish (a) workers' management and (b) a radical transformation of the system of central planning and direction of the economy by the state'.9

## FRANCE '68

In France last year the workers brought to life the classical anarcho-syndicalist weapon of the general strike, with a minority occupying the factories, and a tiny minority beginning to apply workers' management, yet few of them could have come into contact with anarcho-syndicalist propaganda. The movement was

(Cohn-Bendit). Anarchists should be present whenever and wherever the people are engaged in a struggle with the authorities. Provocation also is the task. but provocation 'can only be used to arouse feelings that are already present, albeit submerged' (Cohn-Bendit). The aim is to bring out the latent libertarian tendencies within the people; to be one step ahead in action, but not so far that the people fall to capitalist propaganda and turn against the revolutionaries. In order to know how the people feel and when and where to act, knowledge must be used, knowledge that can only be gained through arduous and intensive study. 'The revolutionary study groups of Paris and elsewhere . . . of which no one took the slightest notice, were never-

### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup>Rocker: Nationalism and Culture. <sup>2</sup>G. Lichtheim: Marxism in Modern France. <sup>3</sup>Bakunin: Marxism, Freedom and the State. <sup>4</sup>Trotsky: History of the Russian Revolution. <sup>5</sup>G. Woodcock: Anarchism. V. Richards: Malatesta: Life and Ideas. <sup>7</sup>And they were workers! See Ida Mett: The Krondstadt Commune. <sup>8</sup>Hubert Ripka. Quoted in A. Anderson: Hungary '56. 9Anderson: Hungary '56. 10 Cohn-Bendit: Obsolete Communism.



THE DOUKHOBORS, by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic (Faber & Faber, 55/-).

THE DOUKHOBORS are a Russian

mass revulsion they piled all their arms together and burnt them in great bonfires. Later, in Canada, some of them went so far as to become vegetarians, and liberated their horses and cattle. They seem always to sink slowly into conformity year by year, till a sudden wave of reforming zeal sweeps over them and they strive to return to their ideals, which they succeed in doing for a time, only gradually to fall away again. Sometimes, having accumulated goods and possessions, they burn them all, setting fire to their own houses, so as to return to their original simplicity. At the present time the forces of the modern world seem to be overcoming their resistance, and it looks as if the sect will perish, but, since this sort of thing has happened before, it would be reckless to prophesy. There may well be some surprises still to come! George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, who also collaborated in writing the biography of Kropotkin, The Anarchist Prince, have given us a most lively and interesting account of these complex simple-lifers, authoritarian anarchists and violent pacifists. They are sympathetic to them, but without idealising them in any way. The Doukhobors must often, in their heroic days, have been frightening, or at least disconcerting, neighbours. The name they bear means 'spirit wrestlers', and was originally applied to them by an Continued on page 5

However, since the French Revolution, an alternative principle and method has been proposed.

#### THE ENRAGES

During the period that the Jacobins

a general strike. The revolutionary élites of the JCR, etc., were swamped by the size and overtaken by the impetus of the movement. They were only able to lead in certain sectors for certain periods of time. Cohn-Bendit blames their leadership, at one of the times when people took notice of them, for the failure of the revolt to go further than it did. He described the situation on May 24:10 'Paris was in the hands of the demonstrators, the Revolution had started in earnest! The police could not possibly guard all the public buildings and all the strategic points: the Elysée, the Hôtel de Ville, the bridges, the ORTF. . . . Everyone felt it and wanted to go on. But then the political boys stepped in. It was a leader of the far-left JCR who, in the back to the Latin Quarter-when most of us thought we had done with the fatal attraction of the Sorbonne. It was officers of UNEF and PSU who stopped us taking the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Justice. These "revolutionaries" were quite incapable of grasping the potential of a movement that had

emerged during a time of economic re- be sure the party can benefit.' The Party easy it would have been to sweep all on friendly terms. Then in a sudden,

sect of Christian pacifists who arose in conditions of extreme obscurity in the eighteenth century. Their history has been one of constant persecution, first by the Russian and then by the Canadian Government, when they migrated to North America at the end of the nineteenth century. They have often been favoured by anarchists and pacifists, and by people like Tolstoy, and held up as examples of the simple life, non-violence and the Christian virtues. In fact, although they have always eschewed militarism, they have often been violent, in Canada some of them took to terrorism, and they have been ruled by a whole series of divine kings and queens, whose power was inherited in many cases.

They used formerly to abhor books, and their traditions were passed on orally from generation to generation, thus creating an institution known as The Living Book. They have passed through phases of communism, returning each time to private property. At one time, when still in Russia, and exiled in the mountains of the Caucasus, they even took to carrying guns, for hunting and self-defence, and were in the process of turning into another Caucasian tribe, like "As for us, we failed to realise how the local Moslems, with whom they were

## WORKERS' CONTROL OR STUDENT POWER

A T TIMES, FREEDOM's comments on In student dissent seem dangerously near to the attitude 'When a riot breaks out, our side are the ones with long hair'. In proportion to this the editors have been neglecting the prime function of the journal, that of giving a detailed and critical analysis from a specifically anarchist point of view of the issues raised by social phenomena of this kind, where neither of the opposing sides in the clash are anarchist, where only a small number of the individuals involved are, but where anarchism clearly has a contribution to make.

Despite their importance I will make my first two points quickly. Firstly, by publishing without editorial comment the accounts by 'Freedom Reporter' and "Leeds Direct Action' of their activities is the same, that control rests with those I would have thought that that was in run by workers' control or the state. the features which distinguishes it from dressed by Mr. Powell and Major Wall, tribute to scholarship in their chosen in Exeter and Leeds respectively, you field, and have indicated a commitment condone and seem to take for granted to devote a period of their life to that it is appropriate for anarchists to doing so. use aggressive violence to suppress the freedom of speech of those with whom therefore a demand for workers' control, they disagree. Leeds Direct Action speci- but a demand that control should be fically told readers not to listen to 'the removed from the workers and taken mouthings of those who talk about free- over by another body. Since this control dom of speech'. Since many anarchists could not be exercised in a functional in the past have considered this to be an way as a person is only a student because important concept, I would have thought he does not yet know very much about some comment was called for. ing of student politics has merely made on a basis of political opinions. a long-standing attitude more obviously grotesque, why do anarchists refer to such up demanding that FREEDOM should be extremists of authoritarianism as Trotskyists, Maoists, and other revolutionary socialists, who seek to replace the present state by a more dictatorial one, as who will one day take an active part in if they were somehow rather close to writing and join the group, some who do anarchism? adoption of the demand for student con- some whose interest lasts only for a trol of universities, and the equation of short time, and others who are equivocal this with workers' control which is made or antagonistic towards anarchism but in recent front page articles by P.S. and who are interested in reading a point of 'Justin'. in universities is like saying that people cause they were readers, to issue direcwho eat the produce of a farm are agri- tives to the writers on what they should cultural workers, that passengers on a write, and I recall that P.S. himself has

train are railway workers, or that readers of FREEDOM are anarchist publishing workers. A university is an institution devoted to the advancement of learning and the workers in it are the academic staff who are actively contributing to this objective. In practice there is probably a larger degree of workers' control, in the sense in which syndicalists use the term, in the university world than in any other extensive sector of British society. The workers' councils go under nonrevolutionary titles such as Academic Boards or Faculties, and their area of control is circumscribed by the pressures of the outside society, but it is effective in day-to-day matters. The precise composition of such councils differs from one college to another, but the principle

vigorously advocated the traditional anarchist view that those who do a job should control it, inviting others to join them in the work when they had proved themselves able and committed to doing it. The composition of the student body is analogous to that of the readers in that it includes those who will one day make their own contributions to their subjects, many who quite legitimately want to accept what is being offered without havvalues, or perhaps even being hostile to them, and some who compensate for their lack of ability with an aggressive desire to direct everyone else. It is open to the first group to take a share in the control of the academic environment when they have proved their ability and desire to become workers in it.

letter is the influence of the mass media.

The students in this society are mis-

diately dispelled by the facts.

sliding scale when it leaves?'

that. The argument is not just with the

way that they can escape the straitjacket

is to challenge it in a way that makes

a society and reject the conceptual

That is not to say that they reject educa-

DUDOIA

of his anarchist views on other subjects, I am surprised that P.S. advocates that control of the universities should not be by the workers on the basis of their work, but by non-workers on the basis of their political views. I also remember that when LAG meetings were being disrupted by a group who attended them not to hear the speaker, but specifically to cause trouble, he advocated that these people should never have been allowed in to the meetings. The parallel here might be too explosive.

The fact that this controversy has arisen perhaps indicates that anarchist ing a strong commitment to academic views on workers' control need elaborating. A passenger who finds a train service inadequate is no better off if it is say about forms of co-operation and participation other than control? (P.S. urged students to reject 'participation', but was in favour of consultative meetings between the Freedom Press group and readers.)

Finally, anarchists and current student propaganda usually envisage control in terms of numerous committee meetings. Most real control, however, particularly in the anarchist propaganda world and the academic world, is achieved by individuals and small informal groups deciding what they want to do and going ahead with it, without anyone else being involved, although the possibilities for doing this depend on the existence of a certain social organisation. Is not this the real object of anarchism, and one of

The demand for student power is not his field, it would tend to be exercised, Secondly, although here the blossom- and student propaganda indicates this,

From time to time agitation springs controlled by its readers rather than by the Freedom Press Group. The readers include many passive anarchists, some not wish to be active but have strong Most important, however, is your views on what others should be doing, view. Even if it were feasible it would To claim that students are the workers be absurd for the readers, merely be-

in violently breaking up meetings ad- who have proved themselves able to con- line with anarchist thought, and in view Should anarchist theory have more to politics?

PHILIP HOLGATE.

## A Reply to P. Holgate by 'Digger'

DERHAPS THE MOST pernicious that one leg is shorter than the other and lots of students want to sit down and before you took it.

by the irate colonels in Bournemouth but use the term 'Student Power'. They re- and translating, what has been delibermore astonishingly by the people who cognise its limitations and dangers. This ately buried in the thought of the left, work with them and do not trouble to is why the term 'free university' is often leads one to suspect they would not know what it is they want. The mass used simply because it reflects, in the tolerate the closing of any areas of media has the advantage of being con- main, what it is that they want. A thought. Their minds are too open and sidered superior to experience and that university free from the overwhelming that is a challenge to this closed society. is nonsense. The letter also shows a pressures of state and capital to turn out As for Free Speech, this is the last charming naivety which, as anyone who their skilled automata for them. They and biggest lie of them all. The plaintive knows any academic institution, is imme- do not seek to eliminate the teachers cry of the politician in the popular press and researchers; they realise, full well, who goes out of his way to stir up The workers' councils, so touchingly their importance; indeed it would be racialism in a bastion of tolerance is sad portrayed as being under 'non-revolu- unjust not to point out the rôle of the to hear. What is sadder is that Holgate tionary' titles as the academic or faculty academics in demanding the change in swallows the lie whole. The entire stuboards, are hardly representative of the orientation of the universities, not just dent movement is misrepresented in the mass of academics, certainly not in the militants but many who have the gravest mass media. Are Powell and his lunatic huge mind-mills of London and the pro- reservations about the modern rôle of lieutenants so misrepresented? No, every vincial universities. The boards are the university.

They are at the apex of a hierarchical little more about his argument he might the revolutionary left comes across. structure; perhaps in the informality of see the dangerous implications of what smaller institutions, where the bureau- he has said if it is extended into industry. cracy cannot be so rigid, this is not Does he want the trainee and the apprenapparent. Elsewhere it is utterly obvious. tice to have no say in their education? It is of interest that this letter treats And where in this modern automated

thing to be seen in Philip Holgate's you feel a bit of a fool wearing it; you study one particular philosophy (even if are, you should have had it changed they did, it would be a mirror image of what they are forced to do today). Their represented and misunderstood-not just The students, incidentally, hardly ever curiosity and persistence in discovering,

nuance of their racialist ideas comes selected, professorial and appointees. Perhaps if Philip Holgate thought a across. Not one undistorted concept of

> What would you have done at Olympia in 1936, Philip? Well, make no mistake about it, it's happening now, Powell is just a taster. This isn't a question of free speech, this is a question of opposing the attempt to impose racial discrimination by law in this country. For that is what Powell is all about. Do you think, too, that if you can go to one of his meetings that there is some gentlemanly way of confronting the idiot with his sins? Go, and when you come back with a mouthful of teeth and your glasses pushed in your face by some National Front steward, tell me your point of view again. Don't, incidentally, think that the Labour Party stewards are very kind when you heckle their darling boys; if anything they're worse. Free Speech! You cannot heckle or ask questions. No, it's 'shut up and listen' to the mighty words of wisdom. Free Speech I always understood meant having to put up with hecklers and allowing opposing points of view to be put forward-which in any student meeting takes place. I don't think fascist Enoch would stand up to Hyde Park conditions for five minutes.

## PROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM

DROBLEMS OF COMMUNISM, the has more political than literary value remarkable bi-monthly magazine produced by the United States Information Agency in Washington, devoted two issues last year to the current struggle for intellectual freedom in Russia, under the general title 'In Quest of Justice'. It is of course necessary to recognise the propaganda purpose of the magazine in general, but it is also necessary to acknowledge the high quality and lasting value of these particular issues.

After a brief preface by Abraham Brumberg (the editor), there were five articles on the struggle, more than eighty documents of the struggle, more than fifty examples of writing from the struggle, and biographical notes on 140 people in the struggle.

The preface stressed the special importance of the documents and writings involved. They 'have not been circulating clandestinely within the borders of the Soviet Union, nor have they been smuggled out anonymously to the outside world'. On the contrary, they have been distributed openly as a deliberate public action-a form of what we would call civil disobedience or direct action, but demanding courage which we can scarcely begin to appreciate. The article covered the political and cultural background, the legal aspects of the recent trials of writers, the effects of the official censorship, the Ukrainian underground, and the religious underground. They are all interesting but tend to become merely propagandist, which lessens their value. The documents included most of the items mentioned at various times in the Western press-not just 'documents' (i.e., careful analyses of various aspects of the situation), but police records, trial statements, petitions, appeals, open letters, private letters, diaries, proceedings of meetings, verbal statements, written statements-all kinds of expressions of personal opinions of a kind which we are familiar with but which seems to fill the Russian authorities with shock and horror. The most interesting refer of course to the various trials of the last three years, but perhaps the most valuable refer to the Solzhenitsyn affair and to the protests against the Russian intervention in Czechoslovakia. The examples of writing made up a brief anthology of underground literature in Russia today, some of which

but all of which is interesting to read. The most significant items are those which show that intellectual dissent is not just an individual matter, as is suggested by some comment on such writers as Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn or Sinvavski and Daniel, but is often a collective matter. Groups are formed to hold regular discussions or to publish magazines, just as in the days before the Revolution, and some of them ostentatiously use names taken from revolutionary heroes or well-known exiles, such as Ryleev the Decembrist or Berdyaev the Chistian. Here is surely the greatest hope for the future, for rebellion begins as an individual act but can only continue as a collective action.

One of the most astonishing things included in the selection of underground writings comes from a magazine called Tetrad, which in 1965 printed autobiographical fragments by Anatoli Levitin, who writes under the name Krasnov. Levitin is the most striking unorthodox religious figure in Russia, and one of the extracts included was his piece 'But Every Authority Must Fall', in which he argued in Marxist terms for the destruction of the state! This, together with things written by such people as Yesenin-Volpin and Galanskov, suggests that the idea of anarchy still exists in the minds of Russian dissenters a century after it first appeared there. These two issues of Problems of Communism amount to 240 pages of mostly first-hand information about one of the most important events in the world. The magazine costs 50 cents in the United States, but in other countries it can be obtained free. All you need to do is write for Problems of Communism, volume 17, numbers 4 and 5 (July-August and September-October, 1968) to:-The United States Information Service, The American Embassy, P.O. Box 2.L.H., Upper Brook Street, London, W.1.

the students with much the same attitude world of ours does education stop and as the mass media did two years ago work begin? (even they've been educated a bit now).

At LSE, Essex and Leeds, demands were placed that not only students should The student is lucky he is stuffed full of have representatives but that the workers saleable knowledge 'Why is it complainshould also sit on the joint participation ing, we've tailor-made and cut it so that it bodies. Perhaps that smacks too much can fit into a £1,000 a year rising on a like the real thing for comfort.

The last part of his argument is a sad It is not by chance that this revolt is strongest amongst the social sciences, comment on his understanding of syndicalism. Does he seriously think that no they have to suffer three years of a man's life with rubbish rammed down their one has ever thought about systems of workers' control? Does he really think throats, and contradictory rubbish at that there will be no difference in the worker-consumer relationship? To sepauniversity; it is with the society that creates such an institution. The only rate their interests is mystification ably performed by capitalism and the state. They are identical. Surely what workers' control is about is the collapse of this sense, is to challenge the concepts of such myth and the creation of a society where there is a speedy co-ordination between notions that they are taught where they are taught. They must reject the rôle production and need and the passenger allotted to them in the very place the falls into this relationship. We do not need small committees 'à la Parkinson' attempt is being made to mould them into something they do not wish to be. for this need. We are not trying to reform a bureaucracy, these things can and tion or learning; what they reject is this will be speedily rectified under a need/ production economy simply because they society's concept of that education. After all, if you don't like a way the tailor are integral to the orientation of such a makes you a suit, then you go out and society.

It is again a sad misconception that

#### DIGGER.

Editorial note: Owing to continuous pressure on editorial space we had to delay printing comrade Holgate's letter by three months!

complain in the street to your friends

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

N.W.

KUSSIA—Anarchism Attacked

'petty bourgeois' anarchist and anarchosyndicalist trends in Czechoslovakia. Now, it seems, anarchism may be rearperhaps in Moscow or Kiev.

munists term the 'proletarian vanguard', with the Makhnovites' views.' in order to 'establish labour discipline

is haunting the Russian Communist course any opposition to such 'labour Party. More than once recently, Soviet discipline' could not be tolerated by good newspapers and journals have attacked Marxist-Leninists. Unfortunately for Lenin and the Communist Party there was opposition.

ing its ugly head a little nearer at home, (1920), there was the group of Democratic Centralists, who, though they were In a very lengthy article entitled communists, opposed centralised State 'Lenin's Battle Against Anarcho-Syndi- control and the 'principle' of one-man calism: Tantamount to the complete management of factories. Lenin argued negation of socialism'. Sergei Titarenko, that their position was incompatible with in Pravda (4.3.69), once again stalks the the so-called 'dictatorship of the proleghosts of Makhno, Kollontai and the tariat' (actually the dictatorship of the 'Workers' Opposition'. He reminds (?) leading members of the Communist Party centralism' and the State-and would the Russian workers of the struggle over the workers and peasants). 'In prac- cause Anarchy! waged by Lenin and the Communist Party tice,' writes Titarenko in a revealing 'against the anarcho-syndicalist deviation passage, 'the activity of the Democratic which manifested itself during 1920 and Centralists boiled down to a rejection of 1921'. The tasks of the Party at the end firm Party and State discipline and the of the Civil War were, says Mr. Tita- leading role of the Party in the Soviets renko, to restore and advance the eco- and Trade Unions. It was not accidental nomy; and this called for a high level of that Lenin said that the Democratic organisation and unity of what Com- Centralists' arguments were associated

Second, says Titarenko, the position and introduce firm order at factories and of the Democratic Centralists was close plants, and in all the links of the Soviet to that of another 'anti-Party' group-

ONCE AGAIN the spectre of Anarchism economy and State organisms'. And of The Workers' Opposition. 'The anarchosyndicalist platform was expounded in its most complete form in A. Kollontai's booklet, The Workers' Opposition, issued before the Tenth Party Congress (March, 1921)'. All of which 'was a complete First, at the Ninth Party Congress repudiation of communist principles in favour of anarcho-syndicalism'. But, argues our Communist writer, Lenin 'convincingly' showed that the views of the Workers' Opposition were a reflection of the 'petty bourgeois anarchistic element', which as every good Communist knows is 'counter-revolutionary'. Such views, said Lenin, would undermine 'democratic

> By now you may be asking: 'Why should Pravda waste so much space digging up old history, and remind (?) Soviet workers of the activities of such renegades as Makhno or Kollontai?' Mr. Sergei Titarenko tells us why.

> 'The lessons of Lenin's and the Party's struggle against anarcho-syndicalism remain topical in our day, too. The influence of petty bourgeois views, tradi-Continued on page 5

67THE LISTENER' (8.5.69) publishes an article based on a talk given by John Sparrow in the Third Programme. This talk is called 'Civilisation', but consists of a sustained attack on the youthful protest movement. The part which interests us as anarchists is the last half. The speaker discusses the 'soft' form of protest, an example of which is Father Huddleston oddly enough, and then passes on to what he calls the 'hard'. 'The soft opt out of the system . . . the hard, if they had their way, would destroy the system entirely. They are the activists . . . but whether Marxists, Trotskyites, Nihilists, Anarchists, they don't subscribe to any agreed political doctrine, except revolution. Che Guevara is their god, and Herbert Marcuse is his prophet....' Then follow a string of names, Cohn-Bendit, Tariq Ali and Adelstein of the LSE.

In short, a complete pot-pourri. To begin with, one can't really write about Marxists and Trotskyists, since Trotskyists are Marxists, one of the innumerable Marxist sects. It is like talking about Christians and Methodists. Then we come to the Nihilists. Now, the Nihilists were young intellectuals of Tsarist Russia, who flourished about a hundred years ago. They believed that one should subject all social institutions to criticism, nothing should be left unattacked. Hence the name 'Nihilist'. They did not however wish to destroy society. They believed that what was worthy would survive the most searching criticisms. In fact they were Puritans, and their solution for the government of Russia was liberal, parliamentary democracy. One of their sayings was 'A pair of good boots is worth more than all your fine talk about Shakespeare'. (Not, please note, 'worth more than Shakespeare'.) They believed in literacy, in setting up schools for the peasants, etc. Many of them, or those influenced by their ideas 'went to the people', in order to educate them. Their ideas were therefore reformist, part of the nineteenthcentury movement for self and social improvement.



The anarchists, notably Peter Kropotkin, were influenced by them, but believed that they did not go far enough. Anarchists, one hardly needs to point out in the columns of FREEDOM, believe in the ability of mankind to get along tolerably well without coercive institutions, on a basis of co-operation between equals. Some may admire Che Guevara, most I think regard him as a romantic character. without much relevance to their own day-to-day problems. Some anarchists believe that the rulers of society will never relinquish their power without a fight, others believe that non-violent methods can succeed. Others concern themselves not at all with social revolution, or possible future societies, but instead concern themselves with trying to achieve as much freedom as possible here and now. Most anarchists in practice seem to oscillate from one point of view to another, according to circumstances. Cohn-Bendit is, I believe, an anarchist. Tariq Ali is not, but belongs I think to one of the schools of Marxist thought which flourish today. About the other names Mr. Sparrow mentions I do not know much, except that they are not anarchists, but perhaps they may sometimes approach anarchism at some points. Mr. Sparrow talks about 'muddle', but

it seems that he is the muddled one. Not necessarily all the young militants who today call themselves 'anarchists' know what the word means, and not all those who do are necessarily articulate. I myself, who have been in the anarchist movement since 1948, and have read all the books, and written articles, and delivered lectures on anarchism, cannot always cope with some (obviously hostile) interviewer, who approaches me on some march or demonstration, notebook in hand, and fires questions at me.

Recently I was cornered on a Biafra demonstration by one of these eagerbeaver characters, who wanted to know why I was demonstrating, and was not satisfied with my answer that I was against war and genocide.

Before I realised what I was doing I had woffled my way into a long and involved lecture on my theory of the origin of warfare among human groups, and had got back to Neolithic civilisations and human sacrifice, and war as a religious rite among the Aztecs, when my assailant developed a glazed look and hastily withdrew, no doubt thinking, 'Another crank! He will soon take us back to the Lost Atlantis, flying saucers, and astral bodies or something of the sort'.

Mr. Sparrow seems to be under the impression that anarchists do not believe in running hospitals, or in people studying anything that requires effort and concentration, and self-discipline even. Yet the anarchist movement has usually been most successful among independent craftsmen, artists and self-employed people, who often work for longer hours and for less money than those who have regular nine to five jobs.

In the last century anarchism was strong among the watchmakers of the Jura mountains, in Switzerland, Fishermen and peasants in countries like Spain, Italy or Mexico, have often been anarchists. They are the very people who are at the very basis of the tree of civilisation which Mr. Sparrow wants to preserve. Without them there would be no tree at all.

It is understandable that moderately prosperous middle-class gentlemen, for whom the world is, if not very safe, at least safer than it is for some Negro in Harlem or Notting Hill, should look with anxiety on the rebellion of students or other groups.

On the very next page of The Listener Alistair Cooke denounces the armed

## 'The Warning'-I disagree

**FIFTH COLUMN** 

CAN'T AGREE with the 'warning' issued by Arthur Uloth and John Rety on this page last week. I think that their premise is false, their argument muddled-and their conclusion absurd.

Let's look at the premise first; the anarchist movement 'has not become political, that is involved with other political groupings . . . in our opposition to the Bomb and the Vietnam War, etc., we as anarchists took a moral and uncompromising position with which political groupings could not co-operate . . . in direct action issues, like the Squatters' Movement, other groupings were afraid of the total implication of our actions.'

In my experience this is just not true. The Oxford Committee of 100 started off in 1961 as a coalition of the New Left, International Socialism, communists, those who believed in nonviolent direct action-and those who just wanted to ban the bomb and were willing to try something new. There were one or two anarchists but even they tended to fit into one of the other categories: they were on their way out of the New Left or were committed to non-violent direct action first and foremost. As the Oxford Committee developed it declined numerically: the CP dropped out, the New Left drifted away, those who just wanted to ban the bomb got bored. At the same time more and more people in the Committee started to call themselves anarchists: the Committee spawned the Oxford Anarchist Group. But revolutionary socialistsmainly IS-remained active members after the other marxists had left. In the end they too dropped out the Committee was left smaller than the Anarchist Group: by this time the Committee was end they too dropped out and the Committee was left smaller than the Anarchist anarchists. I wonder if Arthur and John consider the Independent Labour Party and Solidarity to be part of the anarchist movement. If not the co-operation between these two groups and the SWF and LFA to produce the Spies for Peace pamphlet must have been 'political action'.

## **MOVING FUND**

Three weeks ending May 10, 1969 Target is £500. Donations to date: £451 13s. 11d.

## **PREMISES FUND**

Negro students of Cornell University, and compares them to Nazis in effect. It is understandable that they should forget that to many people in the modern world the conditions are intolerable, and that they should mock and abuse all rebels. Nothing is to be expected from their brand of 'liberalism'.

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

## Freedom of Speech

## Dear Comrades,

While not agreeing with Philip Holgate, I think Digger's reply to him should not go unanswered. (Philip has, I think, forgotten that an university should be a community of scholars and the lecturer learns from the student as well as vice versa.)

It seems basic that there is a difference of kind rather than merely of degree between heckling designed to break the flow of a speaker's remarks and to demonstrate that not everyone agrees with the speaker, and heckling that is designed to prevent the speaker speaking at all.

The Olympia meeting Digger instances was so rigged that in fact the hecklers

menace anyone, and in that case interjectory-heckling is fair, but not deliberate attempts to suppress.

This does not of course apply only with the Right. Some years back the anarchists and Committee of 100 rightly adopted the slogan 'Orme shall not speak for an Aldermaston March' on the grounds that the Campaign had decided that a Labour MP should speak and be reported in the press on behalf of marchers and we wished to demonstrate that the marchers themselves did not want a parliamentarian to do this. It would have been an entirely different matter if Orme had wished to speak at a Conference of Unilateralists, or if the CND had not rigged the Trafalgar Square platform so that only the parliamentarian wing of the campaign was represented.

them saying what they wish anywhere, and also we know that reportage of incidents will always favour them. But there is a question of principle here, we are not Bolshevists, and we do therefore believe that the bourgeois politician must always have the right to continue advocating capitalist society; though we are determined to prevent them exploiting anyone which means we are determined to prevent them translating their desires into actions.



I wonder if Arthur and John consider

Three weeks ending May 10, 1969 Target is £1,000 per year. **1969 Pledges honoured and donations** to date: £191 8s. 7d.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT 2 weeks ending May 3, 1969 **Estimated Expenses:**

18 weeks at £90: £1,620 Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,273

## **DEFICIT:**

£347

Montreal: R.S. £1/2/-; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; K.C.F. 2/-; London, N.W.3: G.A. 11/8; Pembury: R.W. 5/-; Peterborough: F.W. 5/-; London, S.W.17: T. 12/10; York: S.M. 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; J.F. & C.F. 2/-; Southall: D.S. 3/-; Woodstock, Vt.: E.S. £6; Bideford: H.B. 7/6; Somerset: D. 5/-.

Previously	TOTAL: Acknowledged:	£10 £264		11 3
196	9 Total to Date:	£275	3	2
	Deficit B/F:	£347	0	0
то	TAL DEFICIT:	£71	16	10

knew perfectly well that they had no hope of preventing the meeting (as they prevented Mosley from speaking in Cable Street) but they were able to show up Mosley for what he was by courageous self-sacrifice.

This of course does not mean that all outright attempts to prevent speeches are to be put in one condemned corner and all interjections in the other. Cable Street, Ridley Road, Ladbroke Grove and Smethwick Town Hall, were occasions when fascist speakers were part of open attempts to intimidate a minority and that both solidarity and refusal to be intimidated necessitated that the right to speak had to be denied. But are we saying that at no time and in no place should a fascist be allowed

to speak? If we are, if we are denying utterly and absolutely the right of all racists to express themselves at any time-then we must logically take the argument further to say that we shall decide who can, and who cannot speak and this entails an abandonment of anarchism.

Not only is there the very material point that if we start by sanctioning limitations on free speech, then we can be very sure that soon after limitations will be placed on our rights of free speech and our words will be quoted by those who have far more power than us to give or withhold such freedom. But also it is inconceivable that one could have freedom for all working class groups to express themselves, without extending that freedom to all groups. If you attempt to say we shall permit Maoists to speak but not fascists (quite apart from the fact that there are plenty of racists among Stalinists), you then have to say we will set up a yardstick which will govern who shall or who shall not be allowed to speak. If you do this you must abandon anarchism; only a state could enforce such a yardstick. Anarchism insists on freedom for all, it denies the right of any to exploit others, and it is one of our difficulties to allow the freedom of someone who is not an anarchist to argue for a different system of society without allowing him to create an exploitative system. But if we do not allow non-anarchists to argue  $\pounds 351 \quad 0 \quad 0$  against anarchism we are not true to our anarchism.

We are left then with at least three factors which have to be taken into consideration:

That there is a qualitative rather than quantitative difference between interjections designed to ridicule a speech, and a deliberate attempt to drown out or otherwise prevent the speech being made.

That where the speech is itself an act of aggression and intimidation, then it is reasonable and laudable to react to this aggression and intimidation by attempting to prevent the speech (though on pure grounds of expediency, this may not in fact be the wisest course).

That where the speech is ostensibly made on behalf of people who do not agree with the majority of it, then it is natural that that majority will take the only means they can to disassociate themselves from it and make that disassociation felt despite the fact that the speaker has the advantages of loudspeakers, and better relations with pressmen.

But having stated these, we must also SOCIAL state that as anarchists we believe in the absolute freedom of all people to express **Evening Sat. May 24** their ideas. Agreed, bourgeois politicians have more access than we to the mass at Freedom Press media, and so as of now we do not look as if we are ever likely to prevent

## DEMONSTRATION

## to expose **BAD HOUSING**

in Notting Hill Gate Saturday, MAY 17, 2.30 p.m. Street meeting in Colville Gardens, W.11 followed by **'CONDUCTED TOUR'** of area with Revealing Exposures

## INTERNATIONAL SUMMER CAMP

Socialist Current to be part of the anarchist movement-the group is usually described as Trotskyist. Whatever label you give it Socialist Current was involved, with a number of other radical groups including anarchists, in trying to establish an independent unilateralist movement a few years ago. Once again-'political action'.

The last eight years or so are full of examples of 'political action'. Someone with a better memory-and a more profound understanding of the complexities of revolutionary politics-than myself (stand up Laurens Otter) could undoubtedly write at very great length on various campaigns and movements involving anarchists and other groups.

I will give just one more example. Not only is it contemporary: it directly conflicts with the second point made by Arthur and John. The South London Squatters Group consists of IS and CP members, anarchists, two members of the Labour Party and one or two not committed to any group. Those who are not anarchists may disagree about the implications of squatting but so far practice has been more important than theory.

Arthur and John start from a false premise-that British anarchists have not in the recent past been involved in 'political action'. Even with this premise they have difficulty in showing that it is dangerous to co-operate with other groups against the Government's antiworking class measures. I agree that the 'machine of politics' is full of lies and deceit, that the moderate opposition at the TUC will be prepared to compromise-but the remarks which follow leave me confused. How does this show the 'treachery and stupidity of the novice rogues of IS'? How does it prove that 'the opponents of the Bill, with the exception of the anarchists, are in this political game for power and in order to recruit members'?

## \*Denotes Regular Contributor.

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT Week ending May 10, 1969 **Estimated Expenses:**

19 weeks at £90: £1,710 Income: Sales and Subs.: £1,359

#### DEFICIT: £351

Peterborough: F.W. 1/4; Todmorden: G.B. 12/10; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.\* 2/-; J.L.\* 3/-; K.F. & C.F. 2/-; Bangor, N.I.: J.T. £1; California: M.G. £14/17/-; Oxford: Anon\* 5/-; Liverpool: P.S. 6/-; Pembury: R.W. 5/-; Canterbury: G.A. 1/8; London, N.W.3: C.H. 5/-; London: B.C. 4/-.

TOTAL: £18 4 10 **Previously Acknowledged:** £275 3 2

> **1969 Total to Date:** £293 8 0 Deficit B/F:

TOTAL DEFICIT: £57 12 0

\*Denotes Regular Contributor. Gift of Books-London, E.13: R.P.; Liverpool: M.C.; Taunton: D.P.

We have to decide when freedom for a fascist to speak is itself an aggressive act against already oppressed peoples, and then use what action we can to deny it, and when that freedom does not



The argument of Arthur and John seems to amount to: some 'political' people are treacherous; IS are political; therefore IS are treacherous.

On to the absurd conclusion: faced with a danger let us have a 'free assembly' to work out our policy. First the existence of the danger is yet to be established. Secondly anarchist assemblies are notoriously unsuccessful in deciding policy. I was not at the last AFB conference but I gather that it was agreed not to join demonstrations organised by the VSC-and not to carry banners on them either. Comment is superfluous. WYNFORD HICKS.

# Recliffes of Governing

IN THE LAST few weeks, the for if a Labour Government can been taking a hammering. The latest issue to give rise to a storm not have any qualms about the preof protest has been the decision to increase the charge for spectacles and dentures.

While deploring this increase, it does not really come as a surprise,

Labour Government has really deprive children of free milk at school, then they certainly would sent increases. What is surprising, however, is the inept timing. With talks of ousting Wilson and the local elections a few days away, it did seem to be an act of a Government committing suicide.

relations. Once again, people mistakenly think that Governments will act in a principled way. The Labour Party might not have included in its election manifesto the proposal contained in its White Paper 'In Place of Strife', but a number of prominent MPs gave warnings of State intervention if the trade unions did not reform themselves. However, during the 1964 election, Anarchists posed this question and asked whether a Labour The Minister who made the Government would legislate against unofficial strikes. While our friends on the Socialist left thought this was ridiculous and canvassed for a Labour Government, we mounted an anti-election campaign. But being proved right is little consolation, for one has only to look at the high principles and promises of politicians at election and then examine their record in office to see how far short they fall.



## **Contact Co**

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

'Alarm'. Swansea Anarchists weekly broadsheet obtainable from Group address. 2/6 for next 5 issues inc. postage. Also new duplicator bought for £60 and not yet paid for-all donations very gratefully received and necessary.

Ken: Gravy-now flat 11-Bill,

- Aberdeen Anarchists want to meet a printer (offset litho or letterpress) to handle future leaflets. Please contact Ian S. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen, giving details of prices.
- Biafra meeting to plan demonstration in October-Friday, May 23, 7.30 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.
- Have you any (do you know whereabouts of) unpublished material such as letters, diaries, notebooks relating to anarchist movement(s) or individuals of 19th and early 20th centuries? A student preparing a thesis on anarchist thought would be grateful for your help. Please write to Sam

announcement was Mr. Crossman. who resigned from the Government in 1951, with Aneurin Bevan and Harold Wilson when the original imposition of charges for prescriptions was made.

The increased charges will only bring in £1,700,000 this year, and £31m. in a full year. A small amount indeed, but one that will bring them more in line with costs and, after all, this is what it is all about. This was a Cabinet-approved Treasury decision, for the Treasury are enforcing a limit on all Government expenditure. These permanent civil servants are the people who make the decisions, the bureaucrats who never come up for election, basing their decisions on the economic standing of the country.

The left-wing of the Labour Party say it was another move to impress our foreign creditors, but this does seem rather ridiculous. Certainly our creditors do require and look for such evidence, but these increases are imposed in isolation and at such a time seem to give the impression that the Government is losing its grip.

It is naive of people to believe that Governments are humanitarian and act on principles, as does the Guardian. They say the timing was a secondary issue and 'What is more alarming is the way the Government in their present mood are abandoning more and more of their traditional principles.' They do not list these 'traditional principles', but I . would say that these are the policies that are put forward at elections and which are usually forgotten when in power and the realities of governing come home.

## THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

The dilemma facing the Government is that not only must it prevent a massive rebellion in the ranks of the Labour Party, but the economic situation must ease a great deal more if they are to have a chance of winning the next election. 'In Place of Strife' is an attack on our freedom to withdraw our labour when we have a grievance with the employer. It is also aimed at capturing the floating voter and continues the process of reorientating the image of the Labour Party as the traditional party of the working class.

The opposition to the Government's plans on industrial relations is mounting. The Government itself is looking to the TUC to get it off the hook, while the TUC has placed proposals before the Government whereby it will do their dirty work for them. There should be no interference in the right to strike, whether from the Government or the TUC, who wants to extend its power in order to be unions concede this, it could mean that militants would be expelled from their unions by the TUC. The TUC would then become a disciplinary body for the employers, expelling and blacklisting militants. This is what could happen if the working class fails to organise itself independently and relies on the leadership of the trade union executives and Labour Party politicians. These are critical times for the Labour movement and only solidarity in industrial action will defeat attempts to shackle the working class of this country. P.T



AT A TIME WHEN 'In Place of n Strife' is being forced through Parliament it is very interesting to see how trade union rights have already been successfully attacked by the Government in South Africa.

The facts are contained in the latest booklet published by the International Defence and Aid Fund (2 Amen Court, London, E.C.4) called 'South Africa: Workers Under Apartheid'.

The black workers are not allowed to carry out any collective bargaining at all. Yet when they take on a job they are bound by a legal contract. During negotiations between employers and the white trade unions the interests of the African workers are supposed to be watched by either one or two white Government officials.

All strikes by blacks are absolutely illegal. This also applies to work-torules and stoppages over unsafe conditions (762 were killed and 30,677 injured in the mines alone in 1966). For any strike, however justified, black able to intervene in unofficial strikes. If workers can be fined £500 and imprisoned for three years. Apart from this there is no protection against victimisation. This was illustrated when 194 African busmen went on strike. All were fined. Then FOUR YEARS LATER ten were picked out and jailed for 41 years for 'furthering the aims of communism'. In addition any Africans who join a union are often evicted and find it difficult to get work as there are far more workers than

Anarchists

work.

The whites are in a slightly better position but they too are vulnerable.

A warning of what was to come was made when the Nationalist Party said in opposition that the unions under them would not be concerned with wages and conditions but 'the spiritual welfare of the workers'.

The white unions must have a ballot before striking and they are forbidden to strike within one year of a wage increase, if they work for a local authority or for an essential public service. For striking under these conditions they can be fined £100 and imprisoned for one year.

In addition both blacks and whites are threatened by the Sabotage Act and Suppression of Communism Act. Both have fairly wide definitions of sabotage and communism.

Sabotage includes causing considerable financial loss to an employer or the State (almost inevitable in a large scale strike), encouraging a social or economic change or crippling an industry. For this the minimum sentence is five years' prison

- Wolf, 55 Harvey Court, West Road, Cambridge.
- Surrey Free Schools Campaign. K. W. Bennett, 63 Hook Road, Epsom, Surrey.
- Manchester Squatters. Meetings every Wed., 8 p.m. Manchester University Union, Oxford Road, Manchester. Wanted, to buy or borrow, a large tent (up to 15 people) for the International Summer Camp. Offers to J.N., 25 North Villas, N.W.1.
- Read the Northern (Ireland) Informer, 1/- from Janet Wilcox, 103 Balham Park Road, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.12.
- Lock-up shop to let. £6 a week. Stoke Newington. Ring Barbara TER 4473. School students in North London are forming a Schools Anarchist Fed. and Libertarian Group, any Comrades wishing to help or who could give advice please write to John Mann, 133 Haden Court, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4.
- Freedom Press Manager needs room (living accommodation) near Aldgate East, Box No. 35.
- Peace News. Six weeks trial offer for 5/-. 5 Caledonian Road, N.1.
- Hyde Park Sunday meetings. 3 p.m. Speakers and literature sellers required.
- Support 'Freedom' sales. Start now or with Scottish edition, May 31. Con-

## PLEDGE LATER OMITTED

First and foremost, a Government must govern and the economic circumstances dictate how many and which policies or principles are forsaken. If the Guardian had looked at the election manifestos of the Labour Party, it would have seen, in actual fact, how realistic they were. Having gained power in 1964, with a manifesto that pledged to restore a free Health Service as soon as possible, this pledge was forgotten and omitted from the 1966 manifesto.

The emotion aroused by these increases has also been in evidence with regard to the Government's plans on industrial



in Fascist Ulster

The Anarchist

Revolution

4s.6d. a 100

PUSIERS

Freedom

2s.6d. each



**OUR NORWEGIAN** correspondent, Erik Disch, writes: 'Last night a group from "Et sted å vare" (means a "place to live"-a name used by Oslo apartments as a demonstration against apartments as a demonstrations against the city council which has let a part of the town which is to be reconstructed to a bank.

'The bank is going to build a big shopping centre, luxury hotels and luxury apartments, parking lots, bank buildings, etc., while 50-60,000 people are on lists waiting for a place to live, while there are 3,000 homeless people in Oslo, while children have to play in streets. 'Oslo needs more apartments and social institutions, not a big concrete "piggy bank" for 400,000,000 kroner! The police will probably try to throw the occupants out today.'

Construction of the second second

in Oslo **NEWLY STARTED** anarchist group in Norway has a building in the centre of Oslo, which they share with other radical groups. Our correspondent, Erik Disch, mentions that the group comprises 'a few hundred workers and students'. This makes the new Oslo group far bigger than any British group and indicates a bright future for anarchism in Norway. Their premises are visited by hundreds of people every day, and they request support from the British movement in the form of old FREEDOMS, anarchist pamphlets, posters, etc., which they can supply to callers. Comrades who would like to support this grand effort should send relevant material to Erik Disch, Konglefaret 59, Oslo 7, Norway. Come on, comrades, do some international mutual aid!

and the maximum is death.

The President can use these acts to declare any trade union an unlawful body and so eligible for these punishments. A white union has a right of appeal against his declaration but African unions do not.

The Riotous Assembly Act can be used to ban strike meetings and several other laws are interpreted to impede organisation of workers. An example of this was when pamphlets issued by the Non-European Railway Workers Union were seized. They complained that white railwaymen had got a rise but the non-whites had not. This was judged to be 'promoting hostility between Natives and Europeans'.

The Government has another strong hold on both blacks and whites through their ability to reserve jobs for whites. This was originally demanded by the white workers who wanted protection from the cheap African labour. (Africans on average get one-fifth the wages of whites doing the same jobs. In the mines it can be as little as one-seventeenth.)

So far the Government has reserved far more jobs for whites than there are actual whites to fill them. This is so they can issue special permits and exemptions to blacks to do work normally reserved for whites. These can be withdrawn at any time and the blacks put out of a job. Once they are unemployed they can no longer live in that area and so the Government uses this power to direct labour where it suits it (by withdrawing exemptions from one area and issuing permits for another). Needless to say the convenience of the black workers or their family ties are not considered. There is, however, no reason why the Government should not reverse this policy if the white workers started getting too militant (by reserving less jobs for whites and allowing the employers to use the far cheaper black labour and put the whites out of work). As the blacks are not allowed to organise themselves effectively this policy would lead to a work force even less organised than it is at present (only 13 per cent are properly organised in unions). It was with this sobering thought in mind that the Trade Union Council of South Africa feared in 1968 that 'the trade union concept will disappear from the South African scene'. This booklet costs 6s., or 4s. to trade unions or trades councils which order six or more.

tact Ian J. Sutherland, 8 Esslemont Avenue, Aberdeen.

Alan Barlow-Comrades wishing to visit in Brixton please contact Defence Committee, c/o Freedom Press for roster.

Glasgow Anarchists meet socially at the Station Bar, London Road, every Tuesday evening Folk-singing. S. London Free School Campaign, Regular activities, projects. Mike Rowley or Roger Sadiev, 81 Ermine Road, S.E.13. 01-690 1572 (6-7 p.m. preferably.)

International Summer Camp. £1 booking fees to Ann Lindsay, 39 Upper Tulse Hill, London, S.W.2.

North London Free Schools Campaign, contact T. Swash, 49 Popham Road, London, N.1.

Help Increase 'Freedom's' Circulation. Are you willing to take 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' regularly to local newsagents and collect returns and cash? If so we'd like to hear from you. - CIRCULATION DEPART-MENT.

If you wish to make contact let us know.

FREEDOM PRESS

30s. a 1000, postage 6s.

**Cash with order**-please!

CADSHEETS

Printed by Express Printers, London, E.1. Published by Freedom Press, London, E.!

**CBW GROUP** FORMED

CHEMICAL and Biological Warfare Action Group has been formed in London. Apart from the main group which will meet regularly for discussion, to exchange ideas and to co-ordinate activity, several sub-groups have been formed. These include Research: London Localities (this group will initiate activity in various parts of London, using every kind of media, to make Londoners aware of what is happening at NanceIAN S. SUTHERLAND.

kuke, Porton, Schermuly, etc.), Anti-Vivisection (a group that will publicise and possibly promote action at Allington Farm, Porton) and Porton Action (the group that will plan regular activity at and around Porton).

the second of the second s

The pamphlet, originally published as 'Silent Death', revised and republished later as 'Conspiracy of Silence', has again been revised and may be re-published as 'Conspiracy of Death'.

It is hoped to publish leaflets and posters, concerning this subject, but at the moment the group has no funds. Donations would be welcomed, but as we do not yet have a bank account, cheques and postal orders should be made out to the undermentioned (all will be acknowledged) and from whom further details of activity, meetings, etc., can be obtained. Douglas Kepper, 21 Vernon Road, Leytonstone, London, E.11.

M.P.