

This is what Geoff Wright produced when Ray failed to organize the Newsletter as promised. We lost £28 on this.

20393



NEWSLETTER

LIBERTARIAN
NEWS AND
VIEWS

**FEEDBACK
ECONOMY**

smut

**WOMEN'S
LIB.**

REVIEW

COMMITMENT



LOVE SOLIDARITY REVOLUTION



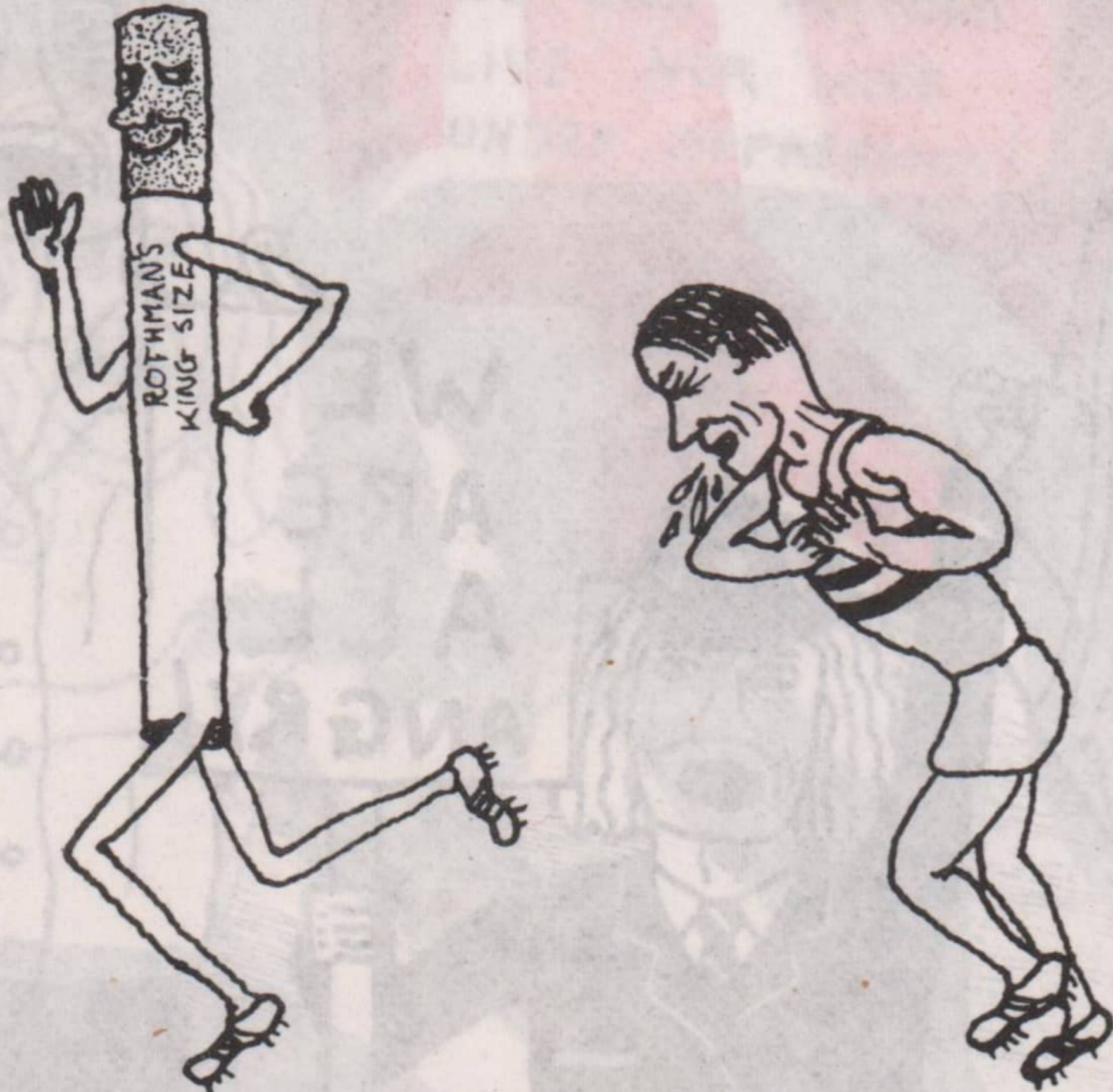
ROTHMAN'S

- OADS AND SOAS

king size filter tip olympics

Almost every sport in this country has its tame cigarette firm backing some of its fixtures. Not only are cigarettes, like sport, mass consumer goods, but how better to dispel the smokers' national fear of a cancer-ridden death than by coupling his killer with a burblingly healthy sportsman. "Help win medals for BRITAIN!" Buy Rothman's King Size and our brave boys will be a little nearer victory!

Every packet bought between now and August 1st will contain a voucher worth 1p when placed in the Rothman's Olympic Boxes now littering pubs and tobacconists.



To reach the target of £25,000 will require the smoking of 50 million cigarettes, but despite Rothman's publicity, it takes little difference if you give up your coupon or not since Rothman have guaranteed the Olympic Appeal £25,000 anyway.

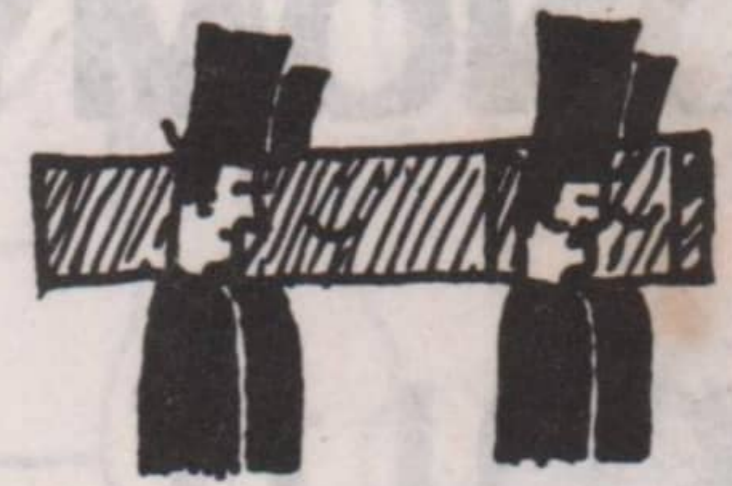
The actual effect of the campaign will be to convince the smoker that he is killing himself in a good cause.

Rothman's admit that the administrative costs of the campaign will be at least £10,000. Would it not therefore be easier for the Appeal if Rothman's just gave them £35,000 straight off? Well, yes, but what would be in it for Rothman's?

To those who object Rothman's say people are entitled to their views and jolly good luck to them. We are a commercial firm responsible to our shareholders. We are in this to get goodwill for the company.

QUOTE:

Quote published in a London evening newspaper from a leading tobacco company boss: "One cigarette is as good as another nowadays, we are just in the packaging business".



"WE ARE JUST IN THE PACKAGING BUSINESS."

take me to your leader

A feller at the York conference told me that at any political meeting he went to he could work out the hierarchy. So I of course asked him what he thought ORA's was.

So here it is:

- 1) Keith Nathan.
- 2) Laurance Otter.
- 3) Trevor Bavage.
- 4) Roy Heath.

He hastened to add that no.4 was rising fast!

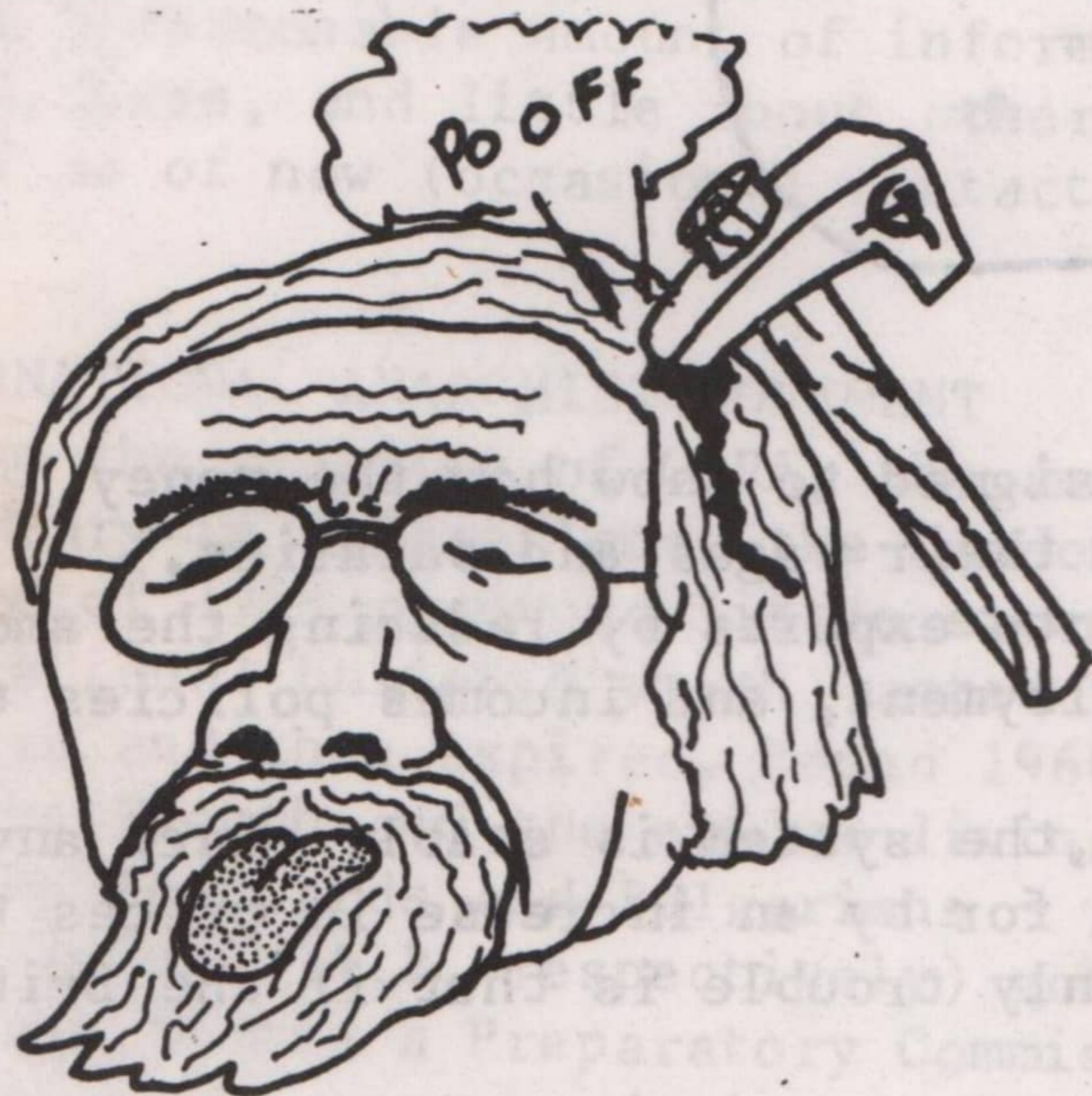


revisionists

In 1941 the Russian Encyclopedia defined advertising thus: "Hullabaloo, a means of swindling people and foisting upon them goods frequently useless or dubious in value value".

The 1972 Great Soviet Encyclopedia, however, describes advertising as: "The popularisation of goods with aim of selling them, the creation of demand for these goods, the acquaintance of consumers with their quality, particular features, and the location of their sales and the explanation of their use".

British admen say the new definition is "Very fairly stated".



BLOW YOUR MIND ON
ICE-PICKS!

it's a man's life in the ORA

One of the most notable things the York conference was the lack of participation by the women, and when they did, us men were as patronising as Hell! One would hope that at future conferences ORA women would be more attacking. I am sure that this would wear thin the liberated skin on ORA men and reveal their true B.M.C. natures.



general woodcock

Quote: "I dislike generalities in general, that is of course a general statement".

George Woodcock.



"MARY, THEY'LL NEVER BELIEVE THIS!"

Drugs - Opium is the opium of the people.

There is nothing inherently revolutionary about drug taking. (True, but it's nice! Prod. Collective.)

The Chinese were forced into the Opium Wars; the Southern American States blacks doped themselves into acceptance of slavery; the Glaswegians have bevvied themselves into a stupor since before the Industrial Revolution - not one of these peoples derived a revolutionary consciousness from their drugs.

This is not to say that there no points of contradiction and consciousness raising potential in taking the drugs. The present drug-taker may come up against a repressive state, and may learn from this. Any consciousness was not derived from the drug.

R.N. the morning after.



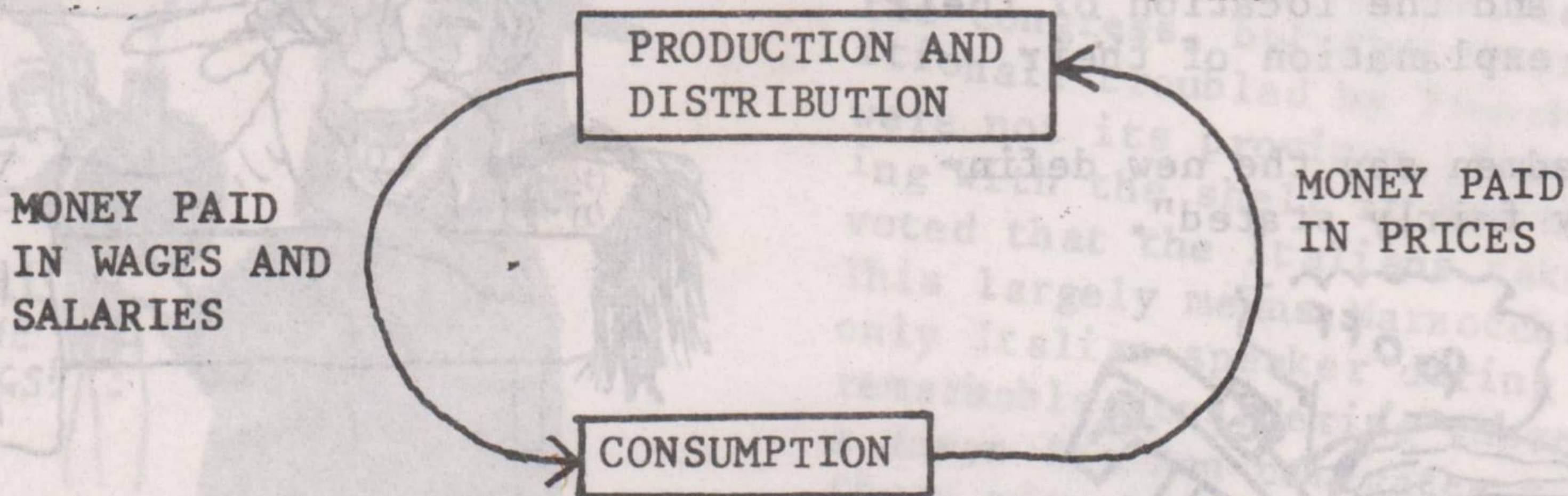
"SHE'S RIGHT. I CAN'T SHOOT STRAIGHT."

4

THE FEEDBACK ECONOMY

Since we all want a different society we need to be thinking out concrete alternatives rather than slogans and references to Spain and Russia a long time ago in a different situation. At the moment revolutionaries are creating their own social groups to try and live in a different way but as yet we've yet to try and formulate a concrete economic alternative. I'm not an expert economist, just an economics student, so this article is just an attempt to discuss general principles.

The present economy is dependent on the flow of money.



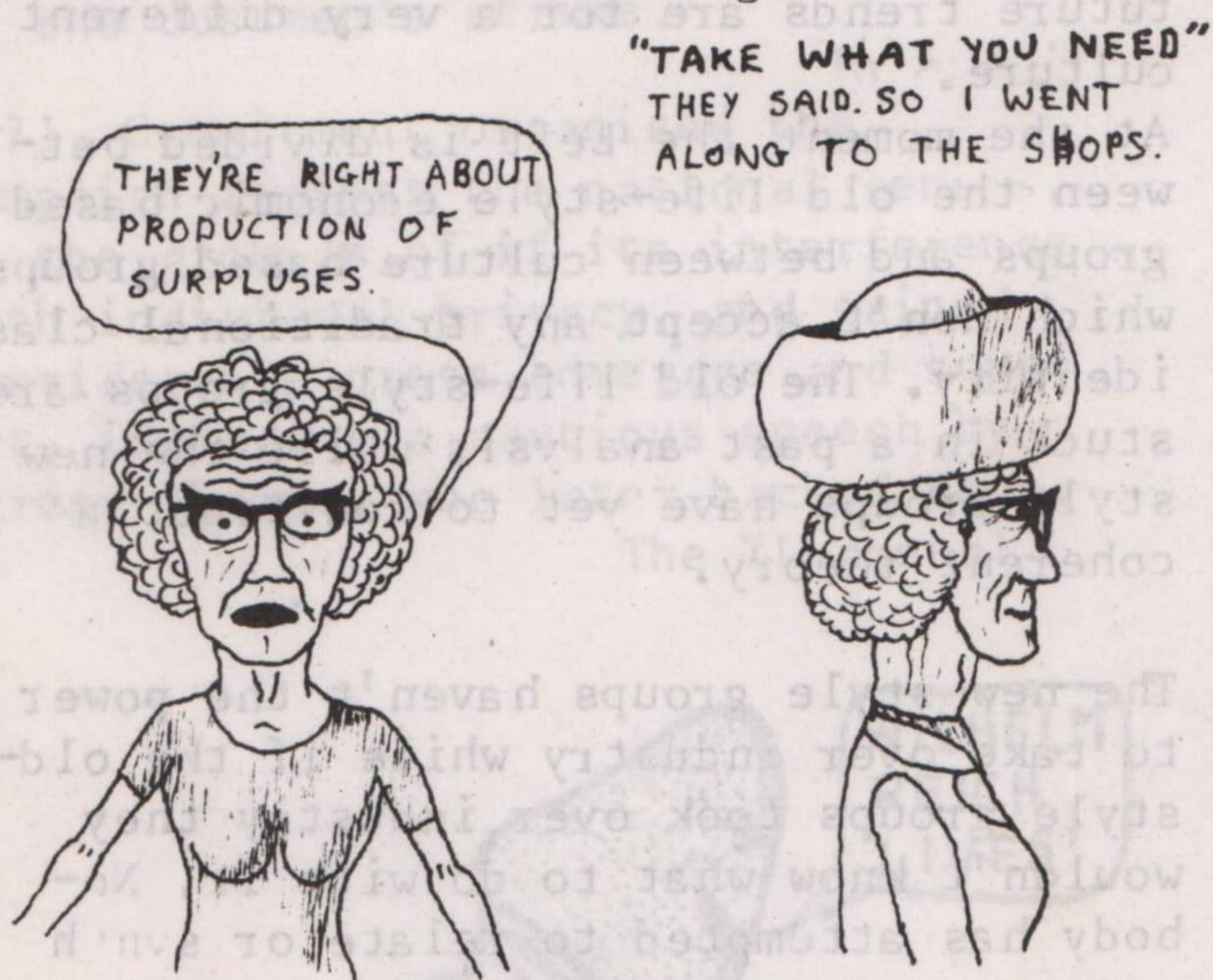
The above diagram is a very simplified one designed to show how the money available to consumers to buy products comes from their wages and salaries. Governments have attempted to divert production into exports by reducing the amount of money available to consumers by taxation, unemployment, and incomes policies to a higher level.

If you take the domestic economy in isolation, the system is stable since any increase in wages and salaries can be compensated for by an increase in prices to maintain profitability. This is inflation. The only trouble is that if the British



rate of inflation is greater than competitors in the international market. That means that British exports become more expensive and less competitive. This wouldn't matter if it wasn't for international competition and the international monetary system which makes a deficit in the balance of payments a crisis. At the moment, currencies are ceasing to relate and a trade war is on the cards. This means that governments will have to try and hold down wages by every means possible.

Another factor to be considered is technical advance which reduces the number of workers. Containerisation is reducing jobs for dockers. "Rationalisation" of industry using new plant also gives industry the capacity to produce more with less workers. White collar workers are now as numerous as blue collar workers but without their traditional solidarity. This is only temporary. As more technology was used then there would be also a sharp reduction of white and collar workers. Work has been transferred from production to services, administration, and the culture industries education and advertising.



The political effects have been both positive and negative. The working class has been further divided up between white and blue collar and now increasingly employed and unemployed. Any idea of a monolithic working class is out. Other groups have become more important than previously, Traditional politics have been mainly concerned with just economic discontent but while these still exist people who have been brought up with more material wealth have become more concerned with cultural oppositions such as racism, sexism and madness. Most important of all we now have a technology which is capable

of freeing us from purely mechanical actions. If the technology is used properly with the right cultural changes we could have a leisure society.

Right we take over the factories and work places. So how can we run them and the economy. I think that money will have to be replaced by a system of credit. The problem is that money is the power to consume which is related not to production but to market forces which are now beyond anybody's control. The problems of giving everybody the same income and of keeping the power to consume in line with production to prevent inflation and upset in the international economy are just too complicated and could only be done by a massive bureaucracy. With technology there's a simpler way. In America there are computer cash desks which calculate the purchases and check that the credit card (only the poor use money) has enough credit, and then adjusts the balance. In a credit system people would take what they wanted from the shops registering it on their credit cards. A computer link up would be constantly sending back the results to the workers' organisations controlling production



A computer grid would mean that information and future predictions would be available at any time to production and planning organisations. Production would be geared to the level of demand.

The immediate objection put by most people would be that money does at least limit the power to consume, if you have no limit people will try and furnish palaces. If people are that stupid then the limit is the productive capacity of the factories. But we really have to look at what people want, why do they want it, and what effect it has.

This is a cultural question. I say there are three types of expenditure subsistence, socially necessary, and higher status. Subsistence is what you need to keep alive, socially necessary being what you need to conform to the minimum requirements of a culturally conditioned life style, and higher status is fairly obvious. The importance of any different type of expenditure depends where you are in the social hierarchy. In the past when productive capacity was low goods were produced to last. With the development of capitalism we see the growth of faster style changes as productive capacity begins to exceed productive capacity begins to exceed the capacity to consume. In America 10% of the labour force could supply all its industrial needs. The rest are in war or social status production, or services. In order simply to keep production growing, goods are produced to wear out quicker not just in mechanical terms but in cultural terms. The results have been pollution wastage of natural resources, and an exclusively materialistic culture. In human terms people are kept doing alienating work or on welfare.

CULTURE

Our problem must be to free people from alienating work so they can live in a very different way. In fact we must reduce and change production. We can produce things to last which will slow down the wastage. Automation and better use of technology will cut down the work. Equally important will be the cultural changes.

The necessary cultural changes are already taking place. The ethics of hard work and thrift appropriate to small businessmen and shopkeepers became the ethic of hard work and thrift appropriate of developing capitalism. With the sudden changes from the scarcity to relative affluence the accepted life-style became one of the quick acquisition and disposal of surplus material. Culture was industrialised by advertising to provide the market for increased production. But this ethic is being challenged by a leisure rather than material ethic, which grew up from taking affluence or sufficiency for granted. This ethic accepts materials but considers other things to be important. The result has been the formation of a distinct cultural group which is now str-

uggling to find a social base and is trying to create new social forms which are essentially communist.

INDUSTRY

We have a situation where cultural changes and economic changes are happening simultaneously, and in relationship to one another. The more industry develops in the direction of increased capacity with less work or even if we have a recession and just increased unemployment, the more important become the cultural contradictions. So what will be the future industrial and cultural patterns after the revolution?

I see industry developing on two levels. One would be on a craft level and develop within the social framework of the commune. I don't expect this process to happen immediately since there will still be plenty of people sticking more or less to the old lifestyles. This is the logical development of existing social changes. The economic changes will set the stage for a much more fundamental cultural revolution by removing economic and social pressure to conform to a certain lifestyle. In order to replace the existing culture the communes must have an economic base to develop and multiply. I am not saying that we have to force a certain culture down anybody's throats but that a process of natural selection will operate. Different cultural groups will exist side by side for a while but future trends are for a very different culture.

At the moment the Left is divided between the old life-style economic based groups and between culture based groups which don't accept any traditional class identity. The old life-style groups are stuck in a past analysis while the new style groups have yet to construct a coherent theory.

The new style groups haven't the power to take over industry while if the old-style groups took over industry they wouldn't know what to do with it. Nobody has attempted to relate or synthesise the different approaches. This article is only the first hazy sketch. We need to fill a vacuum and I hope this article will set the people asking questions and initiating discussion.



Women On Liberation



A Criticism

The notes on Womens Liberation by JL and RN, and the comments by AV deserve consideration because they show both the comprehensible striving for freedom and the mental confusion which drives it into every kind of wrong turning. If that sounds fighting talk it is meant to be (RN at least will know there is no animosity involved). I am against Womens Libs - not because I disapprove its aspirations, but because it is mistaken in its approach to them and its viewing the part instead of the whole. I believe in the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of sex. I am not going to say that I sympathise with women, because a sympathiser is someone who feels sorry for you. I am with women, and men, and androgynes if you hear of any, in the conviction that we all need a different kind of society.

Really, the answer is supplied by JL and RN in their opening point. They say: "Thus, we should be able to explain...why it is that women as a group cannot be liberated under capitalism now." If this and what precedes it - the "basic tenet" that exploitation and repression of groups innumerable are simple, inescapable consequences of the fact that we live under capitalism are true, what follows? I agree with the tenet and the statement. They lead me to conclude, however, that one would waste one's time drawing up points aimed at emancipating women "under capitalism now."

Again, JL and RN head into a concentric circle in their paragraph on the nuclear family. In it, they say, women are restricted, children are restricted; men are restricted. True and worth saying. Some Women's Lib

propoganda talks as if women are the only cross bearers in society. A picture on Jill Tweedie's page the other week showed a woman with a banner saying "I don't get paid for washing nappies" - which annoys me because (a) I've almost certainly washed more nappies than she, (b) I don't get paid for gardening, window-cleaning, errands, odd jobs etc. and (c) such claims (hers or mine) are the depth of puerility. But, to return to the point, if JL and RN and I are right that we're restricted and sold short, what would be achieved by the series of measures they would propose? I think one can fairly say the achievement would only be an exchange of female bondage for male, out of one cage, into another. JL, RN and AV are entitled to argue if they wish that it's a more comfortable cage; but let us not pretend it is liberation.

AV expresses some of my own thoughts about the reforms demanded. I agree with her, for example, that twenty-four-hour nurseries have a strong battery-chicken implication. What strikes me over all, however, is that they are all reforms. Except for the two "campaign" items, against women's magazines and the commercial promotion of pulchritude, each one is a demand for the State to institute or enforce. Apart from the mild surprise at finding anarchists in this position, it seems clear to me that the direction is the one opposite from anyone's liberation. More legislation and enforcement means more machinery be done by governments or bureaucrats." Why then does she say "most of the demands should be encouraged?"

Some of the points made border, I fear, on the futile. Battle successfully for control over everyone's lives. AV

shows herself aware of this by speaking of "anarchist-who know that it can't against women's magazines for their content, and they'll change to something acquiescent to the new atmosphere and equally enslaving in another way- wide demand (f), perhaps how to hang a mortgage millstone around your neck, instead of how to make Minced Beef a la Khazi. I am not being defeatist; it is simply that while you try to get these minuscule silk purses out of the monstrous sow's ear of capitalism, commerce is way ahead of you. Have you not heard that the legalization of cannabis, for which people argued and demonstrated passionately, is eagerly awaited by the American tobacco companies with the packets already printed? One does not have to think far for possible parallel results from an anti-fashion and anti-falsity campaign.

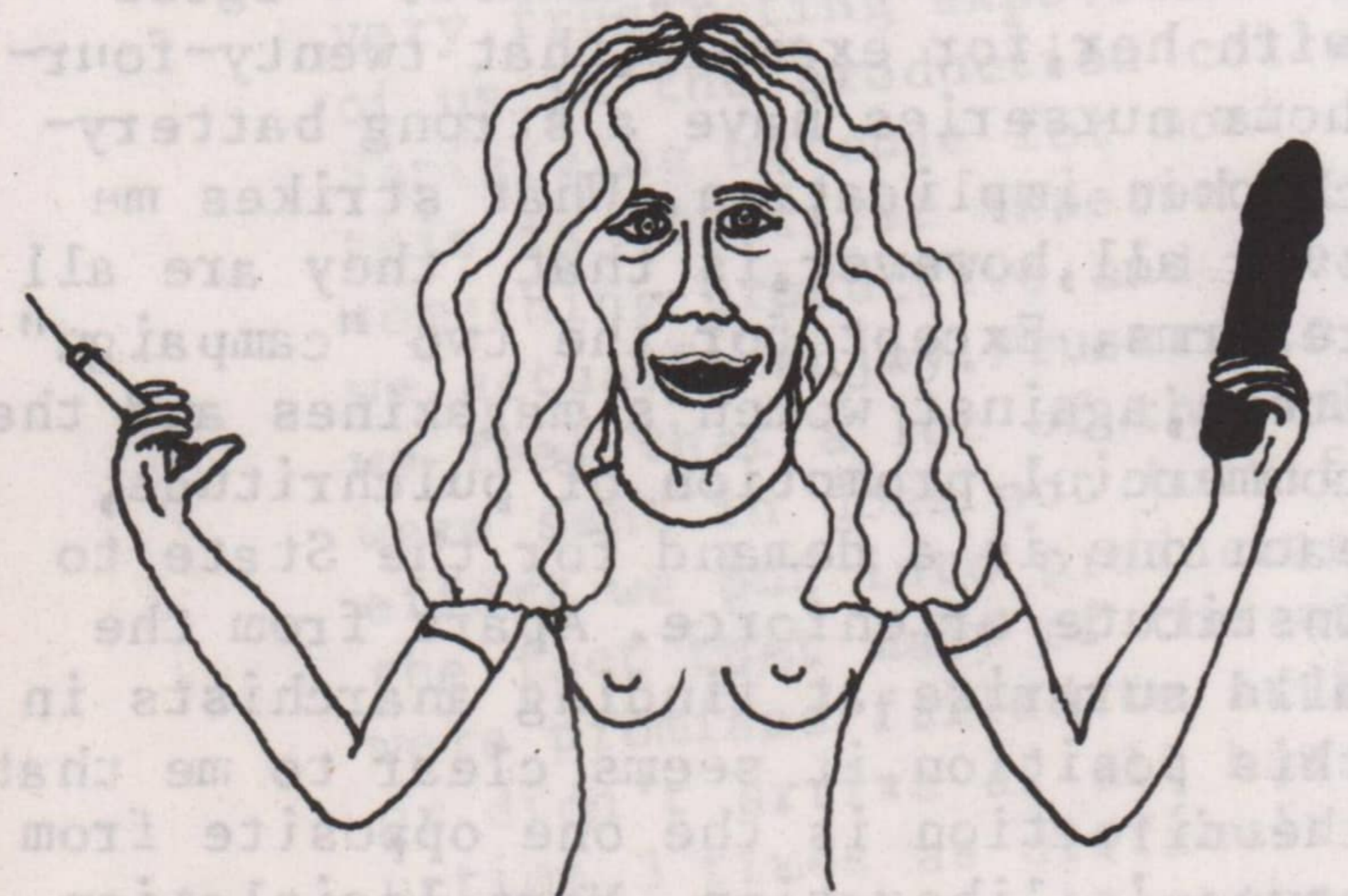
Nor do I know where AV gets her anthropological-social generalisations. My concern with them is that they contribute to a body of Women's Lib fiction that does not help but harms the cause of general emancipation. For instance, it is just not true that the small monogamous monogamous family is a product of modern capitalism. Likewise, I should like to hear justification for the unqualified statement that "men feel their virility depends on their domination over their families." No doubt some men do, just as some men identify masculine status with being mighty beer-drinkers and fist-threateners. But as a universal analysis, no.



"DARLING, I'VE LEFT THE PARTY!"

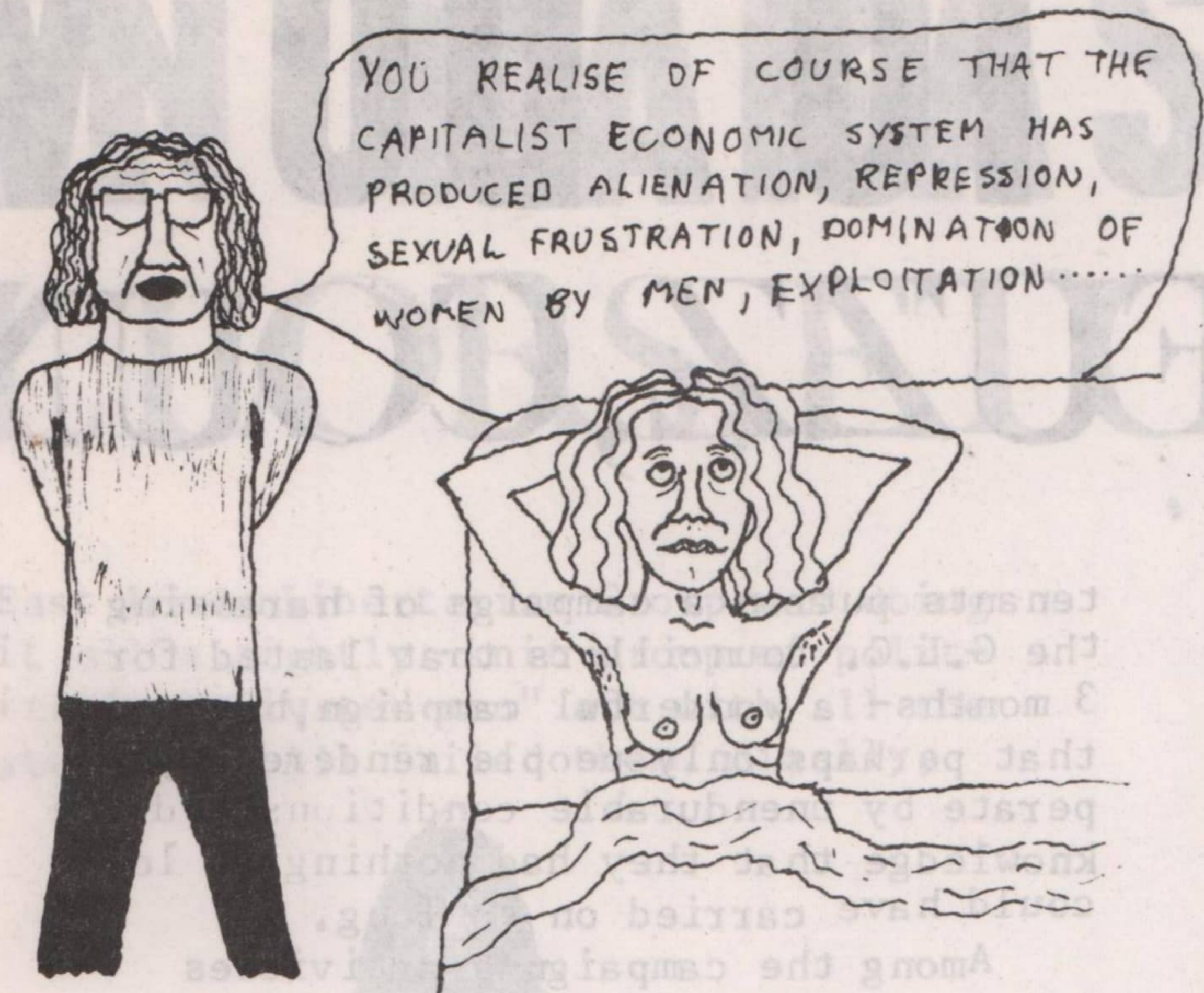
space than I can expect the O.R.A. Newsletter to give me. The matter centres, of course, on the family. The monogamous family has been with us throughout the history of the developed society, i.e. from the days of the great barbarian civilizations. There are many presumptions today that it is no longer consonant with man's awareness of himself (includes herself,) but it satisfies his needs to the extent that no alternative is perceptible: the needs including stability, sex and a balance between privacy and hubbub. The distinction which has to be made is between the family as a human grouping, and the family as it is under capitalism. For capitalism the family is vital, because in it we work the social roles required of us economically. This is the heart of the fuss about censorship and permissiveness; if licentiousness becomes rife monogamy will give way, and then where will the family be? - so, at least, some of them think.

Given the monogamous family and capitalism's arrangements, you have the home and the children, and the breadwinner who goes out to work and supports them. There has, therefore, to be a division of labour. There is no reason why it should be the male who goes out to work and the female who stays at home: the roles can be and have been reversed, but that doesn't alter the position. In my experience, most women regard the division as a perfectly fair one. A man works all his life, they say, and brings home wages and provides necessities and comforts; it is reasonable to feed him and tend a pleasant home.



"MEN SAY WE CAN'T DO WITHOUT THEM. OH YEAH?"

My own observations on liberation and family life would require more



The problems and grievances arise because equitable set-up is exceeded. Commonly in marriage, the husband is a rajah laying down from the outset how he requires things to be. (Not, I think, to prove virility but because that is the nature of social expectation.) Shopping, I hear women say, often: "I couldn't give my husband that - he'd raise the roof if I put it in front of him!" I've known a man shout his wife up from a distant kitchen to where he sat with feet up, and say "Pour us another cup of tea, love" - with teapot and cup beside him. I must say (though I am unsure whether JL, RN and AV will agree) this does not infuriate me nearly as much as other attitude in "superior" people. Incidents like those characterize the old tribal custom and morality: there is always a chance that the rajah will get spat in the eye.

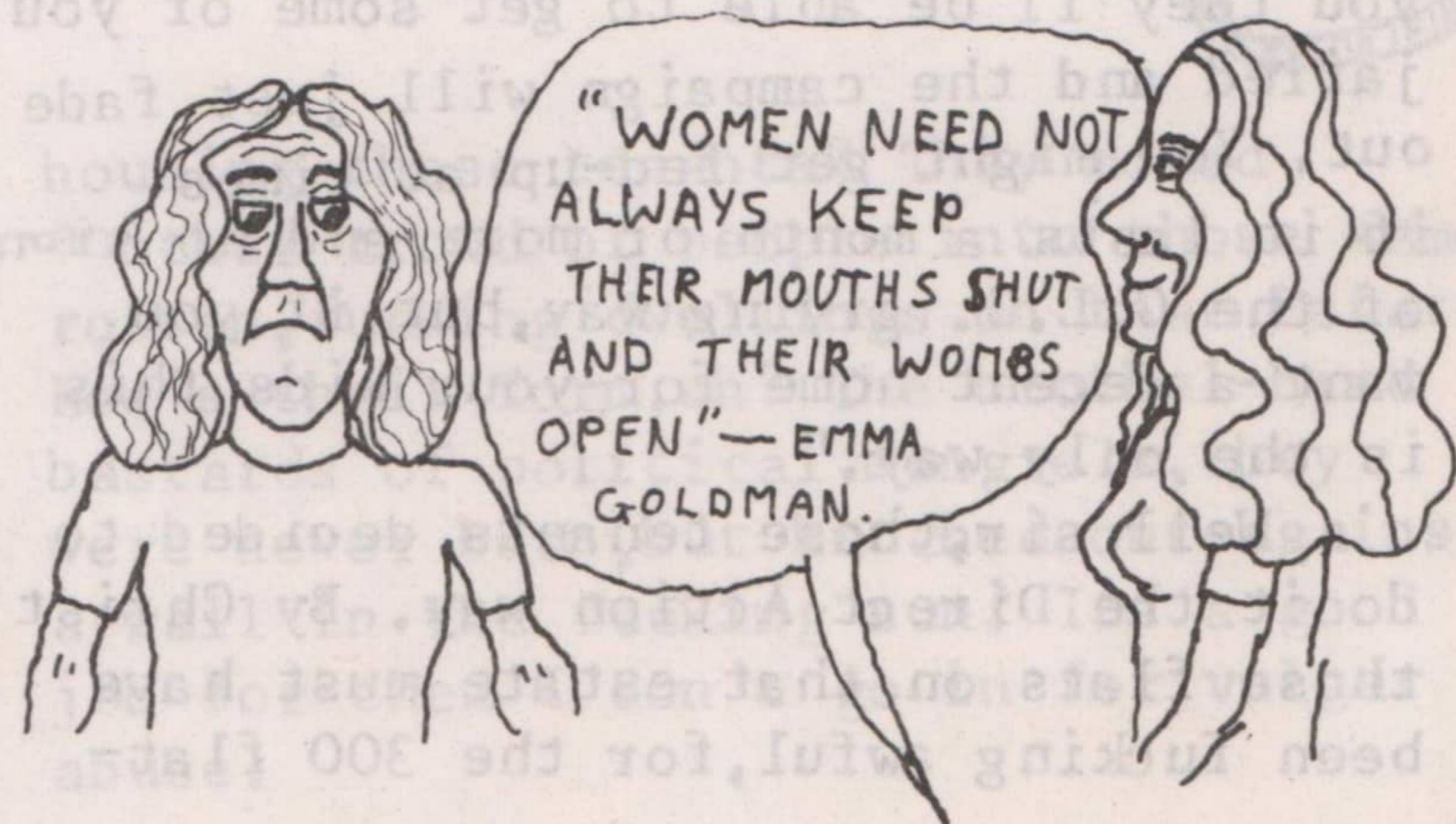
The attitudes I find far more objectionable are those displayed in "Penthouse" and others, and by many better to-do people I know. Here, the idea of a woman having serious opinions merits amused patronage: well, she's got a bit of spirit, and we all tease her for being so bold. Not long ago the pretty young wife of a director friend explained that she saw nothing for women to be liberated from. After all, she said, women had any number of effective stratagems for getting everything they wanted from men. This strikes me as fifty times more repugnant than "My husband would raise the roof." Among the poor it's all a battle anyway; with the socially satisfied, what is being said is "I am doing all right out of being unequal." I am bound to note also that radicals are not at all exempt from either frame of mind. As one who has been around left groups, I see with jaundiced eye that while they all leap

on the Women's Lib wagon, their own place for women members is a tea-cup and typewriter-fodder.

At whatever social level, law and custom - which are, it must be remembered the rules for running capitalism - are one the side of the rajahs. They are still pervaded by the assumption that women are best, as ancient working-class wisdom has it, well fucked and poorly shod. Women's Lib campaigns therefore to alter law and custom. It is an understandable reaction, but a mistaken one. There is a piece in the Bible (no reason why an atheist can't refer to it, is there?) which expresses my point: this fellow smote down all those who were in high places, but the high places remained. The subjugation of one group by another - black by white, have by not-have, female by male, claimant by bureaucrat - is a series of aspects of the deeper division on which capitalist society is founded.

Specifically, if women win every one of the rights demanded by Women's Lib, they will still be slaves: because under capitalism we (the nine-tenths) all are. I am not arguing that no protest should be made. On the contrary, I want to see everyone on their feet hollering: about sex, inequality, about race and class and poverty and exploitation and every other manifestation of the society we live in. But when it comes to translating fury into political practice, JL and RN are right: "women as a group cannot be liberated under capitalism now." The consequent logic is that demands for reform can produce, at best, gains which are marginal or trivial, and at worst a reiteration of Orwell's conviction that progress is a swindle anyway. Women's emancipation can only come with men's, and the only sensible movement for it is one which seeks the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by a new humane society.

NOTE: The author is NOT a member of W.F.O.R.A.



WHAT TO DO WITH BY FUZZ, COUNCIL

This isn't going to be a vague statement about what could happen if everybody does so-and-so with lots of publicity, demos and meetings and all the other trimmings which are so much wasted fucking energy if the problem stays unsolved.

This statement is based on experience—the experience of 300 common-orgarden council tenants, who fought the G.L.C. to a standstill in 1968 and made history by getting unconditional surrender from the G.L.C.

These tenants lived in a rotten group of dwellings called an Estate in Bromley-by-Bow. The flats were mouldering, crumbling, infested with rats which often enough bit the tenants' kids. Over a period of years, all complaints, protests and deputations of tenants to the G.L.C. had been contemptuously ignored.

It was in 1968 that some of the tenants contacted the East London Libertarian Group and asked if they could help. The group told the tenants at a general Estate meeting that they'd gladly give what help they could, but that there was only one solution to their problem, and that was:

"If they make your lives a misery, make their lives a misery."

In order to succeed a "make their lives a misery" campaign had to be a 100% united job and tenants must be prepared for a fairly protracted campaign. "If you're all in it together, you're O.K. but if the manage to split you they'll be able to get some of you jailed and the campaign will just fade out. You might get fed-up at times if it lasts a month or more and no sign of the G.L.C. giving way, but if you want a decent home for your kids this is the only way."

Well sir, those tenants decided to do it the Direct Action way. By Christ those flats on that estate must have been fucking awful, for the 300 flat-

tenants put on a campaign of harassing the G.L.C. councillors that lasted for 3 months— a wonderful campaign, but one that perhaps only people rendered desperate by unendurable conditions and the knowledge that they had nothing to lose could have carried on so long.

Among the campaign's activities were

1) The business and home telephones of all councillors continually by teams of tenants ringing up day and night complaining then leaving the receivers off.

2) The councillors were unable to go anywhere without being confronted by angry tenants. In the pubs they used their friends learned to avoid them, for sooner or later they'd be surrounded by angry and vociferous tenants.

3) Their comfortable mansions would be invaded by tenants with their children and rats from the "Estate" would be brought too, to show the councillors, and by accident released inside the councillors' lovely homes.

4) Loads of coal, fertiliser, sawdust, and so on, would be dumped outside their mansions, on the gardens, drives, anywhere.



"Someone" had ordered these loads in the councillors name, adding, "I must have it by then don't bother to dump it beside the front door" (or wherever) "if you can't find anyone to show you where it goes."

The G.L.C. tried the old splitting tactics, they tried bribery, they tried the old smear technique, saying the

WHEN HARASSSED MAYORS, ETC.

East London Libertarian Group was doing it all "a tightly -knit group of politically motivated men" act with all the stops out. All failed them. Finally,



"I'VE BEEN BUGGERED WITH THE
ROUGH END OF A PINEAPPLE!"

after 3 months of the tenants campaign campaign, the G.L.C. acknowledged defeat. All the tenants were re-housed in the new G.L.C. blocks; when the G.L.C. rents went up shortly afterwards, the now cowed G.L.C. hastened to re-assure the ex-"Estate" tenants, "No! Not your rents-they're not going up!"

This is not a fairy-tale, its the truth. And those were not Supertenants they were ordinary people. They tried the Libertarian Group's ideas out of desperation; they'd tried everything else, and got no joy. Having fuck-all to lose, they tried harassing the harassers and it worked!

This technique can be applied to all harassers;

1) Fuzz who go out of their way to fuck people about. Whether the people are undermining the government or just under the weather after chucking-out-time, makes no odds. If the cop in question is a proved harasser, he needs harassing.

2) S.S. Supervisors and other S.S. officials who go even beyond the lousy S.S. regulations in denying help to

those in dire need, are especially, in my opinion, in need of having their lives made a misery, for they certainly abuse this power to make numerous ordinary people's lives a misery, the people they're paid to help.

I don't need to go through the card detailing all the different kinds of bastards with vested authority who delight in harassing us, the PEEPUL! They should all, of course, be fucked with the rough end of a pineapple, or a ragman's-trumpet if no pineapple is available. However, I think we should temper justice with mercy, and just subject them to the same treatment they mete out to their victims.

After a harasser has been harassed enough to tame his harassing urge down, I suggest the demonstration, petition, and lobby-Parliament enthusiasts can go ahead with their plans. It will be a nice rounding off to the main plan
HARASS THE HARASSERS!

P.S. Know what the G.L.C. did after re-



housing those tenants? They moved another crowd of people into those same rotten, fucking dwellings on that Estate. How's their form, eh? The brothel-bred bastards of political mongrels, they were never born, but hatched out against a wall in the fucking sun! Its a good job for them I don't go in for vulgar abuse.

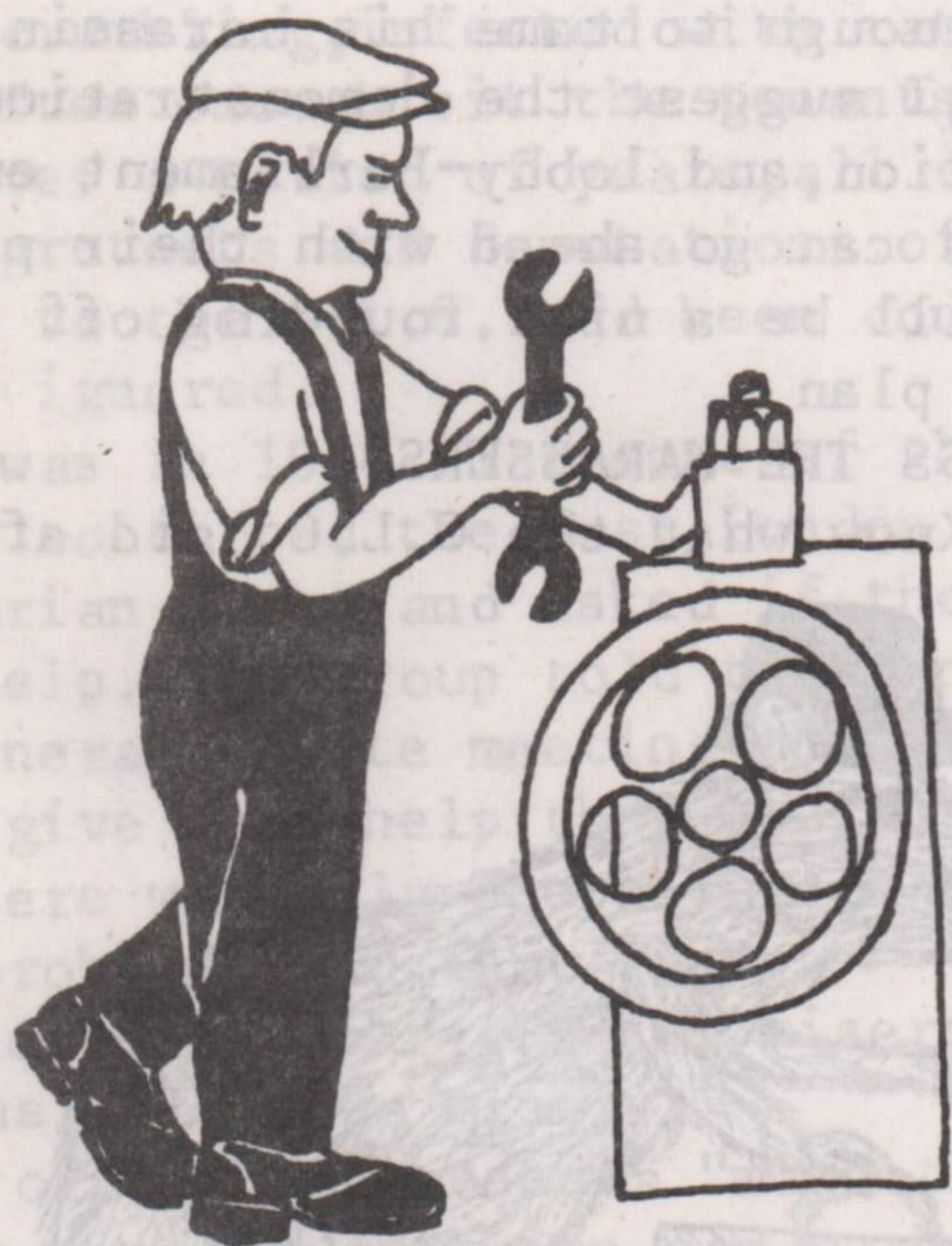
REVIEW

'workers' councils'

a Solidarity pamphlet

Reviewers often start by talking of their qualifications to review the particular work, which I suppose is as good a start as any. My qualifications seem to be limited, not being an economist or knowing too much of various political theories. Indeed I never made it to the Solidarity seminar on this pamphlet so I can't say how they answered some of the criticism I've heard expressed about it.

My immediate and subsequent reactions on reading it were it was a long over-due attempt to analyse the



problems and structure of a self-managed society. For too long libertarians have been content to demolish the common Marxist ideas of a future socialist society and say only in opposition that "the people will decide all issues etc." or something equally vague (if true).

The key idea in this pamphlet is that the workers themselves can control fully and democratically any of the processes of modern society. Those who would argue that it is the things and

processes of capitalism that are at fault e.g. industrialisation, the monster growth of cities, arms production, fantastic array of consumer goods etc. would possibly not agree with this pamphlet which takes as its base the fact that these are produced by exploitation and are not necessarily bad in themselves. Or to develop this further it is capitalism itself that has to be destroyed not always the things capitalism can and does produce.

This is brought out in the preface (which is probably the best review of the pamphlet that could be written) which says that they could be attacked for talking of the transformation of work instead of its abolition - 'But such is the capacity of our minds for mutually incompatible ideas that the very comrades who talk of abolishing all work will take it for granted that, under socialism, lights will go on when they press switches.....'

The preface itself is by Solidarity and is fairly obviously intended as an answer to most of the criticisms likely to be levelled at the pamphlet. The fact of its being written in 1957 is stressed because of the undue weight attached to the role of the industrial proletariat, and no mention being made of women's liberation, minority group struggles, the 'youth revolt', and little emphasis being placed on the conditioning that has been heaped on us from the media and advertising, merchants.

But as a short review in FREEDOM (13/5/72) stated "The society described is pretty much that envisaged by Kropotkin and William Morris." This is true that the main principles of libertarian socialist organisation are re-stated. But what is important is the integration of all new developments since those days and the basing of the pamphlet on the events in Hungary in 1956 when workers did take control.

The main criticism people have made of this pamphlet seem to be 1)It envisages a mechanistic of tech-nocratic future.

2)The ideas and plan"Factories" would encourage a developing bureaucracy.

3)The society immediately after the revolution is seen by the author as being a transitional one before the establishing of full communism.

I would suggest that in 1)people who have expressed this are put off by the language used to describe future econom- economic organisation. Words like capital, investment, wages, productivity are still used, but to denote concepts which will have taken on vastly different functions-'the role of money is radically altered from the moment where it can no longer be a means of accumulation (the means of production being owned in common) or as a means of exerting social pressure(wages being equal). And (in talking of wages and money) 'As we are seeking here to get to grips with realities and are not fighting against words we see no objection to calling these tokens, wages and these units, money.'

The underlying point in this being that the decision-making still rests with the people(who are in the last resort armed) who decide what, how many and by



what means things are to be produced and how society is to be run.

The targets of the plan will be determined by society as a whole... Before any proposals are voted on, the plan factory will work out and present to society as a whole the implications and consequences of the plan. This will result in a vast increase in the area of real democracy(i.e. of deciding in full knowledge of the relevant facts.)

After a plan has been adopted the task of the plan factory will be to constantly bring up to date the facts on which the plan was based.....'

The difference between centralis't centralisation as as separate indep- endent apparatus with its coercive functions and the centralisation needed for information purposes to run the economy is one brought out strongly. Those who would argue that



"REMEMBER, COMRADE, THIS IS ONLY THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE"

everything should be decentralised are asked in a Solidarity footnote whether they mean everything e.g.'electricity, aircraft schedules, importong their own tea, building their own neuro-surgical centres?'

The pamphlet suggests, for centr- alisation, a Central Assembly of Wor- kers' Councils based on the Federat- ion of Workers' Councils with carefu- lly defined and circumscribed powers. This is contrasted with present centr- alisation where information flows to the centre and orders are transmitted out. The contrast between the two is further reinforced by the assertion that the Central Assembly would be an instrument of popular power not a delegation. The ideas and plan factori- es (Solidarity's niche after the rev- olution according to the more cynical) are also intended in the same way.

The third objection seems to be more valid. I must admit to not knowing the full Marxist implications of transitional, but it conjures up the absurdities of 'deformed' and 'degener- ated' workers' states. There is a fairly detailed analysis of the primary and static view of workers management and then of the dynamic by which the truly libertarian society can emerge in the

economic field, through the domination of the work process. In the author's sense 'transitional' involves the elimination of exploitation immediately, otherwise there can be no transition to communism at all.

In a rather different way the recent controversy over "Revolutionary" pacifism in Freedom has highlighted one of the problems involved in a society in a state of transition between the old and the new. The fact that not all people will be at the same level of consciousness (an argument beloved of the dictatorship of the proletariat buffs) means that the revolution still has to be argued for after it has taken place and, in this sense, any society would be a transitional one. And to actually physically change society to utilise all the needed resources will take time (assuming that most people don't want just to destroy it and live in near poverty).

From the Production Collective

Producing this magazine has been a very satisfying experience but also very frustrating experience for all of us in the production collective. Satisfying because for most of us this is our first experience of doing something productive and creative that we actually enjoy. Frustrating because we feel that a lot of the material we were sent in does not justify the effort we put into producing it. Also the fact that many of the articles we were promised failed to arrive on time or didn't arrive at all has made production 3 times as difficult as it ought to have been. Also the lack of commitment from comrades has meant that editorial and production have had to be combined.

Basically we want the Newsletter to get out of the jargon-ridden rut that most of the Left is still in and extend the range of revolutionary theory in language that most people can understand. We don't want to handle some of the crap that passes for revolutionary theory

Although this pamphlet is primarily concerned with the economic question, there is still much more to it than has been mentioned. The problems of agriculture, of consumer representation, of the likely persistence of political groupings into the new society, of the myths of technocracy are all analysed as well as the shortcomings of Leninism, the perpetual conflict necessary for the survival of capitalism and the vision of a future free society.

Solidarity hope to start wide-ranging discussions on the ideas in this pamphlet and I hope other people and groups will begin to write on some of the issues only briefly mentioned in it which would then present a coherent framework of ideas for anarchists and libertarians involving all recent developments. To counter criticism as expressed in 2), it might be as well to quote the following:

'The role of the plan factory won't be to decide in the plan.....'



in all organisations, even O.R.A. We also want peoples actual experience with the lessons drawn. The centre pages article is excellent. If only we had more like that! We'd also like to point out that that not all the views shown are from O.R.A. members, so there!

Those articles which have been held back will be considered at the next editorial meeting.

We want more people in so if you want to learn how to produce in litho then contact us c/o London O.R.A.



"DO I HAVE TO?"

commitment

The Commitment group initiated last year's anti-census campaign and the attempt to block Oxford Street to traffic in December.

It started in the summer of 1970, when people on the Left of the Young Liberals attacked the motion which YL national officers were putting to—and most of which was carried by—the Liberal Party Assembly advocating a "dual approach", working both inside and outside the official electoral structures. The suspicion was that community politics was to be used as a base for getting votes rather than for creating direct democracy and self-management.

In the next six months, the new group gained in membership, mainly concentrated on the South East, elaborated its criticisms of the "election-gearred social work", and took part in a number of actions, such as the dumping of rubbish on Wandsworth Council steps in support of the dustmen's strike.

In April 1971, Commitment organised the campaign against the national census, on the grounds of its interference with individual privacy, and gained considerable press coverage and support, including a cautious speech by Jeremy Thorpe, who later backed down.

The YL annual



conference that month elected Peter Hain chairman against Chris Green, the party nominee, and Brian Milton, the Commitment candidate. Hain came to office with a radical image won from his role in the Stop the Seventy Tour Campaign. Over the coming year, the image became increasingly tarnished, the radicalism increasingly compromised.

At that stage, Commitment still saw its role as working through the YL structures in trying to get support for its policies and actions. But increasingly, it met opposition from the YL leadership and despite the noise it made at national executives and so forth, was defeated time after time.

The Party Assembly in September 1971 saw further compromises by the YL officers, particularly over the Party's proposals to introduce a membership system to curb "anarchists and libertarian socialists".

The idea of working through YL structures was gradually abandoned. Instead the emphasis was put on using the YLs as a platform, a collection of people, attracted by the vague radical image, from whom some could be found to join in Commitment activities.

The largest scale of these was the attempt to block Oxford Street to traffic in protest at the damage done by cars to city centres.

A motion of support put to the YL National Executive was defeated due to opposition from the leadership. Commitment found it had to rely more on outside libertarian and ecological groups.

In the event, the street was blocked for only a few minutes, although the point did seem to get across to the shoppers there and in the Press. There were 44 arrests, of whom 21 were Young Liberals.

The next day's papers gave credit primarily to the YLs. Despite the fact that only the YL South East federation supported the action, such distinctions were lost to the public. The people who had sat on cricket pitches were now seen to have taken to blocking roads.

All this accelerated the reduction of the the Commitment role in the YLs. The recent conference showed a high degree of polarisation and distrust. When Hain finished his speech after being re-elected, pro-Party YLs gave him a standing ovation, while Commitment delegates sat silent.

All the developments since Commitment's inception have pointed to the difficulty of reconciliation with the YL national officers, the impossibility of gaining majority support through the national structures, the dangers of gaining credibility on the Left for an organisation we regard as reformist, and the necessity of increasing co-operation with people outside the YLs.

The conflicts it has been through have sharpened it's sense of a distinctive identity and given it a clearer ideological line than we had 18 months ago. Yet that identity and line are largely defined against that of the YLs: a refusal to compromise with party politics, a rejection of the mirage of a "Parliamentary road to libertarian socialism."

The recent Commitment meeting saw the need to develop beyond being simply "the left wing of the Young Liberals." Three possible future roles for the group have emerged:

(a) As an ecological crusade, drawing attention to the causes of the crisis of survival and dealing with the other issues primarily in relation to that crisis.

(b) As a group within the proposed Libertarian Alliance, concentrating mainly on more "working-class" issues, like industry and housing.

(c) As a libertarian left group with a distinctive type of libertarianism, described as "France May '68" or "like Solidarity, but a bit more counter-cultural."

There was no clear majority for any of these three, and they were felt to be to a large extent compatible. The emphasis was on in whatever way moving out from the YLs into the libertarian left.

Membership is only vaguely defined, but is probably about 60, with local groups in South London and St. Albans.

Anyone who wants more details should write to me at (term) Brasenose College, Oxford; (home:) 42, Shirley Rd., Croydon.

Victor Anderson.





INTERNATIONAL REPORT

Comrades must excuse the brevity & scrappiness of this report, due to current heavy pressure of work in my job. I will concentrate on giving the background to the international anarchist scene, and say something further about France in particular, as I have a reasonable amount of information about these, and little about other countries as of now (occasional contacts only).

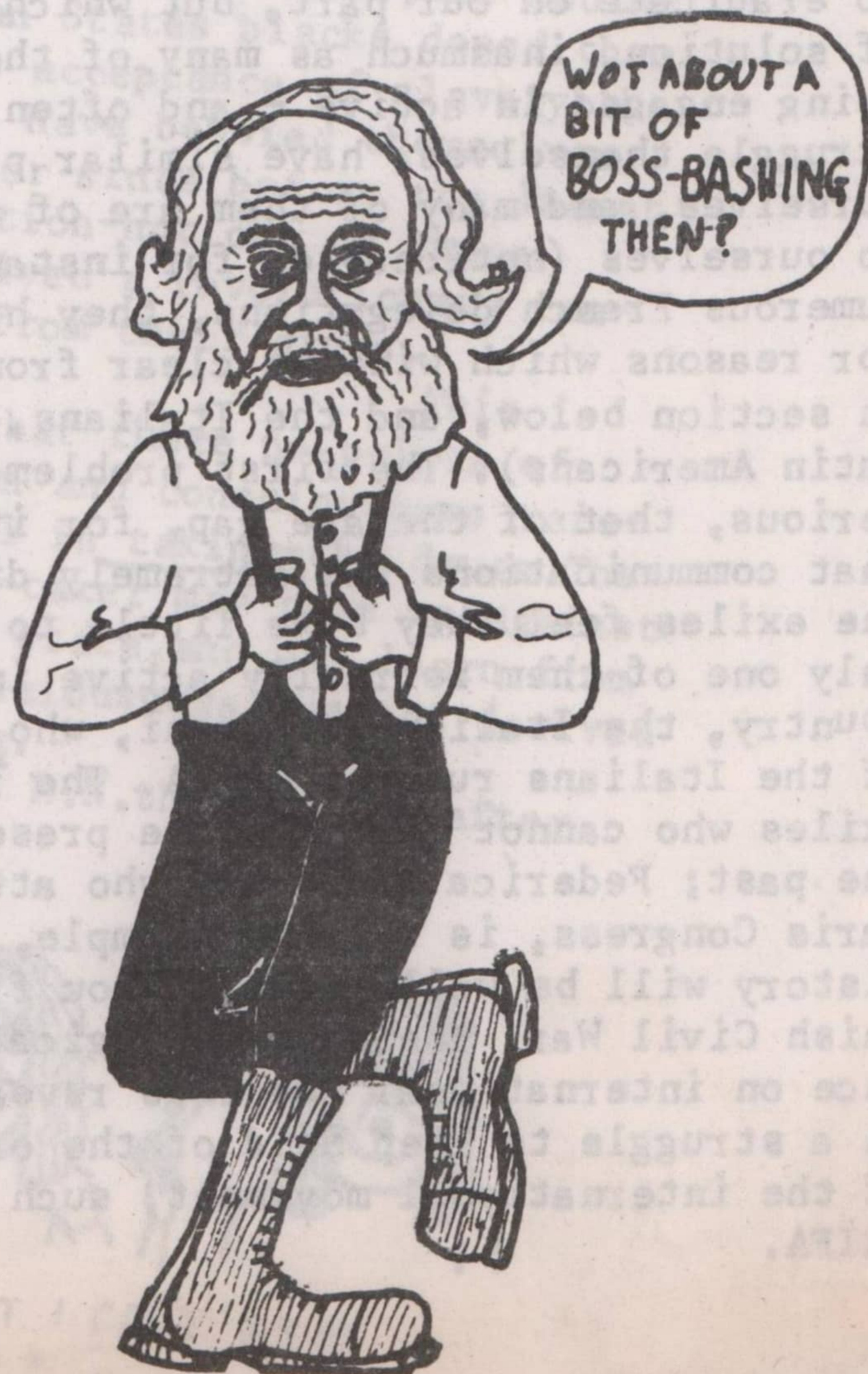
THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST MOVEMENT

Apart from the creation of CIRA, the anarchist library in Switzerland, the London Conference of 1958 produced little except an international bulletin which lasted for a few years and then expired. Round 1966 some of the French and the exiles living in France (the Spaniards and Bulgarians - F.A.Iberica and U.A.B. respectively) got together and formed a Preparatory Commission, of which the expressed aim was to summon another international conference. The Commission in which Guy Malouvier soon came to the fore as secretary and chief-dogsbody, issued a number of bulletins, including both subject matter for the forthcoming congress and historical information. This was the origin of the Carrarra conference in 1968, where Stuart Christie was the British delegate, and Cohn-Bendit, then making the headlines after the French events of May 1968, was also a British delegate.

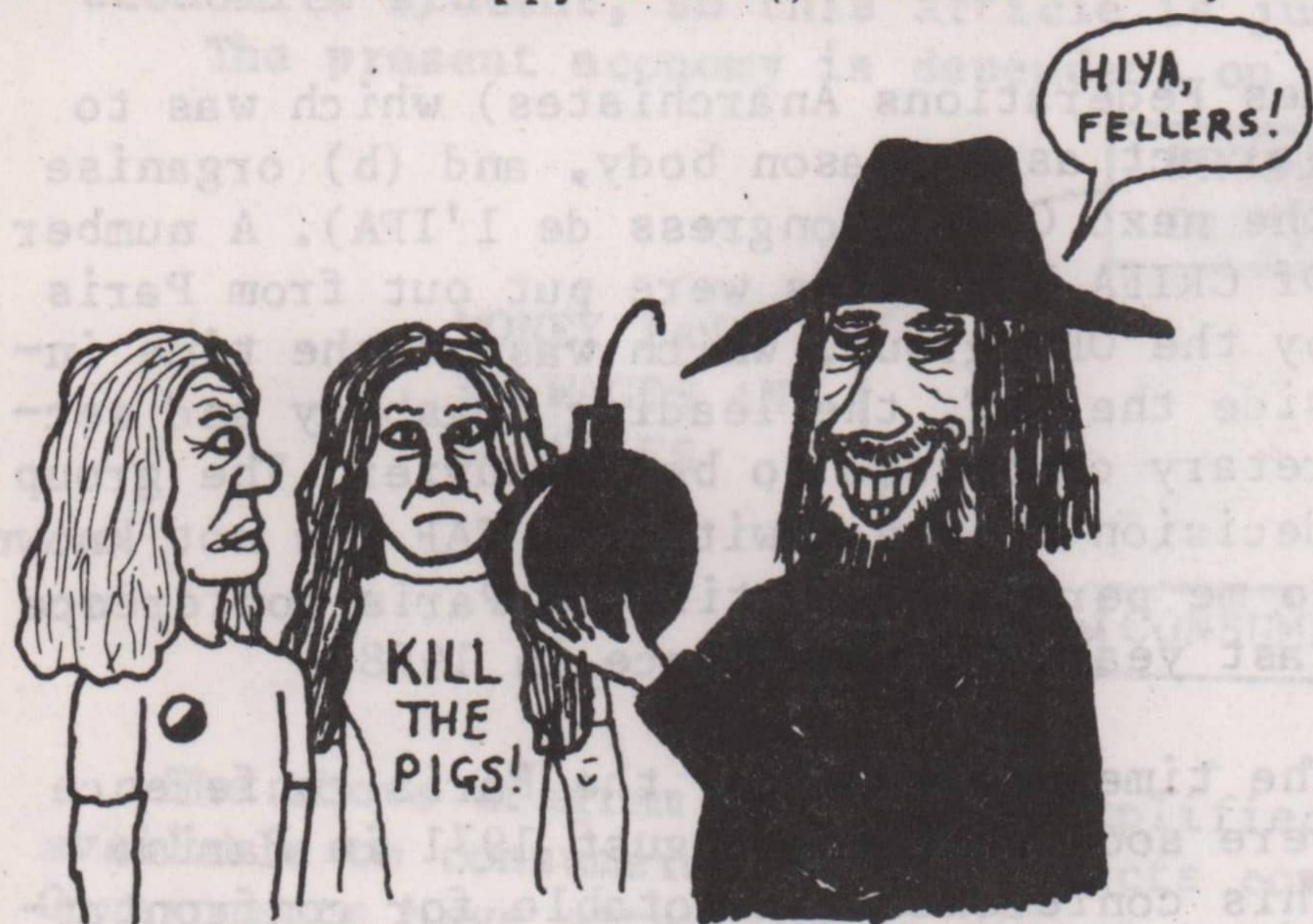
The reason for this latter rather odd state of affairs was that after initial discussion the Preparatory Commission had decided that the Congress should be open to delegates only from national Federations, except where a national movement did not possess such a federation, Cohn-Bendit, as a spontaneist, was not a member of the Federation Anarchiste Francaise, and thus could only attend Carrarra as a member of a 'foreign' delegation - the FAF refused to have him. The Cohn-Bendit 'scene' and Stuart's walkout followed in the course of the congress, which accomplished little, apart from a small brochure on the future society and also Marxism-Leninism, published by the Spaniards. It was agreed on the last day of Carrarra to set up the CRIFA (Commission de Relations de l'Internationale

des Federations Anarchistes) which was to (a) act as a liason body, and (b) organise the next CIFA (Congress de l'IFA). A number of CRIFA bulletins were put out from Paris by the ORA group, which was at the time inside the FAF, the leading dogsbody and secretary continued to be Malouvier. The group's decision to break with the FAF was not known to me personally until the Paris conference last year (it took place in 1968).

The time and date for the Paris conference were soon settled, August 1971 in Paris. This conference was notable for confrontations on various levels, details of which have appeared already in the IAF bulletin published by ORA(GB) from Harlow last year. Here I will briefly summarise: (a) there was a generation gap, especially noticeable between the exiles (FAIb, UAB, the Mexican, Portuguese and others) and the groups legally active in their own countries (Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Scotland, Japan, Germany, most of the Italians, some of the French).



It was extremely difficult to get the exiles to understand that while we wished to learn from them, we would NOT be dominated by them. Unfortunately international congresses are enormously significant to the exile movement, far more so than their value to the anarchist movement in general; (b) there was a gap of temperament, between the anglo-saxons (the same youth groups as above less the Italians and the French), and the Latins (the exiles, some of the French, and the Latin Americans). This was reflected in a Latin regard for the Anglo-saxon movements to be generally the product of the hippy/underground culture, and



hence in traditional anarchist terms, 'soft'. This attitude has persisted since the congress. Many of the Nordic delegations didn't go for the histrionics which seem to characterise the public activity of our Latin comrades. We had a bellyful of this at the Paris Conference.

The second point is one which will take time to eradicate on our part, but which is capable of solution, inasmuch as many of the Latins, being engaged in active - and often dangerous - struggle themselves, have similar problems to ourselves, and many of them are of similar age to ourselves (noticeable, for instance in the numerous French delegations, they had three, for reasons which will be clear from the French section below, and the Italians, and the Latin Americans). The first problem is more serious, that of the age gap, for it is here that communications are extremely difficult. The exiles feel they have little to learn, and only one of them is really active in his own country, the Italian Marzocchi, who is now one of the Italians running CRIFA. The rest are exiles who cannot separate the present from the past; Federica Montseny, who attended the Paris Congress, is a prime example, and her history will be well known to you from the Spanish Civil War. Their psychological dependence on international meetings reveals itself in a struggle to keep hold of the organisation of the international movement, such as the CRIFA.

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It was they, and specifically the FAIb, who stymied the entire congress by attacking the Cuban delegation, not ideologically at first, but on a personal level, an elementary mistake one would have thought. This quarrel (one of the Cuban delegates had visited the wrong syndicalists, breakaway from the FAI, when in Spain: this got hopelessly mixed up with accusations that the Cuban report presented to the Congress was reformist) occupied no less than 2 of the 4 days of the Congress. Requests from the Anglo-saxons for next business were repeatedly ignored by the chairman, who would not call a vote, even at our request. A commission was set up to 'judge' the Cubans, consisting of exiles and Latin Americans, who, not surprisingly, censured the Cubans. Thus the exiles kept control of the congress, but the congress itself, additionally troubled by French quarrels which were not its province, foundered. In keeping with the shell it had become, the exiles voted that the Italians take over the CRIFA. This largely means Marzocchi, who was the only Italian speaker during this conference, remarkable considering there were round half a dozen Italian delegates - all young - there with him. My remarks about Marzocchi should not be taken as a personal attack on him, for he is personally very easy to get on with, and has a fine anti-Fascist record, but he does unfortunately typify many of the drawbacks of the exiles.

The CRIFA, given to the Italians on the last day of the Congress, had put out one bulletin & one circular, the latter announcing that they are thinking of giving it up because no one apart from the exiles & both ORAs writes to them. For international relations, this is a great pity, but it's understandable. The case of the Danes is typical: nine of them were at Paris: great people to talk to, thoroughly pissed off with the antics of the exiles. None of them could speak French, but most could speak English. Their requests for English translation were often, but not always ignored. No wonder they didn't write to the CRIFA.

THE FRENCH MOVEMENT

The present & recent past situation of the French movement is to say the least, confused. The information on which this is based is reasonably accurate up to the beginning of April this year.

We have traditionally thought of the FAF as the main French anarchist movement, as its name implies. This is, however, no longer the case, in my opinion. Over the last 6 or 7 years many groups have left it, including the ORA, which was originally a Parisian group within the FAF. Some of the complaints

directed against it may well seem incredible, but to date I have received no information which would make me doubt them. The leading group in the FAF is, & has been for some time, the Groupe Louise Michel in Paris, in which the leading light is Maurice Joyeux (he clashed with John-Bendit at the Carrara Congress). Together with the Groupe Kropotkine & the Groupe Agniere, they are the FAF in Paris. The FAF paper, "Le Monde Libertaire" publishes a short (by our standards) list of provincial groups, but the latter seem to have little influence (allegedly little interest) in the formation of FAF policy. There are accusations from the other French groups of close links of the FAF especially Joyeux & other leading lights) with the Force Ouvrier, which has swung to the Right along with the Socialist Party, with which it has traditionally associated in the past (the formerly Christian CFDT is generally held to be considerably to the Left); links are also alleged with the Masons. While these accusations may well be true, I have not enough information to give a definite view.

The rest of the French movement is largely made up of groups which have walked out of the FAF, & these fall into two main groups, firstly the ORA, who, in reaction to the ideological swamp of the FAF (similar to the AFB, but with considerably more power, eg a monthly paper - above & de facto control of a bookshop, Librairie Publico), have set up a very tight organisation, of which you will have heard something at York. Organisationally between these two focal points are the Tribune Anarchiste Communiste, & a number of autonomous groups, some on the left, some on the right, including some in Paris round a second bookshop, also the UFA (Union Federale Anarchiste). The movement is also shot through with personal quarrels, yet numbers are not insignificant - two monthly newspapers, with a possible circulation of 16,000 & at least two bookshops in Paris. The splits and personality quarrels were going on before May 1968, and have continued unabated since. What the May events did was to increase enormously the numbers involved.

I should say something about the Strasbourg affair as this throws light on the reasons for the attitudes of some of the non-

FAF groups. In theory, the Librairie Publico is under control of the FAF annual conference, which alone can hire & fire its manager. For some time, the Groupe Louise Michel seems to have been doing this. When it became apparent that the GLM wanted rid of the present incumbent the Groupe Voline in Strasbourg proposed the calling of a special conference, only to learn that 2 weeks later that she had been turfed out by the GLM. As the Groupe Voline had at a previous FAF conference been mandated to produce the internal bulletin, they not unnaturally decided to include some of their own stuff on this issue. In March this year, one of the GV members gave a critique of the FAF at a Strasbourg group meeting. Incredibly there appeared a commando from the Paris FAF in Strasbourg, which went to the house where most of the stencils were ready & seized them along with other ready material, & took them away. This information is based on material from Strasbourg. The Groupe Voline have since left the FAF. It could be a put up job, but I don't think so.

CONCLUSION.

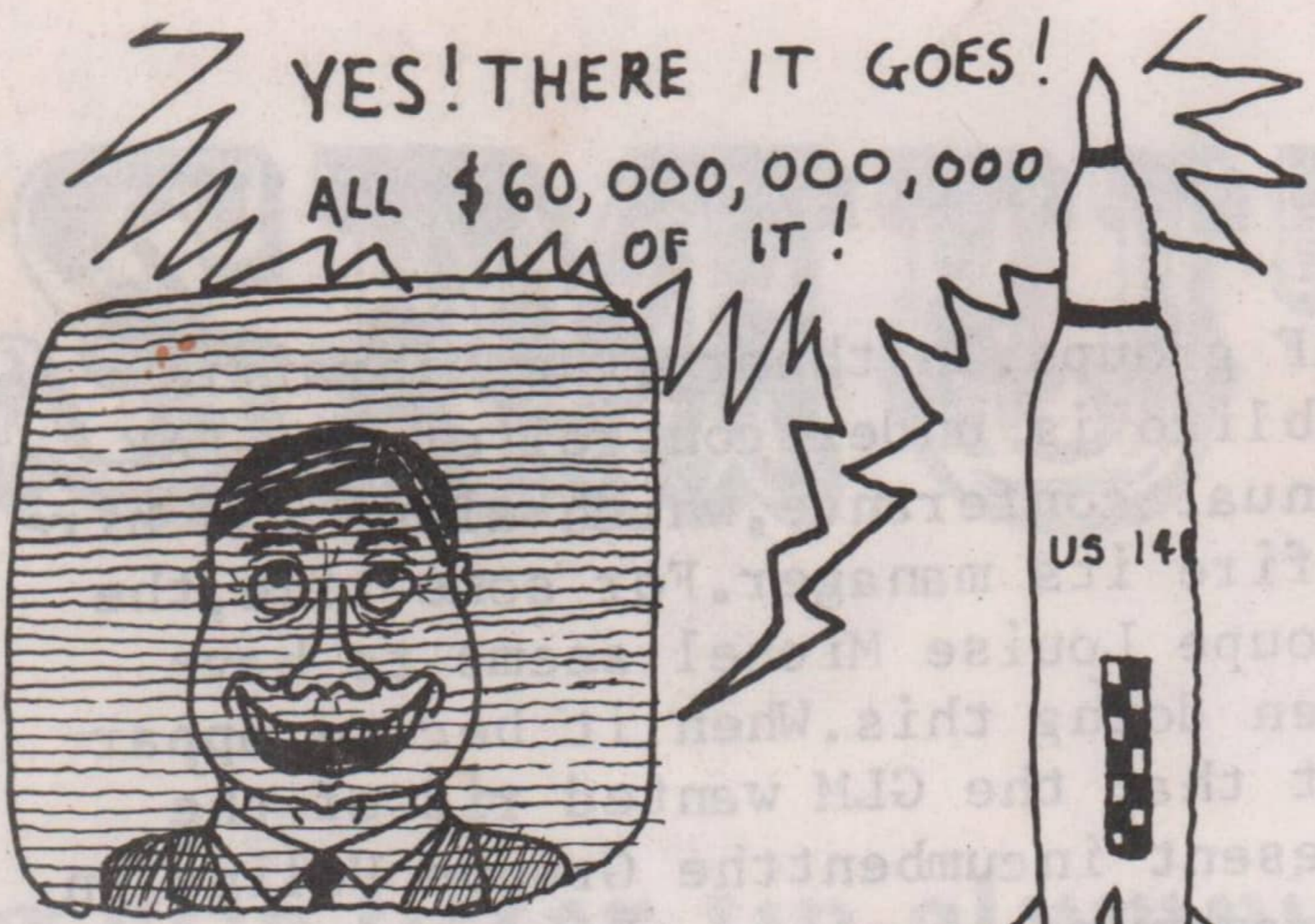
What I have been doing.

After an initial period of difficulty due to non-receipt of material which lasted up to March, I am behindhand with both contacts & translations. Laurens Otter is dealing with the American stuff, myself with the rest. We must decide whether to go to the CRIFA conference at Carrara early next year. I suggest yes but it should be held in Northern Europe, perhaps Holland or Germany.

I sent out Stoke Newington 8 pamphlets to France, Italy, Belgium, Norway, Denmark and Germany at North London ORA's request. No feedback yet. Finally I suggest we send a token contribution to CRIFA. I don't agree with them but they are performing a service of international relations. I will send £2 from the ORA funds unless I meet violent(?) opposition.

International Secretary.

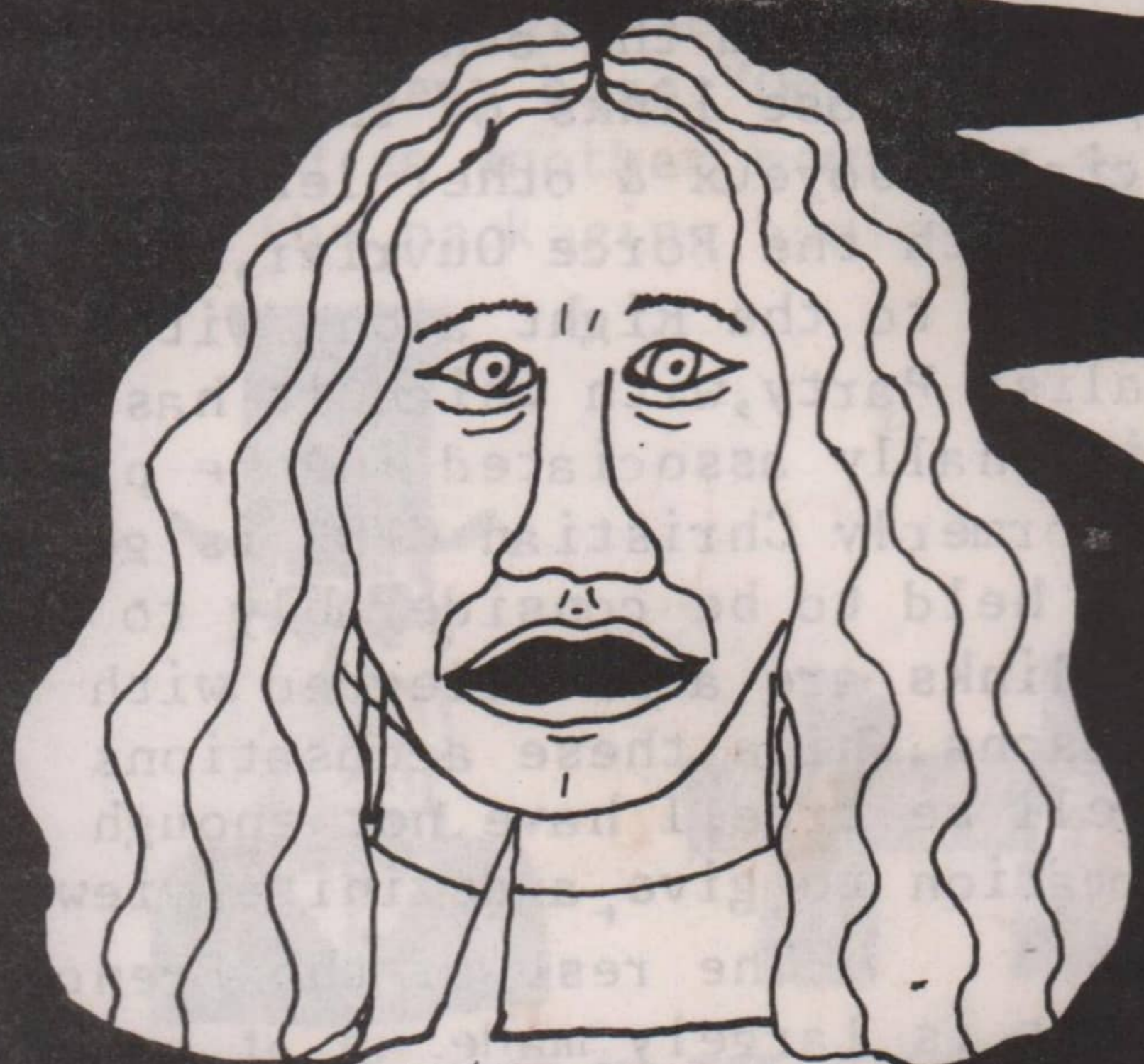




YES, "VOMIT" GIVES OUR DOG THE MOURNFUL LOOK WE LIKE.



SEXIST PIGS!



I WANNA BE LIBERATED!

WE CAN NEITHER LIVE NOR LOVE UNDER OPPRESSION!



IS THE DINNER READY, DEAR?

DIABOLIC ACTOR EXHUMES CORPSE!
I DID IT FOR A LAUGH SPEAKS OUT!
I EAT SHIT - P.P.
VOMIT INCREDIBLE PORK SCENES IN NEW FILM!
I SPEWED UP! - P.P.

IT'S FAR TOO LATE TO STOP US

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