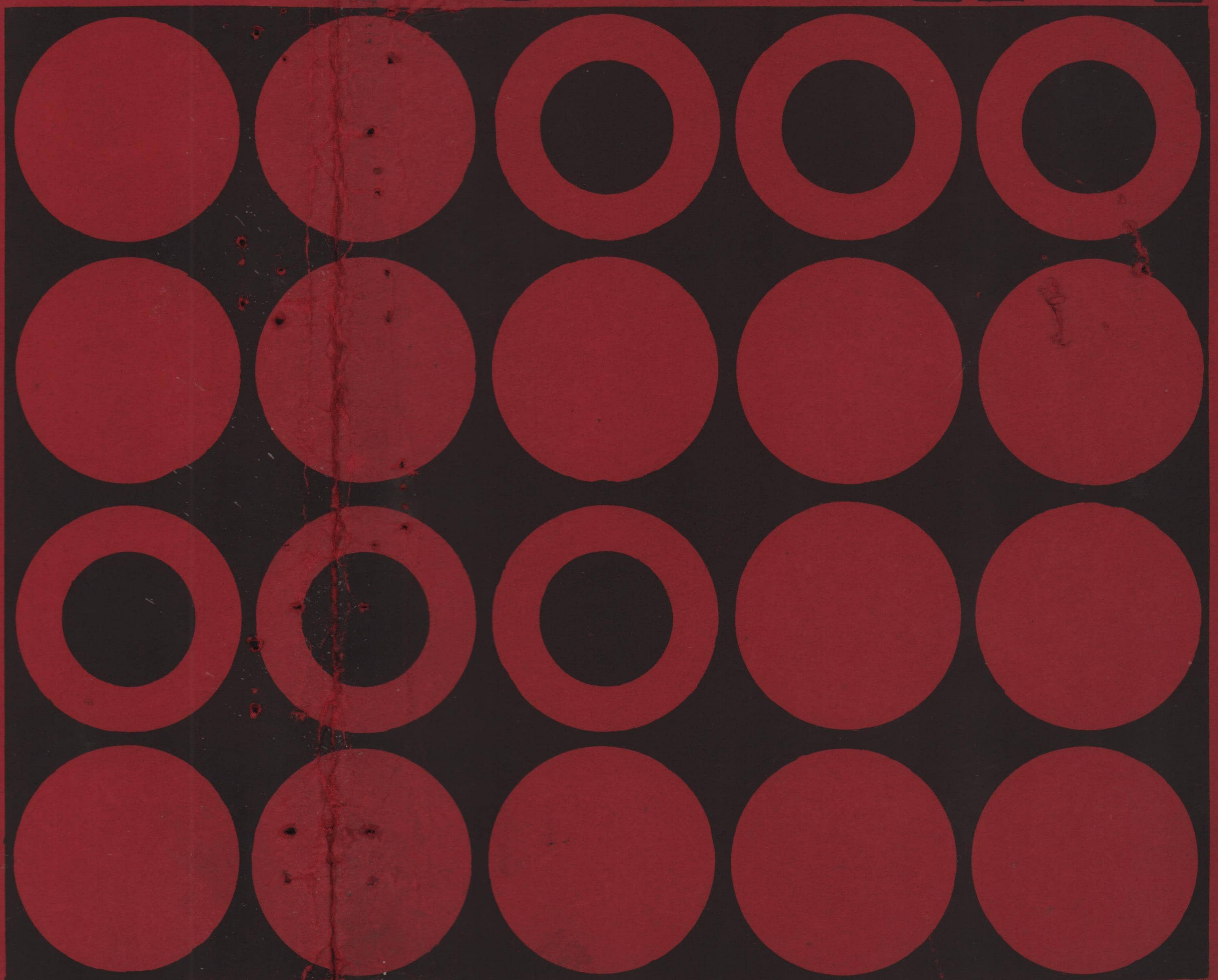


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oxan



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The federation of Oxon Anarchists comprises the Oxford University & the Witney Anarchist groups, & is open to any other groups in the county to affiliate, the editorial secretaries will put anyone who requests in contact with either group.

The editorial secretaries accept no responsibility for the eccentric spelling of the compilers of English Dictionaries, or for the Grammar & Syntax of Messers Fowler.

ABC of Anarchism .

Anarchism teaches that we can live in a society where there is no compulsion of any kind.

A life without compulsion naturally means liberty; it means freedom from being forced or coerced, a chance to lead the life that suits you best.

You cannot lead such a life unless you do away with the institutions that curtail your liberty and interfere with your life, the condition that compels you to act differently from the way you really would like to.

What are those institutions and conditions? Let us see what we have to do away with in order to secure a free and harmonious life. Once we know what has to be abolished and what must take its place, we shall also find the way to do it.

What must be abolished, then, to secure liberty?

First of all, of course, the thing that invades you most, that handicaps or prevents your free activity; the thing that interferes with your liberty and compels you to live differently from what would be your own choice.

That thing is the government.

Take a good look at it and you will see that government is the greatest invader; more than that, the worst criminal man has ever known of. It fills the world with violence, with fraud and deceit with oppression and misery. As a great thinker once said, "its breath is poison." It corrupts everything it touches.

Government means violence and it is evil.

extracted from "ABC of Anarchism"
by Alexander Berkman.

The Anarchist Press.
Laurens Otter & Harvey Mellor.

All movements as they grow develop needs for new organizational forms, and by definition no form of organization (suitable for the particular circumstances which gave it birth) can be suitable for all conditions.

Within the broad framework of anarchism and libertarian socialism a variety of currents coexist: at times it is essential to emphasize one of these but not at all times; at times it is essential that two or more work in harmony, at times the over-emphasis of the distinction between them makes it easier for anarchism as a whole to grow.

There is no reason to suppose that because a political policy usurps the name anarchism, calls itself libertarian or socialist, it should necessarily be desirable; the views that Goldwater derived from Tucker and Josiah Warren, and those that Mussolini derived from Sorel and Stirner prove that not all interpretations of anarchism necessarily lead towards a free society. The dangers of the corruption of the term socialism are too obvious to need recounting and no doubt some socialists may some day find it convenient to disguise their authoritarianism with the word libertarian.

There may therefore be either tactical or ideological reasons for anarchist & libertarian internal dispute, & it is not always possible for anyone to be certain which is which.

The growth of organized anarchism over the last eight years, from being a miniscule esoteric sect of relics from an earlier anarchist movement serving as a haven for refugees from any serious political activity, to being a potentially significant force as it now is, has brought difficulties as it may well have been expected to do.

Prior to Suez-Hungary anarchists had got so used to being an insignificant sect that we had come to rationalize this & believe it to be desirable, & there was a dangerous element of intellectual elitism in most of us, & even the rare exceptions, had reduced their anarchism to a resistance to continued attacks on liberty & working class standards rather than positing social change seriously.

Fortunately this first series of difficulties is almost ended, though new ones are emerging. Therefore neither the organizational forms that existed six years ago, nor those, for which we then & subsequently struggled within the movement, are necessarily apposite; neither the virtual unity of all anarchist philosophies, which existed before the emergence of CND, nor the bitter debate between syndicalist & individualist currents during the heyday of the Committee of 100, (which was then fundamentally necessary to the propagation of anarchism,) is now appropriate. The lines of division now lie elsewhere.

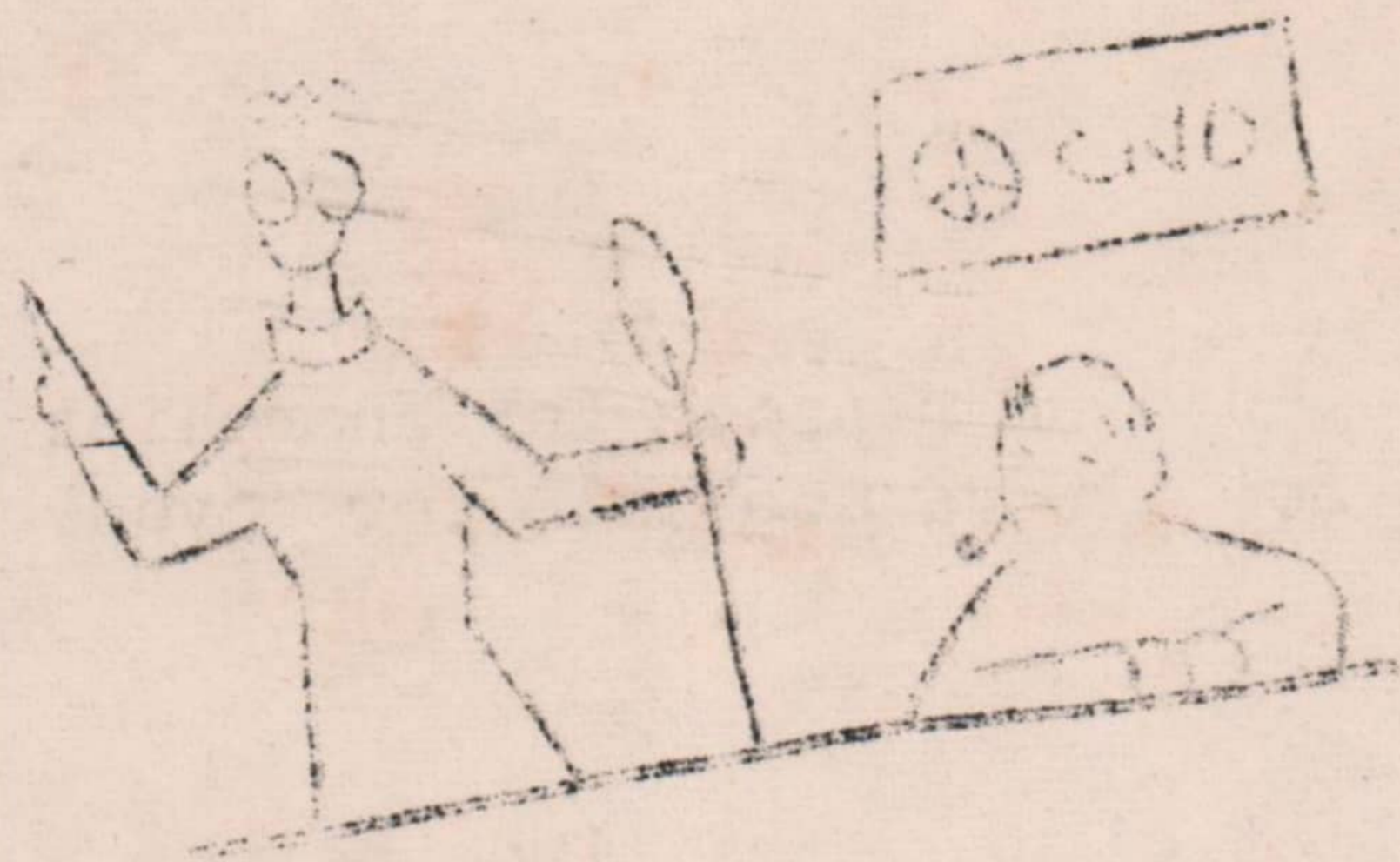
Freedom, since the change of editorship now represents all shades of revolutionary anarchism whether communistic or individualist.

The primary need is now for the more direct involvement in activity of anarchists not resident in London; this proceeds directly from the needs of an healthy movement as well as from anarchist belief in decentralization.

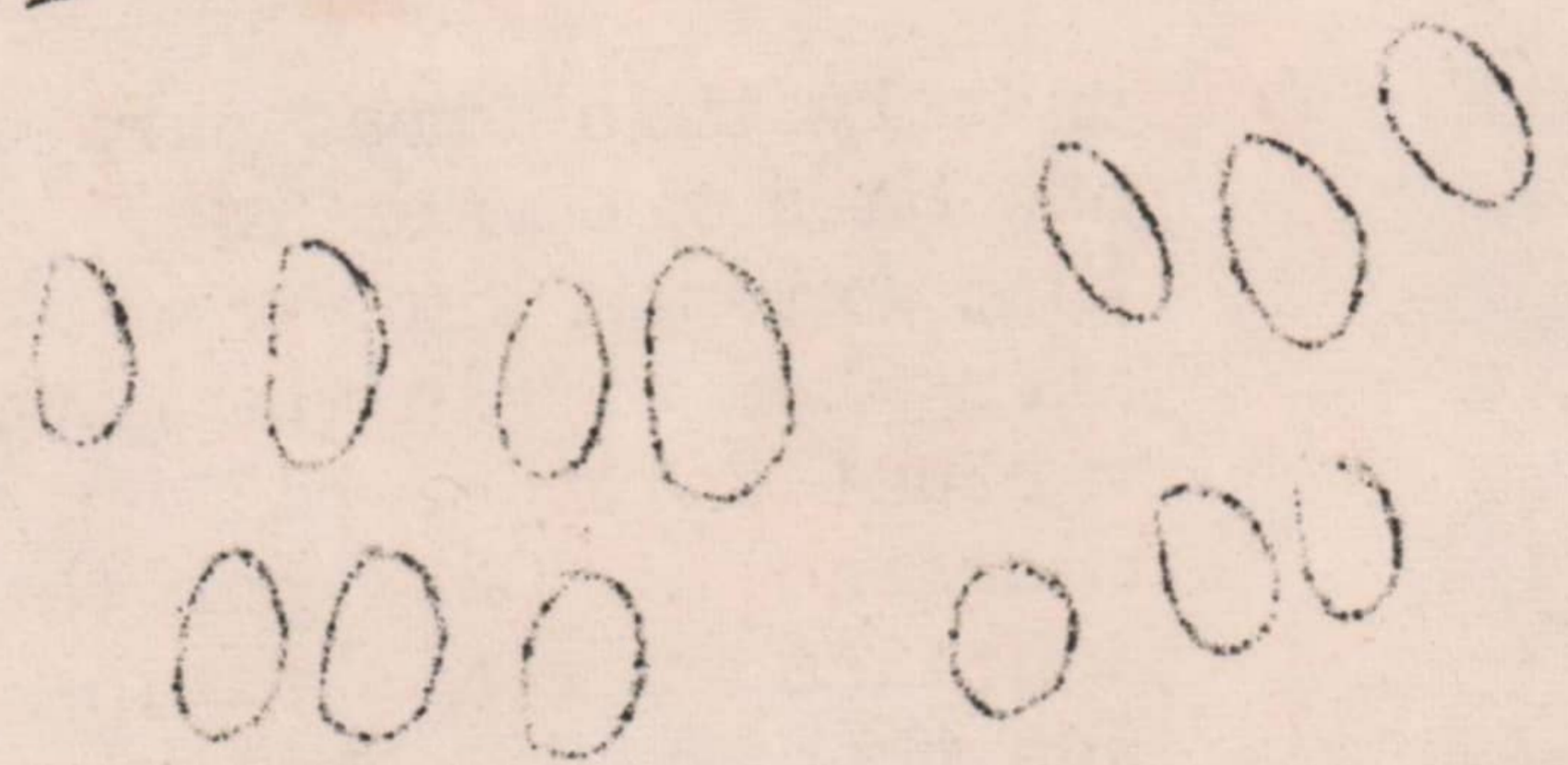
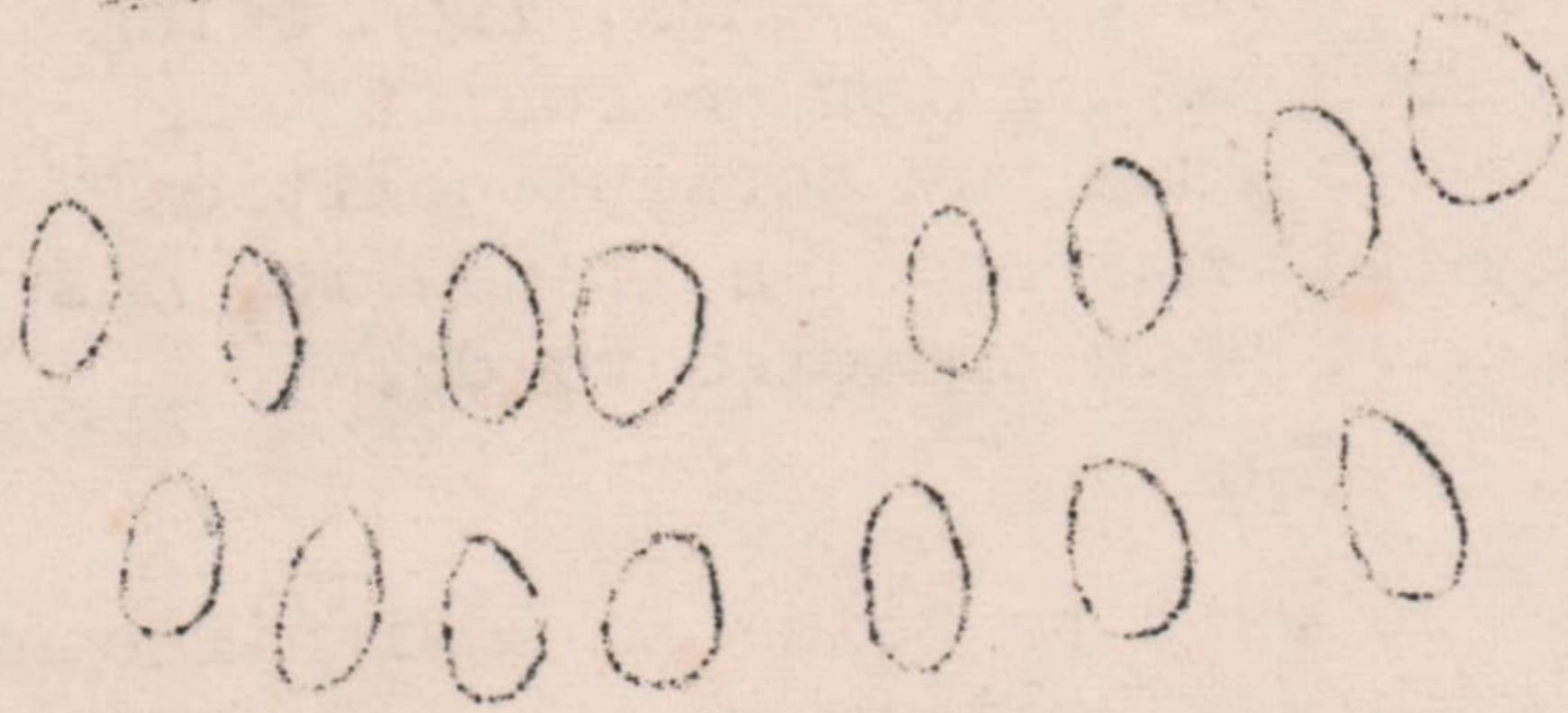
The best way to disseminate anarchism at this stage would be to see, as well as Freedom, papers grow up on a regional basis, giving articles of interest to people in their regions, - which by no means necessarily means articles only about doings in the region, but which does mean articles giving anarchist ideas in the context of what radicals in those regions are thinking. This should be supplemented by the various ideological currents publishing pamphlets to stress their particular contribution to anarchism, rather than by their doing this with national papers.

Therefore while welcoming the launching of the "Libertarian" as a new libertarian paper, we believe that it & other main current anarchist papers (such as Solidarity & Direct Action,) have more to offer as papers on the local level & their most useful ideological contribution would be in the form of a greater production of pamphlets, both having in the past produced many good ones. Minus One which is consciously & determinedly a minority current within anarchism has no doubt a distinct *raison d'etre* - though it has not yet discovered form or content to provide this.

Successfully or no Oxan was designed to meet the needs of the anarchist movement in Oxfordshire; where the largest town in the county revolves firstly round the University & only secondly round Cowley, & even those residents of the town or county who are in no way connected with the University are affected by the general academic atmosphere.

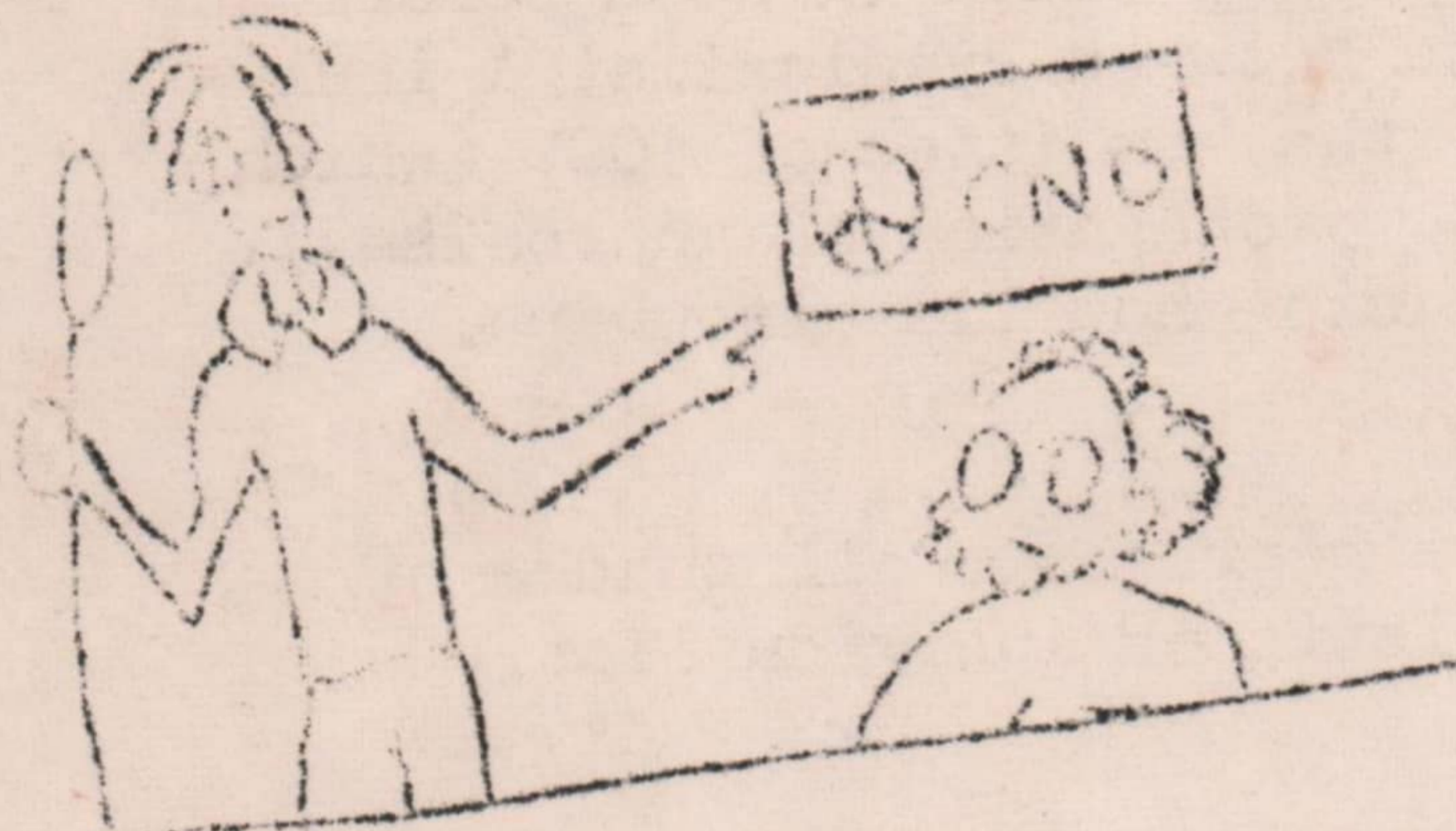


LEADERS HIT



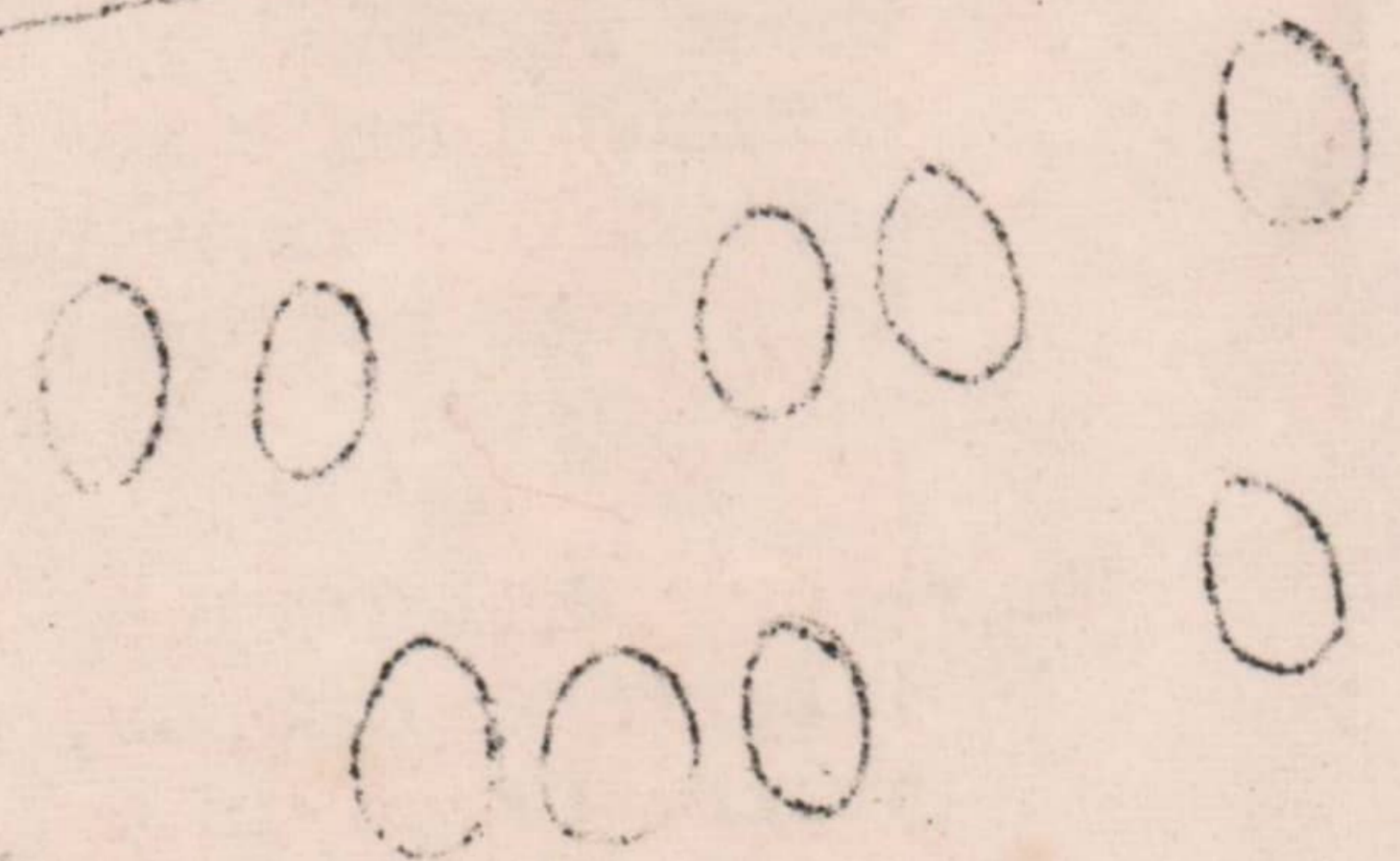
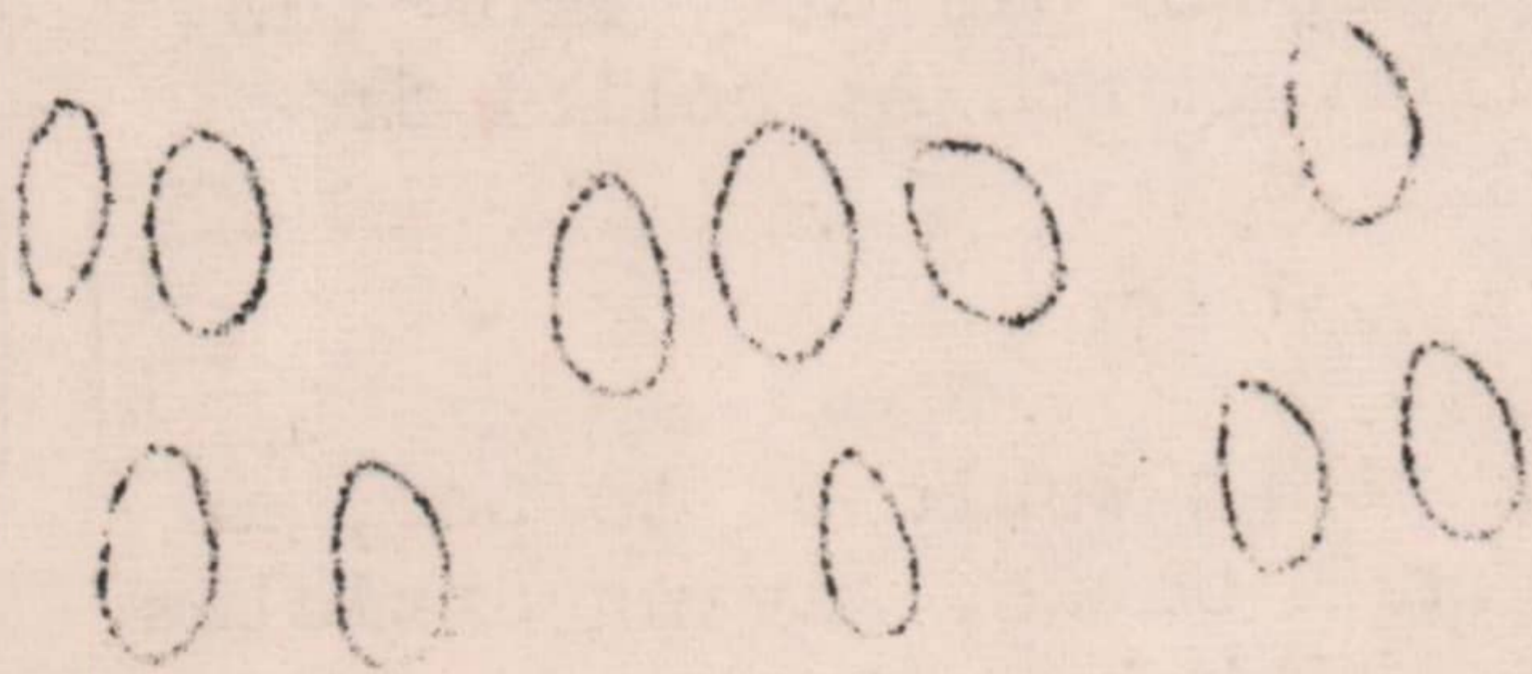
The bomb is the major issue in British politics today.

No the Voters' veto is undemocratic, it & Civil Disobedience denote a cynicism with Parliament which leads to fascism.

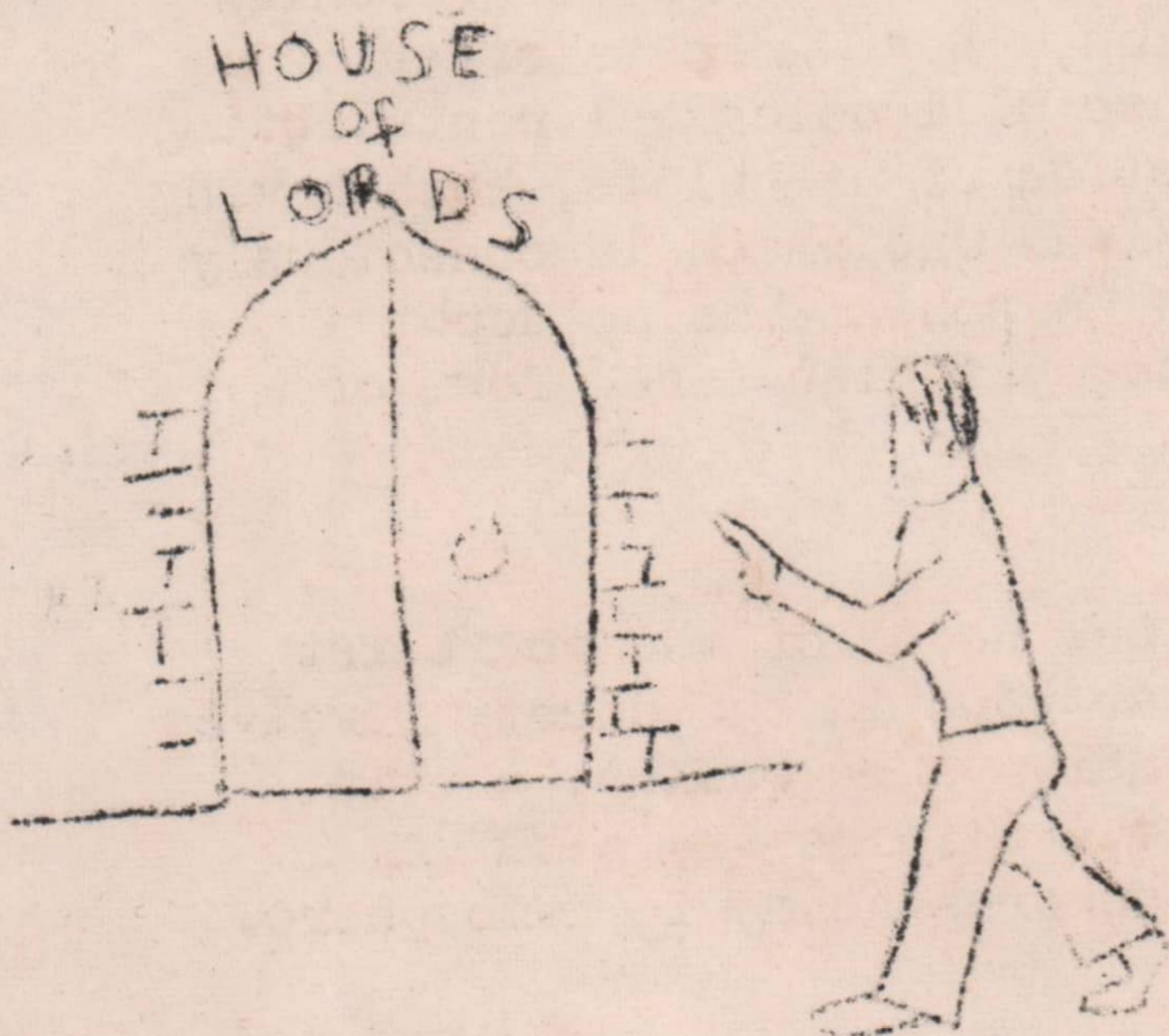


I must ask you to resist the idea of strikes for political purposes, they denote....

We do not want the Campaign's name tainted by the treasonable & riotous rabble at the RSGs or in Whitehall.



Moone opposes the Vietnam War more than I, but I cannot see that anything is served by losing us Hull North & endangering the Government.



well cheerio I go this way.

Steiffer

The nature of the anarchist paper in Oxfordshire should therefore be more theoretical than it might need to be elsewhere. As part of its propagandist role rather than out of any love of theory merely for its own sake it must meet the objections to anarchism which might reasonably be made by those who are sympathetic but not convinced; & must discuss points at a deeper level than at the moment is done elsewhere.

We make no apology to those in the movement, (whether syndicalist or individualist who are for once agreed,) who told us that Oxan is too long & should be pruned or that it is heavy going. It is designed to publish the sort of article for which there can be (for reasons of space) no other vehicle in the movement; designed to publish articles, not primarily for the person who has never heard of our ideas before, (these can be reached by single sheet hand-out leaflets) but for the person who already buys Freedom and Peace News from us and says "Yes, but..."; for the person who *but thinks* is perhaps already convinced of the need for social change, anarchist means have no chance of success; for those who think our refusal to work in the Labour Party is mere ivory towerism; even for those who already describe themselves as anarchist but as yet see no reason to be drawn into anarchist activity.

For this reason the Editors do not believe they have the right to edit the views of contributors - our function is to provide and stimulate debate and choice of material is governed by space and therefore cash - publication of an article in no way suggests editorial agreement.

Oxan will give a permanent expression to the sorts of arguments and thinking carried on in the group or by individuals in it and so perhaps lead to further discussion.

Oxan and Synicalism.

Laurens Otter

As one who believes that, in the last analysis, only a struggle at the point of production counts in changing society, I would still argue that the sort of theory which Oxan now discusses will at some stage be necessary to all sections of the Anarchist movement.

Managerialism differs from the Capitalism of the days of Marx and Bakunin in that the workers can no longer remember the days when the growth of Capitalism cheated them of their status as individual artisans and turned them into proles.

Industry has grown to the stage when it is no longer so obvious that the worker could himself control it. One cannot conceive of a workers' council comprising all the workers in a modern car factory discussing the running of anything democratically. Such a meeting would not be a conference, still less an executive meeting, but a rally. Industrial workers are for the most part conditioned and brainwashed not to realise that they can run industry without management. Even when they see that as a result of working to rule they bring production to a halt, thus proving that they normally organise their jobs by common-sense rather than outside direction.

In Marx's day the natural antipathy of the worker towards Capitalist exploitation and the contradictions thereof, inherent in the boom-slump cycle, transformed him inevitably at the point of production, from an industrial militant to the sort of revolutionary who built the syndicalist movement. Now this transformation no longer follows

either logically or dialectically unless the worker achieves outside his place of work values suggestive of a free society.

Therefore while rejecting the elitist assumption (given for instance in the New Left "Towards Socialism") that the worker can not achieve socialism except with the aid of the intelligentsia; we believe that the worker needs to find theory in order to understand society as it exists and how the managerial structure functions. It is not part of natural consciousness (as it was in the last century) that the privileged are parasites.

The "Middle Class" anarchist has therefore an important role to play in spreading understanding of society, in acting to highlight the contradictions in modern society - which are generally of national and social violence. In these circumstances syndicalism is not the only anarchist philosophy which can contribute to the growth of a healthy industrial anarchist movement - those individualist anarchists who, despite themselves, help to increase understanding of the evils of managerialism, contribute to the growth of anarcho-syndicalism; while those syndicalists who ignore the changes in class society and the fact that much of modern production is unnecessary if not directly harmful, retard such growth.

The illusions of Anarchism. Adam Buick.

The last issue of Oxan had no less than three references to the "SPGB" - the Socialist Party of Great Britain for those who may not know. Misconceptions as to what the Socialist Party advocates, what it does & what it considers as its function are as common among anarchists as among other sections of the population. Many anarchists assume that the SPGB is just another "parliamentary socialist" group aiming to come to power & form a government. This, of course is a load of nonsense. The Socialist Party advocates conscious, majority, political action to achieve socialism. Socialist society will be world-wide community which will know no frontiers, wages, profits or buying & selling; there will be no social classes & hence no need for the public power of coercion (i.e. State.) The means of wealth production will be owned in common & subject to democratic social control. Production will be carried on purely & simply to satisfy human needs.

Both Anarchism & Scientific Socialism were products of the 19th Century European (bourgeois) revolutionary movement. In its revolutionary days the Capitalist Class:

- denounced monopoly & class domination of the land;
- denounced despotic kings who used state power to oppress "the people";
- advocated a revolution to overthrow kings & to establish a Republic in which the people would be sovereign (i.e. democracy.)

The left-wing of this revolutionary movement transferred this criticism from the land & the Monarchy to the wealthy capitalists; they, just as much as the King & landed nobility held the people in subjection; they too lived off the backs of those who worked. These revolutionaries took over the language & ideas of the bourgeoisie but used them against the latter. To distinguish themselves from ordinary Jacobins they talked of the "social revolution" which would establish "the social republic" & "social-democracy". It was from these that Anarchism & Scientific Socialism emerged.

The French revolutionaries had no precedent to fall back on when drawing up their theories except Classical Antiquity. Thus they spoke of

dictatorship (a Roman political institution) of the Proletariat, plebeians, patricians etc. They also shared the non-evolutionary or Great Man theory of history & politics. WILL could do almost everything; a new social order could be made by decree just as Lycurgus was supposed to have drawn up the constitution of Sparta. This outlook was shared by partisans of the social revolution. They too saw the new society they wanted as the product of will: it was to be made & not to be the product of social-evolution. Hence in practice their activities were purely political-secret societies, barricades & the like.

In 1848 these social revolutionists had some success with the proclamation of the second French Republic. Some became ministers, universal suffrage was introduced, but the people merely chose to elect as president a nephew of Napoleon! As a result those who advocated democracy & universal suffrage lost influence. Two opposing views competed for the attention of the revolutionaries.

The first was the idea of revolutionary dictatorship; the people were so degraded by the despotism to which they were subject that only a minority could understand the situation, it was the duty of this minority to overthrow the old order & establish a dictatorship. This dictatorial power was to be used to abolish by decree money, religion & all the other features of the old order that enslave

Opposing this view was that of the anarchists. They too held that the people were too degraded by despotism to understand themselves; the work of destroying the old order must be the work of a conscious minority. But this minority was merely to smash all the instruments & symbols of oppression; it was not to form a government - democratic or revolutionary, for all government (in fact all permanent institutions) were supposed to be a drag on the social revolution, leading in the end to the establishment of a new despotism. This theory that "all Government is a drag on the Revolution" follows from the assumption that only a minority knows what they want. Thus Kropotkin writing in 1880:

"The Revolution bursts out long before a General understanding has come, & those who have a clear idea of what should be done the next day are only a very small minority. The great mass of the people have as yet only a general idea of the end which they wish realized, without knowing much how to advance towards that end, nor having much confidence in the direction to follow..... This is the situation which is reflected in a body elected by universal suffrage.... The few men who represent the revolutionary idea of the epoch find themselves swamped among the representatives of the revolutionary schools of the past, & of the existing order of things. These men, whose presence among the people is so necessary, particularly in the days of the revolution, to broadcast their ideas, to put the mass in movement, to demolish the institutions of the past, find themselves shut up in a hall vainly discussing how to wrest concessions from the moderates, & how to convert their enemies, while there is really only one way of inducing them to accept the new idea - namely to put it into execution."

("Revolutionary Government" page 6
Freedom Press edition.)

Thus for Kropotkin, the overthrow of the old order only required understanding by a minority of revolutionists, (though, of course, the creation of the new order in all anarchist theories has always been left to everybody cooperating voluntarily.) This position of Kropotkin's was continued in those places where anarchism was a mass movement. This was still the conception of "alatesta in

the 1920's and of many Spanish anarchists today. Thus Malatesta wrote in 1920:

"The task of the conscious minority is to profit from every situation to change the environment in a way that will make possible the education and spiritual elevation of the people, without which there is no real way out".

And in 1921:

"The great majority of Anarchists, if I am not mistaken, hold the view that human perfectibility and anarchy would not even in a few thousand years, if first one did not create by the revolution, made by a conscious minority, the necessary environment for freedom and well-being"

("Malatesta, Life and Ideas"
p.154)

Bakunin too denied that majority understanding was necessary. In his view the peasant masses (especially the Latins and Slavs who had not been corrupted by industrial capitalism) were revolutionary and socialist by "instinct". He spoke of the "instinctive passion of the masses for economic equality". These instincts were prevented from working themselves out by the State. Thus the task of revolutionists was obvious: "the demolition of political institutions, of political power, of government in general, of the State". This would unleash a "spontaneous" revolution. Bakunin also spoke of secret societies as a "revolutionary general staff"

"Revolutions are never made by individuals, or even by secret societies... All a well-organized society can do is... to organize not an army (the people must always be the army) but something like a revolutionary general staff, consisting of devoted, energetic, educated individuals... capable of acting as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the instincts of the people "

(Quoted by Th. Dan in "The Origins of Bolshevism" p.83)

Other anarchists spoke of "natural laws". Thus one anarchist on trial in Paris in 1891 says in his defence (probably written by Sebastian Faure) that with the abolition of all government

"natural law will substitute itself without effort for artificial laws; for, don't forget, gentlemen, that Anarchy is the free play among humanity of natural laws, or, more precisely, since I want to avoid this word "law" of the natural forces which rule the whole Universe"

(Ravachol et Les Anarchistes,
Collection Archives, p.31)

In France at this time appears another variety of anarchism, revolutionary unionism or anarcho-syndicalism. At one time the General Confederation of Labour (CGT) was putting into practice these principles: direct action, "no politics", sabotage, general strike. By direct action was meant action by the workers on the economic field for both economic and political (i.e. reforms) ends. As was pointed out at the time this direct action was "reformism by blows, but still reformism". In this respect it is interesting to note that the CNT in Spain has a reform programme of "immediate objectives":

"workers' control of industry; agrarian reform; the abolition of military service; free primary, secondary and higher education;

the socialisation of housing; provision for infants and the aged; and consumers and producers municipal and district planning councils"

(May Day message 1962,
WORLD LABOUR NEWS July-August '62)

Some however saw the general strike as the weapon to overthrow capitalism. In "Syndicalism and the Co-operative Commonwealth" two prominent anarchists E.Pataud and E.Pouget describe how they think the "social revolution" will come about. A "revolutionary situation" arises when some workers are shot during a building strike; as a result a general strike breaks out leading in the end to the overthrow of the old order. However the new society is threatened by capitalist armies from abroad; these are easily dealt with by committees using Hertzian rays (the ultimate deterrent of the period) and germ warfare! Once again, the overthrow of the old order requires no understanding or even planning (save perhaps for some anti-militarist propaganda). The insurrection of traditional anarchism was replaced by the "social general strike".

Modern Anarchism in Britain today though it uses many of the arguments of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta and others really derives from another brand of anarchism: philosophical anarchism and Utopian socialism. It can - and has been - argued that anarchism necessarily implies pacifism. If you reject the theories of "revolutionary instinct" and "natural laws" being held back by the State then the idea of a violent destruction of the State loses its point for there is no reason to believe that it would automatically lead to the type of society anarchists would like to see. Thus propaganda and preparation become all important: anarchist society is offered as a moral ideal worth striving for; a society which can only be established once people want it. Once filled with anarchist ideas people can set about making the revolution in a peaceful, non-violent way. To do this they need not worry about the State machine: all that is necessary is a withdrawal of support from it. This anarcho-pacifism, though by and large it fails to recognise it, is completely opposed to insurrectionism and syndicalism. Its one great defect is its Utopianism: Anarchist society is offered as an unhistorical ideal to be realised by men of good will. Nobody will deny that anarcho-pacifists have some useful ideas to contribute as to what society could be like, but this does not alter the fact that it is over a hundred years out of date. For Marx and Engels have long since established socialism on a scientific basis by showing: (1) how under capitalism production is becoming more and more socialised and how socialism is the next stage in social evolution, and, (2) that capitalism also creates a class of propertyless wage-workers who can only free themselves by establishing socialism. Thus socialist society (or anarchy) ceases to be an ideal; it is given a basis in material conditions and in the struggle of the working class; it is thus a class issue rather than a moral issue. It is a failure to recognise this that in the end leads anarcho-pacifists to reject political action. The lessons of history as to the necessity of political action are lost on them for after all for them socialism is not to be established by the working class but by classless anarchists.

The Socialist Party has also held that capitalism can only be overthrown by conscious, majority, political action.

1) Such action must be conscious because: the economic and social forces which are Capitalism can only be overcome by still stronger economic and social forces. Capitalist society by its very workings gives rise to these stronger forces in the form of the working class movement. Under capitalism the working class must struggle to live. In the early days of capitalism this class struggle was spontaneous and un-organized; then came organization on the economic

field and organization and struggle to obtain the vote. The next stage will be the emergence of a full understanding of how to overthrow capitalism. Capitalism will not gradually disappear through the unconscious working of economic forces as the Fabians believed. Nor can it be overthrown by political decree or act of parliament, as the Parliamentarians believe. It can only be overthrown by a determined and conscious struggle on the part of the working class.

2) Such action must be majority action for much the same reasons and because the working class make up a majority of the population.

3) Such action must be political because the capitalist class must be forced to give up their privileges. The State is the public power of coercion; at present it is controlled by the capitalist class through institutions like parliament. The capitalist class rule, i.e. control the State, through parliament. The struggle of the working class has forced the extension of the franchise to include all workers. The vote is an unqualified gain; it was won by struggle and sacrifice and is not something that could be taken away by mere decree. In view of this the Socialist Party maintains that once there is a socialist majority among the working class, this majority can use the gain that is the vote as an instrument for winning control of the State. Like the capitalist class, the working class can only control the State by organization: this is the function of a Socialist political party (an instrument rather than a vanguard). Those who are actually sent to take over the State will go as delegates of the Socialist majority. Even if they wanted to they would be no more able to declare their independence and establish a State despotism than could the civil servants or MPs of today for long declare their independence of the political control of the capitalist class. Once in control of the State power, the Socialist working class will use it to get the capitalists to give up their social privileges thus abolishing all classes. This done, the work of socialist reconstruction can go ahead with the active participation of all. After the overthrow of capitalism and class society, there will be no need for a public power of coercion, which will just be disbanded. Instead the centre, whatever form it takes, will have administrative functions only.

Anarchists raise various objections to this conception of the social revolution. One we have mentioned: those sent to take power will establish a new despotism. The other is that the capitalist class will never allow the take-over. Both these objections arise from the assumption, which we have already seen most anarchists to have held, that the overthrow of the old order is to be the work of a conscious minority. If only a conscious minority is involved both these dangers become very real. In fact where such a conscious minority has won power it has found itself the slave of social circumstances and has established a new despotism - as in Russia and in Cuba. And where such a minority is struggling for power, those in control of the State knowing that their opponents are a minority (with only the passive support of a majority, at best) have used the full force of the State against them. But the Socialist Party sees the social revolution as the work of a conscious majority, not of a minority. In these circumstances, these traditional objections fall, for the stronger becomes the socialist movement the more it acts as a restraining force on the capitalists (compare the way the French capitalists dealt with the Paris Commune of 1871 and the British capitalists with the General Strike of 1926. If the TUC of that period could exercise a restraining influence just think of the effect of a determined, Socialist majority!) The other Anarchist objection to the Socialist theory of conscious, majority, political action arises either from ignorance or dishonesty, that the Socialist Party are "parliamentary socialists" who will "come to power" like the Labour Party (or ILP) and legislate socialism into being. As stated above, the Socialist Party sees itself as the instrument which the working class can use to get State power; there is no question of forming a "socialist government" (whatever that might be). The working class political party needs State power not to try to manage the affairs of capitalism but to overthrow it altogether.

The Socialist Party has freed the theory of the social revolution from all ideas ultimately derived from bourgeois revolutions (e.g. violent insurrection, minority action, instinct, natural law, etc). Today the most convenient way for a Socialist majority to express itself and enforce its will on the capitalist class is through the State (Malatesta left this function to "numerous revolutionary groups"). Anarcho-pacifism has no alternative; in opposing it it relies on the arguments of the insurrectionists (whose assumption of minority action they claim to reject). They want to have their cake and eat it !

A Cake-Eating Democracy.

A reply to Adam Buick by Robert Barltrop.

What a run article: run, and disappointing. Surely, under the heading "Illusions of Anarchism", one expects some fairly coherent statement of what the illusions are and what makes them so ? I have a typed copy of Adam Buick's article in front of me. Of the five pages, three consist of what look suspiciously like lecture-notes (incomplete) on some well-known anarchist thinkers: the Main Stream of, from Bak. to Mal., &c. One more page is a statement of the SPGB case for the abolition of capitalism by parliamentary means. The single remaining page is devoted to a faint-damn-praise glance at anarcho-pacifism, and replying to two anticipated objections to the SPGB case. What were the illusions, then ? Where's the bit about anarchism ?

The disappointment is genuine, because there really are profound differences between anarchism and socialism. I say "profound" deliberately, because there are similarities too; but these are only on the surface, and looking at the surface produces what in the SPGB is called (I remember) confusionism. The apparent area of agreement is quite large. Anarchists and socialists alike look forward to the free, classless, moneyless society. Its attractions, and answers to the objections - human nature, who'd do the dirty work, and so on - are stated more or less identically by them.

To go closer still, the anarcho-syndicalist case (as expounded, for example, by P.S. in "Freedom") is scarcely distinguishable from that of the SPGB away from the point - crucially, it is true, and theme of many a debate - whether the revolutionary act is political or industrial. There can easily appear to be an affinity, an underlying commonness of purpose. I have already said I believe this to be no more than appearance, the differences to be grave and deep. The SPGB, whose ~~Principle~~ Principle lays down hostility to all other movements, lumps anarchism with the rest. If anarchists examine the real division, they can have no choice but to reciprocate and see the SPGB as only another crew on the roundabout with Conservative, Labour and all of them.

This has nothing to do with Buick's ingenuous asked-and answered piece about power. It involves, in fact, the clear opposition of anarchist and socialist attitudes. Anarchists and socialists claim equally to seek freedom and the end of social misery and conflict. But whereas the anarchist looks for and tries to create conditions of freedom here and now, besides for the future, the SPGB creates within capitalist society its own microcosm of

authority and its own weapons of enforcement. It is a rigidly disciplined organization demanding conformity and wielding a mighty rule-book. Adam Buick, for example, is not permitted to write in "Oxan" except to oppose anarchism. He cannot speak, likewise, on any platform except the SPGB's; or march or sit down, or stand up either. No doubt he doesn't wish to: but it's hardly the point.

If a man seeks freedom and values independence, is this what he joins? The SPGB will say that this is how it must be; that those are precisely the things we cannot get under capitalism. But it is not true. We can get them, even if only in small doses; we can, by fighting and hollering, get the doses increased. Most of us would think these better rations than the surrender of independence to an organization.

Moreover the gains have been made against the opposition of the SPGB as well as that of the ruling class. Buick, stating the SPGB case for political action, says: "The struggle of the working class has forced the extension of the franchise to include all workers. the vote is an unqualified gain; it was won by struggle and sacrifice..." Well, vis-a-vis Buick's gibe about cake, this is a real three-tier one. The gentle reader will be surprised to learn that the struggles for extension of the franchise were, and are, bitterly opposed by the SPGB. Before 1914 it jeered at the demand for completion of the male franchise and waged war on the suffragettes. Today it uses the same arguments against the negro civil rights movement in America. I have in front of me the "Socialist Standard" for September 1964. In it, a veteran American comrade describes with pride how he disabused a young enquirer of the idea that "the negroes' desire to acquire the franchise should entitle them to our support". By digging up a suffragette-period copy of the SPGB paper, he showed why "our movement would not be interested in supporting any part of it". Where were you in the struggle and sacrifice, daddy? On the other side, son.

Buick talks about anarchist "dishonesty" (rather weakly, since the view he calls "dishonest" is actually proposed by himself). Again, he ought to look nearer his own doorstep. I have another copy of the "Socialist Standard", for February 1965. Its extremely striking cover shows a gallows, with AWAY WITH THE HANGMAN blazoned across it in huge letters. Uninitiated buyers must have been surprised to find that the advertised article did not support Silverman's bill to abolish capital punishment, and in fact aimed chiefly to suggest that the abolitionists would have done better to concern themselves with other things.

Not that they would have earned SPGB support if they had done so. The article remarked bitterly that "we shall not be asked whether we want any more Bomb tests... The use of nuclear weapons has never been the subject of a plebiscite, and never will be." However, five pages later another article, "The Peace-mongers", states the SPGB's hostility to the nuclear-disarmament movement: "blind and emotional", "futile", "chasing after bombs" and heading for "disillusionment and disintegration".

The fundamental point, all the same, is where a policy is leading. The SPGB opposes every humane movement, spits in every hand reaching out for decency and amelioration, because it sees this as the only way. ("Serve the silly bastards right," said one member after the Sharpeville massacre. "They weren't fighting for Socialism".) From this point of view, indeed, it need hardly trouble to publish its analyses of current events, since the conclusions are foregone. I should like Adam Buick to tell me the significance of the admission in the 60th-anniversary "Socialist Standard" - page 140: "This is not to say that we have not made mistakes ... we did not dream of what the Nazis did to the Jews." Does this mean that the SPGB would have acted differently had they known?

What difference would it have made ? I want an answer, please.

Nevertheless, there is a case. If the purpose merits, then other things must be set aside; if it is paramount, the drive towards it must be so single-minded as to sound unpalatable. Where, then, is the SPGB aiming ? Adam Buick tells us ; so do sixty years of the "Socialist Standard", in which (so there can be no disclaiming) the Party speaks with one voice.

Buick says : "The State is the public power of coercion." The SPGB's proposal is that it will, by spreading understanding, have the working class "muster under its banner" and obtain a parliamentary majority. This majority will then have control of "the public power of coercion", and will use it for the immediate revolutionary act of abolishing capitalism and establishing Socialism. Thus the SPGB Principles :

"... The working class must organize consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic."

Now, there is something clearly stated here. "The public power of coercion" is not going to be disbanded or disowned in the SPGB's revolutionary act: it is going to be used to accomplish it. "This machinery including these forces" (the armed forces of the nation) will be employed as "the agent of emancipation". In other words, the whole virtue of parliamentary action is that it puts the guns, the planes and - of course - the nuclear weapons in the hands of the SPGB's parliamentary majority.

This is not stretching any point or its meaning. Following the Turner controversy in which this question was involved, the SPGB Executive Committee published a special statement in the "Socialist Standard" in August 1955. It was headed "After the conquest of power". It referred to the Principle I have just quoted, and affirmed its meaning as the one I have just given it. And it says :

"... We make allowance for a theoretically possible attempt in some form of violent sabotage during the revolutionary re-organization. The control of the armed forces during this period will be an effective deterrent to any such violent attempt without these forces having necessarily to be used. Should a violent minority attempt to destroy Socialism, they would have to be forcibly dealt with. While at full liberty to advocate a return to Capitalism, no violent minority could be allowed to obstruct the will of the majority."

The SPGB's revolution, then, will be a peaceful one so long as nobody opposes it; which isn't saying much, is it ? Far from Adam Buick's pleasantly reasonable account, it is intended as a coercive revolution. (Others beside me may recall an SPGB lecturer at D. nison House some years ago, with his "And let us not be squeamish !")

Nor is it any use Buick saying (a) it won't happen because no-one will oppose the coming of a good society, and (b) class conscious socialist delegates would not deceive people as to their intentions. (a) It may, as the statement I have quoted points out. The fact that it is envisaged is the whole case for seeking parliamentary power as the means of coercion; if you seriously thought it could not happen, that case would lose much of its point. (b) They do, regrettably. From 1939 onwards, hundreds of SPGB members appeared before conscientious-objector tribunals. The SPGB and the Quakers were alike (envied by all the rest) in that most of their members got exemptions. Yet the tribunals never failed to ask about this item in the Party Principles, because people who were prepared to fight in selected circumstances did not get exempted. But it was the individual's conscience which

was being examined, not the Party's; so practically every member said that, whatever the Principles appeared to say, he would not agree to violence even for Socialism. I went to tribunals with many members, by the way.

They were telling a lie, publicly and knowingly, about the Party's intentions: were they not? Certainly it was a matter of expediency, to accomplish a minor purpose - but that is how lies, specially political ones, come to be told. (It is also how wars begin; few have started on the grand scale, most have done so as knuckle-rapping affairs.) Lies are, in fact, another form of coercion - you get somebody to act or refrain from acting in a certain way by with-holding the truth. Accept coercion as a working principle, and you are committed to going as far as necessity takes you.

Is it worth it, though, for the ultimate good? The SPGB is authoritarian, teeth-set against attempts to better things a bit, prepared to suppress opposition with armed force. All this, however, is held as the means to the free society in which there shall be no war, poverty, exploitation or preventable misery. Again, it is a point of view - but not a tenable one. Can authoritarianism, intolerance and coercion be employed to create a world free of them? Can weapons make peace? In religious terminology, can you get Satan to cast out Satan? I say no. Means and ends must concur. Otherwise, the means become the ends; and there is the whole of history affirming this.

My purpose in this article has been to emphasize the division between socialism and anarchism by drawing attention to the things in the SPGB that make it wholly unacceptable to anarchists. There is no reason why I should state the anarchist case in an anarchist journal. Nevertheless, I am bound to remark that there is more hope for freedom and social justice from people who seek them now, personally as well as organizationally, than from a party that has decided that, for the time being they can not exist.

Anarchists and the lesser Evil.

Laurens Otter

Anarchists are concerned to build a changed society, the need for which in an age menaced by nuclear war and racial violence should be obvious; what is less obvious is why we refuse to support reforms and vote for a "lesser evil". We hold that every reform - which strengthens the power of the state at the same time as redressing a partial evil - costs more than it is worth insofar as it makes the achievement of a free society and the abolition of power and privilege more difficult. We hold too that even reforms that are altogether desirable, if achieved by the ballot box cause people to think in terms of governmental change rather than of direct action; it is as a result of these occasional desirable changes that the rulers manage to maintain the fiction of democracy. Demands which cannot be met within the context of class society - such as Unilateral Disarmament - are to an extent exceptions to this rule, since campaigns on such bases must lead their sincere supporters to going beyond parliamentarianism; but otherwise it is no part of an anarchist's duty to tell Governments to act.

The present situation in Rhodesia illustrates this. For my part I have no doubt that it would be a lesser evil for Wilson to send troops than to act as he is, which is merely a reverse colour bar in the use of war. But though troops might bring majority rule

they would not bring Anarchism, the resultant society would merely be the exploitation of blacks by blacks rather than by whites. Though troops in this instance would lessen the likelihood of escalation into a world race war, they would increase people's trust in warfare as a method and make it harder to achieve disarmament. One cannot say at one and the same time, "disarm, we are against the state, and armed force", and "send troops to Rhodesia". For this reason I believe it is a mistake for Libertarians to support the clamour from the "Left" to send troops, this does not prevent me welcoming the fact that a large section of the Labour Party is getting disillusioned with Wilson on this issue. I am shocked when a Council member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, or the National Secretary of the Committee of 100 calls for troops since they know that in the long term the loss is greater than the gain; I am pleased when members of the Labour and Liberal Parties say the same things since the alternative for them is worse.

INDUSTRIAL NOTEBOOK.
A.C.Hunt, Chairman Shop Stewards (A.E.U.)
Smiths Motor Accessories, Witney.

Industrial topics do not as a rule excite much comment in the channels of communication, unless there is some chance of an unscrupulous attack on the workers involved. There are, however, vital principles at stake, and issues to consider even when there are no strikes.

Some time ago George Woodcock General Secretary of the T.U.C. was addressing an audience for a radio broadcast. He spoke reasonably and tactfully, the audience was critical, no doubt because it consisted primarily of workers from the shop floor. Mr. Woodcock spoke of the need to do away with outdated procedure, instigated many years ago when the unions were weaker than they are now because of slumps and government repression.

In the engineering industry agreements are not altering for the better but are getting worse. A first indication of this was when the old agreements dealing with the number of public holidays were rehashed. It is one of the peculiarities of the industry that one does not automatically qualify for holiday pay but is bound to be at work the day before and the day after the holiday. Until recently it was necessary to clock off at the shift before the holiday, and at the beginning of the shift after the holiday. Now it is necessary to work the full two days. This means that it is not considered advisable by a good many workers to take part in a strike at this time. It seems very unfair that one worker can have a lot of time off in the year and still qualify for pay while another could work all the year round and then not be entitled to pay if he was absent for a short period on one of the vital days.

An agreement was reached on the 22nd 1964 on the 40 hour week and related matters. This undertaking is unpopularly known as the "package deal". Hailed as a great advance by the top officials of the engineering unions and the Engineering Employers Federation it embodied the reduction of the working week to 40 hours, not a great achievement when it is realized that this was an issue before the 1914-18 war. In spite of the fact that almost all the industrialised countries have a shorter working week the

employers and their usually servile managements talked as if they were giving their "employees" the moon, they have not disclosed that production and distribution have not suffered to any appreciable and in the case of many concerns not at all.

As regards wage increases, those on the basic rates get what they would probably consider generous gains, but this effects the minority, those on the whole who are non-unionists. Car industry workers will get very little, and sacrifice too much over the next three years unless the "package deal" is thrown out. Even for the insulting pittance given there are strings attached - unions have agreed to co-operate in "forward planning and stabilisation of costs". In other words the worker has agreed to throw away basic trade union principles and rights of consultation. For no one doubts that the old contention "the management has the right to manage" will be applied to every demarkation dispute that arises and trade unionists will get little backing from national officials. These small pittance and others fall into insignificance when we consider the most appalling sell out of the whole discreditable enterprise.

This wonderful piece of social justice had originally been the demand for a 32 hour week providing mouldy crumbs from the rich man's table when a worker was shut out due to lack of work in a limited depression, or as a result of a strike in another establishment. What did the unions and management achieve by this venture? The guaranteed week went up to 40 hours but there was one important change - if there was a strike in any part of the industry which remotely effected a factory, the guarantee no longer applied, as it is it does not operate if there is work sharing to save workers from redundancy.

How was this new development effected? Soon after the annual holidays in July Fords laid off some of their workers. Failing production, we were told, would not necessitate a lay off, but a six week strike at an accessories plant was a different proposition. The firm was a federated concern and so came under the terms of the Package Raw Deal. At Smiths workers could not remember ever being on a three day week but there is a first thing for everything and on August 25th Shop Stewards talked about the second week of the introduction of short time. They instructed those of their number on Works Committee to inform Management that while workers did not admit the need for implementation of a short week, they were willing to discuss methods of introduction as the company intended to have short time whether the unions liked it or not. Workers had little knowledge of what was to come, supervisors seemed intent not on keeping them employed but shutting them out. Those who had plenty to do were told to stay at home; customers were held up for orders; people from other parts of the factory were told to handle commodities while men who should have been at work were absent. There was work and even overtime for part of a short week and workers were expected to chase around like the proverbial blue-rumped insect to put themselves out of work, and race around when they got back to work again.

The so called Labour representative and the right wing trade unionist is responsible for a bitterness among the workers and their families which will not easily be forgiven, not only in this factory but all over the country, and perhaps in many parts of the world.

What sell out are the big boys of the trade union organisation planning next? What new attacks on the living standards of the workers who pay them?

A N A R C H I S M A N D W O R K E R S ' C O N T R O L .

(An enquiry by Jim Petter):

The time has surely come for left libertarians to determine where we really wish to go. At present, protest and righteous indignation are the excuse for our activity, and anything which makes the loudest of ineffectual noise suffices for our means. Our favourite shibboleth is workers' control, yet for most of us this is no more than what the kingdom of god is to the christians - an article of faith necessary for salvation, but of little practical consequence. Until workers' control moves from faith to credible reality, we shall be as harmless as the moralists.

It seems to me that our greatest need is to open the widest possible discussion on exactly what we mean by workers' control. Let me emphasise that the operative word is "discussion"; revealed truth reposes only in the vanity of the theologian, and political analyses of hindsight are as useful as examining the entrails of a fowl. It is not prophesy we shall deal with, but an understanding of the sort of society towards which we hope to progress.

Our concern for the new society will be in what manner and by whom decisions will be taken. Primitive man may have lived in squalor, but by modern standards seems to have been relatively happy and content; and this remains true today of "undeveloped" peoples like Eskimoes, Borneo head hunters, some Polynesians, and the few Africans and South East Asians who are not in thrall to city slickers. The common denominator in all such primitive societies is that they should be small enough for collective and direct decision taking. Modern society is so vast and complex, that the ordinary man and woman is alleged to be incapable of marshalling the facts coherently for valid decision taking, and easily frightened into accepting this dubious hypothesis. Now, I am not one of the optimists who thinks that the working class has an innate instinct for reaching the right decisions; workers' decisions must be resolved on the best evaluation of all the available facts. The facts will be assembled by the experts, probably codified by computers, but the final assessment is the prerogative equally of us all. What conclusions we reach will depend a great deal upon our ability to think straight, and we are unlikely to gain the full benefit of a free society until people are properly educated; this education will not be a vocational training to fit us for money making, but to discipline our thought process for logical competence. Apart from a few ex bourgeois elements who believe that A.S.Neil has said the last word on libertarian education, we are remarkably indifferent to mind training. Here for a start is a fruitful field for discussion.

It can be fairly assumed that the bourgeois child is offered a better education than the young proletarian, and the bourgeoisie may have the edge on the working class for valid decision taking. But, of course, it is only a minority of the boss class which really benefits from a better education, and the proportion is too small for them to provide more than a few influential advisers and administrators for those who take the decisions which matter; these latter are invariably power lusting careerists, occasionally of working class extraction, who have little claim to specialist mind training. We have ample first hand experience that too many of their decisions are as disastrous as any which might be made by the illiterate proletariat.

In the small egalitarian society decision taking was a simple matter; the alternatives both in quality and quantity were limited. As primitive

society became more intricate, choice also increased in complexity, and it appeared a time consuming waste to refer matters for decision to the whole social group. The actual grubbing up of a pretty poor standard of living was such a full time job that few could be spared away from the peasant treadmill. It became natural to devise a division of labour: on the one hand those in whom was vested a trust for taking decisions on behalf of society, and on the other hand those who were condemned to spend their whole life in toil solely to provide the material wherewithal for society. It was a very short step for the decision takers to arrogate to themselves Power and Privilege, upon which the concept of the State soon took root.

Up to the present it has seemed unavoidable to maintain a small oligarchy exercising Power and enjoying Privilege in the name of the State, while the vast majority of workers continue in full time toil with no respite for cultured living. In spite of the herculean efforts of admen to promote, on behalf of capitalism, a society of consumers who regard waste as the highest virtue, toil is increasingly becoming an incident, albeit a necessary one, in the life of the worker. But while toil for the worker is presented as an inescapable obligation for pursuing an essential and ever increasing productivity, those who presume an exclusive right to Power, enjoy what they are pleased to call gracious living, which is no more than the cultivation of idleness. Libertarian socialists reject the hypocrisy of the dignity of labour, and claim the cultivation of idleness as the right of us all. Bourgeois gracious living compels a display of Power and Privilege, requiring an army of menials to satisfy personal whims. Workers in a free society, after meeting their social obligations, will be able to cultivate idleness but without the degradation of flunkeyism.

Although workers have in recent years gained more leisure, they are still rigidly excluded from the places where effective decisions are made; the custodians of Power (who are now increasingly mere faceless bureaucrats), take refuge in the tendentious argument that modern civilisation is so complex, that only the specially trained expert is competent to take purposeful decisions on behalf of the rest of us; this implies a meritocracy, but is more likely a condonation of obscurantism. To ensure that this arrogance cannot be refuted, the greatest possible secrecy is maintained in all bureaucratic activity. We can all agree that decisions are more likely to be valid when the greater number of facts are known: ergo, hide the facts. This goes far deeper than the Official Secrets Acts. We have had a succession of Home Secretaries, both Labour and Tory, piously mouthing the coward's platitude that it is not in the public interest to disclose why aliens must be deported, why Timothy Evans was innocently hanged, what Roger Casement wrote in his diaries, or why the Police daily perjure themselves in every Court in the country. Crown privilege is claimed whenever a Government department is subpoenaed before a Court. The proceedings of the Nationalised Boards are more secret - except for the salaries of Board members - than any capitalist enterprise. Departmental Committees make secret reports to Ministers, and upon these new legislation is largely based - we do not even know where these committees seek their evidence. Semi official bodies like the Marketing Boards take their decisions on evidence compiled in secret, and publish their reports with the utmost coyness. Local authorities and hospital management committees classify as confidential all their proceedings which matter; and who knows what transpires on public bodies such as the National Assistance Board, Local Executive Committees of the National Health Service or Local Ministry of Transport Committees? It is no wonder that the bureaucrats in the trade unions and professional organisations follow the lead of their betters and take their decisions in contempt of the ordinary member. Here is a vast field which needs critical examination and exposure. Obviously, the bureaucrat is dead scared

that if we did know the facts we would be unlikely to approve his decisions. He's dead right.

If we are to do our homework properly, I suggest there are a number of urgent problems which need our scrutiny, and I am listing fifteen below with a few comments attached; but my list is neither inclusive nor final, and the comments are no more than brief indications of where the discussion may lead. If my remarks do stimulate interest, points arising could be given greater detail in subsequent issues of "Oxan".

I. MARXISM IN THE MODERN WORLD.

It is time to determine the pertinence of Marxism to modern capitalism; in particular we should question the hagiography of the traditionalists.

The Left has been nurtured on the infallibility of Marx - as interpreted by Lenin and codified by Stalin, together with various overriding orthodoxies and heresies, of which the best known are attributed to Mao Tse Tung and Trotsky. We must not underrate the great contribution of Marx to human understanding in the fields of history, economics and to a lesser extent in philosophy. Lenin was temperamentally an anarchist, but by training a disciplined authoritarian; his mighty libertarian accomplishment in the October Revolution of 1917, was followed within six months by the suppression of the Social Revolutionaries, without whose aid the revolution would have been impossible; after brief periods of restoration, in 1921 Lenin decreed the final liquidation of all critical opposition. This was an act of intolerance in stark relief to the pamphlet "The State and Revolution" which he wrote immediately before October. The genius of Lenin in directing the revolutionary insurrection, must not blind us to the fact that when faced with the dilemma between democracy and despotism he was never a libertarian, and his deeds, whatever his inclinations may have been, sowed the seed which later justified every crime of Stalinism. There is ample evidence that Lenin's illiberal acts invariably followed much misgiving, but they were always rationalised as the application of the "hard" Bolshevik line.

The "hard" line declares that after full discussion (manipulated with much chicanery and gerrymandering), policy is settled and no further argument or hesitation will be permitted; decisions must be carried through ruthlessly, and the end will justify the means. As Marxist analyses are "scientific", the decisions cannot be in error, it is only the execution which can be at fault. It therefore follows that any opposition to Marxist policy, or shortcomings in what has been decreed shall be done, must be the work of "enemies of the people". In spite of the constitutional abolition of the death penalty in the Soviet Union, it has carefully been preserved, ultra vires, for enemies of the people, several million of whom have been arraigned.

It has often been suggested that Marxism overlooks the importance of subjective activity as a social determinant. We can all agree that we are creatures of our environment, yet without the actions of the individual there could be no change and social progress would not be possible. The traditional marxist is in agreement with the lawyer that man wills the consequences of his actions. This is palpably false. In the heyday of classical capitalism, the diligence of individual capitalists produced a society of such poverty and degradation that the whole civilised world was shocked. Far from the ordinary

capitalist being an insatiable Moloch grinding the faces of the poor, usually he was just a moneygrubber who was too much of a clot to see that his superficially harmless intentions could only lead to the havoc and misery all around him. Even when he did have a twinge of conscience, he would take refuge in the child's whimper: "I didn't mean to do it!"; of course he didn't, and though it is right that he should be held responsible for the consequences of his actions, his intentions may even have been honourable.

Therefore, we need to distinguish carefully between the intention, the act itself, and the consequences. Intention is often quite irrelevant, and the consequences are usually modified by literally millions of incompatible operations. The Soviet bureaucrats are at last learning this sober truth. Results have so often conflicted with the decrees of the Politbureau and Central Committee, that it has become impossible to continue blaming the enemies of the people. Very quietly, the new "science" of cybernetics is being introduced into the Soviet bureaucratic machine.

Cybernetics is not exclusive to the Soviet Union. It is much in vogue in the industrial power centres of the USA. The whip and the carrot having failed to force workers along the paths which modern capitalists would have them go, cybernetics proposes to find out why workers oppose what their well meaning masters or leaders decree is good for them; before it is too late, action will be taken to forestall ignorance and indifference from jamming the works. It is supposed that by "feed back", the decision takers will not just give orders which have to be carried out; they will keep themselves informed of worker reaction to their orders, and be able to remove the frictions as they arise. But note: the new decisions will be taken by exactly the same people, and whatever modifications which may be made will be no more than pragmatic opportunism. Orders is still orders.

Cybernetics is now practised openly in the USA and secretly in Soviet Russia. It is coming quietly over here, probably through the balls up of the usual British compromise. It recognises that there is no guarantee that intention and consequence will coincide, but that both may need to be modified if frustration or even disaster is to be avoided.

It is a far cry from classical marxism to the peoples' democracies of the Soviet establishment, in which wide wage differentials, industrial coercion, police spying, and now approval of the profit motive are all openly sanctified benefits for a socialist society. We have seen in our own life time, classical capitalism gain a new lease of life by transforming itself into bureaucratic capitalism; we cannot be too sure that the innate contradictions within a bureaucracy may not be alleviated by the adoption of cybernetics. If capitalism is capable of further modification, it will leave the worker as an order taker in exactly the same position. Whether we agree that cybernetic capitalism is in strict conformity with marxist teaching, or decide that a new quality in economic thinking is required, capitalism can only adapt itself by leave of worker acquiescence; but the subversion of capitalism will not be accomplished by calling upon workers to transfer their acquiescence to a marxist authoritarian panacea. The worker can only emancipate himself when he has confidence in his unique right to take the only valid decisions which matter.

We shall court defeat so long as we regard marxism as a theology which cherishes all ultimate verity; nor is there anything to be gained by a sterile defence of traditional marxism. The test of a free

society will be the degree to which our acts close the gap between intention and consequence. When "leaders" impose their decisions and depend upon the acts of others, they lose control of the consequences. Only when we make our own decisions will we enjoy the means for resolving the conflict between intention and consequence. Cybernetics can be a useful tool in a free society; if our decisions have to be modified, it is we, the workers, who must determine what the new decisions shall be.

II. THE NEW BUREAUCRACY.

The bureaucratisation of human society throughout the world and the convergent paths pursued by "capitalist" and "communist" States is the most notable feature of modern civilisation.

Take a Russian speaking worker from Dagenham or Detroit, place him in the Moscow auto factory, and the only difference he would find is that there are no tea breaks. If this convergent evolution proceeds in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence, it can only result in the further bureaucratisation of production until finally we reach the human ant heap. Such a prospect presumes that "progress" is stabilised by the threat of a romantically sentimentalised Great Deterrent that will perpetuate recognised spheres of influence. This is the ultimate dream of a World Bureaucracy, in which real people, and particularly "undeveloped" races, count for nothing. The inherent contradictions and antagonisms, especially at the boundaries - Vietnam, Cuba, Congo, Korea, etc. - make nonsense of this bureaucratic dream, and the final failure of the Great Deterrent is certain.

We will now pause for a longish note on what we mean by bureaucracy. This is the latest emotive term for condemning an organisational activity of which we do not approve. It is used far too loosely, and connotes as little as "the enemies of the people".

When capitalism was no more than a lusty infant, there were masters who gave orders to servants without legal rights, existing only to do as they were bid - they even starved when they had no master to order their lives. The industrial servants were little more than serfs; in fact the master-servant relationship was a hangover from that between lord and peasant. The master invested his capital in his factory, the servant (or worker) toiled in the factory for not less than sixteen hours a day, was subject to arbitrary and inhuman factory rules, forced to spend his wages in his master's Tommy shop, probably rented a hovel provided by the master, and often was expected to send his children into the factory as soon as they could toddle. But the worker knew who was responsible for his indescribable misery, and was sometimes goaded to physical violence, even to the extent of sabotaging the new machines or burning down his master's residence. It became only too obvious that capitalists would need to be brought under some humane control; if only to save themselves from their own cupidity. At first the State assumed the role of determining the limits of inhumanity to which rising capitalists, in their own interests, could go. At the same time, larger factories and amalgamations were formed which removed the capitalist from direct contact with his workers. Trade Union organisation was successful in forcing both capitalists and the State to humanise working conditions to a greater extent than either would have approved without "interference".

In the beginning the new capitalists opposed the State, but they soon

realised that the militancy of their workers could only be contained if they controlled the State; in any case, the fiction of the State as impartial arbiter was quite unrealistic and hypocritical. As capitalist concerns grew, managers were appointed to carry on the day to day functions of the enterprise. The capitalists, who were supposed to be the shareholders, became alienated from the managers who were seldom shareholders themselves. Today, even the directors may be only token shareholders, and a large capitalist enterprise appears as a self perpetuating entity; the shareholders, in theory the owners, are more and more insurance companies, banks, unit trusts, perhaps merely capital gains speculators or hedging fund capitalists, and for the most part are not human beings, and have no control over how the company is run. The managers and directors take all decisions, but such is the alienation between them and both the workers and the shareholders, that few of either can name the real order givers.

In Soviet Russia the bureaucracy is quite patently the State machine; the decision takers, the order givers, are the privileged elite who sit in the offices under direct control of the supreme bureaucracy in the Kremlin. In England and America the bureaucrats are not quite so prominent. But in both countries there is a to-ing and fro-ing between the political and industrial machines; industry sends its experts to the aid of government while both ex-ministers and retired higher civil servants are welcomed into the boardrooms of industry. Even Labour ministers retire into the central trade union bureaucracy. "What is good for General Motors is good for America", and what is good for ICI is good for England. It is these faceless, often nameless, and always inaccessible juggernauts, decreeing what may not be challenged, who are the bureaucrats who now control our welfare and our destiny. They surround themselves with an army of PROs, admen and publicists who are continually singing their praises and rationalising their absurdities; these are just fawning sycophants who will stoop to anything for a few status crumbs from the bureaucrats' table. But bureaucracy is governed by Parkinson's Laws, and the bureaucrats are increasingly unable to make themselves intelligible without the aid of a horde of functionaries, who themselves are no less order takers than other workers, however much they may be deprivileged by the bureaucratic machine. It is this hieratic caucus which we refer to as the bureaucracy; in Soviet Russia the industrial bosses and the State machine are one, while in Britain and America the separation of the two is entirely superficial. The bureaucracy is distinguished by its status of privilege, seclusion and unaccountability; the functionaries who meet the people are mere excrescences, and we waste our efforts attacking them; they can even be subverted to freedom no less than the ordinary worker.

III. BUREAUCRACY IS SELF DEFEATING.

Even if the H.bomb does not overtake us, it is unlikely that the world can be made safe for bureaucracy.

This does not mean that we should sit on our arses like the Trots, passing resolutions while waiting for the inevitable revolution - when, of course, we should seize the reins of Power as the conscious vanguard of the broad toiling masses. Men have always consulted the soothsayer. Marxism in Soviet Russia or the electronic computer in the United States are little better guides than Old Moore's Almanack or the Sybilline Books. "Scientific" analyses, even when fed into a computer, presuppose that human behaviour will follow a pattern; but the pattern itself is a random mosaic of imponderable human activity. The unwarranted conceit implied in the name Homo Sapiens ignores what we all know: that our actions are mostly conditioned reflexes or instinctive impulses; if we think at all, we

rationalise our motives after the event. In these circumstances, the possible permutations for human reaction to reality are infinite and therefore unpredictable; neither Marxism nor computers can handle infinite possibilities. The only certainty is that real live human beings will always resent those who strive to impose, for whatever motives, an arbitrary way of life on others; mostly this opposition takes the form of non co-operation and bloodymindedness. Bureaucracy finds itself unable to provide for every human occasion, and in trying to solve the insoluble creates for itself even greater problems; floundering in its own presumptuousness it will be overtaken by the ultimate nemesis of nuclear war. THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE AND SOLUTION LIES THROUGH THE DIRECT DECISION AND ACTION OF THE PEOPLE.

IV. POWER AND PRIVILEGE.

It is the lust for Power which creates the State, the bureaucrat, the elite or any other organ of popular oppression. Power can only be wielded through the exercise of Privilege, and Privilege is the arrogance of those who presume to Power.

Fine, we all agree with that one. Do we? The Left is lousy with conspiracies for seizing Power, and no appointed leaders have ever hesitated to claim Privilege. The Russian Revolution is surely an awful portent of what will happen when well intentioned men pave the road to Hell by seizing Power. Once having grasped Power, it becomes necessary to hold on at any cost rather than carry out the intention for the seizure. Workers' Power is no less objectionable than any other manifestation of the State. The whole purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that a free society must be controlled by workers without Power or Privilege.

V. NON VIOLENCE - IS IT AN ABSURDITY?

Violence is the armed thug which makes Power possible.

Argument to distinguish violence from non violence is both tedious and artificial. What can be more meaningless than the declaration: "We will demonstrate non violently to force the Government to renounce nuclear weapons, military alliances, racial discrimination, political grandeur, or any other affront to righteousness"? It is tantamount to calling upon the Government to abdicate in favour of the Anarchists. Where does force end and violence begin? Is this a game with a referee to call "Foul!?" This is sophistry, casuistry and special pleading beneath contempt.

But this only scrapes the surface. We have in the H.bomb the ultimate and irrevocable expression of violence. Paradoxically, the only weapon which can be used successfully against this omnipotent evil is non violence. Man is by nature a creature of violence, and history is a record of the expanding progression of violence, which will probably culminate in nuclear war. The pursuit of self interest through the exercise of Power has led to a search for ever upgrading the means of violence, until at last we have reached infinity. To use mathematical terms, if the H.bomb is infinite violence, the reciprocal of this is non violence; this is not zero, but violence which is infinitely small. As self interest must lust after ever increasing Power, there is at least a prima facie case for examining whether the renunciation of Power and the revoking of self interest may not even yet save us from self annihilation. But non violence is a discipline which will have to be learnt; it is neither a hair

shirt nor a martyr's crown, but the recognition that self interest can only be satisfied through service to others.

The concept of non violence has suffered much in Brtitain from well intentioned innocents and romantics. To most Englishmen with a colonial guilt conscience - we can truthfully exculpate the Scots and Irish from association - non violence today implies the imitation of Gandhi or Dolci. The success of non violence in India, and even the rather partial success in Scicily make the concept attractive to minority protest movements. First we should ask whether there is any similarity between material conditions here at home and in either British India or Scicily. Very manifestly there is hardly any. Only in Ireland has there been anything like the endemic starvation poverty which is the accepted way of Indian and Scicilian life; and the misery of Ireland is now the history of past generations. British India was ruled by foreign invaders who painted themselves with woad at a time when India was enjoying a high civilisation. The Eastern religions of Hinduism and Buddhism practice a tolerance and respect for life in comparison with which Christianity, Islam and Judaism are bloodthirsty cults of sacrificial violence and doom. While christians regard St. Francis of Assisi a bit of a crackpot for preaching to the birds and speaking of Brother Ass, it would not be thought at all extravagant for an Indian guru to do the same; the capricious and jealous Old Man in the sky condemning the vast majority of mankind to eternal suffering, is utterly repulsive to the Hindu. (Up to about fifty years ago, most christians were taught that one of the delights of heaven would be witnessing the interminable torments of the damned). In Eastern religions, no life is irretrievably lost; all will eventually be worthy of unspeakable bliss. We must also remember that when Gandhi "fasted unto death", this was nothing new in India; it is a popular and traditional gimmick by which an aggrieved man seeks redress for injury; rational compromise usually satisfies both parties, "unto death" being a refined protocol for announcing a battle of wills. It is surely crassly innocent to assume that Gandhism can be transplanted into christian, capitalist or even agnostically self seeking Britain. The comparison with Scicily is hardly better. The peasants of Scicily have suffered such oppression and degradation for so many centuries at the hands of priest, politician and policeman, that they are literally without hope or faith, and beyond the help of charity. Nothing in this country can match the individual violence without means of redress suffered by every Scicilian peasant; in its way, it is as irresistible as the H.bomb, and the genius of Dolci is to employ non violence as an instrument for scourging depravity and succouring desparation. Before we presume to imitate Gandhi or Dolci, we might ask whether we have that unique distillation of arrogance and humility without which we are, as they would have been, deservedly ridiculous.

None of this worried the first enthusiasts for non violence. The Direct Action Committee, self appointed and responsible to no one, called upon the chosen few to lead Great Britain into a humbler world - yet was there ever a more monstrous presumption than "Let Britain Lead"? - which, of course, would still remain capitalist; although they could and did have no success, they had the good sense to be absorbed into the Committee of 100, who were not nearly so exclusive in their recruitment. Unfortunately, the C. of 100 inherited an addiction for NAMES to give them intellectual respectability, and their more vocal supporters were as prissy a Sunday School of Pharisees as could be found in any bourgeois dormitory suburb.

Probably to a majority of the thousands who joined the first sit downs, it was a quarterly Saturnalia when the State was to be challenged, but with a built in proviso that nothing would be done to subvert the State. Nobody thought it necessary to tell them that they were

engaged on a highly seditious enterprise; some of the activists were such political virgins that they would never have believed that, while others - such was their honesty - feared that to do so would lose support. There were Trots who could not help trying to "capture" the C. of 100, and ultra lefts who were more concerned to proselytise for their simple faith that spontaneity removes all problems. To all these the sitters were just demo fodder, who went to gaol or paid their fines to prove the correctness of whichever charlatancy was in the ascendant. The petty bourgeois innocent did his four hours stint on the pavement and went home happy with the thought that our policemen were still wonderful, and the State was still safe. Even those who did stay and see or experience a little of what cops are really for, were able to rationalise it away in the calm of Monday morning; they were able to convince themselves that the unpleasantness was all the fault of the violent working class types, who had muscled in on their consecrated ground. These are the people who have been led up the garden, and are now probably - except for the few who have opted for Anarchy - disillusioned and respectable citizens, who vote with conviction for either Harold Wilson or Jo Grimond, according to their particular choice of the lesser evil.

Non violence is not a special occasion like putting on our Sunday best or opening the front parlour; it is a discipline which will need to be practised all the time in a free society where there is participation by everybody in the act of decision taking. This is a fundamental of workers' control of a society which has no room for factions. A presumption to lead lesser mortals, an aversion to admit error and a compulsion to exterminate opposition are all inherent in factions; they struggle among themselves, with the sole aim of capturing Power, justifying every discreditable means. In other words, factions have to practise violence. In contrast, a free society will tolerate the right to be wrong, and there will be no shame in honest error. The success of the struggle for workers' control will be measured by the extent to which we are able to transplant non violence into a way of life. (That this is a discipline is plain when we consider the extreme example of a free society threatened with military aggression; it will succumb to violence unless all its members have been trained to become skilled in all the arts of non violence) Realists are fond of telling us that we cannot be blind to the H.bomb, and we must learn to live with it; this is the counsel of despair. To break out from this frustration, we must start right now to build a credible society in which the H.bomb counts for as much as the devil and all his works does today: this will be a society in which non violence passes without remark.

VI. THE ALTERNATIVE.

The only alternative to Power, is for people to claim what is their inalienable right: to take their own decisions in all matters which affect their destinies.

Before this can become a reality, even on a limited scale, people must be encouraged to have confidence in their ability to take decisions, and overcome a laziness to shelve on to others what is a personal responsibility. The bread and circuses in modern western capitalism are the welfare state and unlimited consumption. Both are pretty shoddy, and a belief in the need for a vast improvement, together with undermining trust in the existing lunacy, is wide open for exploitation.

One of the main problems facing direct participation in decision taking

is that the spoken word, as also what is written, can both be poor tools for communicating thought from one person to another. In modern society, only the academic are adjudged worthy for an education which will make them articulate and discriminating; the majority of us are dismissed as the admas: gullible morons to be bemused by charlatan, Press lord and adman. Too many workers have difficulty in expressing themselves comprehensively let alone fluently; it is not that they are incapable of thinking above the inanities of "Coronation Street", but that nobody has considered that workers need to be articulate in their speech. Anybody who still attends his trade union branch meeting will agree with this. Nor is it surprising when the purpose of working class education is to provide docile order takers for the benefit of other people's profit. But this is no argument for depriving workers of their inalienable right to decision taking, until such time the elite decide that they are fitted to undertake their new responsibilities. Tomorrow never comes. A free society will always accept people with warts and all, instead of legislating for what they ought to be.

Listening to emotive oratory, being blinded by science, and finally voting in desparation from the boredom of pompous windbags, bears no relation to workers' control. Participation in discussion, understanding what others are saying and making oneself comprehensible, are the essential wherewithal of direct decision taking. A complete overhaul of the how and why we educate our children will be necessary before the full rewards of workers' control can be enjoyed.

VII. THE MEASURE OF FREEDOM.

Freedom is threatened inversely as people are able directly to take their own decisions.

It is objected that total democracy is time consuming, procrastinating, and inadequate for firm decision. In an age of automation, with one of the greatest problems being how we shall use our vastly increased leisure, this difficulty hardly arises.

VIII. BIGGER AND BETTER.

We must reject the proposition that the Bigger must be the Better and therefore the Mostest.

Most of us agree, but act as if the contrary was true. We stampede members of small unions into larger ones, and the syndicalists still talk of the One Big Union. Liberals venerate the United Nations as an embryo world government, and on the Left we have our Internationals. This only encourages bureaucracy. The destruction of the big seats of Power must precede a declaration of freedom which is to have any meaning, and no one can forecast how big or small will be the units over which workers will agree to take control. It seems reasonable to assume that small units will suffice while the arts of workers' control are being mastered.

IX. THE NEW LOOK STATES.

In defiance of the bureaucratic cult of bigness, States today are highly fissiparous.

Just look around. Africa has gained its independence by creating at

least three times the number of independent States as was thought probable when the whole continent was a colony. The Congo started with five provinces which are breeding fast, and at the last count there were twenty one; all are for autonomy and some for secession. India is highly unstable, threatening to fall apart into linguistic groups. French Indo China is now three States, not counting North and South Vietnam. Cyprus wants partition; the bad joke of the United Arab Republic fell apart almost before it was formed; Quebec claims independence, and the Black Muslims want to practise apartheid within the United States. The Central African Federation has disappeared unwept; the East African Republic was a non starter, and the Carribean Federation never got off the ground. The antics of the Stalinists to weld a monolithic Communist State from the USSR and the Eastern European Satellites is now a bad dream of the past, and Poland and Hungary can make rude noises at Moscow almost with the same impunity as Albania or Yugo Slavia. Who would have thought even twenty years ago, that Welsh and Scottish nationalists would have advanced their cause to a point where some form of political autonomy in the future is a certainty, whatever may be the form of State?

The golden age of the anarchists at the turn of the century, when not more than half a dozen zealots at any one time, were able to keep all the police forces of Europe on permanent overtime in a state of jitters, is now past. Neither the cops nor the anarchists themselves realised that at that point in world history, anarchism had no chance of wide appeal; the working class movement was intent on chasing the chimera of the One Big State. We have at last learnt that this is one more blind alley. Disenchantment with bigness and centralisation may be the final opportunity for Anarchy to be accepted as a living and coherent practicability.

X. THE DEHUMANISING ROLE OF EFFICIENCY.

We must certainly reject the claim that efficiency in human relations is an immanent end which must ensure human happiness.

Modern capitalism postulates a way of life in which ever increasing productivity and consumption, both for their own sakes, will satisfy all the requirements of society. If it is to be efficient, production has to be carried on in ever larger units, and to attain this mechanical expedient, the worker, as an individual, must needs be totally depersonalised and transformed into a mere cipher geared to his machine and controlled by the electronic box. This dehumanising process frustrates the creative urge within all of us to stamp with our own personality the way in which we live; whether this is a reasonable urge is beside the point. Now that life is no longer a ceaseless struggle to provide the bare necessities for a brute existence, workers have time for living and facilities for education - of a sort - and therefore the prospect for controlling their destiny. But as we live socially, our instinct to live according to our own lights is conditioned by the need to give consideration to others, for we cannot live in association without co-operation.

Capitalists insist that the scale of their production requires that co-operation must be imposed upon the worker, and that their values are really in the worker's best interest. But the worker has no responsibility for capitalist values, for he is never a party to their determination. (TU consultation, when it is not abject betrayal, is merely a formal act of acquiescence or negotiating a variation in detail). With greater leisure and education, the worker has the time and competence to question capitalism's values and to consider

alternatives. Co-operation from the worker is increasingly withheld the more demanding and bureaucratic the capitalist becomes. It is not a question of whether the decisions of the bureaucrat are the right ones; so long as the worker is denied any part in the act of decision, he is free to withhold his goodwill, and whether he does so on reasonable or unreasonable grounds just does not matter; on either score, he is right to follow his natural instinct to claim his inalienable right, and when he acts in concert with other workers, he is only performing a duty towards his social class. Efficiency dictated, only ensures inefficiency and certainly not happiness; when workers show that they appreciate this, the bureaucrat returns to his desk dumbfounded that we spurn so ungratefully his nostrum for happiness. But what is happiness? I do not know; neither do I subscribe to the cant of the greatest good for the greatest number. It is sufficient for now that we make it our first social obligation to abolish every single instance of human misery.

XI. WORKING CLASS SPONTANEITY.

We must also reject the dogma that working class spontaneity alone is necessary for successful revolution, or that working class behaviour is a priori virtuous.

Spontaneous action is usually violent, and its very violence makes it short lived. Although the underlying causes of militant spontaneity may be complex, the immediate irritant which triggers off a demonstration is almost always simple and the aims limited. A wise management knows that the opportune time to attack workers' conditions is in the aftermath of a "wild cat" strike; then, even in defeat, management can get away with murder. Relying on spontaneity leads to jumping on any bandwagon which may be the news of the moment, on the principle that workers are always right; this is the opportunism of irresponsibility, and is little better than the presumptuous opportunism of the "vanguards", who pervert spontaneity for their role of leadership and the seizure of Power. It is as well to remember that practically the whole of the police force, and certainly all the TU bureaucracy, are recruited from the ranks of the working class; that the sickening adulation of the monarchy seems to be a natural for most workers' women folk; that the most dangerous place to wear a cap when the band plays gawdsave is the terrace of a football field; most fascist thugs are of working class origin, and colour prejudice is stronger the lower one goes in the social scale; only one third of manual workers are members of a trade union, and the Tories would have fewer MPs than the Liberals were it not for the working class vote. There may be good historic and economic reasons for these and other working class failings, but none of it adds up to working class socialist intent.

XII. POSTURE AND PUBLICITY.

Attitudes of virtue and/or militancy are usually received as one more example of giving thanks to god that we are not as other men are.

The affluent society does not provide on our doorstep offerings of human misery for our protest. Since the war, the first successful public demonstrations were organised by the bourgeois CND. The middle class were intent upon disowning any descent from hunger marchers or unemployed rabble, and therefore aimed to create an image of virtue. The few workers who were drawn into the anti nuclear movement, were naturally shy at being labelled virtuous, and instead tried to change the image into one of militancy. The see-saw battle

between the two has gone on until the main emphasis has degenerated into a competition for striking the most notorious posture of virtue or militancy, the purpose for protest being almost disregarded; not content with rejecting the doctrine that the end will justify the means, the modern demonstrator acts as if the means will sanctify any old end or none at all. CND publicity has plumbed the depths. The virtuous have a mawkish fascination for war memorials while the militants shout repetitive slogans; as obscene comic relief, the shires are searched, and a Tory ninny dug out to exhibit on a unilateralist platform like the Rector of Stiffkey in a barrel. For publicity purposes alone, the radical wing puts on a grandiose charade which any sane person must know will fall far short of achievement; afterwards, we can only rationalise dismal failure by highlighting virtue, and complaining that the authorities did not play fair by our own concocted rules. Is it any wonder that supporters drift away and the public loses interest?

However, Propaganda by the Deed is a fine anarchist tradition, in which the propaganda and the deed must be complementary to each other. Propaganda, of course, is more than the armchair philosophy of the revolutionary braggart, and action to be effective must be more than a display of virtue or militancy. The ordinary worker distrusts both saints and heroes; the one will try and save us from our carnal pleasures, while the other will shoot us when we show discretion in the face of danger. It may be a truism that any programme for human progress must be based on moral principles, but workers have no use for morality. The exhortations of priests, prophets and politicians will fail today as they always have in the past, for though workers are not proud of their immorality, they suspect that the publically righteous are little different in their private lives from the rest of us. When action and philosophy are in harmony, the abstract values of morality and militancy can safely be left to look after themselves, and will be given their proper worth. We may be born self centred, but experience teaches us that common decency towards others is the best insurance against illwill, and to speak up for those less fortunate is a guarantee that the greatest benefit will be shared by all. This is all that needs to be said about either virtue or militancy.

XIII. MAKING MISTAKES.

Although workers' control must favour the working class if only for selfish reasons, workers will not be exempt from making mistakes.

The admen of socialism, in order to sell their pseudo wares, tell us that workers' decisions must always be right, and on the morrow of the revolution all social problems will be solved. On the contrary, the problems will remain; how they will be solved will be the sole responsibility of the working class. I for one, expect some pretty hefty clangers will be dropped. We should not be overconfident when we recall that throughout the nineteenth century many unsuccessful attempts were made to practise Owenite manufacture, that in the twenties there were the short lived working guilds, and our own Factory for Peace is almost a fiasco. A major contributory factor for all these failures was that workers allowed themselves to be cheated out of managing the workshops directly, and orthodox management crept in; there was then no sense in the workers regarding their employment as different from any capitalist enterprise. When under workers' control the wrong decisions are made, there will be no escape from blaming anyone but the workers themselves, and the responsibility for underwriting the future with better decisions will rest squarely on the shoulders of those same workers. Apart from

this very general statement, neither clairvoyance nor political analyses can tell us what the decisions will be; that which needs to be determined will be what arises at the time, and if it is to be resolved by direct participation, it can only be an impertinence and waste of time to draw up blueprints for the future. Human bloodymindedness will ensure that in the infinite variety of our perversity, nobody can forecast which way a truly free society will lean. History has been a never ending record of men of Power trying to impose their wills upon the rest of mankind; it matters not that sometimes even paternalism has been genuinely well intentioned; sooner or later both liberal and oppressive regimes have been swept aside. Perhaps if we trust people to know best what they themselves want out of life, we shall build a more enduring and contented future.

XIV. THE HUMAN ANIMAL.

Workers are first and foremost human beings, and at the moment of birth all men are equal, there being no separate working class and capitalist genes.

It follows from this that workers are neither more nor less able than capitalists for taking viable decisions. Nor will the "dictatorship of the proletariat" ensure that better decisions are taken than by the direct participation of workers' control. Dictatorship infers that Power is exercised by a minority, sometimes by a single autocrat, but decisions are always arbitrary. It is the self appointed vanguards who will assume the role of dictator, allegedly in the name of the workers, but with no other intent than to mould society into a straightjacket of their own fabrication; this presumption stems from their lack of confidence, perhaps even their contempt, for working competence to manage its own affairs. The history of the Soviet Union clearly records that however good was the intention in 1917, today there is neither socialism nor workers' control in Russia. It is easy to be wise after the event and point out that the dictatorship of the proletariat must necessarily degenerate into the dictatorship of the bureaucrats; in the future we shall have no excuse to repeat that error: workers' control will not tolerate any form of elitism or vanguardism; there will be no cadres. Workers' control means exactly what it implies and recognises the individual humanity of us all.

The Marxist concepts of worker and capitalist are very useful abstractions which help us to understand the economic forces within society; but as entities which can be applied to real breathing, thinking men and women they are fictions like the legal reasonable man, the theological moral man, the politician's voter, the Press lord's man in the street, or the consumer of the adman cum market researcher. However, the abstraction of worker and capitalist are valid, and whether we know it or not, like it or not, most of us are workers in direct conflict with the designs of a few capitalists turned bureaucrat; a classless society founded on workers' control must remove the conditions which divide society into worker and capitalist, or order taker and order giver. In this country, where the class war is now dormant, the only excuse for socialist propaganda is that the antagonisms must sharpen as capitalist production becomes more and more intolerable; when it can no longer be endured capitalism will be arraigned, but we must be able to pose a credible alternative. It seems unlikely that awareness will arise from poverty or unemployment, but rather because capitalist production is a lunacy denying humanity to the workers it employs, even when it seemingly pays them well. The future which capitalism offers is either the human ant heap or nuclear war; to escape this capitalist choice, those condemned to be ants or radioactive carbon cannot but help revolt, and the

socialist alternative of workers' control must be grasped. But the first essential will be to abolish the man made laws which make capitalist production possible. What shall we do with the capitalists? Well, if they choose to starve in a society where the practice of their villainy is no longer possible, why stop them? Mankind generally delights in conformity. In our present society there are many - far too many - workers who strive to ape the bourgeois culture, or even aspire to be capitalists themselves; we may assume that with workers' control there will be ex capitalists wishing to identify themselves with the working class. What shall we do, welcome them or hang them?

XV. ANARCHISM AND TREASON.

Until some of these problems are clarified, anarchism will be tied to the armchair or the whim of the Police Commissioner. Anarchists must recognise that they are engaged upon a programme of Treason, in which their main weapon will be sedition.

My theme has been that workers' control will be practised in an anarchist society, and that not until Anarchy is the accepted way of life shall we realise the full fruits of workers' control. Unfortunately, the nonconformist left is still hagridden by theological Marxism, and to disown Marx is the ultimate blasphemy and sin against the holy ghost. Out on the far left, a few, nursing their marxist hangover, majestically proclaim that they are above definition, yet perennially bellyache because they are dubbed just one more Trot eruption. They only have themselves to blame. Non aligned workers justifiably want to know where we stand, and by shirking the issue we stand condemned of either cowardice or ineptitude. So what shall we call ourselves? The verbal mayhem committed by the Communists has mutilated nearly all left terminology. The only word which still retains its original and proper meaning is Anarchy. When the Bolsheviks finally liquidated the Social Revolutionaries in 1921, they merely gave notice that they regarded Anarchism as the greatest threat to State Power. The Bolshevik monolith has never been able to do more than hurl abuse at the anarchists; it has never been able to change the meaning of Anarchy or make the word a vehicle of double think. It seems to me that all serious students of workers' control should be proud to call themselves Anarchists.

But let there be no mistake, to be successful, anarchists must engage upon a treasonable conspiracy. Now by Treason, I do not mean that we are anti authoritarians who boo the queen when opportunity occurs. The State has always regarded treason as the gravest of crimes, and it is still a capital offence in most countries which have abolished the death penalty for all other crimes; our own anti hangers would command little support if they were abolitionist for treason as well as murder. Some States recognise two forms of treason, one which we call High Treason (but here this is not a legal distinction), and the other which is really espionage; it is High Treason with which I am concerned. No anarchist is likely to engage in espionage, that is trade in secrets on behalf of another State - we are against all States.

High Treason is an avowal to renounce any obligation towards one's own State, and to remove oneself as far as possible from all State benefit and protection. A refusal to acknowledge that the State has an overriding claim on one's life and liberty is the essence of the crime of High Treason. The horror in which this is held by those in authority goes back into prehistory, and will remain a

compulsive delusion until anarchists are able to convince that there is a valid alternative to the State. To make anarchial propaganda effective can only be done seditiously, for disaffection of the ruled is our aim. I do not want to be melodramatic, but as our efforts mature, so will there be scares to create mass hysteria against treasonable plots. Unless there ARE treasonable plots, we shall remain in the same poor case that we are today.

Although this enquiry has made an attempt to throw doubt on the validity of Marxism, my own verdict is not proven. But I have no hesitation in trying to demolish the orthodox ideology which has perverted Marxism into a theology. Russian marxism is supreme in one of the two great power centres of the world today, and in its political form it has hardly a single attribute which Marx would recognise as the fulfilment of his life work. While there can be no progress without nonconformity, the overt bureaucracy in Soviet Russia and the more discreet bureaucracy of Western capitalism, both stimulate conformity. Stalinism in Russia and Macarthyism in America both tried to eradicate nonconformity; fortunately, human beings were too much for them, even though a majority of people will always wish to conform. Where bureaucracy of any vintage stands condemned is because it seeks not so much conformity but a rigid uniformity. Bureaucracy wants to, it has to, classify us all into neat categories; the lip service it pays to planning assumes that its divisions must be uniform. Both "capitalist" and "communist" bureaucracies take their uniform workers and employ them for producing uniform and unintelligible units in a boring and uniform process; the final product is uniformly shoddy, sold only for uniform consumption, in which waste is more important than use. This deification of uniformity is the fundamental deception of bureaucracy. The twenty four human chromosomes with their hundreds of genes, together with the odd mutation, provide an infinite variety of human personality; no two men experience the same environment, thus increasing the opposition to uniformity which resides in each one of us. Marx unwittingly gave an impetus to thinking in terms of uniform categories which he could never have intended; in stressing historical materialism he made it too easy for his heirs to ignore the diversity of egos. If Marx had been born fifty years later, no doubt he would have paid the same tributes to Mendel and Freud which he did to his contemporary Darwin, who was also a mighty nonconformist. We might then have witnessed Marx castigating those who pervert socialist conformity into a ritual for a uniformity which ignores all subjective values.

The disillusionment of one short lifetime is no criterion for condemning Marx. It is true that Marx believed that the proletariat must suffer increasing misery at the hands of capitalism. The Socialist Labour League have cried wolf around the corner for slump and unemployment in nearly every year since the war, and the Communist Party has promised us imperialist war; both have been bad prophets. Workers are still acquiescing in being dragooned along the road to uniformity in exchange for shoddy affluence and make believe status; but there is a limit, and the more powerful the process becomes, so will increase our inner compulsion to maintain the reality of our differences. Here is the great hope for the future: the harder bureaucracy strives for uniformity, the greater must be our resistance to forfeiting our own unique personality. This is something which does not rely on the "class consciousness of the masses", but is a basic and inalienable attribute of every human being.

It still cannot be said that workers will not suffer increasing misery. In America there is an official ten per cent. rate of unemployment;

this is the direct result of the greater advance of automation in the USA. Three quarters of these redundant workers have been written off as unemployable in the age of automation, as have the school leavers who did not make the high school grade. There is no solidarity among these superfluous workers, partly because they are patchy over so vast a country, and partly because the American ideology teaches that a man out of work has only himself to blame. Here at home automation is genuinely feared by the workers, and because of our tradition of sympathy with the unemployed, when it really begins to hit us, some resistance will be set up. But the opposition, which may be strong in places, is unlikely to be very effective; the affluence of those who remain in employment will probably lead them to adopt an attitude of "don't want to know", and the "export growth" propaganda will do the rest.

Both in this country and in America capitalism cannot afford any unemployed consumers. Bureaucratic capitalism must carry on an ever increasing production (for what purpose not even the bureaucrats can tell us); it is a hire purchase economy, which has to produce to pay off the mortgage for expanding productivity (the bureaucrats never ask whether anybody really wants the new products that they promise us). If it is to survive, bureaucratic capitalism cannot tolerate idle consumers, and the problem how to make unemployed workers also consumers will have to be solved. With the effort and ingenuity with which modern capitalism displays for producing unlimited consumption goods for waste, there is every reason to suppose it will be successful. (Contrast the difference between bureaucratic capitalism which produces for a mystical and meaningless growth, and an anarchist society which will ask first: "Are our products really useful? Is our work really necessary?"). In any case, the bureaucrats are demanding an ever increasing army of functionaries, as can be seen from the massive office building which has gone up over the last ten years in London and other cities. (Professor Glushkov, a Soviet economic authority, has warned that by the end of the century, the present growth in Russia, will lead to the WHOLE POPULATION being engaged upon processing data for the bureaucrats. Which is the more absurd: the answer, or those who seriously "plan" such lunacy?). A solution will be found, even if it is only to populate the moon or provide the required number of megadeaths.

There seems to me one area where a traditional proletarian revolution may erupt. Two thirds of the world does not eat enough for a full life, and half of this ill nourished majority actually dies of famine, starvation or stunted growth through gross lack of nutriment. Only one third of the world is adequately fed, and there waste of resources, including food, has become a necessary function of its affluence. It is the hungry two thirds which provide most of the food and industrial raw materials for the affluent third. Yet the rich are wasting more while the poor get hungrier. This surely is very like Marx's contention of the increasing misery of the proletariat. The really shocking revelation is that there are literally no lines of communication between the workers of the affluent West, and the starving proletariat of the "undeveloped" countries. If we notice these workers at all, it is to send patronising delegations of trade union bureaucrats to tell them how to manage their affairs, or to condemn them for being communist and revolutionary. In the eyes of these hungry workers of the world, we are on the side of the capitalists; as we give every appearance that we could not care less, there is justice in this charge. We should welcome and assist these workers to revolt against their native capitalists, who, in any case, are paying a rack rent to our own capitalists; but unless we make strenuous efforts to find the means for international working class communications, it may be we

shall witness world revolution with the largely coloured population in revolt against any form of white exploitation. We should then be on the wrong side, and deserving of any fate which awaited us.

Perhaps the future will prove Marx right after all - despite the Communists, Trotskyites and traditional Marxists.

(Jim Petter has come to Anarchy by way of an uneasy passage as odd man out with the orthodox left. He says it is a new and exhilarating experience to associate with others, each one of whom is also an odd man out. For twenty years he was an amateur stonebottom bureaucrat as secretary to his union branch or trades council; he also aspired to the minor seats of Power of district delegate and shop steward. He now no longer works in industry, holds no office in his union, but still attends his branch meetings - but can't think why).

STRAIGHTENING ROY PATEMAN'S RECORD.

Dear Editors,

I cannot accept that Nechaev was in any way an individualist (Roy Pateman "Oxan" 1). The first paragraph of "The Catechism of a Revolutionist", which summarises Nechaev's views, reads:-

"The revolutionist is a doomed man. He has no personal interests, no affairs, sentiments, attachments, property, nor even a name of his own. Everything in him is absorbed by one exclusive interest, one thought, one passion - the revolution".

Such fanatical self negation is the exact opposite of individualism, which affirms the ego instead of denying it.

The quotation from Koestler is not true. Nechaev did not die in Geneva, but in the Peter and Paul Fortress in 1882. Where Koestler got his information from I don't know. It is a pity he did not check his statement before publishing it.

Roy Pateman's statement that Tucker believed in norms based on a "general will" seems to depend on Eltzbacher rather than Tucker. I have nowhere seen anything written by Tucker in which he expresses a belief in such a fiction.

As for Tucker's views on prisons, torture and capital punishment, I think it is necessary to quote Tucker in order to set the record straight:-

"If it can find no better instrument of resistance to invasion, anarchism will use prisons.

"The society which inflicts capital punishment does not commit

murder. Murder is an offensive act. The term cannot be applied legitimately to any defensive act. And capital punishment, however ineffective it may be and through whatever ignorance it may be resorted to, is a strictly defensive act - at least in theory. Of course, compulsory institutions often make it a weapon of offence, but that does not affect the the question of capital punishment, per se, as distinguished from other forms of government.

"For one, I object to this distinction unless it is based on rational grounds. In doing so, I am not moved by any desire to defend the horrors of the gallows, the guillotine or the electric chair. They are as repulsive to me as to anyone. And the conduct of the physicians, the ministers, the newspapers and the officials disgusts me. These horrors all tell most powerfully against the expediency and efficiency of capital punishment. But nevertheless they do not make it murder. I insist there is nothing sacred in the life of an invader, and there is no valid principle of human society that forbids the invaded to protect themselves in whatever way they can.

"It is allowable to punish invaders by torture. But, if the 'good people' are not fiends, they are not likely to defend themselves by torture until the penalties of death and tolerable confinement have shown themselves destitute of efficiency".

I do not agree with everything that Tucker says. Nonetheless, to be able to criticise his ideas, it is useful to know them.

Yours sincerely, S.E.PARKER, 2, Orsett Terrace, LONDON, W.2.

AT THE SIEGE OF PETROGRAD - 1919.

The anarchists were mobilised for the work of defence. Kolabushkin, once a prisoner at Schlüsselburg, was their leading light. The Party gave them arms, and they had a "Black headquarters" in a devastated apartment belonging to a dentist who had fled. There, disorder and comradeship presided above all.....It was they who, on the night of the worst danger, occupied the printing works of "Pravda", the Bolshevik paper that they hated, ready to defend it to the death. They discovered two Whites in their midst, armed with hand grenades and about to blow them up. What were they to do? They locked them in a room and looked at each other in embarrassment: "We are gaolers, just like the Cheka". They despised the Cheka with all their hearts. A proposal to shoot these enemy spies was rejected with horror. "What, us be executioners!".

Finally, my friend Kolabushkin, the exconvict, was charged with taking them to the Peter Paul Fortress. This was a poor compromise, since the Cheka would shoot them within the hour. Once in the Black Guards motor car, Kolabushkin saw their trapped faces and remembered his own imprisonment. He stopped the car and impulsively told them, "Hop it, you bastards!". Afterwards he came relieved but vexed to tell me about those unbearable moments. "I was a fool, wasn't I?" he asked me, "But you know, all the same, I'm glad of it".

Victor Serge in "Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901 - 1941".

Workers in Coventry.....

After the war, thirty people in Coventry, sick of working on the conveyor belt & wanting a more satisfying mode of work approached Standard's management & asked to be allowed to produce cars to Standard's design by their own methods, they expected to make better quality cars since these would be given greater care & craftsmanship, & they were prepared to make what they expected to be a considerable financial sacrifice in order to do this. Standard's was at the time desperately short of workers & unwillingly gave permission. The thirty had agreed to share money according to need rather than skill, ability or hard work. They transformed old machinery of Standard's to fit their own means of production, accepted no orders as to how they should work from outside their own group, & insisted that the sole function of management was to supply them with the designs produced by the planners, & the materials, and to check the quality of the cars produced.

The first group was apolitical in inspiration, but Reg Wright one of the senior engineers in the factory, who was an anarchist, saw its potential & as a result a second came into existence - again resisted by the management. By 1953 between half & two thirds of the workers in Standard's were in collective contracts (as the groups are called) & it is now the accepted organization of work in Coventry. It took root so quickly because of the tradition of Guild work that is strong there, a tradition which in the last century meant that Coventry watch makers worked cooperatively, in much the same way as the Libertarian watch makers Kropotkin described in the Jura Federation.

Money is shared according to use, that is, a man with six children needs more than a bachelor; a man marrying gets his money supplemented for the added expenses of starting a home; sick benefits & accident insurance are supplemented; & if one group is very badly hit other groups help out. The groups are paid a lump sum per car, by the management, based on what it would cost in wages to get the car produced on the conveyor belt. As we have said the first group expected to produce fewer cars in the time & get less money. To its surprise because of its more satisfying form of work, its members worked faster & the group as a whole made more money.

The workers as a result show an unusually high degree of responsibility for their products. Unlike the results of a conveyor belt, these really are something that their craftsmanship has made. When shortly after the war Standard's brought out a very bad & dangerous car (the early model of the Vanguard) the workers got the Standard's salesmen up & down the country to warn garage owners that it was potentially lethal, & ask them to advise customers not to buy. This despite the fact that the reduced sales meant short time work & less wages for themselves. Which is a fantastic degree of unselfishness for any large number of people in class society.

In the following article Len Cross gives a political interpretation of the implications of this, particularly of more recent developments.

In it incidentally Len gives a different account of the beginnings in Coventry - I fear we have different sources. But in so far as his is based on study & this purely on one man's memory, we accept his as probably correct.

The Collective ContractLen Cross.

This is no new concept, it was preached by the Industrial Unionists at the tail end of the last century & the beginning of this, one of its most ardent advocates being Jim Connolly in Glasgow. In 1910 the call was taken up by the Syndicalists, principally under the influence of Tom Mann. Varying factors led to the rapid rise & equally rapid fall of Syndicalism in 1913, not least being its predominantly propagandist image.

More moderate in their demands than either the Industrial Unionists or the Syndicalists were the Guild Socialists, who, emerging as a body in 1912, replaced the Syndicalists in 1913 & met with considerable successes, until economically smashed by the Government, Employers, & the trappings of both, during 1922-1923.

Unlike their predecessors, they attempted to evolve means & methods of making the theory of the classless society & workers' control of industry a practicable & viable reality, hence the necessity for the Establishment to smash them. It was they, who, under the guidance of such notables as, G. D. H. Cole, S. G. Hobson, M. B. Reckitt & others coined the phrase "encroaching control," one stage of which was to be the collective contract, which would eventually lead to complete workers' control.

Before the Syndicalist & Industrial Unionist purists set out to crucify me, may I hasten to add that none, least of all myself, is going to suggest reformist, watered down versions of their pet theory. What is being discussed, is a method of starting in some practical & acceptable way, positive proof by deed, that our theories & propaganda over the past years, are workable. SOMEONE, SOMEWHERE MUST MAKE A START.

The principle of the collective contract or group system is only an extension, at shop floor level, of the system already adopted by most managements of industrial concerns. To put it another way, it is a development of the individual piecework system, but, because it is collective has inherent safeguards & benefits, both to the group as a whole & also, (for the Stirnerites,) for the individual.

The three major industries in this country who contribute most to contracting work are, the motor industry, the aircraft industry, & the constructional engineering & building industries. At the risk of boring or offending more knowledgeable readers, the following, briefly explains the contract system as operated at management levels.

First, some reasons for contract work. It is a fact, that many firms are unable to produce a complex product from start to finish. This may be due to various specialist parts being required e.g. fuel systems for cars & aircraft, or expensive & specialised plant, (such as chromium plating.) Some parts may need special skills, only attained after years of experience. In these circumstances it would be reasonable to expect the principle manufacturer to "farm out" this work to more specialised firms.

Secondly there is a time factor. A company may well be capable of manufacturing all the component parts required, given sufficient time. However, as a deadline date has been fixed for delivery,

the principal manufacturer makes the main parts & carries out any assembly & testing required while at the same time smaller &/or more specialised firms make the other parts.

A third reason, often attributable to the foregoing, but more especially with the economic structure in which we operate, is MONEY. The necessity to survive in the economic jungle of present day society, requires that the firm's prices must be "competitive". Small parts are therefore sub-contracted out to companies whose overheads (operating costs) are not so high & as a consequence their unit cost per component is lower. e.g. some nuts & bolts used in aircraft can cost the main manufacturer 12/6-15/- each, but a small firm, acting as a factor to the industry, produces them for 1/6-2/-.

A fourth reason (sometimes admitted) is labour relations. Operating the maxim of "never putting all your eggs in one basket," parts may be manufactured by both the main manufacturer & the smaller one. In a situation such as this, an industrial dispute at one place is not always so serious, with the added benefit to the employers of dividing the workers among themselves.

To finish (although there are other reasons) there is the "do gooding" side when related to depressed areas. This is closely allied to items three & four, above, for where unemployment exists & there is a struggle by workers for jobs, it is comparatively easy to keep labour costs to a minimum thereby killing several birds with one stone & salving your "conscience" at the same time. Recent examples are where work normally carried out in the Midlands has been contracted out to Merseyside & Tyneside.

Why, if this contracting system is so widespread, is it not introduced at shop floor level? The fact is, that in various forms it does already exist.

The pieceworker contracts to produce a certain number of articles or perform a certain operation a given number of times in a specified time for a given price. Hourly paid workers contract to do a specified (or unspecified) amount of work for so much per hour. In some areas, groups of workers jointly contract to carry out a certain amount of work for a given price, the latter being the group or collective contracts.

Before considering specific cases, let us consider the possible reasons for objection to this system by the management side.

First it challenges & partially destroys the existing hierarchical structure, & this strikes at the very foundations of the traditional master & servant organization of industry.

Secondly, it destroys the "divide & rule" weapon used against workers by employers. This rule may be consciously applied or inherent in the system.

Third it gives to the workers a surprising amount of control over their work, with a corresponding loss of control by the employer over the worker. e.g. if a group rejects the price offered to them to carry out a particular job, it is more difficult to sack them than if it were one pieceworker.

Fourth is the psychological barrier. Although there is no essential difference between bargaining with the manager of the ten man firm

down the road & the spokesman for a gang or group within your own works, the concept of master & servant makes this a bitter pill to swallow. There is also the age old misconception of the superiority of the brain worker over the manual worker & this dies very hard.

Finally, employers are not the fools some people seem to think. They can see in this system, a step towards their own elimination as employers & the assumed power over "their men" that goes with it.

There are however, built in advantages to the employer, for it does not at one fell swoop, destroy the capitalist system, (whatever its brand.) Initially there is an enhancement of the existing economic system by reduced costs, increased productivity, & stabler labour relations, all of which seem to be elusive at present.

If the system is operated as a free group the supervision over men & the imposition of discipline is eliminated since the group imposes its own control from within. The almost impossible task of trying to get individual pieceworkers to make cooperative efforts is made possible under the group system because a team spirit already exists.

The morale of the workers is boosted & a sense of responsibility pervades the group. The division & allocation of work to individuals by the management ceases, this being carried out by the group among themselves. Each difficult work study on a particular operation is dispensed with, the whole job having been contracted at a fixed price by the group.

Up to now I have concentrated on the management side. Where, you may ask, do the workers stand? what have they to gain?

Most human beings are, by nature, gregarious from cradle to grave. Children form gangs & join clubs, hobbies & sports are almost all based on team spirit, & this applies also to adults.

A great deal of work is carried out by teams or gangs of workers, & the size of each group may vary from two to two thousand. All are supposed to be working jointly on some project or other, but in the majority of cases the natural instinct is submerged in the piece-work system where it is every man for himself, suspicious & wary lest his "partner" alongside him is receiving $\frac{1}{2}$ d an hour more & why.

The group contract system eliminates this suspicion since each knows what the other is getting & why, energies & thoughts can be applied to the task in hand. They become a natural social unit with individual as well as group responsibilities. Respect for each other & feelings of fellowship both within the group & between groups is automatically accepted. The individual regains self respect, feels human & knows that others are interested in his thoughts & ideas, he is no longer just a number on a clock card.

Protracted "negotiations" over disputes are no longer necessary, these if they should arise are settled in the space of a few hours. Earnings are usually higher than individual earnings for equivalent work. Improved working conditions, shorter hours etc., with no loss in earnings, can be achieved by their own efforts & are accepted with no hesitation on the part of the management. (Unless it is trying to pull a fast one.) Many benefits cannot be measured or put into words, they can only be summed up by personal feelings experienced & as improvements in the normal family life.

There is nothing like using practical examples to back up that which many would refer to as Utopian theory, & therefore + will conclude with three such examples, one historical & two contemporary.

Of historical importance is the National Building Guild, 1921--3. Important because not only does it illustrate the economic viability of workers' control but also because of the social responsibility it engendered.

After the 1919 Housing Act it became possible to build houses with a very small capital outlay, payment being made stage by stage as the project developed. (This is much the same today with self building groups when & if they are allowed to operate!) In Manchester, under the influence of S.G. Hobson, the building unions formed a building Guild. M. Sparkes persuaded the building operatives in London to form the London Guild of Builders & by 1921 over 140 such guilds throughout the country joined forces to form the National Building Guild. Because it was (as we are today) hidebound by the legal system, it was forced to become a limited company, & as such, undertook to carry such work as was necessary for finance, insurance & commodity supply. All contractual work was carried out by the Regional Councils who were elected jointly by the local craft organizations, professional bodies of architects, clerks etc., & the local guild committees. Capital required for each contract was borrowed at a fixed rate of interest & during the term of the contract, full trade union rates were paid to each worker "in sickness & in health, in good weather & in bad." Where the job worked out cheaper than the contract price, the savings were handed back to the local authority employing the Guild. (Shades of Ferranti.)

Dr. Addison, Minister of Munitions during 1917-18 & from 1919-22 Minister of Health, supported by his chief architect, Raymond Unwin, promised the guilds contracts, if they could be guaranteed enough finance. The C.W.S. bankers allowed an overdraft, the C.I.S. granted loans & the C.W.S. building department signed contracts for the supply of building materials. On the strength of this two million pounds worth of work was taken on. Ernest Selley the independent investigator of contracts on each site, concluded his report as follows:-

1. The Guilds have proved that they are organized on business like lines & are able to carry out building operations in a workmanlike manner.
2. The quality of the work produced is distinctly above average.
3. The weight of the evidence goes to show that the output per man on Guild contracts is as good as that obtained by the best private contractors, & certainly higher than most.

Why then did this admirable venture fold up?

The first post-war slump arrived, & as is usual the Government changed its housing policy. Then the power of the banks enabled them to put the screws on the cash situation & in addition to this the master builders associations jointly agreed to submit lower tenders against the Guilds & to share any losses.

In 1962 & 3 two reports were published based on studies carried out by the Tavistock Institute during the late 1950s in the North West Durham coalfields on the Durham Miners Free Group Project. The miners, when working in small groups, were originally paid as

individuals, however, when mechanization & specialisation were introduced the group numbers increased to between 40 & 50. After the management had tried to operate the old type incentive methods they found themselves faced with dissatisfied workers & low profits. The miners then took it upon themselves to work out their own methods. The system evolved is known as "composite working", in it the group takes upon itself the whole responsibility for the total number of operations involved. There is no fixed job at the coalface for any individual, each man deploys himself as the job requires, the group has complete freedom to evolve the organization & carrying out of the job; & is not subject to any outside authority. The group negotiates a price per ton of coal produced & the income is divided equally among the team. The effect has been an increase in output per man hour & a reduction in cost per ton.

The final example, for which there are some very significant figures, concerns the Gang system operated at the Standards Motor Company in Coventry. Prior to 1939 nearly 70 different rates of pay existed at the plant & gangs consisted of a maximum of ten men. During the war, in order to achieve increased efficiency & productivity the number of wage rates were reduced to ten & the number of men per gang increased to hundreds.

The lessons learned by the management were such that, at the end of the war ~~THEY APPROACHED THE WORKERS~~ to establish the minimum wage for a man & his family to live on in Coventry. From then on the management relied more & more on the gangs to run the production side of the plant. In the complete car works 15 gangs were established made up of Trade Groups, i.e. Toolmakers, Craftsmen, skilled Production Workers, Semi-skilled production workers, Labourers, Teamakers, Cleaners etc. Within each gang & category all were equal, not only in pay but as persons. The Collective Contract agreed by each gang gave the highest pay in the car industry, & many of the gangs, instead of paying each member according to his or her category, (where this was appropriate,) divided the money equally among all members.

Obviously mistakes were made, but also, lessons were learned, & the management, with unusual foresight, allowed the workers to sort out their own mistakes & run the job themselves. No one would suggest that there were no disputes but they were always settled in works' time & on the spot. Initiative at shop floor level came from the shop floor at all times. As a final gesture of confidence in the workers & the system, & in order to be free to carry on, Standards' withdrew from the Employers' Federation. This gang system has established a sense of genuine social responsibility, unheard of in most industries. Each gang is an autonomous social grouping with each member recognizing the values of the other. As stated earlier, this has led to many of the gangs giving equal pay to all of its members whatever their paper category, from their elected foreman to the sweeper up.

As with most large companies, Standard's runs its own sick club with a reducing rate for prolonged illness. The gangs however, recognizing that sick member as one of themselves, contribute at an increasing rate in order to maintain his wages at their own level & then devise means to keep up the production rate. Some firms would use this as an excuse to reduce the labour force. When someone leaves, (a very rare occasion,) or retires & new labour joins the gang, he is taught from stage one upwards until the desired skills have been attained, but from the outset, as a member of the gang, he receives full pay. Each does the job within his capabilities, each receives equal pay & therefore suspicion & jealousy are non-existent.

Gangs can, & do, run into thousands as at the Ferguson Tractor Plant where the whole 3,000 work as one gang. In other factories, gangs are grouped on production lines, assembly lines, & round one or several machines. If a new job requires development or research work by one of the group, then the group guarantees him his money.

Supervision is virtually non-existent, this emanating from the group as a whole. The elected foreman runs the group not the members & in large groups his work may be wholly organizational. Gang meetings take place as & when necessary & at these all members are kept informed of everything that is of interest to the gang, at the same time criticism of anything & everybody can be made & acted upon.

Before passing on to the management side, one word about individuals. There are & always will be, some persons to whom the gang system does not appeal. To off-set this, there are always some jobs in industry which only an individual can do, the individual will therefore opt out & work on his own.

How has the management fared from all this? Most of the figures given here are for 1953, this is because they have been made readily available in Professor Melman's investigation. (see bibliography.)

It has been proved that by operating this system, administration & overhead costs are at best reduced & at worst stabilized. In the two years, 1947-8, the ratio of non-productive workers to productive workers rose, in the motor industry as a whole, from 13 to 20. At the Standard Motor Company, in the fourteen years from 1939-53 it remained stable at 16-16.5. At Standard's the number of supervisors (foremen etc.) per 100 workers was 0.5, at a comparable firm, operating on the traditional daywork & piecework pattern it was 2.1. What about output in the expanding motor industry? In 1953 the nett output per production worker was on a par with the industry as a whole, but nett production per employee (production, management, admin' etc.) was 10% up, on the industrial average.

From the shareholders point of view things were very bright, again referring to 1953, Standard's dividend was 10.9% against B.M.C.'s 8.25%, & profits at 15% were 4% up on Rootes 11%. When comparing these figures it has also to be borne in mind that half the units made at that time were long term contract Massey-Ferguson tractors, which yield a lower profit per unit. The number of vehicles produced per £1 of fixed assets & per £1 of stock & work in progress were higher that year than in, Fords, Vauxhall's, & B.M.C. respectively. The wages at that time were 40% higher than those of the car industry as a whole & the labour turnover was 17.5% against 29.9%. The hours worked were 42½ per week against 44 & the amount of electric power used per man hour was 7% up on the industry as a whole.

Needless to say none of this was ever screamed at us from banner headlines in the newspapers. It is not their wont to destroy the sacred cow of cut-throat competition or to credit workers with anything but obtuse pig-headedness & selfishness. Many people know little or nothing of these achievements & if this article does no more than to enlighten but a handful, it will have served its purpose.

Author's note.

It would be dishonest of me to take credit for more than gathering these facts together & weaving them into the above form. Much of the information has been obtained from Anarchy, & in particular, numbers 2, 40, & 47. Further facts have been taken from other books (listed below) & I must confess that some parts are almost direct lifts. To the authors, I can only offer my thanks for making the information available & for putting it in such a manner that I was unable to improve on it.

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 Organizational Choice.....)

P. G. Herbert & others.

A Purist replies.

L.O.

First an apology. Through leaving too much to my co-editor I did not check later evidence before providing the notes on which the introduction is based, I passed the article on after cursory reading & then when asked for notes for an introduction delved too far back into my memory. At the Anarchist Summer School (in 1953?) when Reg Wright first intervened (during a talk of Geoffrey Oestergaard's) & told us of the Coventry Collective Contracts, what he told us substantially was as in the introduction, (& a report of this talk was reproduced in Freedom a month or two afterwards.) On maturated thought I now remember that when Reg spoke to PYAG (in 58 or 9) he told us he had been mistaken & that the tradition of group work had never died out in Coventry - though it was only since the war that egalitarian & acephalous groups had come into existence. There was therefore a difference in kind as in degree but not an entirely new beginning. (It was the substance of this latter talk that subsequently provided the basis for Reg's article in Anarchy.) I regret that leaving too much to my co-editor has caused confusion, (indeed this fault arises elsewhere.)

Given the size of the average modern factory where the classic basic unit of Industrial Unionism - the council of all the workers in a factory - could not possibly provide an adequate means for direct democratic control of production; Industrial Unionism (Syndicalism) is now only conceivable if based on something not unlike the Collective Contracts.

It is hardly fair however to dismiss syndicalists as if they are not interested in practical advance. Although in this country the syndicalist movement (as distinct from the guild socialist) was never as strong as the American Wobblies or the Continental Syndicalists, there are nevertheless notable records. The South Wales Miners, both before & during the first world war, gained considerable advances by the use of syndicalist techniques; & it was incidentally they who first used the term encroaching control, which was deprecated by Cole in his pre-Guild Socialist days (The World of Labour). During both wars syndicalists & De Leonist Industrial Unionists had considerable influence on the Clyde. During the thirties & the war period the London busmen effectively used syndicalist tactics, - in many cases consciously advocating the anarchist aim. The formation of the Shop Stewards' Movement owed much to Syndicalist (& more De Leonist) activity; Rule one of the A.B.U. (& major rules of several other Unions) testifies to the Syndicalist influence that went into its formation - however long forgotten this now is. The Triple Alliance of 1911 was very largely formed by the Union hierarchs to head off revolutionary industrial unionism, & throughout its history it showed that it responded to syndicalist pressure. In 1913 (when Len believes that syndicalism gave way to guild socialism) the Dublin Dock Strike influenced by Wobbly & De Leonist acts won considerable gains, & forced the Dublin employers on the defensive in a way that shook the world, the solidarity action that broke out in this country was almost exclusively anarcho-syndicalist inspired.

So it is hardly necessary to denigrate Industrial Unionism to laud Guild Socialism - or indeed vice versa - they are obviously related.

within both traditions there are or rather were both reformist & revolutionary currents. Jack Tanner is an ex-syndicalist & he used the term for years after he had abandoned revolutionary ideas & in the fifties if not more recently the chairman of the CGT-FO (the social-reformist trade unions) still described himself as an anarcho-syndicalist though he had long eschewed any intention of mobilizing direct action to attain the free society. On the other hand Cole when a Guild Socialist swung back & forth from revolution to reform. Orage (who incidentally was advocating "Gild" socialism long before 1912) although he advocated joint control by the state & the Guilds, never in fact made the sort of distinction Len makes between Guild Socialism on the one hand, & Syndicalism & Industrial Unionism on the other. They were seen in those days as three strands of the same thing & there were no greater differences between the advocates of Guilds & Syndicates than there were between the latter & those of the One Big Union.

While I concede that because I forgot Reg's later discoveries of the survival of group work in Coventry I overrated the revolutionary potential of the Contracts; I would refer Len to the time (in 1952?) when after a change in management Standard's tried to stamp out the Contract system, - during the ensuing strike when the "Times" was editorially deploring the conservatism of the Coventry workers who insisted on maintaining outdated & inefficient traditional means of work; the Gangs became convinced that they had to borrow more from syndicalism. That strike was broken - or at least no more than stale mate - but it was followed by widespread use of the work to rule (another relic of syndicalism that the working class still finds useful) & the Gangs reestablished themselves in the face of the bitter opposition of the bosses. In effect - if not in theory - the Contract workers were nearer syndicalism than Len suggests & as another opponent of syndicalism says in this issue; "syndicalism is reformism by blows".

Agricultural notes

Roy Pateman

In Great Britain there is a slow movement towards larger farms. Between 1951 & 1962 the number of holdings fell by 42,749 from 377,198 to 334,449 but the number of large holdings (over 300 acres) actually increased by 2827. This trend is likely to be accelerated in the next few years, as technical progress entailing greater intensity & higher capital requirements make the big units more efficient. There is a strong likelihood that an elite will take an ever increasing share of the market. Jack Eastwood who is already the largest single poultry producer in Britain claims to produce eggs more cheaply than anyone else in the country & plans to corner 20% of the market. His profits last year were probably £1,000,000. The British Beef Company hopes to produce 10,000 beef cattle a year in a beef lot near Stowmarket & is confident that this will be the accepted pattern of production in ten years. Wye College economists have found out that the larger pig herd is more efficient. Three or Four large firms control most of the broiler market & are very closely integrated.

The Director of the National Agricultural Advisory Service has outlined the terms on which the small farmer has a future; these point to a farm of about 75 to 90 acres. This is much above the present average & the answer appears to be co-operation &/or part time farming. In spite of this & the 1960 Zuckerman report on scale of enterprise in farming which said "apart from non-material benefits of owning a small farm, the average farmer of under 50 acres is no better rewarded than a farm labourer," the aim of many farm workers is to own their own place & the NUAW has asked that a thousand new small holdings should be created every year.

It has been shown that over the last 30 years labour requirements for cash crops (sugar beet, potatoes & cereals) have changed greatly & are likely to change even more in the next ten; this is due to progress in mechanization. For instance labour requirements for Barley have dropped from 54 hours per acre to $12\frac{1}{2}$ by 1960 & will be 6 by 1970. Farmers are not unduly concerned that the Labour force is dwindling. (From 607,000 in

1939 to 456,000 -Dec. 1964.) Amalgamation of holdings & increased mechanisation more than make up for the loss of labour. It is also of course increasingly possible for farmers to create large amounts of capital without expropriation of small farms. One of the most remarkable features of modern agriculture has been the growth of factory farming needing small acreage only. I know a veal farmer producing 1,400 calves a year off $\frac{1}{4}$ acre & he has accumulated enough capital in three years to start another unit.

This particular Capitalist Government is also attempting to bolster up the small farmer (though in deference I would think to the powerful NFU pressure group,) last year's £6,000,000 was given to small farmers to help them become more efficient. Before the war most farmers were tenants, now 70% own their own farms; I would think that this places them in a clearly defined social class from the hired hands. A few hundred landowners with estates of more than 4,000 acres account for about half of the tenanted acreage. Agricultural land is fetching over £250 per acre at the moment & £300 will not be uncommon in a few months. NAAS figures show that only an exceptionally good farm costing this sum can show a profit by the time that it is stocked & interest charges paid off. The men buying this land are already landowners with land bought twenty years ago at less than half current values. The rich farmer is getting richer & the poor poorer.

Some signs of increased working class militancy are coming from the country. Recently nine young stockmen at the British Beef Company's beef-plot in Suffolk staged a sit-down strike over pay & other complaints. They were dismissed. Two other factors influencing the move towards larger scale farming are (a) the desire of Governments to reduce the level of subsidies to British farmers (which are running at the rate of £300,000,000 a year) without reducing production, & (b) the fact that other countries in Europe are taking measures to amalgamate inefficient holdings, retire older farmers & provide easier credit for larger units.

It is difficult to see how the landowning class or the farm worker class are going to be convinced of the need for the socialist revolution. The farmers are certainly learning the benefits of cooperation. Farmers coops already have thirty percent of the trade in fertilizers, machinery & other raw materials. Group selling & machinery syndicates are on the increase because their economic advantages are so great. I cannot see the large scale farmer relinquishing his hold on the land. Farm workers are not in the van of progress either but this is changing. More & more workers are attending educational classes; farming is a highly skilled technical job nowadays. Pay rates are still way below industrial levels but the hard core of agricultural workers wouldn't work in the town for double the wage. The status of the worker is changing too with the man getting more responsibility. I hope that the well educated farm worker of tomorrow will have more & more freedom in his job & in a small way start to build the new society in the shell of the old. But we are relatively unimportant, only 4% of people employed on the land relative to the total population, the smallest percentage of any country. So the majority will continue to produce food more efficiently &.....wait for revolution.

George Orwell.

Tony Allan.

Everyone has read George Orwell. Penguin Books, (always a reliable guide to public taste,) now have all his fiction on their lists with the exception of the early & immature novel "Burmese Days". His importance in introducing children to the Left wing is impossible to assess, but certainly large. The chief reason for this of course is that unlike the average Left-wing writer he is both amusing & easy to read. In his case however, this virtue seems to be a double-sided blade; through it, over the years, people have been trapped into seeing in him a deceptive simplicity that only exists on the surface of his political thought. Ask anyone what they know about Orwell & they will glibly say that he was a socialist; a knowledgeable minority will say that he was an anti-communist socialist. Now if this was the whole truth the anarchist would regretfully have to take his leave. I say regretfully, because whatever one's political beliefs it is hard not to

respect the honesty of one of the few Britons in this century who corresponded to Thoreau's idea of an upright man. Yet despite the fact that Orwell always called himself a socialist, I think that he shared so much common ground with at any rate the syndicalist side of anarchism - much more than with the parliamentary Labour Movement - that only the most pig-headed anarchist would quarrel with him.

Orwell was a late developer to Socialism; in fact, given a happier age to live in, he might never have turned his attention to politics at all - he himself stated this on several occasions. His first four books could all be called 'Left-wing' in that they set up an impoverished hero against Society, which consists of fat little men who smoke cigars & drive Rolls-Royces. Yet so far he was regarded as an ally by the 'Left', but not as an out & out champion of any form of political belief; in other words he was an Osborne rather than a Wesker. His outlook was a natural extension of his unhappy childhood, when he felt himself an outsider at a rich public school, & later as a scholar at Eton. It was only with the publication of "The Road to Wigan Pier" in 1937, under the auspices of the 'Left Book Club', that he came into the open on the side of Socialism. The first half of the book was an orthodox & sympathetic study of working class conditions in the North; a good piece of New Statesman-style social reporting. But the second section, strangely enough under the circumstances, was a prolonged savaging of the Socialist movement as it then stood, in his best controversial manner. He inveighed against the "fruit juice drinkers", nudists, sandal-wearers, sex-maniacs, Quakers, "Nature Cure" quacks, pacifists & feminists whom he saw as clouding the movement. On the surface his charges seem petty & irascible; (one of the few things that Robert Shelton, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, can claim in common with him is that he too has condemned the Civil Rights workers as sandal wearing sex-maniacs.) Underneath though, there lay a basic temperamental split between someone who, in his own words, "became a socialist more out of disgust with the oppressed & neglected life of the poorer workers than out of any theoretical understanding of a planned society;" & the doctrinaire party-liners & intellectual faddists for whom the only unforgiveable sin was one against the New Statesman. He was even prepared to go beyond the followers & to attack the movement itself: "Once Socialism is in the way to being established, those who can see through the swindle of 'progress' will probably find themselves resisting. In fact, it is their special function to do so. In the machine-world they have got to be a sort of permanent opposition, which is not the same as being an obstructionist or a traitor." (Minus the last phrase, this could have come straight out of Anarchy. Orwell, then, was a strange type of socialist; though he held to the Labour Movement because he felt that the workers, whose oppression he felt so deeply, must organize to defend themselves, he was almost as conscious of the faults of the 'Left-wing' as of their Conservative opponents. This is borne out by the fact that he was always more bitterly criticised by the Communists than by the Right.

The Spanish Civil War was the critical point in Orwell's development. He went out to fight with the P.O.U.M., a dissident Marxist Party ((affiliated to the Syndicalist C.N.T., but ideologically somewhere between Trotskyism & left social-democracy, Eds,)) that was later outlawed by the official, i.e. Russian, Communists, who had control of the arms supplied to the Government forces by Stalin & could therefore do roughly what they wanted. Orwell himself, though wounded in the throat in the front-line, had to flee from Spain to escape arrest as a 'fascist agent'. The war thus naturally speeded up his growing disillusionment with Communism & totalitarianism in all its forms, however good the expressed motives may be, & led directly to his two last masterpieces, 'Animal Farm' & '1984'. Secondly, the Civil War brought him for the first time into direct contact with Anarchism. Orwell, thank god, was never a political theorist; his writing would have been much duller if he had been. His judgements were always based on direct emotional, rather than theoretical grounds. So it is not surprising that while relatively unconcerned about the theory of anarchism, he was prepared to fight, & if needs be to die, for its practical manifestations. He had gone to Spain originally with the idea of writing newspaper articles; it was the sight of Barcelona after the Anarchist revolution that decided him to fight instead. Throughout his book 'Homage to Catalonia', which is really just as much an indictment of Russian Communism as its successor 'Animal Farm', there runs the conflict between the actual workers & their sup-

posed defenders in the Spanish Government. He believed that in spite of power politics and journalistic lying, the central issue of the war was the attempt of the people to win the decent life which they knew to be their birthright. Their defeat in one of the most clear-cut confrontations of good versus evil of the century was probably the main reason behind the pessimism of his last works, in which the ordinary man becomes first the good-hearted but politically impotent Boxer and then the faceless prole of 1984. At any rate, Orwell was able to make sure that in this conflict he was on the right side: "When I see an actual flesh-and-blood worker in conflict with his natural enemy, the policeman, I do not have to ask myself which side I am on", he wrote, and in the Civil War in Barcelona between the anarchists and the Government-backed Communists, he fought against the forces of so-called law and order.

and so through the Spanish War to the last years on the island of Jura in the Hebrides, where Orwell exiled himself 25 miles from the nearest shop. After "Homage to Catalonia" he had taken a rest from political writing with "Coming up for Air", in which the hero, George Bowling, tries to escape from the pressures of modern society and a nagging wife into the Edwardian world of his youth, only to find that it had been shattered by the coming of twentieth century civilisation. Though he saw the faults of the era that ended with the First World War, Orwell always hankered after it as a time of humanity and beauty in comparison with the England of his own day. In "Animal Farm" and "1984" he returned to the theme of "Homage to Catalonia". "Animal Farm" begins with his Utopia; the animals drive the farmer from the land as the workers had done to their masters in Barcelona; the rest of the book, and "1984" after it, reflect his disillusionment at the collapse of the Golden Age. The process starts when the animals hand the control over their own destiny to the pigs because of their supposedly superior intelligence; the pigs, of course, being meant to represent the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Once this has happened, the double-headed Hydra of self-interest and will-to-power rears its head; the pigs create favoured conditions for themselves and struggle amongst themselves for a despotic leadership over the other animals, maintained by the use of force in the shape of the nine savage hounds. By the end of the end of the book the farm motto "All animals are equal" has had "But some are more equal than others" added, and the pigs are indistinguishable from their old human masters. By the beginning of "1984" the process has been carried several stages further, as the proles have practically no contact at all with their rulers; they have been reduced to the level of insects. The three great nations live in a state of constant warfare, as this preserves the most favourable atmosphere for their home policies. And yet they maintain the myth of socialism by the abolition of private ownership. By this stage, Orwell has come to realise that unless the workers retained direct control over the means of production, nationalisation was a sham, just as Western democracy was a sham whilst privileged classes remained. He was also a dying man; tuberculosis had an incurable grip on him by the time that he finished the book. The knowledge of this may have darkened the end of the book; but given the political conditions at the start, it is hard to see how Winston Smith's revolt could have failed to be crushed - the most that he could have hoped for was to die before he was forced to surrender his self-respect.

Orwell's last work was thus devoted to a study of the revolution that failed; does it follow that he thought all revolutions must fail? Probably he would have accepted Camus' division between revolution and insurrection, which is not aimed at establishing a new power-structure. Here it is important that the failure of the animals' revolt was due to the sacrifice of power to the pigs, just as the workers of Catalonia were betrayed by the Communist Party. The obvious message is that the workers must retain control over their

own destinies after the revolution as they do during it. It is hard to see how after 1984, Orwell could have failed to turn to some form of anarcho-syndicalism had he lived. Yet it is no use sitting back smugly & saying that Orwell would have been an anarchist if he had been alive today. In fact he would have found the existing anarchist movement exactly the kind of intellectual faddist that he abhorred in Socialism. I defy any anarchist to read his diatribes against the didactic theoreticians of the Left without an image of Alex Comfort ((or perhaps ourselves? Eds,)) slowly forming in his mind. As Orwell realised, no movement, however just its intentions, can be really worth-while until it widens its horizons beyond a small coterie of Utopian intellectuals. To become a vital force, anarchism will again need saints & possibly martyrs. It has always flourished when it was a faith rather than an intellectual belief. It has become a cliché to say God is dead & that the problem is now to find a godless religion, which will again give the mystics the necessary grounding in faith & the people a chance to fulfill themselves, without which the former become only spiritual alcoholics, outsiders, & the latter television-watchers & bingo players. Paradoxically it is by raising its standards & harshening its ideals that anarchism will become a mass faith. The only thing that Orwell's life & writing should teach us is that softness can't win.

extracts from the Root is Man by Dwight Macdonald.

A form of society has come into being which is not socialist but rather an even more oppressive form of class society than Capitalism, & yet which has resolved those economic contradictions on which Marx based his expectations of progress to socialism. It is a "Third alternative" to both Capitalism & Socialism. So far we have had two examples, one in a backward country (Russia under Stalin,) the other in the most advanced nation of Europe, (Nazi Germany after 1936,) Tendencies in the same direction which may be called "Bureaucratic Collectivism" have been growing in other nations; the Keynesian economic policies of the New Deal, the post-war nationalization trend in England & on the continent. The dominance of war & preparation for war in the last decade, & the continuance of this pattern as the tension between the Russian & the Anglo-American bloc grows - these factors stimulate Bureaucratic Collectivist tendencies. For if Capitalism was primarily a new method of producing & distributing the products of industry, Bureaucratic Collectivism might be regarded as a new way of organizing national resources - human, cultural, economic - for effective warring. Since I do not see in history the dialectical progressive pattern Marx found there, & so can see a number of possible alternatives at any given point in history, Bureaucratic Collectivism does not appear to me (as it does to Marxists & to Marxists turned inside out like James Burnham) the sole & inevitable successor to Capitalism. Libertarian Socialism may be another alternative at certain times & places under certain conditions. Therefore I do not draw the hopeless conclusions Trotsky for instance does as to the future if Bureaucratic Collectivism is historically "viable". All that one can say at present, & it is not precisely cheerful that socialism has not materialized & Bureaucratic Collectivism has.

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In the century after Waterloo (1815-1914), there was only one war in Europe between first class powers: the Franco-Prussian War. In the first half of the 20th Century there have already occurred two World Wars which involved not only all the great European Powers but also the USA, Russia & Japan; & a third World War is generally anticipated. Furthermore, World War II was much more destructive of lives, property & culture than World War I, & the Atomic Bomb promises to make World War III devastating-beyond any historical parallel. These are commonplace but it is easy (& pleasant) to forget them. It is also easy to forget that the whole body of socialist theory, from the Utopians through Marx, Engels, Proudhon & Popotkin to Luxemburg, Lenin & Trotsky (after whom it ceased to develop significantly) was built up during the "Hundred Years Peace" after Waterloo.

From these facts two conclusions emerge. (1) The preparation & waging

of war is now the normal mode of existence of every great nation; the creation of military force is no longer one among other means of advancing the national interest but rather, it is now the National Interest (cf Simone Weil's "Worlds & War" in the May 1946 Politics.)

(2) Since the chronic world warfare of our day was unknown to them, the theoreticians of socialism devoted their attention mainly to the internal class struggle & failed to work out an adequate theory of the political significance of war; this gap still remains to be filled; until it is, modern socialism will continue to have a somewhat academic flavour. Marxism regards war as a means to an end, a method of advancing certain definite class interests; as a means, it is subordinated to its end, so that if the destruction it causes seems likely to exceed the gains to those groups using this means they will presumably not use it; there is implied in this whole view a certain rationality, even moderation & limit, to warfare, so that one can say that a given war may offer a "revolutionary opportunity" or that the victory of one side may be more advantageous to the cause of socialism than the victory of the other. There was some truth in these ideas in Marx's time, but they are now obsolete. War has become an end in itself.

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We seem to be in the early stages ((this was written in 1946! Eds.)) of a new concept of revolutionary & socialist politics, where we can hope for the present only to clear the ground, to criticise the old methods

that have landed us in a blind alley, & to grope in a new direction. Anarchism & Pacifism provide the best leads for this direction, but

only leads, something quite different from either of them, as they have traditionally developed will probably have to be developed.

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Granted that individual action can never overthrow the status quo, & also that even spontaneous mass rebellion will be fruitless unless it has some kind of conscious programme & also unless certain elementary steps of coordination & organization are taken. But today we confront this situation: the masses just do not act towards what most of the readers of this magazine would recognize as some fundamental betterment of society. The only way at present of so acting (as against just "making the record" for the muse of marxian history by resolution & manifestoes "against imperialist war", "for the proletarian revolution", etc.) seems to be through symbolic individual actions, based on one persons insistence on his own values, & through creation of small fraternal groups which will support such actions, keep alive a sense of our ultimate goals, & both act as a leavening in the dough of mass society & attract more & more of the alienated & frustrated members of that society.

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Socialism is primarily an ethical matter. The number of people who want it at any given moment has nothing to do with its validity for the individual who makes it his value. What he does, furthermore, is considered to be just as "real" as what History does.

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As socialists, our central problem today is what Georg Lukacs calls reification (thingification) that process which Marx prophetically described as "alienation"; the estrangement of man from his own nature by the social forces he himself generates. "This chrystalization of social activity", write the young Marx & Engels in "the German Ideology", "this consolidation of what we ourselves produce into an objective power above us, growing out of our control, thwarting our expectations, bringing to naught our calculations is one of the chief factors in historical development up to now....."

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These are quotes from an essay that made a considerable impact after the war - but which is now forgotten - though Macdonald preceded most of those who are now thought of as New Thinkers, in his analysis of the warfare state, & modern alienation. Eds.

The Devil's Advocate:
 or, A defence of the Almost Indefensible.
 Nick Gould

There are certain attitudes of mind which are almost universal on the Left: attitudes adopted so automatically and retained so unthinkingly, that any criticism of them is bound to incur instant and unanimous denunciation. Such attitudes may or may not be justifiable: but it is certain that very few socialists ever bother to justify them - they are articles of faith, not rational convictions. Anarchists have many faults; but dogmatism should not be one of them. I intend in this article to say briefly why I think the stock Left-wing attitude to such things as tradition, patriotism, religion and aristocracy is unjustifiably severe.

I shall start by considering aristocracy: for it is no accident that many great anarchists have been aristocrats. Indeed anarchism, as the most individualist and exuberant creed of the Left, is well suited to the ethos of a social group which, though in all ages arrogant, thoughtless and dissipated, has seldom been prone to the staid sins of dullness and conformity. The eccentric aristocrat is as much a part of the English Legend as the absent-minded professor; and has an equally firm basis in fact. This eccentricity, it seems to me, is a great and anarchic virtue. Stirner, the prophet of Individualism, lived out a career of nauseating respectability - the real individualists have been, as like as not, Tories. Conservatism in politics has never implied conventionality in other, more important matters. With the decline of the aristocracy (together with the professionalization of the Universities and the Church) we are losing our eccentrics, and the world is a duller place without them. We cannot even claim that this decline has run parallel with a great upsurge of freedom for ordinary people. We have merely been transferred to the power of what Chesterton called "the new unhappy lords" - the drab automatons of Whitehall instead of the flamboyant feudalists of the past.

As an anarchist, then, I look forward not to the abolition of aristocracy but to its extension. The Left has always been too prone to idolize the worker; but the working-class virtues do not embody all that is noble and admirable in mankind, and they are offset by very solid and harmful working-class vices. Every class has something to offer the Anarchist Man of the future: and I hope he will take from the aristocrat his pride (not the pride of superiority, which is the deadliest sin, but the heroic pride born of independence and godlike self-sufficiency), his eccentricity, his love of beauty and nature and the countryside, and his sense of continuity and tradition.

With the mention of tradition, of course, I start another hare which will soon have all the hounds of socialism baying at its heels. But to anyone who believes, as any anarchist surely must, that human beings are fundamentally good and sensible, tradition must seem a repository of much that is worth preserving. After all, traditions are generally activities which large numbers of people have enjoyed over a long period of time. If they are often irrational and uneconomic, what of it? So are sports, but few people condemn them for that. So is patriotism; a harmless enough foible in itself, so long as love of one's own country does not involve hatred of other people's (it need not; if a man loves his own wife, he is not obliged to hate the wives of other men): and so long as we remember that we love a country, like a wife, not because it is best, but because it is our own.

Religion, too, is irrational and uneconomic: and hence comes in for a deal of criticism from many "progressives". Now I myself ceased to have any religious beliefs some years ago. I have since decided that it is of minimal importance whether any person has a religion or not: religion does not determine character, but character religion. I have known anarchist Christians, Buddhists

and Muslims; and they were none the worse anarchists because of their religious beliefs. I have known Tory agnostics; and their agnosticism weakened not one jot their support for the Conservative Party. So if my religious friends maintain that a man's religion is (as, if true, it must be) the most important fact about him, I beg to differ: it is about as important as his taste in food or music. But if so, why the heated debates? Why the angry diatribes and impassioned defences? The sensible attitude - the libertarian attitude, I might have said - is one of respectful tolerance. "I believe this, you believe that - vive la difference!" For my part, I like to think that in an anarchist England the churches and cathedrals would be thronged with worshippers; and used for other communal purposes, too, as they were in the past until the Puritans made religion a thing of gloom and duty rather than of joy.

Puritanism, in the broadest sense, is really the object under attack in this essay: for it all too often walks hand in hand with Revolution. The struggle, frequently, is not between the stern, straight-laced morality of Established Power, and the exuberant, life-loving vigour of Revolution; rather is it Reaction which dances and sings and drinks the night away, while Revolution is stern and purposeful, and condemns as wasteful all the frivolous gaiety of life. (In this context I must mention the custom among Left-wingers in Oxford of denigrating that university and all its ways: true, it is still to some extent a playground of the idle rich; but playgrounds are better than battlefields; and it is not idleness and riches we should wish to abolish, but drudgery and poverty.) We should never forget that the only successful English revolution abolished May-poles as well as Monarchy: and while emulating their courage and determination, take care to be more discriminating than the Roundheads in our choice of victims. Better that ten guilty men should live, than that one innocent man should die: better Charles I, stained-glass and plum pudding, than a republican England full of desecrated churches and cheerless Christmasses.

I am aware that the views expressed in this article may seem to many people to be inspired more by Peter Simple than by Peter Kropotkin: but the resemblances between Toryism and Anarchism, though I have never seen them mentioned (hardly surprisingly, since both parties would indignantly deny that there were any!), seem to me as striking as their differences. The Tory's pleas for the old values, against the encroachments of bureaucracy, technical progress and mass culture should find a sympathetic hearing among anarchists; though we should never forget that in supporting the present social and economic system he is helping to perpetuate the very evils which he condemns.

Primitive Communism in Dervish Orders Harvey G. Mellor

Part I: Anarchism and Mysticism.

The discussion of mysticism and religion in Anarchist circles revolves around one of two poles, those who deny any validity to religion at all, and those who see in mysticism and religion something confirming, supporting and perhaps even giving a basis to their Anarchism. It is the second of these attitudes I wish to discuss because underlying it are several basic misconceptions as to the nature of mysticism; blinded by their Anarchist preconceptions and their desire to reconcile the two these Anarchists often reject as incidental and unimportant precisely those elements of mysticism which are central to it.

It is within the context of Islamic mysticism, because of my greater practical experience in that field, that I wish to discuss the

general relationship between Anarchism and mysticism. But the remarks in the first part are valid for all mystical systems, only in the second part will I consider Islamic mysticism in particular. Mysticism is, of course, as much a Western as an Eastern phenomena (though increasingly rare in the West since it began to turn away from its old traditions to the pursuit of material goals, a change in outlook that is these days becoming increasingly common in the East as well) and yet it is fashionable to discuss mysticism in terms of Buddhism, in particular Zen Buddhism, which is not a bad thing in itself but a great deal of misinterpretation of Zen exists in the West as is easily demonstrable by comparing the rigid discipline of Zen monks with the views propounded by the so-called Zen-followers of the West. Islamic mysticism provides a half way house between European and Eastern mysticisms, not simply geographically, but because it has throughout its history communicated with both these other mystical traditions.

A belief in mysticism comes ultimately not through rational argument but through experience, but once having accepted it we have to observe certain things about its implications.

a) A hierarchy of men:

Basic to all mysticisms is a belief in a hierarchy of men; because it postulates a goal it must also judge men by their degree of attainment of that goal. This hierarchy implies a hierarchy of spiritual power and authority, and hence a hierarchy of temporal power, for a division between spiritual and temporal, body and mind, would be inimical to mysticism. No mystical school has been built up without this hierarchy of authority. That authority may be freely given, it may have no other expression than the charismatic power of certain individuals, but it always exists.

b) The goal is to be found in the present society:

Mysticism seeks for its goal here and now within the context of society as it finds it; the mystic does not attempt to change society in order to find his goal. It is not denied that what a man is is to a great extent determined by the society in which he lives, but a mystic has to strive to free himself from such an influence by any society, no matter how perfect that society may be. That some societies are better than others from his point of view is true, but ultimately he claims he can find his goal now in society as it exists, and so on one plane social change is irrelevant to him. His desire to change society must be less urgent than that of a man who sees his whole life and goal as part of a society.

c) The distinction between good and evil:

On one plane a mystic sees no distinction between good and evil and so on that plane can make no moral judgements about the nature of the society he lives in.

It is important to remember that the lack of concern for social change, and the rejection of a distinction between good and evil are true only on a certain experiential plane (and that not the highest in the mystical hierarchy of Islam at least). The mystic still wishes on the usual relative plane of his existence to see society organised so as to allow most easily himself and others to achieve the goal he seeks, and he also does make moral judgements on that plane, whilst recognizing the ultimate identity of good and evil.

A confusion between these various planes of experience on the part of a mystic will have the most disastrous consequences for himself and others; and it is from such confusions that most of the aberrations of mysticism have sprung.

d) The regress of mankind:

Most mystical systems have some symbolic expression of mankind's comparative degeneracy as compared with some stage in his past

history. They see man as from a certain time in history slowly losing the ability to achieve the mystical goal. Hinduism sees the Golden Age of mankind many tens of thousands of years ago, and sees the Kali Yuga, the last of the four great stages of mankind's regression as beginning some time well before what we usually regard as the beginning of historical time (c.6,000 B.C.). According to Hinduism and traditions in other religions, the time we are living in now is the deepest point of man's degeneracy, and so there is little chance of many achieving the mystical goal; only a very few in this age can achieve this goal. The traditional accounts differ, superficially at least, in their accounts of what is to follow our times. Some see the end of the world, others man's return, slowly or quickly to the Golden Age.

e) Rejection of material goals:

Perhaps this is too obvious to merit special notice, but the mystical goal is such that, at least, it leads one to disregard material goals, and even perhaps to positively reject them. So a mystic is not going to consider it worth his while devoting time to working towards a society of greater material abundance than that necessary for survival.

From this mystical viewpoint various misconceptions of much Anarchist thought are thrown into light.

a) Violence:

A mystic on one level seeing no distinction between good and evil (so much so that the Pharoah who opposed Moses and Judas Iscariot have both been regarded as saints in certain mystical communities) refuses to regard violence in itself as wrong. A realistic view of animal and human behaviour shows violence to be an integral part of their lives. This violence has a direct and obvious utilitarian purpose in animals and primitive human societies, but it does not follow that because violence serves little utilitarian purpose at the present time that it is therefore possible, or desirable, to eradicate it, any more than the fact that we do not wish to increase our population makes it possible, or desirable, to reduce our sexual desires. Anarchists should recognise that violence is part of human nature, and should want the removal of its organised expression since this no longer serves any utilitarian purpose, but individual violence is both less dangerous to society as a whole and more efficacious as an expression of the individual's violent tendencies, and hence useful in the development of his personality, and hence in the mystical quest.

b) Victims of a sick society:

We wish to suggest that the so-called "victims of a sick society" are not so much a result of the "sickness" of our society, but of its being brought face to face with the problem of existence. As long as society was occupied with mere survival or in pursuing false political and religious goals (for from a mystical viewpoint all political and religious goals are false) then the ultimate problem of existence had not been brought before mankind as strongly and clearly as it has in the present age. Also being in the lowest part of the Kali Yuga those capable of solving the problem of existence on a mystical basis are very few in number, and are not capable of effectively acting as guides for others.

To conclude the first part of our discussion we would like to mention one great religious scholar who despite the above considerations, and indeed because of them has come to anarchist conclusions. That is Ananda Coomaraswamy, his last essay in "The Dance of Shiva" is a discussion of Anarchist goals and means. He postulates as a goal the anarchist society, based on individualism with co-operation between individuals, and as his means suggests the voluntary renunciation of power over others, we must renounce the desire to govern others, and call on others to do the same. An

anarchist society can not come by taking power from others or by destroying others' power. It must come by the voluntary renunciation of power by everyone. He admits that the anarchist society he is working for may never come, yet nevertheless it is necessary to know the direction in which we are trying to travel.

However, mysticism is fundamentally opposed to democracy and the idea of social progress. It opposes the rule of the majority, which is the worst form of authoritarianism. The idea of democracy is a late one in the history of man's thinking because it implies a quantitative way of looking at man that is alien to the mystical view of man. As man slowly degenerated the form of the spiritual hierarchy degenerated into the ruling elites, thus losing its whole meaning. But only a very debased society could try, or claim to try, to rest its system of organization on a quantitative rather than a qualitative basis.

One can not achieve anarchism by gradual evolution; its achievement would be at the same time the completion of the present cycle of history and the re-establishment of the Golden Age, to be followed by yet another gradual regression.

LSD and Psychology. Pete Whewell

LSD or lysergic acid diethylamide is not an "invention" of modern "civilised" man. Like most of the good things of life it was around before the Americans - millions of years before. It occurs in ergot, which is in turn present in a black fungus that used to grow on rye in Europe. This fungus was responsible for a disease known as St. Anthony's Fire, in which the victim suffered various hideous psychotic disorders before his arms and legs crumbled away. Whether this was due to excessive amounts of LSD is now merely an academic issue. Nobody is likely to consume vast amounts of LSD to find out. Whether this has been tried on animals I do not know, certainly the most conscientious experimenters have not been at any great pains to elucidate this so it must be presumed that within all known limits LSD taking is physically safe. Mescaline, a close relative of LSD, is taken in large quantities by the Mexican Indians, who rarely suffer mental disorders from it and no physical disorders have been recorded. L.S.D. was extracted from ergot by a Swiss Chemist, Hoffman. After the extraction Hoffman went home feeling ill, and then had hallucinations. Being curious he deliberately took 25 micrograms of the LSD he had extracted and again had vivid hallucinations. Since then LSD has been explored remarkably little and the majority of psychologists have apparently turned a blind eye to one of the most amazing psychological phenomena of recent years.

Fogel (1960) studied the effects of LSD on 89 volunteers and has contributed most to a description of the events after taking it. His subjects were given doses ranging from 50 - 200 micrograms. He classified the results as immediate (8 - 12 hours after dose) or long lasting (4 days or permanent).

The immediate effects he classified as to their relation to mood, interpersonal behaviour, sensory, intellectual reality, intellectual intuition. The effect on mood varied from individual to individual, from tears to euphoria. Most experienced various degrees of euphoria, depression was comparatively rare. All were completely lacking in concern for the future or the past.

Increased sensitivity was the main change in interpersonal relationships. The experimenter had to be very careful how he handled the subject. If he offended the subject a state of paranoia could easily develop, whereas if the experimenter was too friendly the subject was liable to fall in love. Luckily this only tended to happen if the two were opposite sexes. When Julian Huxley first took LSD with a woman he fell violently in love with her (although he had not consciously felt emotional towards her before) and this attachment lasted two years.

The sensory effects of LSD are weird, wild and whimsical. There is a vast increase in sensitivity to sound and visual stimuli. Huxley who was wearing corduroy trousers when first dosed could not take his eyes off them for more than half an hour. Often there is apparent gross bodily distortion. Many people have felt themselves shrink down to the size of a child of two or less. Sensations go crazy and get mixed up like paints producing weird erotic shades. On hearing music moving colours are often seen, pictures conjure sounds and smells create visions. Time seems valueless and inconstant, even moving backward or stopping still. Visual fantasies are completely individual and often based on memories previously forgotten; all the debris of a lifetime floats about the room.

Intellectual reality was almost impossible to measure. If asked to add up a column of figures most patients showed no response at all, they were too busy with their own more important discoveries. Irrelevancy consists of all the buttresses of everyday reality, the LSD puts trivia properly in its place. Organised thought is virtually impossible.

Lastly we come to the most important category of change, the change in intellectual intuition. For the sake of analysis it is best to break this into two parts, the experience of mysticism and the experience of existential awareness of the self. The mystic experience is ultimately bound up with the flow of sensuous images flowing into the patient's mind. Just as Huxley perceived Heaven and Hell so probably did the Mexican Indians long before Christians assigned them meaning. The mystical experiences tend to be primitively symbolic, a dark reflection of the seething jungle of man's primeval past. This could well be Jung's "inherited potentialities of human imagination" the "all-controlling deposit of ancestral experience from millions of years". Whether Jung is right or not is not likely to be proved for a long time. It seems physiologically unlikely that he is right in that these mysticisms are probably not transmitted from father to son. It is more likely that they are distorted reflections of the basic physiological processes that take place in each one of us. Huxley has, almost single-handed, tried to explain these mystic visions by physiological occurrences. He believes that all mystic cults, from Voodoo to Yoga are dependant on freeing the physiological inhibition normally entrenched in the brain, and that once the inhibitory plug is washed away, as it is with LSD, the individual becomes flooded with the physics of his own body. Beneath the veil of respectability of every man lies a glorious image of Rousseau's "natural man". Certainly experience under LSD can express itself in several traditional ways. A few have "seen the light" after taking LSD and have had profound religious conversions. Often these are violently unstable. One woman who took LSD whilst on her own had vivid visions of the devil, who assaulted her sexually and subjected her to his eternal presence. To escape from him she decided to commit suicide and began writing a farewell letter to the world. Luckily she fell asleep whilst writing. When she woke up she looked at the last word she had written before she fell asleep. This happened to be "church". She suddenly felt the "grace and love of God pouring over me" and has since become a highly

religious person. This incident demonstrates the potential instability of an LSD hallucination. It also demonstrates the supreme importance of having another person present when a patient takes this drug. The environment and interpersonal relationships of a patient must be kept as constant as possible to avoid inducing mystic experiences that may permanently harm the patient. Although no case of a person being "possessed by the devil" and remaining that way is recorded, it is nevertheless theoretically possible.

Mystic experience is much more likely to occur if the patient is emotionally unstable. It is especially prevalent among alcoholics who are treated with LSD. These people are victims of the sickness of the 20th century, they are people alienated from themselves and from the competitive pressures of a materialistic life. They have been able to find no meaning in life, no satisfaction. Society brands them as failures so they turn to drink, and then accuses them of being alcoholics. They are trapped between failure and a guilt of being alcoholic and wasting away any opportunities they might have had. All the good in them has been usurped by the state whilst they are left with the lowest denominator of bad. LSD frees these people from the artificial guilt imposed upon them and gives them immediate hope. This sudden luminescence is described by them as a mystical experience. They have been returned to normality and often cease taking alcohol. The raising of self-esteem is a characteristic that makes LSD a potential solution to many previously untreatable disorders.

The mystic experience of LSD is very much tied up with the experience of existential awareness that is always experienced. Whereas mystic experience is a very unpredictable and elusive occurrence, existential awareness is predictable and can be described in the same terms for a large number of people. One of the basic characteristics is that of a double self. Huxley describes how a part of him walks away and watches his other half in detachment. It is as if the mind is freed from physical contours and can roam the universe at will. Rebirth phenomena are common, where you climb out of yourself and feel yourself emerging from the womb. There is a loss of physical identity, subject and object, self and world, conscious and unconscious fuse in a mass of being, a mist of transcendentalism. Yet in spite of this apparent loss of identity, the actual feeling of I AM is overriding. I am the man, I suffered, I was there and I am god, I triumph and I am here amalgamate to give a feeling of at-oneness. It is comparable to Hume's existential revelation "suddenly existence had unveiled itself. It had lost the look of an abstract category; it was the very paste of things". The ego, id and superego are stripped away leaving the naked I alone and yet fused with the images of existing so that the I is part of existence and not apart. It is as if sensory perception has penetrated right into the soul. At the same time the patient possesses the power to see himself as he really is, stripped of his capacity for lies and rationalization. This confrontation of the self as it really is is the important factor. Having unwrapped his many guises the patient may not be able to stand up to himself as he really is. He must come to terms with himself or become paranoid. Once he has come to terms with himself he has then an enormously strong base on which to build, using his innate creativity. It is in patients lacking in creativity that paranoia is liable to manifest itself. This again can be dangerous and can lead to breakdown. However this lack of creativity when under LSD is very rare. Man's creative ability is mainly remarkably high and it is merely the inhibitive mechanisms that clamp it down. That these inhibitory barriers are partly put up by the present alien and imprisoned form of society is beyond doubt. With the advent of television and the mass media creativity is even less encouraged and with it the loss of individual awareness of existence. It is interesting that

the surge of creativity associated with LSD is bound up with the increasing belief in the self and the increasing freedom from the ego (which is a conditioning mechanism of what we think we ought to be). In other words what we are, our real self is connected with creating. And this is exactly what is experienced under LSD.

To return to the safer pastures of clinical knowledge the next question to ask is what, if any, are the lasting effects of LSD. To generalize Fogel found that through self-awareness as described above the patients were much more tolerant of ambiguity, more approving of symbolism and irrationalism, less concerned with now, and possessed a more appreciative aesthetic sense of values. These all appear to be libertarian tendencies that would appear to be of value in today's world. Secondly some, only a limited proportion, of patients acquired an "insight" which resulted in a change of behaviour. These insights were in terms of the person's particular value system, that is they were concerned with values that the person already held. Most of these changes in behaviour were readily explainable in terms of the patients previous environment and history and were apparently rational. Occasionally a person would come up with apparently irrational behaviour. One man for instance was convinced that his joints had become "better oiled" and developed curious mannerisms that involved continually bending the limbs. Fogel believes that this is some sort of displacement reaction from an event that happened many years ago. For instance it could be that the man had in his childhood some joint disease that gained a place in his subconscious and the LSD therapy had cured him of the displaced inhibition.

It does definitely appear that many neuroses can be cured by LSD in much the same way as occurs in hypnosis. Indeed the similarities between hypnotic and LSD "trance" are remarkable. Fogel has even stated that LSD-type hallucinations may be induced by hypnosis. The basis of the cure in both cases is abreaction, to induce the patient to visualize in a trance or hallucination the object that is causing the neurosis. This has been done several times by a handful of workers and the results back Freud's analyses up to the hilt. Over three quarters of the recurring hallucinations of an intelligent woman patient under LSD were sexually orientated, and by consistent LSD therapy she was able to trace the hallucinations back and eradicate them. The therapy eventually cured her of sexual frigidity. It has similarly cured impotence in men.

Thus it appears that most of the effects of Lsd are definitely beneficial. 15 out of 29 patients actually visibly benefited from a course of LSD according to Fogel. As explained earlier there are two types of person in which effects are likely to be bad. The first is the very unstable person who may do something rash while under the influence of LSD. This is partly eliminated if someone is with the person all the time. The second is the person with a lack of creativity who is likely to become extremely depressed. A person should not take LSD unless he is prepared to "go with it". If he tries to resist it it may be a terrifying experience. The unimaginative person may tend to cling on to old ideas and thus will not allow the creative images to predominate. Hence liability to this depression is reduced if it is ensured that the person really is prepared to let himself go and not try to stop any effects of the drug. Lastly going beyond neuroses into the darker region of schizophrenia, it is not certain how these people react to LSD. It appears to be favourable, but as yet little has been done.

Only a very small field of the possibilities of LSD has yet been touched upon, and of the field covered many important questions

remain to be answered. Nobody has yet been able to find any correlation between personality and the type of hallucinations seen. Also unanswered is whether there is a correlation between the state of a person before LSD treatment and the lasting after-effects that occur when he has been treated. If these two questions are ever answered a way to the chemical explanation of personality may be opened. The latest theory of the chemical action of LSD is that it upsets the adrenalin cycle of the body. This may prove to be the basis of individuality although to say so without taking cynical smile is to be naive. The horizon of understanding of the smallest part of the functioning of the mind physiologically is thankfully a long way away, and for all we know the earth may yet be flat.

Apocalyptic Anarchism and Fantastic Art.

Kismet Gitano

"What day is it ?" "Merde"

1. The Prison.

Thinking of a prison, each in his prison, confirms a prison. At the centre sit Magnasco's Inquisitors with shadowed faces, burning to heaven like El Greco's mystics; they are the tormented torturers. We have a fear of empty spaces. To fill it the Great Prison has been erected of which the walls are made of bones; the cement with which they have been joined was made from blood. A monstrous giant guards the gate of the prison; he has in his hands two swords. On the one, we may read this word traced in fire INTOLERANCE, on the other PROPAGANDA. A huge slave market, an architectonic tomb, we have seen it all in Piranesi's engravings. Heartfield the engineer nervously adjusts his mechanical heart, Chirico's Mannequins and Bracelli's match-stick men pass through the shadows bearing Authority, Mystery and Food.

"Who is he who, with sacrilegious hands would seize our Ariel and prison him in that tree of iniquity the State ?" We would. As Francis Bacon's Screaming Popes we live in glass cages waiting patiently like dogs for our nationalised bread, poor degraded Belsen figures. Man is a tyrant or a slave by his own will before he is made a tyrant or a slave by fortune; the heart of the proletariat is, like that of the rich, a cesspool of babbling sensuality, a home of filth and hypocrisy. Man prefers peace, degradation, even death to freedom of choice in the knowledge of good and evil. Tremois' Homo Patiens spins in the sky, his intellect shattered. But on the day when the Seventh Angel shall sound the last trump, then, then will be consummated the Mystery of God. When the guards sleep in the silence of the dawn, rises the crucified Christ. And the angel that sits at the grave is the Angel of Anarchy.

2. The Flight of the Non-Euclidean Fly.

Round the planar skull of the mechanical man Max Ernst's crazy surrealist insect whirls and burns like Pollock's paint brush, the pure will, the living flame to consume institutions and laws and to light the fires of pity and wrath and love. Shockproof Surrealist gangsters, reeling in a drunkards walk, we have made the Anxious Journey into the limestone wall and emerged like Dali's St. Anthony into the anguish of empty spaces. We have reached the Sartrean crisis of contingent choice. We will not sell free will and spirit cheap for the sake of sleeping safely in our beds. Like Bosch, we mock the object, the torments of property and things. We the free spirits of the quantum age spit at the metaphysical mannequin. Man stands against men, or, as men are not man, man stands against the un-man.

3. Caprichos.

We refer to the Dada Satirist Goya, of course. Beside him stand Grosz, Bosch, Trouille, Dali, Kirchner, Picasso, Clerici, Ernst, outwards, looking inwards, stertorous Promised Land of the Grand Inquisitors.

Lenin kneels, his left buttock projecting out twenty feet or more, monks prance by lifting their soutanes to reveal frilly knickers, they make love to naked nuns on tombstones, Christ in the Cathedral roars with laughter, the Virgin Mary spans him, an archbishop is thrown out of a window with a burning giraffe, popes wail for their mothers and beat their tiny fists on their high chairs, Franco the Great Polyp respectfully makes his obeisances, St. Anthony in the desert is most assaulted by Rilkean tin-openers and musical boxes, huge listening ears have been inserted in the walls of houses, the flagellated prophet Mesmer drops Galilean balls on bats' skins and all manner of things seem well in this wonderful world of ours, but the forest of uplifted arms becomes ever thicker while the arms themselves become ever thinner.

4. The Philosopher's Stone.

Like Brauner's naked woman they are feeling their way blindly towards R. Mutts Sacred Fountain, which bears an extraordinary resemblance to an ordinary urinal. It is in truth the shadowings into outward form of the eternal joy of the soul. It is guarded by Leonor Fini's fabulous clawed sex-kitties. In the 20th c. desert of the cultured classes glows the phoenix's egg - socialism the dream of the world, the light of the grail on the marsh, the mystic city of Sarras, the Vale of Avalon! I teach you the Superman, man is something to be surpassed.

5. The Battle of the Potatoes.

This is the false armageddon, the proto-apocalypse. Pieces of Tanguesco plasticine squirt water at each other, the potatoes brandish their ceremonial pieces of paper, Bosch's horsemen duel mounted on flying fishes, Neanderthalens in aeroplanes drop fiery doves. Who cares? Eighty per cent of the people of this world are stuff to fill graves with: Gehenna shall be their cradle. We are not in the least afraid of ruins. We are going to inherit the earth. There is not the slightest doubt about that. The bourgeoisie may blast and ruin its own world before it leaves the stage of history. We carry a new world here in our hearts. Beneath the shadows lies the fantastic reality.

"Maintenant la danse tragique
Veut une plus forte musique
Dynamitons, dynamitons."

6. The Entry of Christ into Brussels.

This is the true Apocalypse, for now the Lord is come to 1) Inform 2) Advise and warn 3) Change 4) Judge and sentence the Great ones. It is dawn at Cayenne and Magritte's wooden hands are crowned by the Holy Spider. Christ the Ploughman has come; behind him are the drunken millennial hordes of the primeval, the Asiatic and the occult, the Demiurgic fantasy; it is the triumph of barbarism and religion. A Coleman's Mustard pennant flaps in the wind. The Messiah speaks to the masked citizens of Brussels "I am the turd that is ready and the world is the wide open anus." Hebdomedros the caucasian engineer crucified on the mountains listens intently.

7. The City.

bewildered, naked ladies pursue them. It is Europe after the rains, it is the Thoreauite Garden of Delights. The world is now in itself the ultramundane, the supernatural. It is the atavistic dream of the World Soul. Peace prevails everywhere, blacks mingle with whites, men & women stroll about, eat fruits, make love & bathe in the surroundings of supreme bliss. The Millenium of the free spirit has come.

+ + + + +

Epigraph for the discontented.

"Every deep thinker is more afraid of being understood than of being misunderstood." - Nietzsche.

extracts from Oscar Wilde's "The Soul of Man under Socialism."

I hardly think that any socialist, nowadays, would seriously propose that an Inspector should call every morning at each house to see that each citizen rose up & did manual labour for eight hours. Humanity has got beyond that stage, & reserves such a form of life for the people whom, in a very arbitrary manner, it chooses to call criminals. But I confess that many of the socialistic views I have come across seem to me to be tainted with ideas of authority, if not of actual compulsion. Of course authority & compulsion are out of the question. All association must be quite voluntary. It is only in voluntary associations that man is fine.

But it may be asked how Individualism, which is more or less dependent on the existence of private property for its development, will benefit by the abolition of such private property. The answer is very simple. It is true that under existing conditions, a few men who have private means of their own, such as Byron, Shelley, Browning, Victor Hugo Baudelaire & others, have been able to realize their personality, more or less completely. Not one of these men ever did a single day's work for hire. They were relieved from poverty. They had an immense advantage. The question is whether it would be for the good of Individualism that such an advantage should be taken away. Let us suppose that it is taken away. What happens then to Individualism? How will it benefit?

It will benefit in this way. Under the new conditions Individualism will be far freer, far finer, & far more intensified than it is now. I am not talking of the great imaginatively realised Individualism of such poets as I have now mentioned, but of the great actual Individualism latent & potential in mankind generally. For the recognition of Private Property has really harmed Individualism, & obscured it, by confusing a man with what he possesses. It has led Individualism entirely astray. It has made gain not growth its aim. So that man thought that the important thing was to have, & did not know that the important thing is to be.

.....

With the abolition of private property, then we shall have true, beautiful, healthy individualism. Nobody will waste his life in accumulating things & the symbols for things. One will live. To live is the rarest thing in the world. Most people exist, that is all.

.....

"Know thyself"! was written over the portal of the antique world. Over the portal of the new world, "be thyself" shall be written. The message of Christ to the world was simply "be thyself." That is the secret of Christ.

.....

Individualism, then, is what through Socialism we are to attain. As a natural result the State must give up all idea of Government.there is such a thing as leaving mankind alone; there is no such thing as governing mankind. ... Despotism is unjust to everybody, including the despot who was probably made for better things.

Firebrand
in
the
Shopfront

guy gladstone

I

Carroty bolster lies unpe'
Roadworks lamp, the missing,
Its wreckage pickets. Flickers
Lambent on folds of raiment.
Gutty gleamings, useless
In neon's omniscient glare.
Fangs and smithereens of glass
On fabric flatly scattered
Like glittery knaves
At the falling of their king
Flabbergast.

II

A window shatters.
Pause, the street's righteous
Men and women gather
Couples in a curious
Cringe of deference,

It's none of my business.

Police will dash
Away the bodies faint.
Their own gash
They could not contemplate.
Vandal scapes sentence

By proxy that's subconscious.

Dawdlers cant abandon
Disboredom's standing space.
Reproachful gazes faltered
For want of clues to chase;
Missing on this occasion

An owner's furious passion.

Cussed fairground people
A relayed blare concerts.
Here the clash of cymbals
At bedtime. Quiet
Arcade, homing couples

Stand, unhappy quandary.

Mr.
Sober
Vinter

guy gladstone

The public, shadow people
Screened on his window
Passing bottles, glassy
Unarresting show
Labelled vintage.

A shopping-list decision
Scribes up his custom.
Points ahead behind and
Round about he lends
Trained attention.

Perfected ritual shapes perpetual
Change for bottles, paper-wrapping
Smartly, madam thankyou.

She leaves him, stranded admiral
Ship in a bottle,
Chin in his hand he's
Holding up his real-
Ism. Reflections.....

His finger the counter tapping.
Street. Were he single-
Headed devil loosing
Drunkenness, people,
Less would I quarrel !

Heroin
Tale

guy gladstone

Houseful of isolates,
Master lies with Circe.
One by one
In lonely rooms
They kill,- they fear the inmates.

Killers poise a moment
Their aim is certain.
Inkbottle
Syringeto skin,
Death is later, knowledge instant.

Fated, one stands to speak:
"This concerns us
As anarchists"....
Assassin plunges
Penknife, jacks their secret.

Too late, communicant.

Backyard
Budgie

guy gladstone

"I take him in at night", the owner said.
It fluffed his pride to feed it.
He stuck inside a tuft of radish, fed
The bird, its fellows wild would kill it.

Once at the zoo abroad-tamed sparrow
At the storks' pool dust-bathed and sipped.
Visitors shrieked when the jabbing arrow,-
That stork's bill, the bread-bird ripped.

The crabwalk nips across the rails, shied,
Mark it adept. Much more bright
Its brothers half, wild through clearings glide.
It cheeps, the owner out of sight.

Cadmium but for the belly's fluff
And eyebead black, apostrophied with light.
I inspect, a horny visored eye shuts off
When teased, a finger through the wire. Bight!

The sun does not come out for you,
You are brought out into the sun.
So could you wish your owner dead,
You dare not, though he'd soon forget.

Enemy
Within

guy gladstone

The men-at-arms are standing guard
On parapets, in corridors.
The castle gates are fastened hard
Against their own surrender.

Their watch is past, benighted men
Are sleeping till the morning.
Beseigers now a traitor send,
His force slips in, no warning.

The men who slept rise here and there
And rouse amongst each other
Fears of pikes and spitting fires.
The foe has friends in terror.

And here I woke, as armour crashed
The turret cracked and hacking mail
Made strokes of light. With each clash
Defence attack, allegiance paled.

My friend was him whose weapon felled
The nearest failing visage.
I joined myself, my arm withheld
To side the next advantage.

Making love

barry fitton

feeling
 smelling
 holding
 clean sheets
 crinkling
 wet mouth
 nipples hard
 moaning
 soft
 loud
 entry
 sighing
 panting
 thirsting
 gripping
 scratching
 vibration
 exit
 wet
 caressing
 kissing
 moaning
 whispers
 kissing
 sleep

Epitaph
 for
 John Profumo

guy gladstone

When you're old
 Have your fun
 I've been told
 By the young.

HIGH SOCIETY

ronald john reader (Rio)

Misery pours its heart of hurt,
 to beings of its fellow race,
 Beings of this human hate,
 A cycle of man in society,
 society, society
 Uncompromising by profession,
 Pernickety of fastidious loathing,
 Stubborn with obstinacy,
 Vain, unsubstantially trivial,
 cowardly talkative, and stupid by nature.
 Tall scraggy stinking of corpses,
 dressed in Vallencienn,
 full of loathing and disgust,
 But true is the love of the Peasant folk.

Algeria Notebook held over

