

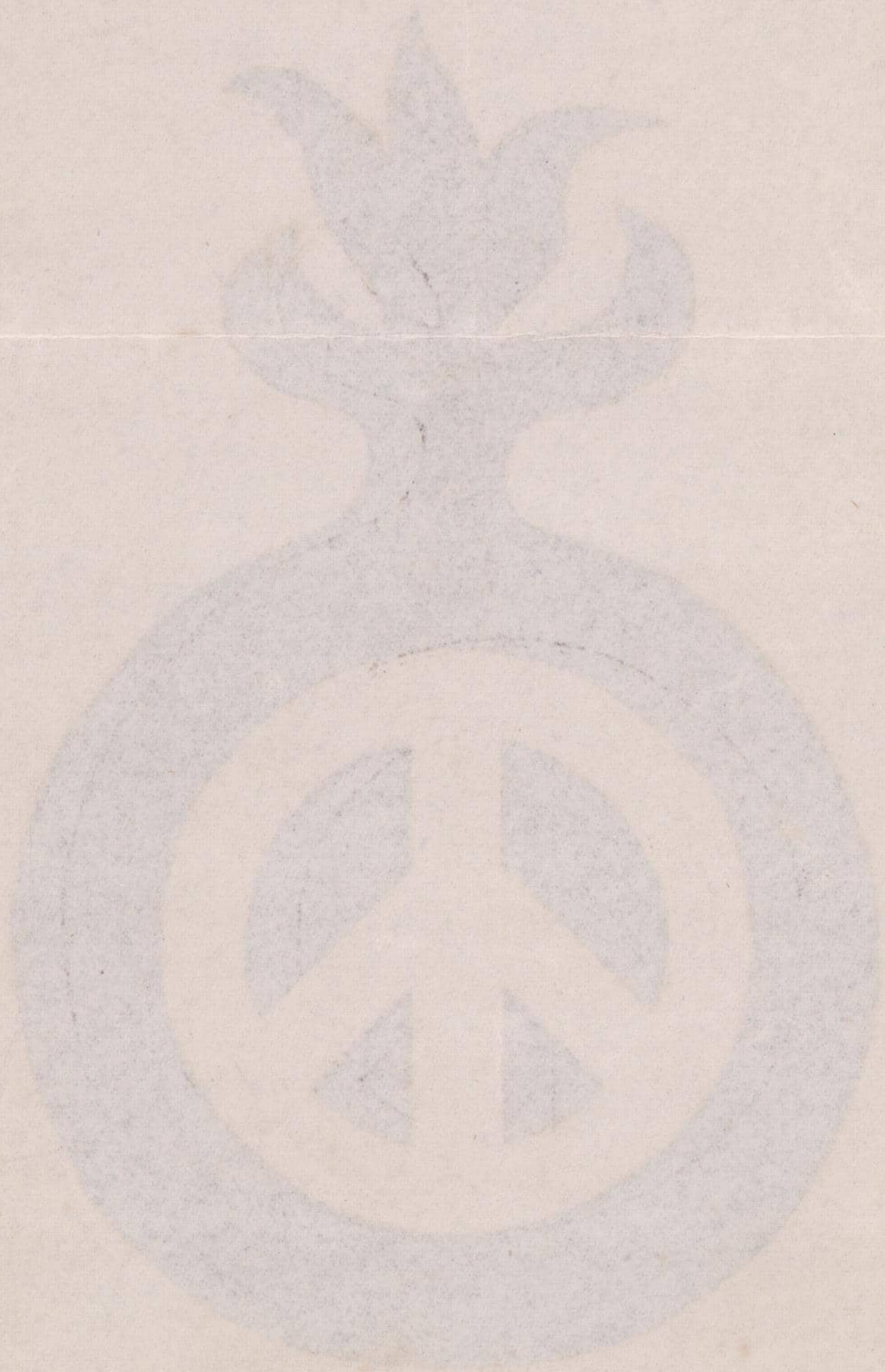
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# ANARCHIST YOUTH:4



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## ANARCHIST YOUTH 4

Editors: Adrian Cunningham (Federation of Anarchist Students)  
 Mark Hendy (London)  
 Wynford Hicks (London)  
 Leo Valle (Federacion Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias)

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Editorial Notes First an apology: Anarchist Youth is late. We are trying to produce the paper regularly four times a year (next issue Easter). Donations and subscriptions (3/- a year) would help. Also we appeal to those who support A.Y. to sell copies and to send back the money.

Our second duty is more pleasant: we welcome to the editorial board Leo Valle of the Federacion Iberica de Juventudes Libertarias. We hope to include a regular contribution from our Spanish comrades.

A student federation has been formed (its first conference is reported in this issue) but little progress has been made towards the formation of an anarchist federation of Britain. We stated in our last issue that we were in favour of a federation - most anarchists are - and in this issue we include an article on the form a federation should take. But written discussion is no substitute for direct personal contact. We are in favour of a conference of all anarchists in Britain as soon as possible. Even if the conference does not lead to the formation of a federation it can be valuable in stimulating activity and co-ordinating what is going on already. The most important subject for us at the moment is the General Election. Small anarchist groups and individuals will obviously carry out their own anti-parliamentary propaganda but will everybody be able to issue his own leaflet? And if comrades all over Britain are to distribute leaflets (produced in London?) should they not have some say in writing them? We appeal to those who are opposed to the immediate calling of a conference to reconsider their position.

Please send contributions to Anarchist Youth, 38 Oxford Gdns,  
 London, W.10.

PLEASE SEND CONTRIBUTIONS

A student conference was held in Oxford on December 8th. 1963 to discuss the formation of a federation of anarchist students.

Delegates from Newcastle, London, Cambridge, and Oxford were present. In spite of the poor representation, a Student Federation was formed and its aims and activities discussed. A secretary was delegated to deal with communications and organisation.

The aims of the Federation are:

1. To unite all libertarian students throughout the country whether as members of a university or college group or as individuals.
2. To establish an efficient communication service between such groups and individuals.
3. To further the interest in anarchist ideas amongst students and young people in this country.

It was decided that its activities should include:

1. The sending of speakers to CND and YCND groups.
2. Exchanging speakers and lists of outside speakers.
3. The organising of national meetings to be held regularly in different places.

Conference unanimously agreed:

1. That a British Federation of Anarchists was desirable and that the secretary should send a letter to Jack Stevenson affirming their support of it and the desire to participate in any conference called to establish it. The Student Federation has no intention of being a rival to such a federation but is eager to affiliate to it.
2. That details of meetings held throughout the country should be sent from the secretaries of groups to the editors of Anarchist Youth for inclusion in a regular news page.
3. That a list of speakers prepared to address meetings should be obtained from the L.F.A.
4. That copies of Anarchist Student and Anarchist Youth should be sent to the British Museum as they requested.
5. That a national meeting should be held in London to coincide with the CND activities going on at Easter, at which it is hoped that comrades representing many more student bodies will be present.
6. That the International Libertarian Camp should be supported by as many people as possible and especially so by students who have longer vacations and can travel more easily.

## Contact with the 'Left'

In our last issue it was argued that while the issues of industrial struggle were the fundamental ground of any hope of libertarian change and should never be obscured through pandering to those who merely want something intellectually daring, the function of anarchist student groups and ergo of a federation was primarily propagandist.

In our experience (at Cambridge) well publicized meetings for visiting speakers have yielded a good response, yet reliance on outside speakers is unsatisfactory. Non-anarchists pick up a few ideas but form no coherent picture of our standpoint. To remedy this, we are holding lunch time discussion meetings after each talk.

Yet the barriers still remain. Anarchists are all too prone to believe that they have the doctrine pure and undefiled ... and uninteresting, forming an exclusive sect of the redeemed sufficient to repel any potential sympathisers.

In every university or college Labour Club, in every Young Socialist group one meets both the dedicated party hack and two kinds of 'entrists': those who enter the group to take it by the throat in the interests of their own particular faction (Trotskyists, CP etc.), and a second group with whom anarchists could make some sort of rapprochement. Those often very intelligent and honest people who are less interested in capturing the party machine than bringing about a change of thought, a shift of emphasis in the broad labour movement. They will frequently argue from a general libertarian point of view, but genuinely feel that since the LP is there and has immense resources as a means of communicating and effecting ideas, they might as well be in it - at the same time rejecting the parliamentary game as much as we do.

This is an obviously uneasy position, hedged with all kinds of compromises and hesitations, but a very understandable one, motivated as it is by a desire for effectiveness that anarchists often blithely disregard even to the point of taking a perverse delight in their impotence. Our overall aim being total change of society and social relations, we should be concerned to win support for our ideas at every possible level, among Labour dissidents as much as Committee of 100 supporters. In fact, we have nothing to lose by going half way to meet this position. For there is no organisation or membership to be 'captured' by a pressure group; anarchists should be sufficiently sure of themselves not to fear being seduced by party politics; and finally, student groups are scattered, small and have a permanency of three years at most - no matter what mistakes are made no other group will be compromised. In this way one of our disadvantages can be turned to good use in allowing us a wider scope of thought and action than is possible for more durable groups like the LFA or FREEDOM group. We should make these moves precisely because other groups cannot or will not.

As a beginning, I simply suggest that instead of the all-out at-

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tack, we take common problems and issues putting forward our own ideas but being willing to support compromise formulations, study-groups etc. There is a lot to both give and learn on, say, education, mass-communications, workers control, in joint discussions with YS, International Socialism, and New Left groups. For example two outline topics:

1. Early Marxist thought, concentrating on the concept of alien- (1)  
ation the effect of given environmental factors in social and working life producing fissures between man and his work, his relations with other men and finally alienation from himself. This could be related to historical and technical developments and the 'development' of Marxism to show that it is a characteristic not just of capitalist but of all forms of managerial and bureaucratic society - including the socialist. From this analysis going on to an examination of possible alternative types of organisation, work-relation etc. This topic also easily opens into a consideration of (a) the 'anarcho-Marxism' of the SOLIDARITY group and (b) the Marxist-humanism of the American NEWS & LETTERS. (2)

2. A series of joint meetings on historical events where socialist and anarchist thought clashed; drawing out the significance of the clash, its effect on later developments, present issues etc. In Cambridge we have had three talks with the Socialist Club on;  
(a) Kronstadt 1921,  
(b) Marx, Bakunin and the 1st International  
(c) Rosa Luxemburg (3)

Other fruitful sources might be Sorel, and Andy Anderson's forthcoming book on the Hungarian Revolution 1956.

In all this the over-riding conception must be that whilst libertarian thought in terms of ANARCHY type topics is more prolific and reaching a wider readership than it has done for a decade, we have not come to terms with the specific problems of organisation and action in Britain in the 1960's. And we are not going to meet this challenge by relying on established anarchist theory. For example, Rosa Luxemburg's ideas on 'mass-strike' and 'the relation of the revolutionary party to the masses' have a fascinating relevance for us to-day; and I can conceive situations in which I would work inside a broad-based movement part of which was represented by a social-democratic parliamentary party as an opposition group only, in the terms which she outlines.

This will possibly horrify some anarchists, it should however be one of the possibilities we can start to examine. In brief, it is patent that we are reaching only a fraction of our potential sympathisers and assimilating only a fraction of the experience and ideas which are needed. If they won't come to us, and often it's not surprising, we must go to them.

Please let us have your ideas on this in whatever form you like.

Notes: see page 6

# Federation

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There has been much discussion lately about the formation and functions of an anarchist federation in this country. What are the needs of the anarchist movement in Britain, and in what ways are its members able to organise themselves toward their fulfilment?

There must be more contact, personal or otherwise, but always as direct as possible, within the movement if it is to realize its present potential and carry on growing the way it has recently. Society does not exist without contact, and what is true of society in general is surely true of movement for progressive social change in particular. No history of the libertarian left is complete without an important stress on the activities of people like Fanelli in Spain and Italy, and the Bjorklunds in Sweden, to mention only outstanding examples; while, conversely, the removal of the secretariat of the First International to New York brought about the organisation's immediate degeneration.

Coming back to this country, how can we help others in their struggles or, for that matter, expect help from them, if we do not communicate with them? Such an important factor cannot be left to chance; at the same time, we shall all be wasting a lot of effort and opportunity if we cannot address ourselves to all sections of the movement simultaneously. We must, therefore, delegate a group of comrades for this purpose.

Anarchists also need to make their presence felt within the natural social groupings that they themselves belong to. If society is to change fundamentally for the better it is from within these groups that the impetus must eventually come. As the last editorial pointed out, such groups are based mainly on general area of employment and residence on the one hand, and on occupation on the other. A coherent organisation will be able to help the formation and growth of both kinds. When someone writes to the Paris address of our comrades of the French Anarchist Federation expressing interest, the national secretariat informs the local group who then make direct contact. If no group exists a general contact can aid its formation, and the same could apply to an occupational group. So far a federation of students has been formed; it is to be hoped that this will provide an initiative for others and that all may eventually be able to help each other and to gain new members through an organised body.

The anarchist movement must have some coherent expression toward the general public. This, it should be added, is not to put across some overblown image, nor to enable one group's activities to dominate, but because we have plenty to say to those outside the movement, and can best do so by combining our efforts. A comrade remarked recently that people will only start taking the anarchists seriously when they have a daily paper. Who can disagree? Anarchism must become a coherent soc-

ial force; the theory of spontaneous combustion does not hold water. People may rebel en masse without much prompting, true. But such a rebellion does not inevitably bring the free society, or it would have come about long ago. We need only look back five years to Cuba for a reminder.

And anyway we are not all-or-nothing revolutionaries, far from it. Militant action and propaganda must be based on the daily struggle inevitably taking place in every sphere of class society for the preservation and enlargement of the rights of the mass of people, in the face of encroaching domination and exploitation by the few. Anarchists need to foster social consciousness, to aid and agitate for immediate solutions to social questions. And where broad movements exist with ends and means which, if limited, are compatible with our own, we need to make their members conscious of all our aims and methods.

So let the movement have a paper, and let it appear as often as possible, with the final aim of a daily publication. As to ownership, this is a side issue, a legalistic formality. The important thing is freedom of access and an editorial policy decided by the members of the federation.

There may also be times when some section of the public wants to come to us, for one reason or another. Shouldn't we have someone to meet it, even if it is only the capitalist press?

Finally, there is the international movement. We hope some day to see the formation of a world federation. Meanwhile, we haven't even got a way of sending fraternal greetings to movements abroad on such occasions as conferences, May Day, and so on, except by the most laborious circularization of local groups. And, also on the international question, it is worth pointing out that a very large proportion of the "Third World" is English-speaking. Does this not present us with a unique opportunity, if not a duty?

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Contact with the 'Left' Continued from page 4

NOTES:

- ①. of relevant sections of 'Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology & Social Philosophy' ed. Bottomore & Rubel. Penguin.
- ②. cf Raya Dunayevskaya's 'Marxism & Freedom' for the basis of marxist-humanism.
- ③. best short study is by Tony Cliff. pub. at 3/6 by International Socialism.



THE CHURCH IN SPAIN

.....

"Sancho, we have come up against the church".

Don Quixote.

The church has always played an important role in Spanish history, particularly since the Arab invasion in the early Middle Ages. The "Black Legend" has left its mark on every generation, each one inheriting an even more infamous tradition.

During the late Middle Ages, Spain produced some of the greatest philosophers, artists of all kinds, and able and distinguished bankers and merchants. Life in general was stable and contented. But the majority of these cultured people were Arabs and Jews: and the Catholic monarchs (Isabella and Ferdinand) expelled them from the country at the end of the 15th century.

Because of this absurd mutilation, all the splendour of the country vanished. The great irrigation systems which gave fertility to the land were abandoned. From the 40 million inhabitants at the time of the Arabs, the expulsion reduced the population to a mere half. There remained only warriors, priests, and monks of the Reconquista, who knew nothing about agriculture or industry. Even today, Spain suffers the consequences, for she never recovered, culturally or economically.

The place of philosophy and art was taken by religion, which, driven by Catholic extremism, not only converted a continent and a half to Christianity, but also gave the world St. Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order. The Jesuits are a living, practical force. They have always controlled education, and much more besides. They are the expression of the Spanish extremism in its religious form. Although the Order has many ramifications, there is no country in the world where they exercise such great power as in Spain. Yet the Spaniards on not less than six occasions since 1767 (the last in 1931), have expelled the Jesuits or dissolved the Order.

However, out of this darkness and misery appeared the real Spain, the productive, the thinking, and the active Spain, giving expression to the new forces of Liberty. These were in permanent opposition to the forces of reaction at the beginning of the 19th century. A paradoxical example is that when Ferdinand VII came out to meet Napoleon in order to surrender to him, the people were fighting his army in the streets. And in 1812 a meeting of the cortes in Cadiz passed the first truly liberal constitution in Europe. The political philosophy of Liberalism comes out of this Spain.

During the 19th century, it was in the interests of the religious orders to prevent the poor from learning to read. The church was able

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to force the state schools to close down, owing to lack of funds: the municipalities were in charge of the schools upkeep, and the church was able to use its influence with the caciques (paid thugs retained by the secular rulers) and administrators to prevent any payments being made. There is a Spanish saying that "money is very catholic" because in 1912 the working capital of the Jesuit Order was said to be 60 million pounds sterling. The Order owned railways, mines, factories, banks, shipping companies, orange plantations, and so on.

Under the Spanish Republic of 1931, Church and State were separated and religious liberty was proclaimed. The Republic found itself with half Spain illiterate; the intellectual movement incorporated in the Republic opened a big campaign of education, as part of which many schools and universities were created, and freedom of speech and press were granted. At last the working class began to get some education.

Under the conditions of freedom of propaganda and of organization, the CNT, (persecuted during the rule of General Martinez Anido and later clandestine during the 7 year dictatorship of Primo de Rivera), reorganized itself and enormously increased its membership. This made possible the famous Congress at Zaragoza in 1931.

The church, aware of the advance of the working class during the Republic, used all possible means, in collaboration with the reactionary elements and the army, to destroy it. Twice the army revolted against the Republic and was crushed in the streets. The third attempt by General Mola and Franco, and the fascist Falange, caused the Civil War.

The people, seeing their freedom and their latest social achievements in danger, heroically went to defend their rights. In the names of the CNT - FAI, the army rising was put down in Barcelona, and the barracks taken over in Madrid. Thus the illusion of a swift victory by church and army and fascism vanished, and the war began....

IN Franco Spain today the church has more power than ever before, more riches, and more priests. It has turned the working class back to the Black Spain of Torquemada. Now, with its control of education, the church offers salvation to the people: The catechism of 1964 commands:-

"Children of Spain beware of the 13 deadly sins"

In his book, *The Vatican against Europe*, Edmund Paris, says: Father Ripalda's catechism is being taught in Spanish schools under the high patronage of the Bishops of Almeria, Sevilla, Cadiz, and Cordoba... Thirteen modern errors are branded as infamous in this charitable work. Here they are:- materialism, darwinism, atheism, trade-unionism/pantheism, deism, rationalism, protestantism/socialism, communism, liberalism, modernism, and Freemasonry. And this is how the author commits them to the juvenile indignation. Protestantism first: The founder of this heresy was a conceited and corrupt apostate priest

called Luther... Socialism: An absurd system, and, furthermore unjust. IF Communism is rejected as being equally absurd, what is to be said of this definition of trade-unionism? : The union of working classes for the destruction of society, the dispersion of private property, and the defence of their alleged rights.

The pernicious freedoms.

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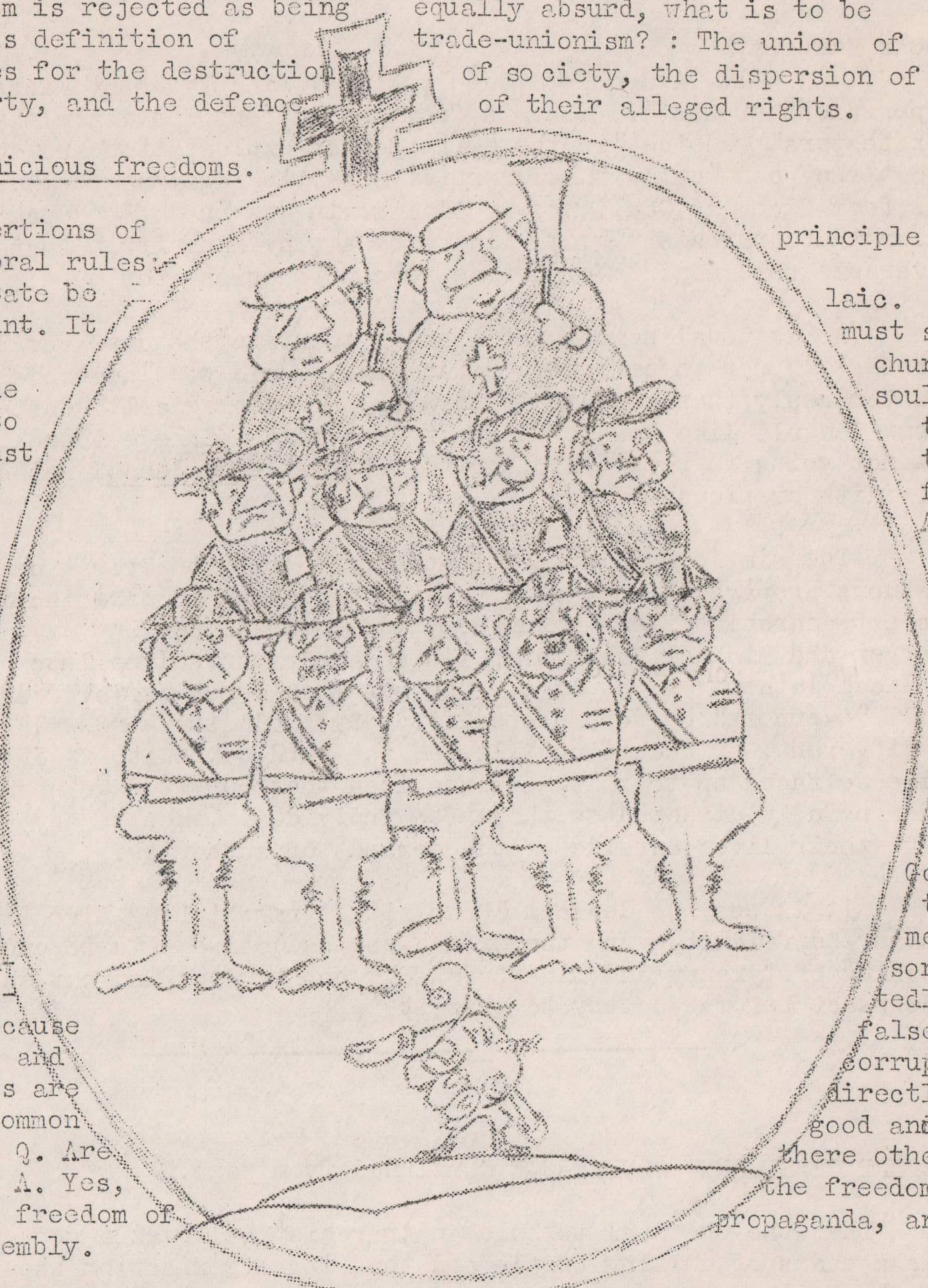
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Needless to say, there is only one publication free of censorship on Spain, and that is an organ of Catholic Action, called Ecclesia.

There is no doubt in my mind however, that the genius and spirit of the Spanish people will in its own time reappear to destroy this totalitarian regime once and for all!

Dear Editors,

In "Anarchist Youth", No.3 I find two statements regarding "permanent protest". One is from the editors who claim that "permanent protesters" rejoice "in the existence of exploitation and oppression" so that they can "enjoy the luxury of rebelling against them". The other is from Nicholas Gould who proclaims, in answer to Woodcock's presumed view that anarchists "will always be a tiny minority," that "We shall overcome some day. We must be revolutionaries, not merely rebels...."

As is usual no attempt is made to state the case for "permanent protest," nor to seriously refute it. Have you "anarchist youth" no better reply than gratuitous insults, or ideological breast-beating? What I would like you to do is offer some tangible evidence that anarchism is not going to remain a minority interest - evidence, not declarations of faith or pious hopes.

The simple, solid fact is that, in spite of over a century of continuous propaganda and activity, the herd show no more inclination to accept anarchist ideas than they did in the pioneering days of Josiah Warren and Michael Bakunin. You can whip yourselves into as many evangelical lathers as you like; you can shout over and over again that you will "overcome" on some unspecified day; all the herd will do is remain indifferent, or become hostile, as the mood takes it. I think it is time we faced up to this, and realized that our "message" can only be meaningfully directed to those few individuals who, in any age, want to live their lives outside of the demands of authority.

It is easy to declaim "Down with tyrants! Long Live Liberty!" What is more difficult - and therefore less seductive - is to understand the meaning of tyranny and liberty. Why not try to find out the nature of the beast before you try to trap it?

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REPORT OF STUDENT CONFERENCE Continued from page.2

7. That the proposal to hold an Anarchist Ball was a good one since it was a means of uniting people and that its organisation should be discussed at the next meeting.
8. That all views on the Student Federation and its decisions from people not present at the conference would be very welcome and that these and any suggestions for the agenda of the next meeting should be sent to the secretary, Kate Sanders, Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford.

THE CHINK IN THE ARMOUR

The tragedy of Southern Africa, especially that unhappy land of S. Africa, is that so many opposers of apartheid and racial segregation complacently harp on about the certainty of "an explosion" occurring one day which will finish apartheid for good.

Out here, comrades, the effort to live with the inhumanity of racial hatred prevents one believing in this mirage. Something must be done! For how long now have people been trying to topple Verwoerd in vain? Assassination has been tried, and failed. Boycott has been tried, and has failed. The UN has debated S. Africa and passed resolutions. Apartheid continues, the prosperity of S. Africa remains. The whites soak in their riches, the blacks slave away under-paid and under-fed.

Inside South Africa passive resistance was tried and although demonstrating an exciting possibility has never been brought to any fruition. Sabotage has shown a futile frustration. If we are to believe certain characters - violent revolution has been planned, but it has not appeared.

Strikes have been organized but have only demonstrated a lack of organization. Passes have been burnt yet Africans still have to carry them.

So many statesmen mouth their disgust of apartheid, yet they do not end it. As long as the world needs gold, is there going to be a real attempt to break the privileges inherent in the South African society?

Is the capitalist world intending to cut its own throat by assisting the overthrow of the white minority rule in S. Africa? Of course it isn't!

So we seem to be stuck with apartheid as long as we are stuck with capitalism. In fact as long as we accept inequality, the division of people into superior and inferior types, then we accept the State. We follow this by paving the way for injustice, for inequality allows injustice. Why not treat inferior people as if they were inferior? Why not eliminate the weak - or at least exploit them? Surely, Darwin showed the survival of the fittest is a law of nature?

We are back with the controversy between Kropotkin and the Darwinists. We are back at the alternative to inequality: mutual aid. The answer to apartheid is the brotherhood of man and the answer to the State is, in part love. If there is no equality, there is surely no love - we do not have love between superiors and inferiors, only sado-masochism. The surest sabotage to the State is love, which is why the State is so hate-full.

The chink in the armour of apartheid is the chink in the armour of capitalism and the State. You act against one and you act against them all. But the action must be by the people, the workers, the students - direct action. A refusal by the workers to handle South African goods. No State will boycott gold, only the workers will refuse to move it. The Trade Unions are as much use to the anti-apartheid movement as they were to Centre 42. As Arnold Wesker might have seen his answer in building an anarcho-syndicalist movement, we anarcho-syndicalists must see the answer to the reign of racial supremacy as direct industrial action. We

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VOTE LABOUR?

I agree with Adrian Cunningham that anarchists have nothing to lose and a lot to gain from discussion with socialists. It is absurd to divide people into "workers" at whom we direct propaganda and "politicos" whose acceptance of ideas we disagree with puts them beyond the pale. In any case the majority of socialists - like the majority of people in general - are workers. Of course we cannot expect to convert Harold Wilson to anarchism - or to have a useful discussion with him; but there are thousands of people in the Labour Party (above all in the YS) who may listen to us and who may teach us something.

The General Election offers us a valuable opportunity both for propaganda and for discussion (and since the most effective propaganda for anarchism is an appeal to reason rather than abusive statements about politicians these two are closely linked). Now anybody who realises that anarchists are opposed to the state understands why we don't vote - in a sense. Most people would probably say "they don't vote because they don't want to compromise their principles". Well I can't speak for anybody else, but if I thought that voting Labour would bring a free society nearer I would vote Labour. My anarchist principles are not articles of faith but guides for action in need of constant justification.

Here is an attempt to justify the anarchist attitude to elections and connect it with anarchist social philosophy.

First some quotations from an article by Alasdair MacIntyre in International Socialism 15.

"Reformism is the conviction that socialism can be achieved by the use of and participation in the existing political institutions of the liberal bourgeois state...the state is now so well integrated with the key institutions of the capital economy that it cannot any longer be conceived of as a neutral, independent source of power that could be used against that economy. Consequently the whole reformist programme of nationalisation and planning by the use of the existing institutions of the bourgeois state has become irrelevant...To accept Wilsonism is to have moved over to the Right at least for the moment, no matter what professions of socialism are made...Capturing the Labour Party leadership is a pointless as well as a hopeless aim." (NB this is not an attempt to summarise MacIntyre's argument which should be read in full but to indicate that the basis for discussion exists)

It seems to me that whatever the differences in terminology between anarchists and revolutionary socialists we agree on the following points: that a free, co-operative society is both desirable and possible; that revolutionary social change can only be achieved by the direct action of the working-class; that the state cannot be the ally of any revolutionary movement but is its natural enemy; that from social-democrat governments we can expect nothing but the modernisation of capitalism. On the face

Continued over.

of it the anti-parliamentary case is granted by the socialists: why vote for and support a social-democrat party if it cannot achieve what we want? If a revolution can only come about through a replacement of the parliamentary action of a minority by the direct action of the mass of the people why perpetuate the myth that the Labour Party can "bring about socialism" by voting for it and asking others to vote for it? Why not concentrate on persuading the working-class that its interests can best be served by building a social revolution?

In his article MacIntyre asserts that it would be a great mistake "to turn away entirely from the traditional institutions of the Labour Movement and concentrate instead only upon the rank-and-file shop-floor struggles in industry and the peace movement". Why? "To do this would be to accept the class struggle in the terms in which the capitalist would wish us to accept it." Of course, as MacIntyre says, the ruling-class can deal with isolated pockets of resistance - divide and rule; and of course the working-class can only succeed by building "institutions which express their life and struggle as a class". This is the whole point: these institutions do not exist - how to create them? MacIntyre says by working inside the Labour Movement. Agreed - but does this mean that revolutionaries should accept the Movement's parliamentary illusion? If the basis of any effective libertarian organisation is the shop-floor it is at the level of the shop-floor that our main work as propagandists should be done. Of course discussions outside work are useful; of course since the Labour Party includes many of the people concerned with changing society, since it is thought to be a mechanism for bringing about social change, since it has the passive loyalty of many working-class people, it is a particularly important target for revolutionaries. But you do not destroy useless institutions - and, infinitely more important, replace them by more effective institutions - by identifying yourself with them, by performing their ludicrous rituals, by pretending to owe allegiance to ideas which you do not accept. Of course we must remain within the Labour Movement, but if we do not criticise its mistakes how can we change it? And what sort of criticism is a repetition of the mistake?

MacIntyre says that we must make political demands on the Labour Leadership - for higher wages, for improvements in education, for the abolition of nuclear weapons. Let us make these demands but let us realise that they will not be granted. Let us make them to show the impotence of the Labour Party in the hope that people will turn away from it towards direct action. Of course if the ruling class granted wage increases above a certain level, or established a satisfactory education system, or abandoned war as a policy it would - to say the least - weaken its position. But do we expect the Labour Party implement policies of this kind? MacIntyre shows in his article why we do not. If he is right why stay in the Labour Party? If accepting Wilsonism is "moving to the Right" what is voting for it, campaigning for it? Does the socialist in the Labour Party really think that he can combine revolutionary propaganda with canvassing for a social-democrat candidate? "Vote for Brother George Brown until we tell you to shoot him as a class enemy!"

It is time that socialists understood that they cannot both play

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the parliamentary game and work for a social revolution. The question we should be discussing is not whether we should continue to pretend to be parliamentarians in the Labour Party but what organiational forms are necessary to the achievement of a social revolution. MacIntyre talks of a strategy for the working-class which will only be operable "if almost every worker is able to understand and assent to this strategy, if there is a national web of democratically effective trade union institutions. And a first prerequisite for such institutions is the defence and extension of the shop stewards movement." This is what we should be talking about.

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THE CHINK IN THE ARMOUR Continued from page 11

must build up, on the basis of the Committee of 100 a movement of workers with a social conscience, who will make sacrifices to assist their brothers.

This involves one directly in the struggle against the Bomb, which can best be furthered by the workers taking industrial action.

Anarchists may say that the workers don't care, but as the electric torture shoots through the limbs of a 90 day detainee in S. Africa cannot this spark some people into caring enough to throw themselves into a reasoned, determined fight to end this shameless, evil oligarchy that holds Southern Africa in its torturing hands!

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