



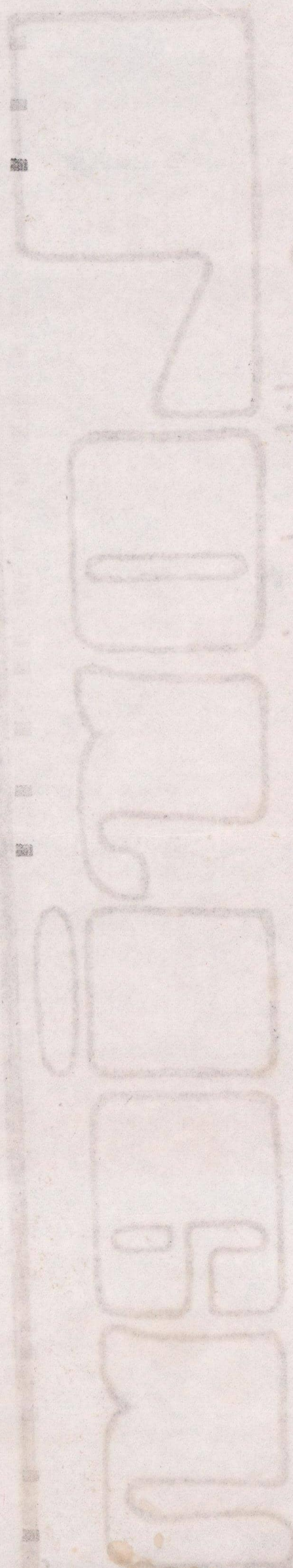
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Do you remember the face of the guy you got this from? When you see him again say 'hello'. Tell him what you think of it. Funny though - he's not carrying a bomb. If an anarchist isn't a bomb-thrower then what is he? We've seen some down at the play-group - most of them are around 10 years old but there are some students as well. They belong to the Libertarians and arrange to have this group once a week. They play, they paint, they pretend, they construct. Would you like to come and play?

The Libertarians also produce Lorien - would you like to do it? This Lorien has in it :

- Fraternal Revolution.
- A Book Review (Lorien's first).
- P.A.G. (Peace Action Group) Plug.
- Mass Murder.
- The Double Bass - Is it just a big fiddle?
- To Free The Spirit.
- Classroom in Age (a poem).
- Matriculation Makes You Blind.
- An Assessment Critique of Gandhian Work-Potential in San Marino.
- Freedom as a Positive Principle.
- What We Stand For.

Michael Duane (former headmaster of Risinghill - a true comprehensive) is going to pay us a visit this term - maybe on October 12th.

You may have read of some of the things we've done but we'd like to do some other things. We'd like to have free seminars, we'd like to have street theatre - but these things will only happen if people do them so please get in touch with us. The best way to do that is by contacting John Sullivan (CHE 3 or Norfolk Terrace, Block D, Floor 04, Room 07).

You'll also **find** some nice people in the Peace Action Group and the best way to get in touch with them is by contacting Hilary Sidwell SOC II or by talking to people who blow bubbles or try and sell you Peace News.

We're going to have a literature stall with the Peace Action Group. Tom Wagstaff (SOC II and Horsham L 38) is the person to see about this. It is worthwhile reading Freedom, Anarchy and Peace News. If you can't find them being sold at the University try Bristow's Bookshop in Bridewell Alley but it would be better if you offered Tom your help - he will need it.

Lorien is produced by the Libertarian Group. Apart from each other, we would like to thank Suzanne Looms who helped and Liz Walters who was willing.

# FRATERNAL REVOLUTION!

In fine non-sectarian spirit, I shall begin this article with a quote from the neo-Marxist Rosa Luxemburg who stipulated that "a true social revolution" requires "a spiritual transformation of the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule", a transformation that is necessary because, in Marx's words, "when socialists ascribe this world-historical role to the proletariat this is not at all ... because they take the proletarians for gods. Quite the contrary". It is the basis of Luxemburg's critique of Lenin's elitism that his notion of the revolutionary party precludes such a transformation. She scorned the possibility that "a ready-made formula lies complete in the pocket of the revolutionary party, which needs to be carried out energetically in practice", for socialism of this sort "will be decreed from behind a few official desks by a dozen intellectuals". According to Luxemburg, socialism can only be "born out of the school of its own experience, born in the course of its realization ... It is only by extirpating the habits of obedience and servility to the last root that the working class can acquire the understanding of a new form of discipline, self-discipline, arising from free consent". This plainly contradicts Lenin's assertion that "revolution demands ... precisely in the interest of socialism that the masses unquestionably obey the single will of the leaders of the labour process".

Up to this point, I have been drawing upon the "ends-means debate" within Marxism, the debate about the revolutionary party. Obviously anarchists find themselves in sympathy with Rosa Luxemburg in this debate, although we would all point out that State socialism is bound to be decreed from behind a few official desks, and some of us would extend her stipulations about class to all members of society by including bourgeois rulers in the ranks of the "degraded masses". That a spiritual transformation is required was clearly recognised by Bakunin because his reason for arguing the necessity to "purify our atmosphere" and "transform our surroundings" was that "they corrupt our instincts and our wills, they constrict our hearts and intelligences". Kropotkin urged the inadequacy of formulae even more forcefully than Luxemburg because he saw that "if the overthrow ends only in a change of persons and formulae, nothing will have been achieved". Emma Goldman also scorned this "political scene-shifting" and observed that "it is at once the great failure and the great tragedy of the Russian Revolution that it attempted (in the leadership of the ruling political party) to change only institutions and conditions while ignoring entirely the human and social values involved in the Revolution".

It is my intention in this article to consider those values, the nature of "the course of realization", that is the kind of means which will be capable of fulfilling our ends, and the qualities of a struggle for liberation which will result not in a change of formulae but in social regeneration. My concern is not to propose a revolutionary programme or even methods, but to argue that in conducting the struggle we must abide by the principles which we hope the struggle will establish. In particular, I will examine the effects of two forms of struggle on those who use them.

It was to be expected that an individualist anarchist would have pertinent remarks to make on the nature of revolution for the individual and that arch-individualist Max Stirner drew a very important distinction between two concepts - "revolution" which signifies "an overturning of conditions" and "insurrection" which has as "an unavoidable consequence ... the transformation of circumstances" i.e. which is revolutionary in effect. "The revolution aims at new arrangements; insurrection leads us no longer to let ourselves be arranged, but to arrange ourselves". Revolution is formulistic: it treats the failure of the Russian Revolution as the new arrangements imposed are those deemed by a section of the community to be in the interests of the whole. Insurrection, however, initiates the habit of self-organization. I, therefore maintain that unless there has been "insurrection", in Stirner's sense, then there can be no anarchist revolution. The community is still liable to succumb to a seizure of power. The habit of self-organization is initiated in "the course of

realization" an understanding of the discipline arising from free consent cannot be attained and the habit of obedience will remain intact. Unless the revolutionary struggle has been conducted in a principled fashion and validated these principles, unless the revolution has been a victory for, with and through these principles then it cannot provide the experience necessary for the abolition of power and the post-revolutionary situation is one in which there will necessarily be a scramble for power in an attempt by various conflicting groups to foist their particular precepts upon the rest. In this situation, the whole machinery of repression and totalitarianism would again be built up in order to suppress those who, their revolutionary aspirations having not been satisfied, are now in revolt against the new State. The well-trodden path of Lenin, Castro and Mao would be followed so that once again power could be consolidated.

This revolutionary insurrection that Stirner described can be looked upon as the emergence from paternal into fraternal relationships. "It is not a fight against the established since if it prospers the established collapses of itself; it is only a working forth of me out of the established". To end the paternal relationships, to achieve this "working forth of me" requires that, in Cohn-Bendit's terms, "the 'they' or resignation" must give way to "the 'I' of responsibility", that we each initiate our actions rather than act merely in obedience to authority and that we each recognise our responsibility in our situation rather than look towards the establishment of solutions.

This emancipation from paternalism requires rebellion, which in Camus's words "is the refusal to be treated as an object and be reduced to simple historical terms. It is the affirmation of a nature common to all men, which eludes the world of power". Such a rebellion is a demand for recognition. While the fact of insurrection, rebellion, is a necessary pre-requisite for our emancipation, the manner of rebellion also requires consideration. Fanon noted the dream of the "persecuted" to become the persecutors and it was Bellegarrigue's view that the barricades are usually raised by those who wish to rule. This represents a danger which we must either avoid or conquer - the dream of the arranged to become the arrangers of others. Out of our rebellion must come not a new paternalism but fraternalism. We are not merely to work ourselves forth out of the established but into a new way of living. Therefore we must apply the principles of fraternalism in the course of the realization of our emancipation and implant the habits of brotherhood in our revolutionary experience.

\*In brotherly relationships, there is an emphasis on the things we hold in common, the observance of equal rights, reciprocal recognition. Consequently, while we rebel as a "refusal to be treated as an object", we must also refuse to treat others as objects, all others including our opponents. In our refusal to be humiliated, we must also refuse to humiliate. We must at all times recognise the "nature common to all men". I contend that this therefore demands the adoption of nonviolent means.

Anarchist revolution is incompatible with Lenin's view that "we must suppress (the bosses) in order to free humanity from wage slavery". This is not required at all. What is required is that the bosses be confronted by a refusal to co-operate and a determination to experiment with constructive alternatives. They are then confronted with a choice of continuing to try arranging people who are refusing to be arranged except by themselves or of accepting equal status with those men and on that basis arranging their own lives. It is in the interests of all that this principle of nonviolence be observed: that the choice to give way be facilitated by a willingness to grant the opponent means of "saving face", of avoiding humiliation. As Gandhi said, "we must guarantee them the same freedom we claim for ourselves". Nonviolence is the form of struggle that carries in it the means of reconciliation and obviates the need for the sustained suppression of those whose sin was their status.

Trotsky was right to advocate "a revolution whose every successive stage is rooted in the preceding one" but its roots are in the habits initiated, in the means used, in the nature of the revolutionary act.

Alexander Berkman was right to say that "new social life gestates in the body of the old" just as his lover, Emma Goldman, was right that "the means used to prepare the future become its cornerstone".

The argument against the employment of nonviolent means which I recognise as having most validity is that violent rebellion is a psychological necessity, an exorcism it is necessary to perform. Bakunin's view of revolutionary action as something purative and regenerative must be accepted as the standard by which we must judge revolutionary means. But at one stage of his life Bakunin described "bloody revolutions" as "a monstrous evil and a great disaster, not only with regard to the victims, but also for the of purity and the perfection of the purpose in whose name they take place". Heestill regarded them as necessary and was a frequent advocate of violence. In recent years the eloquent writings of Frantz Fanon, the Algerian psychiatrist, have been influential advocates of violence. He argued that violence was the necessary catharsis - for the individual, he wrote, "violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect". Thus he saw it as providing the purgation necessary to change the character of the oppressed. Fanon's nonviolent critics - Oppenheimer and Deming in particular - point out that nonviolent action is capable of achieving the change that Fanon rightly asserted is necessary and Deming has suggested that in reading Fanon it is usually possible to substitute the phrase "radical and uncompromising action" where Fanon used the word "violence." That this is so is indicated by two campaigns set in the colonial setting of India.

The Sikhs, whose religion forbade them to lay down their sabres, took nonviolent direct action against the British Government in India. Bart de Ligt, the Dutch anarchist, described them thus: "Proud and immovable, the sword at their side but their arms crossed, they put up with the most brutal behaviour on the part of the British police and Army without offering the slightest physical resistance, until they had obtained what they wanted". They found nonviolence a more adequate expression of fearlessness, more conducive to self-respect and a more effective action than the violence to which they had customarily resorted. The same is also true in the case of the Frontier Pathans. It is perhaps worth relating this example more fully.\*

According to William Crooke, a colonialist writing for colonialists in 1896, "the true Pathan is perhaps the most barbaric of all the races with which we are brought into contact ... he is cruel, bloodthirsty and vindictive in the highest degree." Here we can see an aspect of the "colonial myth" as it relates to the Pathan. In 1929, Abdul Ghaffar Khan organised the Khudai Khidmatgar, a Pathan direct action organisation, to take nonviolent action in order to effect political, social and economic reforms. Significantly Ghaffar Khan was a Muslim and therefore outside the Hindu tradition where Gandhi's influence was being most strongly felt. War had traditionally been "the normal business of the land" but the Pathans decided to take nonviolent action against the British. In one instance when the Khudai Khidmatgar were in action, the Garhwal Rifles refused to "do their duty in the face of the mob" and fire. The British Civil Servant reporting on the incident continued by saying that "hardly any regiment of the Indian army won greater glory in the Great War than the Garhwal Rifles, and the defection of part of the regiment sent a shock through India, of apprehension to some, of exultation to others". But the treatment to which the Khudai Khidmatgar were generally subjected was the reverse of humane. One British journalist told how "some of the stories of the wholesale shootings and hangings last year made me -rapidly becoming a hard-boiled and cynical journalist - hang my head in shame". The brutality with which the British colonialists met the nonviolent revolt was, to reapply Crooke's words, "barbaric, cruel, bloodthirsty, vindictive", not the sort of treatment that most people even today imagine the British, with their humane Western sensibilities, are supposed to have accorded the nonviolent rebels.\*\*

Fuller account of this campaign is given by Bondurant in "The Conquest of the South: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict". This account is culled from there. It fits the theory that the "native" in the "colonial myth" is a projection of qualities which the White Man is anxious to repress in himself.

The point which particularly relates to my purpose is that these "natives" found nonviolence a more satisfactory manner of rebellion than resort to arms. Halide Edib found that "the psychological aspect of the movement" was the most interesting and concluded that "nonviolence is the only form of force which can have a lasting effect on the life of society and man. And this, coming from strong and fearless men, is worthy of study."

Jawaharlal Nehru in describing a satyagraha campaign in which he was a participant remarked "we had a sense of freedom and a pride in that freedom. The old feeling of oppression and frustration was completely gone". I would be one of the last people to take Nehru as an exemplar but this is an observation that I feel we can trust. The solidarity of the participants in a satyagraha, their courage, their determination, their self-respect are all heightened by the nature of the action in which they are engaged. Martin Luther King also observed that nonviolence gives the people committed to it a "new self-respect; it calls up resources of strength and courage that they did not know they had". Instead of inferiority, Nehru felt "a pleasant sense of moral superiority" which, while marking a dangerous tendency towards self-righteousness, also indicates that when you are "firmly grasping truth" (a literal translation of "satyagraha") and acting out that truth, any feeling of inferiority is lost and you are enabled to respect yourself. The sense of freedom that Nehru noted arises from being in control of your own action, a control which is surrendered once violence is employed. Contrast with these observations, those made on the state of the Austrian workers reported by De Ligt in his book "The Conquest of Violence: an Essay on War and Revolution", - "The Austrian workers who resorted to arms remained enslaved by the technique of modern war ... Modern armaments have reduced the armed revolts of the masses to absurdity, and they are doomed simply to become a vulgar copy of the system they are attacking". De Ligt also reports the observations of J. Steinberg, one time People's Commissar for Justice in the first Bolshevik Government. Steinberg described how "certain methods drag inexorably on those who use them to the point where they are completely lost and at sea", when they have lost control. In such a condition, the usurpation of power by a tightly organised body such as the Bolsheviks is made very much easier, for those involved in this struggle have been reduced to a condition where they are inclined to welcome authoritative direction. Thus we see that in these cases violent means not only failed to ennoble and free those taking the action but also degraded the cause. Far from being a life-enhancing force, violence vitiated these attempts at liberation, it reinforced the habit of obedience and robbed the revolutionaries of control of the situation.

As Fanon observed, violence induces dizziness but as he put it "can we escape becoming dizzy?" Can we keep in control of the situation? He tells of an Algerian terrorist who, since the war, had made friends with Frenchmen and who was now haunted by the fear that the men he had killed might have been like these friends. Fanon described it as "what might be called an attack of vertigo" and challenges us: "who can affirm that vertigo does not haunt the whole of existence?" It is this problem that Barbara Deming discusses in her excellent article "On Revolution and Equilibrium"\*. She is mainly addressing America's black revolutionaries and declares her "stubborn faith that if, as revolutionaries, we will wage battle without violence, we can remain very much more in control of our own selves, of the response to us which our adversaries make, of the battle as it proceeds and of the future we hope will issue from it". It is worth summarising some of her main arguments.

Control of ourselves, she argues, is largely a matter of maintaining a psychological equilibrium which balances self-assertion - the necessary bold action which shatters the pattern of bondage - and a respect for the person of Fanon's "the other". Any control exercised over the adversaries is achieved because he is prevented from "acting out of fear - in mindless reflex action". He is prevented from "being able to justify to others certain kinds of action that he would like to take against you". The nonviolent protagonist and his antagonist can be seen as combatting for the support of the uncommitted. A

\* This should be available from our literature stall in a Liberation reprint also containing Regis Debray's Declaration at His Court Martial.

violent struggle cannot be controlled because there is an automatic process of escalation - thus in the Bay of Pigs Affair, President Kennedy acknowledged that "developments were approaching a point where events would have been unmanageable". There is more control over the future because violence eliminates choice for, with violence, it is might that prevails and all must succumb to might. Even more important, however, is the fact that the future will be built by "all those whom the struggle has touched and marked" on all sides. The former oppressor must, therefore, not be a humiliated man and as, in Fanon's words, "we are forever pursued by our actions", the protagonist must perform actions of which he can be proud, which he will not regret, and which will not bequeath him a legacy of guilt. Such a brief summary is bound to be inadequate - the whole article is eminently worth reading - but even from this summary the point is clear that this equilibrium is crucial to the safety of the revolution.

What is particularly significant is that this equilibrium which Barbara Deming emphasises is precisely that which I have already described as being a necessary application of the principle of fraternity, - the equilibrium of acting out one's own will while recognising the other's right to act out his. As we who are anarchists argue that fraternity is the best way to conduct our affairs, it is only to be expected that the fraternal equilibrium should be the condition most conducive to our well-being and that the experience in the revolutionary struggle should validate this.

Most anarchists have always been wary about the use of violence. The Diggers rejected it. Godwin hoped that through discussion reason would triumph. Proudhon hoped for "thear of the workshops" and the invasion of all "by the force of principle", and declared that "the end of militarism is the mission of the nineteenth century". Stirner thought that the realization by the labourers of their power and the exertion of this power could not be withstood. Kropotkin suggested that anarchism might come "by the gradual ripening of public opinion and with the least possible amount of disturbance". Non-cooperation with evil has been the watchword of all the great religious anarchists. As Nick Walter writes in "About Anarchism" - "anarchists see violence as a stronger version of authority" and some see it as a form of authority necessary for our self-defence. But the lessons of violent revolution convince me that, in the words of Benjamin Tucker, "if the revolution comes by violence, and in advance of light, the old struggle will have to be begun anew".

Howard Clark.

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Howard finds support from an unexpected quarter :

"A nation that condones blackmail and terror at home can hardly stand as the example in putting an end to international piracies or tensions that could explode to war. What corrodes a society even more deeply than violence itself is the acceptance of violence, the condoning of terror, the excusing of inhuman acts in a misguided effort to accommodate the community's standards to those of the violent few. We must take an uncompromising stand against those who reject the rules of civilised conduct and of respect for others".

RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

A PLEASANT SUMMER'S DRIVE :

At the end of last term, 4 Libertarians hi-jacked a Union van and drove around Norfolk. We covered about 80 miles but in those miles we came across 13 military establishments, mainly airbases and mostly American. This term more of us may revisit them.



The Dissenting Academy - Edited by Theodore Roszak. Penguin books - 8/-.

It is a sad reflection on the state of critical thinking at UEA that Lorien is the first publication to review this book. It was only to be expected that this important collection of essays could not attain the ideological purity demanded by Can-opener (The Socialist Society's publication). None of the contributors are straight, 4th International Approved-Marxists and Roszak, deviation of deviations, has previously been an editor of Peace News. That Mandate should fail was also, regrettably, to be expected. It is too accurate a reflection of the student body (not to mention Disi Raye's\*) to do otherwise. That the Bulletin (mainly faculty opinion) should fail is more lamentable.

The book arises out of the academic acquiescence in the Vietnam war. The contributors have all been active in opposing the war and are engaged in a struggle against the liberal intelligentsia of America who have abdicated their responsibility and prostituted their intellects. Marshall Winmiller speaks for all the contributors when he writes in his essay "The New American Mandarins" that "the line which separates the government from the academy is becoming blurred, and that specialists in international affairs are not only failing to distinguish between the aims of the government and the aims of the academy, but are also allowing themselves to be made over into instruments of the state".

Roszak's opening essay - On Academic Delinquency - is a general onslaught on the state of subservience of the academic world and the absence of intellectual debate in politics. He discusses why the universities, instead of establishing an independent body of criticism, have become a self-serving and self-perpetuating elite.

Louis Kampf on The Scandal of Literary Scholarship blasts into the careerism which has produced "a flood of literary solvent (one cannot call it criticism) ... it is criticism with its teeth removed." He sees "Literature as an instrument of agitation ... Contemplating the fate of a literary work ... demands that we react to a specific text - yet somehow in our own way. Shaping its meaning to our own desires we help make its fate; doing so, we not only explore the limits of free thought but learn how to make conscious use of the past ... the literary scholar's far from trivial task is to act as broker in the partnership". Why then all the trivia?

Straghton Lynd's essay "Historical Past and Existential Present" is essential for every first year doing an historical method course, for every second year pursuing a history major and for every third year caring more about history than finals. "The historian's first duty ... is the sensitive chronicling in depth of the important events of his own lifetime. Whether in writing about the recent or distant past, the historian suggests to the protagonist of the present new alternatives for action ... The past serves us as a means toward that 'frequent recurrence to fundamental principles' which the Virginia Bill of Rights advised".

Space does not allow me to proceed in this fashion on the subjects which I'm not studying. The collection includes essays on economics, social and political science, philosophy, anthropology - all of them readable. They do not put a consistent political line but raise fundamental questions regarding their own disciplines and offer some answers. It amused me to read their comments on some of the set books I see friends in other schools carrying around and the philosophy teacher infuriated me: "As to the students themselves, my thesis is simple: Very few can enter into any conceivable dialogue because their vocabularies are so exiguous that the primary condition for a dialogue (as distinguished from a mere 'bull session') is lacking.

The closing essay is Noam Chomsky - "The Responsibility of the Intellectuals" (included in his "American Power and the New Mandarins"). Chomsky epitomises the responsible intellectual (being an anarcho-syndicalist!) He has revolutionised the field of linguistics but now it would seem that his political commitments compel him to let linguistics fall somewhat into debt. Ironically UEA's linguistics lecturer, Roger Fowler, felt that his academic commitment compelled a scaling down of his political ones. When academia as a whole has abdicated its responsibility, the burden is thrust on the few.

# P.A.G. P.L.U.G

This term UEA will become the first British university to stage regular training sessions in nonviolence. This fact is not surprising. For most people, nonviolent action is considered to be merely action without overt violence - be that violence physical, psychological or verbal. In reality, nonviolent action demands more from the actor than the self-restraint of **avolence** - it requires more imagination, more creativity, more patience, more compassion, more sensitivity. The success of nonviolence in conflict situations relies upon the interaction between the opposing sides - between the nonviolent protagonists and their antagonists. It is one of the major advantages of nonviolence over violence that it permits greater possibilities of interaction between conflicting sides in a situation. The training sessions which the Peace Action Group are organising for this term and to which all are welcome are designed to help us all to learn how to exploit these possibilities.

Nonviolence is a way of experiencing people and events as well as a way of responding to them. We hope that these sessions will help us to experience with perception and understanding, and to respond creatively and lovingly. But nonviolence is even more than a manner of interaction with others, more than a style of personal relationships : it is a complete transformation of the relationships of society - the economic relationships, the institutional relationships the power relationships. Thus nonviolence has a whole set of criteria by which to judge the present society and a whole set of principles on which to base the future society. Nonviolent action is the application of these principles in the present and the exploration of them. It is hoped that this training in nonviolence will give us insight into how best to apply these principles and how best to explore the possibilities of a situation. We hope that these sessions will develop insight into the nature of nonviolence.

The first two sessions, in the barn on October 7th and October 21st, will be led by John Hyatt, a pacifist anarchist currently employed as the Youth Officer of the Peace Pledge Union. The first session will begin with a discussion and will include a role-play, the second a strategy game and brain-storming. Subsequent sessions may include sensitivity games, group dynamics, "brain-storming", situation analysis, quick decision analysis. If any participant or would-be participant has any suggestion, the Peace Action Group would be pleased to hear them.

## BOOK REVIEW continued:

Apart from John Wilkinson's contributions, which could have graced the pages of the Black Paper, my severest criticism is of Sumner M. Rosen's contribution on economics... he unfortunately neglects the area of "the economics of permanence", reducing the scale and decentralising jj society.

Otherwise the book is quite encouragingl as an example of the new awareness arising out of the Vietnam war. Robert Engler speaks for them all when he concludes "the university offers the ideal and the potential mechanism for a community of intelligence and conscience which might develop dialogue in the larger community".

# MASS MURDER

A recent feature in the Observer confidently attributed the following problems to an excess of human beings: hunger, disease, the retarded development of backward countries, social unrest, political instability, urban sprawl, radio-active waste, destruction of wild life, city squalor, crowded mental hospitals, violence, all kinds of pollution and ecological upset, the shortage of housing in London and the desecration of the English countryside. Quite a comprehensive list - but the writer did not consider it necessary to supply any evidence for his assertions. They are, after all, common knowledge. If millions are starving it is because there is a food shortage; if millions are homeless, there is a housing shortage and there is nothing we can do about it.

In fact, there is no population problem. There has been talk that in a few decades there will be 'standing room only' on earth. However, this state of affairs, if at all possible, is so far distant as to be irrelevant to present day problems. If, for example, the entire world population now were placed in the USA the population density would be no greater than it is in Holland today.

What manifests itself as an "overpopulation" problem is in fact a misuse of resources problem. Capitalism is a system of rationing for profit, which can only be justified in people's minds by a belief in scarcity. Malthusians still believe that people starve because they breed too rapidly. By attempting to limit population growth, governments are trying to mould future generations to fit a form of society long out of date and never efficient in the first place. The modern Malthusian is not concerned with explaining poverty but simply with justifying it. They believe that the produce of the soil increases in arithmetic progression - 1, 2, 3, 4, etc - while population increases in geometric progression - 1, 2, 4, 8 etc. They disregard human ability to find means, to certain ends (i.e. the use of science and technology).

I have said that the capitalist system (which prevails in all countries including those supposedly 'communist') uses overpopulation as a myth to explain the starvation and misery that plagues the world. To avoid being as guilty as the Observer's writer, it is time I offered some proof.

The USA has just imposed its third cut back on wheat production. There is in fact a glut of wheat in the world but if it were all on the market the prices would fall to practically zero and no profit could be made. A US senator recently delivered a stirring speech condemning malnutrition and poverty in backward countries - he failed to mention that he receives 20,000 dollars a year not to produce wheat. EEC countries have a massive annual dairy products surplus. Millions of tons of butter are destroyed each year to protect prices. The French dump "surplus" fruit in the sea every July. In human terms there can be no "surplus" food while one person in the world is underfed; in capitalist terms, clearly there can be.

The obvious retort to these facts is that the food is in the US or Europe while the starving are in India or Africa. However, in time of war, armies never have any difficulty in transporting food to the front however inaccessible it may be. Since the border conflict between India and China began many excellent roads have been built in Northern India. Surely the saving of millions of lives merits at least the same priority as the murder of innocent men, women and children in war.

The fact that the World can feed us all is no socialist wishful thinking and has been recognised in many reports. "Although it is not usual to state one's conclusions at the beginning, in this case it can be stated without qualification. The material resources of the world would easily suffice to make provision, not only for the whole human race

as it is now but also for any conceivable expansion of our numbers for a very long time" (Prof C. Clark, formerly of the Agricultural Economics Research Institute of Oxford University in "The Earth Can Feed Its People")

It is some ten years since Vance Packard in "The Waste Makers" exposed the theory of planned obsolescence. We all recognise that cars are built to wear out in a few years and this idea of wasting resources for profit extends to all production. For example, producers of all goods constantly change fashions and styles to induce people to replace goods before they are worn out. There was an example in the press some time ago of a joiner being fired from his job because "his unnecessarily high standard meant that the company could not make his work pay" (Daily Telegraph).

One of London's great "property developers", Harry Hyman, controls "enough empty offices to house 10,000 workers (i.e. 1½ million sq. ft)" (Daily Telegraph). As London rents rise faster than interest rates it is more profitable to keep property empty. Hyman's fortune of £27 million has been amassed as a result of the deliberate waste of resources and human abilities while there are thousands of homeless in urgent need of these resources.

Atomic energy could be the saviour of mankind, instead it will be our destruction. One pound of Uranium can produce as much energy as 3 million tons of coal as well as breeding plutonium which is itself a nuclear fuel. The supply of nuclear fuel is unlimited and transport is cheap and easy yet reactors can only be built in countries that are already wealthy and this wealth is generally the result of large deposits of coal, oil or gas in the first place. The vested interest in these inferior fuels makes sure technology's greatest revolution proceeds at a snail's pace.

I have only given a few examples of the waste that is a necessary part of a capitalist system; there are countless others. I hope I have proved to you that the theory of overpopulation is a myth and that all the problems that the 'Observer' article which I quoted at the beginning blamed upon it are really caused by the simple fact that Capitalism produces its wealth not for use but for profit.

Tom Wagstaff (who runs the literature stall).

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"THE DOUBLE BASE - IS IT JUST A BIG FIDDLE?"

A word of praise and admiration must be given anticipatorially for the heroic group of anarchists in the Civil Service. Against all odds this small nucleus of creative sanity has not only survived in the asphyxiating Hell, but has brought off the greatest coup in history - the introduction of metrication. By skilfully playing on the "opinions" which are the symptoms of mind-deformation in officials and judges, they have had this wonderful system instigated, whereby in five years the population of this country will lose all sense of measurement.

This could be tremendous; many of the artificial concerns which replace thinking nowadays, exemplified by statistics and facts cults, will lose what meaning they still hold. The advertisements will have about the kilometre-per-litre power of this month's special offer with much less effect (although Corn Flakes packets will still probably give contents in milligrams/oz) People will be reduced to a bewildered silence, strangers and outcasts in a society which has degraded them until they are nothing in its eyes. They will have no choice but to listen to themselves, and hearing the subversive whispering of their unconscious minds, either go mad or become sane. A reform of the numbers system would be even more effective, but perhaps that is too much to hope for.

Our comrades have done their work and it is now our duty to back them up; to ensure that no-one understands the new system when it arrives. Before M-day, we can print false information, tell people that the whole thing's a hoax; afterwards, we can demand a hectare of beer or ten litres of potatoes in crowded shops, and shouting about "reactionary imbeciles, who can't understand the simplest developments in Progress" when anyone objects.

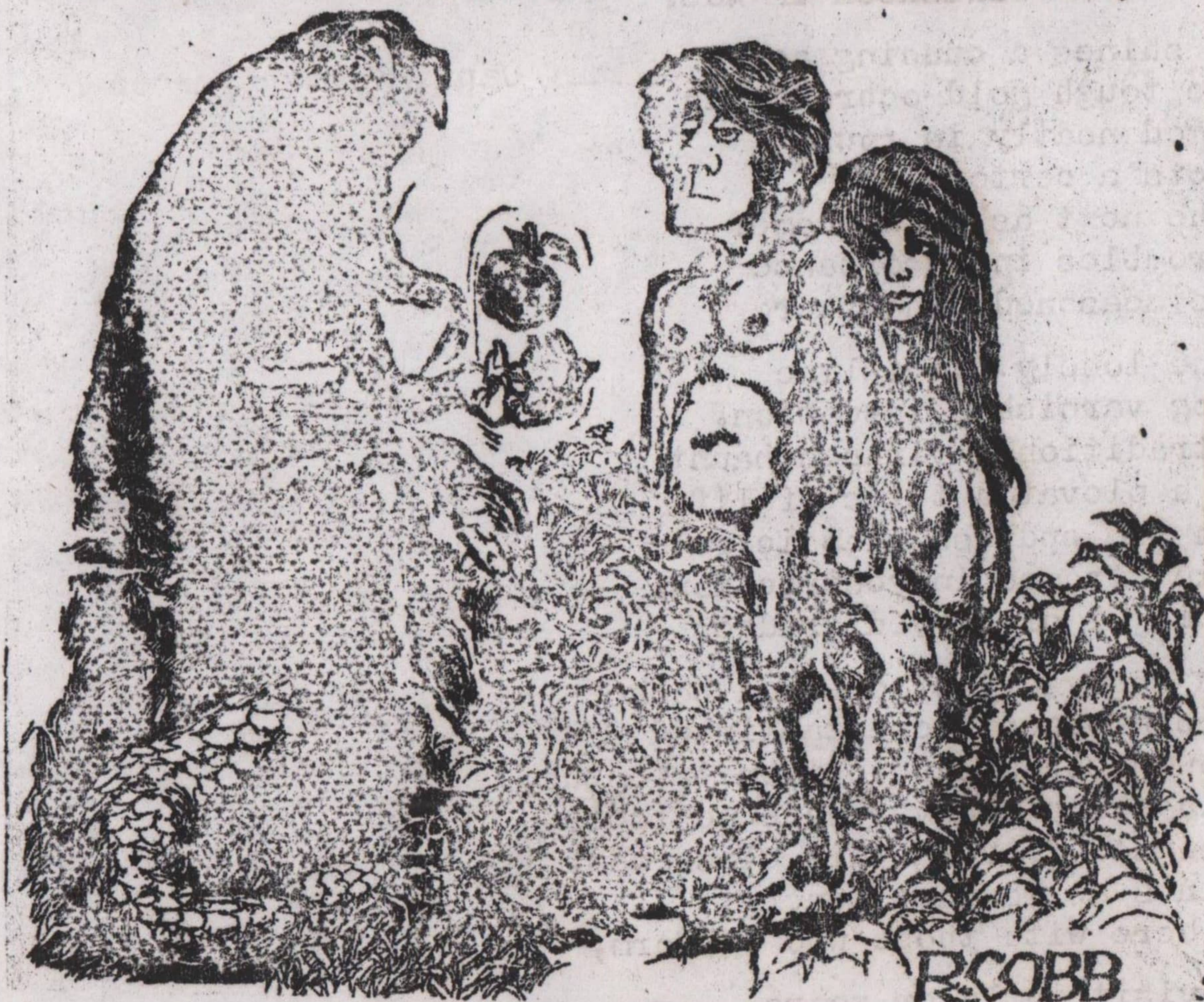
# TO FREE THE SPIRIT

The function of education has never been to free the mind and spirit of man, but to bind them; and to that end Homo Sapiens has employed praise, ridicule, admonition, mutilation and even torture to chain them to the culture pattern. Contemporary American educationalists think they want creative children, yet it is an open question as to what they expect these children to create. It stands to reason that were young people truly creative the culture would fall apart, for originality, by definition, is different from what is given and what is given is the culture itself. From the endless, pathetic, "creative hours" of kindergarten to the most abstruse problems in sociology and anthropology, the function of education is to prevent the truly creative intellect from getting out of hand.

American classrooms, like educational institutions anywhere, express the values, preoccupations and fears found in the culture as a whole. School has no choice; it must train the children to fit the culture as it is. School can give training in skills; it cannot teach creativity. All the school can conceivably do is nurture creativity when it appears. And who has the eyes to see it?

Creative intellect is mysterious, devious and irritating. An intellectually creative child may fail, for example, in social studies, simply because he cannot understand the stupidities he is taught to believe as "fact". He may even end up agreeing with his teachers that he is "stupid" in social studies. Learning social studies is, to no small extent, learning to be stupid. Most of us accomplish this task before we

**"BESIDES...JUST HOW FAR DO YOU THINK YOU CAN GET  
IN TODAY'S WORLD WITHOUT A GOOD EDUCATION?"**



enter high school. But the child with a socially creative imagination will not be encouraged to play among new social systems, values and relationships; nor is there much likelihood of it, if for no other reason than that the social studies teachers will perceive such a child as a poor student. Furthermore, such a child will simply be unable to fathom the absurdities that seem transparent truth to the teacher. If all through school the young were provoked to question the Ten Commandments, the sanctity of

revealed religion, the foundations of patriotism, the profit motive, the two-party system, monogamy, the laws of incest, and so on, we would have more creativity than we could handle.

The first lesson a child has to learn when he comes to school is that lessons are not what they seem. He must then forget this and act as if they were. This is the first step toward "school mental health"; it is also the first step in becoming absurd. In the first and second grades teachers constantly scold children because they do not raise their hands enough - the prime symbol of having learned what school is all about.

The second lesson is to put the teachers' criteria in place of his own. He must learn that the proper way to sing is tunelessly and not the way he hears the music; that the proper way to paint is the way the teacher says, not the way that he sees it; that the proper attitude is not pleasure but competitive horror at the success of his classmates, and so on. And these lessons must be so internalised that he will fight his parents if they object. The early schooling process is not successful unless it has accomplished in the child an acquiescence in its criteria, unless the child wants to think the way the school has taught him to think. He must have accepted alienation as a rule of life. What we see in the kindergarten and the early years of school is the pathetic surrender of babies. How could it be otherwise? School metamorphoses the child, giving it the kind of Self the school can manage and then proceeds to minister to the Self it has made. In a society where competition for the basic cultural goods is a pivot of action, people cannot be taught to love one another, for those who do cannot compete with one another except in play. It thus becomes necessary for the school, without appearing to do so, to teach children how to hate.

From Jules Henry's book "Culture Against Man".

#### CLASSROOM IN AGE.

Light shines a cunning act  
On the tough gold-ochre desks  
Arranged neatly in rows,  
Projects a certain awe  
For the next ashen newcomer  
Who trembles in importance  
At the seasoned atmosphere

And the lonely discipline  
Of long varnished intention.  
Here traditional virtues haunt  
Through elevated tales of life  
And in the endless classic rule  
Of being framed in restriction.  
The snigger of carved grudges

And an angry cry of defaced books  
Only reinforces the established  
As growth through selection triumphs,  
Sweeping away however much neglect  
Has reigned free in this classroom.  
The clues as to what benefit  
Stand here with those who conform,

Who revisit in later years  
In a positive fashion,  
Convinced by their success  
That opportunity is for all.  
The system remains true  
For those who created it  
And to those who did not.

Paul Conway.

AN ASSESSMENT CRITIQUE OF GANDHIAN WORK-POTENTIAL IN SAN MARINO

1830 - midnight

A memorial to the old Holy Ones - in a slanting mass-grave, close to a canal, we will drop the glittering bodies of a show-biz personality ("One of the kindest, most HUMAN people I've had the honor of knowing"), a businessman, a magistrate, a journalist, a bureaucrat and selected bones from the still-quivering corpse of Field Marshal Lord Montgomery of Alamein, specially disinterred from Westminster Abbey for the occasion. And we shall top up the grave with old copies of "The News of the World", and over it we shall build a sewage farm, and at the head of the grave will stand a lonely pylon, and affixed to the pylon shall be a simple plastic plaque, bearing this inscription:

R.I.P.

Here lie the shamans of our society.

They served us well, but after a time we grew tired of their antics, so we removed them.

They gave us many good things, but they gave us hypocrisy and illusion, so we removed them.

Their intentions were good, but they took from us our dignity, so we removed them.

"Pass no judgment and you will not be judged. For as you judge others so you will yourselves be judged."  
Rest in peace, and do not disturb us again.

And in charge of the sewage farms over this and similar graves around the land, there will be the people who preferred the Organised Society, the Decent Citizens who still admire the figureheads whose shrivelled facades lie inturd under the excreta tanks. They will, as is their wont, organize themselves - into Regional Federations of Faeces - Processing Operatives and National Unions of Regional Federations of Faeces - Processing Operatives. They will have their pressure-groups, their lobbies, their Left- and Right-wings, they will oust each other from committees, they will dispute with each other, they will work to rule.

Periodically, a leader or representative or delegate will start a thorough purge of the whole sewage Administration, reaching to the very bowels of the system. But as there will be no new employees to replace those expelled, they will have to take back the purged factions.

They will send regular official reports, written in triplicate in block capitals on the appropriate forms, down to the towns and villages. And we shall return them along the sewage pipes, covered with the traditional marks of approval.

Sometimes, perhaps, one of the more fervent sewage-farmers will be sent down to the village by the Local Executive Council of the Ministry of Internal Matters, to consult with the village mayor. He will spend two or three hours scrubbing himself with regulation-issue coal tar soap before putting on his best suit and gleaming white shirt, but somehow the smell will still hang around him as he talks with the mayor. The mayor, of course, is too polite to mention this and smilingly pours out the wine as they sit by the grass-covered bank (perhaps the Midland, perhaps the National Provincial), listening to the singing of the birds and the melodious chimes of passing chinese satellites. The sun pours down unsparingly, roasting the wheatfields and dust-tracks (we didn't get weather like this in Gravesend when Labour was in power....) and

## MATRICULATION MAKES YOU BLIND.

Last year's Students' Handbook had in it a "family tree" of all the various committees on which YOU can sit, a variety of ways for you to try to exercise your responsibility and ensure the smooth-running of this University. From time to time you will find reforms issuing forth out of these committees. Every now and then some proposal may be brought before a Union meeting. The most important committees are the Residence Committees and Students' Council. You will be harrassed by people canvassing for election onto these and pestering you with their personal manifestoes. But fear not - no libertarian will come knocking on your door for this purpose. You don't find us wasting our time on these committees. You see, we agree with Daniel Cohn-Bendit "bourgeois education, even when reformed, will manufacture bourgeois administrators and they will be caught up in the functioning of the system. At best, they will become members of the right-thinking Left, but objectively they will remain the cogs which ensure society's continuous operation". We have taken heed of the warning of men like Noam Chomsky and Marshall Windmiller who report that in the USA it is openly acknowledged that students of social sciences are being trained as "the mandarins of the future". The production of technocrats is the function of the university in this country - it is the rationale offered in justification of expanding the Universities. Everywhere we see educational systems verifying Aristotle's precepts that education exists to mould man for a particular form of government.

For some reason there is the tacit assumption that man must be made to fit the form society takes and not that the society must be made to fit him. Few will acknowledge this assumption but it is this that underpins the legal and penal codes of this country, the treatment of "mental illness", the response to "anti-social behaviour". Basic conformity it is assumed is both desirable and necessary. This enforced "co-operation" provides the basis for the standard institutions of this society. We must therefore not be content with having these institutions reformed - if they serve a useful function they must be transformed.

Gandhi maintained that "the first principle of nonviolence is non-cooperation with everything humiliating". To be moulded is humiliating: we must resist the mould. In preparation for our destined role in society, - in management, administration, positions of "responsibility" - we are being withdrawn from the community and are learning to become part of an elite. At a university, we are equipped with the skills and knowledge which will later be required in the positions of authority we are expected to grasp at. But we must refuse to do the expected; we must become what it pleases the commentators to call "disaffected".

Our time at university offers us opportunity to do more than learn what we are supposed to learn. It provides us with the opportunity of forming and articulating criticisms of society. It gives us the opportunity to experiment in seeing how things work. If the official structure of the university, does not provide such opportunity then we must, to quote Cohn-Bendit, "create an experience which is a complete break with the society, an experience which will indicate a possibility" and this possibility must be the standard by which we judge what we have.

Over the next year, the Libertarians (and our friends in the 38th July Movement and Peace Action Group) will again be trying to create this. We need you to join in with us - at the play-group, agitation and action, free seminars, Loræen production etc. Please.



the mayor turns down the recording of Percy Edwards' bird calls so that the sewage-farmer can get on with his speech:

"Mr. Mayor, Sir, I can't begin to tell you of the world-shattering breakthroughs we are achieving in all fields of, ...er, shit. Professor Winston Crapthorne's six-volume "Ordure in Common Law" has just been published, becoming the first definitive legal text on the matter. Incidentally, our dispute with the Sheppey Memorial Sewage Farm should be found in our favour, thanks to Art. 1,976, Para. 13.

Yes, Sir, the age-old barriers with which Mother Nature eternally enchained Man are falling like tenpins before the breathtaking achievements of dung technology. Since the standardizing of the procedure for the determining the Euler-Zbyszok Characteristic of a dung sample back in the early days, we have now reached a stage where we can process 1,362.79 metric bucketfuls of normalized 13% dung per man-vat-hour! And more, so much more, is to come! I know that the U.S.S.F. (Union of Socialist Sewage Farms - Ed note.) is claiming the world record for plant efficiency, but you know as well as I do that that's just a load of ... "

"Quite", says the Mayor.

"Perhaps you'd be more interested in the artistic heights we've scaled. I realize you've been too busy to come and inspect the art exhibition in the library concourse up at the farm, but it's really worthwhile. I must say most sincerely what a moving experience was evoked in me by the 'still-life' sculptures.

"Actually, we're having to extend the library, to fit in all the new literature - poems, sonatas, hymns, even a four-volume 'Compendium of Faecal Expressions'. Here take this "Textbook of Contemporary Faecconomics" as a gift ... "

The mayor murmurs his thanks, and the farmer lowers his voice to continue:

"And, well, you're a good bloke, even if you're a bit simple-minded; look take this - but for God's sake don't tell Inspector Stibble!"

The copy of "Amour, Erotisme et Merde" is surreptitiously handed over, in a plain brown envelope.

Angus McSpreader.



"The will to power and the disposition to submit are alike products of a lack of genuine creativity and emotional deprivation at the hands of those whose task it was to love us. To seek power is a mark of inner moral sterility and loss of spiritual tranquility. And this must have been understood from the earliest times, or Jotham could never have conceived of his parable of the trees, as related in the Book of Judges. Neither the olive nor the fig nor the vine was willing to be promoted over the other trees in order to rule over them, because each in the way appointed for it was productive of precious fruit. The trees therefore elected as their king the bramble who was uncreative and clutched at the scepter of office that was proffered him, as a compensation for deficiencies of his own" - Ronald Sampson.

"To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied upon, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge nor the virtue. To be governed means to be, at each operation, at each transaction, at each movement, noted, registered, controlled, taxed, stamped, measured, valued, assessed, patented, licensed, authorised, endorsed, admonished, hampered, reformed, rebuked, arrested. It is to be, on the pretext of the general interest, taxed, drilled, held to ransom, exploited, monopolised, extorted, squeezed, hoaxed, robbed; then, at the least resistance, at the first word of complaint, to be repressed, fined, abused, annoyed, followed, bullied, beaten, disarmed, garotted, imprisoned, machine-gunned, judged condemned, deported, flayed, sold, betrayed and finally mocked, insulted, dishonoured. Such is government, such is justice, such is morality " - Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

# FREEDOM AS A POSITIVE PRINCIPLE

All the problems of social life present a choice between libertarian and authoritarian solutions, and the ultimate claim we may make for the libertarian approach is that it is more efficient - it fulfils the function better. The adventure playground is an arresting example of this living anarchy, one which is valuable both in itself and as an experimental verification of a whole social approach. The need to provide children's playgrounds as such is a result of high-density urban living and fast-moving traffic. The authoritarian solution to this need is to provide an area of tarmac and some pieces of extensive iron-mongery in the form of swings, see-saws and roundabouts which provide a certain amount of fun (though because of their inflexibility, children soon tire of them), but which call for no imaginative or constructive effort on the child's part and cannot be incorporated in any self-chosen activity. Swings and roundabouts can only be used in one way, they cater for no fantasies, for no developing skills, for no emulation of adult activities, they call for no mental effort and very little physical effort, and we are giving way to simpler and freer apparatus like climbing frames, log piles, 'jungle gyms', commando nets or to play sculptures - abstract shapes to clamber through and over, or large constructions in the form of boats, traction engines, lorries or trains. But even these provide for a limited age group and a limited range of activities, and it is not surprising that children find more continual interest in the street, the derelict buildings, the bombed site or the scrap heap.

That there would be anything novel in simply providing facilities for the spontaneous, unorganised activities of childhood is an indication of how deeply rooted in our social behaviour is the urge to control, direct and limit the flow of life. But when they get the chance, in the country or where there are large gardens, woods or bits of waste land, what are the children doing? Enclosing space, making caves, tents, dens from old bricks, bits of wood and corrugated iron. Finding some corner which the adult has passed over and making it their own. But how can children find this kind of private world in towns where, as Agnette Vestereg of the Copenhagen Junk Playground writes, "Every bit of land is put to industrial or commercial use, where every patch of grass is enclosed or protected, where streams and hollows are filled in, cultivated and built on?" But more is done for children than used to be done, it may be objected. Yes, but that is one of the chief faults, - the things are done! Town children move about in a world full of technical science. They may see and be impressed by things; but they long to take possession of them, to have them in their hands, to make something themselves, to create and recreate.

The Emdrup playground was begun in 1943 by the Copenhagen Workers Cooperative Housing Association after their landscape architect, Mr. C.T. Sorenson who had laid many orthodox playgrounds, had observed that children seemed to get more pleasure when they stole into the building sites and played with the materials that they found there. In spite of the daily attendance of 200 children at Emdrup and the fact that difficult children were specially catered for, it was found that the noise, screams and fights found in dull playgrounds were small for the opportunities were so rich that the children did not need to fight.

The initial success at Copenhagen has led in the years since the war to a widespread diffusion of the idea and its variations, from freedom in Stockholm and The Yard in Minneapolis to the Skrammellegeplads or building playgrounds of Denmark and the Robinson Crusoe playgrounds of Switzerland, where the children are provided with the raw materials and tools for building what they want and for making gardens and sculpture .... When the Yard was opened at Minneapolis with the aim of giving the children their own spot of earth and plenty of tools and materials for digging, building and creating as they see fit - it was every child for himself.