

X O Y O S

Christian
Anarchist
Bulletin

35 Natal rd.,
Thornton Heath,
CR4.8QH

tel. 653.
7546

Monthly Minutes of meetings
accounts of actions and
arguments
News, notes and notices.

September

The Christian Anarchist group meets normally on the second saturday of the month. It meets at St Paul's Vicarage, Leopold St., London E.3. - the vicarage of St Paul's Bow Common, which church the Vicarage adjoins at the rear. The Church is in Burdett road, and is situate near Mile End Tube Station.

Meetings are generally at 8.00 P.M.; - though a request has been made by Anne Vogel to start earlier and have longer meetings and this will have been considered by the time this is sent out. Before the meetings there is a service in the Church - from 7.30 PM; which begins with a short form of ^VVespers, and then allows time for meditation - following the pattern of silent meetings of the Religous ^SSociety of Friends.

Meetings normally end at ten PM. If transport is available we adjourn to the Gun Pub in Millwall; otherwise to an Inn nearer the Vicarage. The September meeting is on the thirteenth. The October meeting will be on the 18th. repeat October 18. October 18.

Paper by Cathy Darcy, read in her absence to the
September meeting on squatting.

Towards the end of last year it was decided to form the London Squatters' Campaign as a need was felt for a direct action campaign on housing. Other means - such as charities - had had little effect. There was obvious injustice in leaving houses empty, or turning them into offices, and both these could be attacked by squatting. It also attacked the extent of control of our lives by "the authorities". If the local councils, who claimed to be there to serve the people, would not provide decent housing when they had empty houses, then the homeless should take them.

Redbridge was chosen for the campaign, because there was an unusually high number of empty houses, due to the redevelopment plans. Many of them being relet as offices. This also defeated the accusations of jumping the housing list, as these houses were never intended for those on the housing list.

It was obviously realized that squatting had revolutionary implications, but it was not a case of "using the families for our political ends" in the sense that the reason we (and particularly the Christians amongst us) are revolutionaries, is in order to make a better society, with better conditions.

After about six weeks preparation, on Feb. 8th, we occupied 59 and 67 Oakfield road, Ilford. It had been intended to take no. 34 also, but between the Thursday when we checked it, and the Saturday of moving, it had been wrecked inside. At this stage we were relatively surprised - later we were surprised to find an house unwrecked. The authorities appeared to panic - the police came and evicted the Beresfords from 59, - this was completely illegal, - trespass is a civil offence, and the only action is for the owner to sue for damages.

The Kings and McNallys were forced to retreat to the upper floor, and barricade themselves in, - In 67. In the early hours of the next morning the McNallys moved to 59, a few days later, 43 Cleveland road, was occupied, and after about a week, the Beresfords moved back to Ilford.

Redbridge Council started eviction proceedings against the Beresfords (the other two properties were privately owned). During the course of a council meeting

personal details of their previous debts were announced, and they were described as "not fit to live among decent people". Whatever may be the truth of their debts, it was hardly tactful to slander them in public. After a lot of court proceedings, the County Court finally gave an eviction order against the Beresfords for the 16th April. However, on the evening of the 15th, the Flemmings moved into 43, Cleveland road, and the Beresfords moved to 18 Grosvenor rd., thus as the eviction order was against one particular family, the court order was invalid.

However the council abandoned legality, and on the 21st of April, Barrie Quartermain was employed to evict the Flemmings, the Beresfords and the McNeils who had moved into 26 Britannia rd., on the 20th. The council did not offer reasonable alternatives; the Beresfords were locked in a van and driven back to Council Buildings, while the Flemmings and McNeils squatted again.

At this time, there were several other families squatting, - the Byrnes in 48 Britannia road, and the Wilsons in 50 Ley St., we were aided financially in moving them by an organization called the Campaign for Action for Relief of Need. After a while, we discovered unpleasant connections between them and the National Front, - Walter Hesquith was one of the directors of CARN; some of the squatters helped in the CARN office for a short while, during which time the police called several times, and on one occasion Ron Bailey's name was given to the police as secretary of CARN. We became very suspicious and broke all connection with them. It was decided to found the Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums, this last separate from the squatters campaign, and its office used an information centre on housing as well as for financial support for groups involved in this kind of work.

On the 21st of ~~August~~ June, 6 Woodlands rd., was taken - it was a wrecked house, and the top floor was repaired immediately. It seemed to be just another house, but it brought matters with the council to an head. On the 23rd, Quartermain arrived at the Flemmings ho., at 26 Audrey Rd., with no warning notice to quit or anything. It seemed to be that the council took a long time to get court orders, and that we could evade them anyway (as at 43 Cleveland rd.,) and had so decided to try force immediately. The eviction attempt was foiled, as there were enough supporters to throw the bailiffs out. From then on, there were barricades at Woodlands and Audrey rd., - on 25th there was another eviction attempt, with bricks and milk bottles, thrown through windows, by the bailiffs,

but they were again repulsed, there was still an atmosphere of tension, and after nearly two weeks it became necessary to take down the barricades at Audrey rd., and take the chance of another attack, as Chris Flemming's nerves were beginning to show the strain.

There were no further attacks, and in view of the discredit the council had incurred in the press for employing Quattermain, we decided they might be ready to compromise. Approaches were made and negotiations took place, at the end of which a settlement was reached; - with the following points: -

1. We would vacate all council property; (6 Woodlands rd., & 21 Albert rd.,) and not occupy any more;
2. The council would rehouse the Flemmings and McNeils (Marie McNeil was in fact put back in council buildings with a promise L.O.);
3. The council would not wreck any more houses;
4. The council would review all wrecked and empty houses with a view to reletting;
5. The council would discuss with us any they had decided not to let if we disagreed with their reasons.

The people living at Woodlands rd., - some of whom had only been involved for a few weeks, decided this was at best a bad mistake, and at worst a sell-out. They thought it stupid to trust the council, and wanted all the families who had squatted to be rehoused. We agreed on this, but thought that if we refused to move out, the council would not even rehouse the two families whom they had offered to house, and would probably continue their wrecking policy.

The Flemmings and McNeils were offered temporary accommodation, which is fairly good, and in the Flemmings case very good. (Flat with three rooms, kitchen and bathroom.) The Flemmings were about to move in, when someone from Woodland rd., went to the Town Hall and said they weren't going to move out. The council stopped the Flemmings from moving, but Chris and some of the squatters went to Woodlands rd., (while most of the 'hard core' were with Fulham squatters) and some of those left there agreed to ~~move~~ leave when they heard our side of the story, and when the 'militants' came back, the barricades were down and they grudgingly agreed to leave.

After a couple of weeks the council issued a press release, to say they were going

to demolish all the wrecked houses, on the grounds that they would cost too much to repair. We took this as having broken the agreement in spirit, if not in word, but decided not to take any action as long as most of the unwrecked houses were let.

Trevor Huddleston's part was mainly that he came to Audrey road, the day after Quartermain first tried to evict the Flemmings (24th June), and publicly appealed for an end to violence, and for no more use of "private armies". He is also a sponsor of the Campaign to Clear Hostels and Slums.

With regard to private bailliff firms, I forgot to mention that an eviction attempt on 20th March against the Mercers whose child was ill with scarlet fever at the time, was made, and Oliver Mercer lost her expected child - due to blows in the stomach, with an iron bar.

A family from Barking (the Hayes) were also evicted from a house in Winding Way by another firm, run by a man called Feldman. They are now squatting in Ilford Lane.

One anarchist argument is that noone is perfect and therefore noone is fit to rule anyone else. This is certainly true in Redbridge. The council meetings are almost farcical; and the whole handling of the squatters was incompetent & stupid, and based on a refusal to back down. It would seem logical to relet empty houses until they are needed - when we occupied them for homeless families, they instead of agreeing to let, evicted families forcibly and wrecked other houses to prevent people living in them.

The Welfare Department seems to have no compassion whatsoever; in June the Flemmings asked for welfare accomodation, and were given the key to a flat (which was much worse than they were led to believe) and the same day there was an eviction attempt. In fact a Welfare official came to see if Chris was at the Town Hall, and he only just came back in time before the bailliffs arrived. It was thus appear that the Welfare Department was involved in an attempt to get Chris out of the way while the eviction took place.

((sorry what follows is out of order, L.O.))

A lot has been said about homelessness, on the lines of it being people's own fault if they become homeless. I'll try and say a bit about what led the families to squat and what conditions they came from.

The Beresfords have been in welfare accommodation for - I think - 12 years, in Council Buildings for 4, $3\frac{1}{2}$ of them with no gas, having to cook on an open fire, They lived with seven children in a smallish flat, with no play space - the flats are opposite a canal, in which one child at least has been drowned. In the area it is impossible to buy on H.P. if one's address is Council Buildings, and the welfare officials became more than usually uncooperative, if a family complains about conditions and tries to get out. No offer of rehousing the Beresfords was made in the four years there, and with 7 children it is virtually impossible to get private accommodation. Thus about the only way for them to get a house was to squat.

The Flemmings lost their flat when their third child was born, and they found it impossible to get another; they went home to Ireland, but could not get accommodation there either, and came back. They lived with friends for some time; they lost one flat, when they accidentally broke a gas metre (trying to replace the 18/- it was short) and the landlady called the police. At this point Chris attempted suicide - a few weeks later they were put in touch with us (by Peter & Anna Lumsden incidentally).

The McNallys lost their flat for non-payment of rent, after Danny was out of work due to a back injury. 4 of their children were taken into care - they are now back together.

The Wilsons were living with 3 children, in one room, in Royal Mint Sq., Stepney.

One of the main aims of the council, seems to have been not to lose face - it would have been far more sense to have allowed squatters to stay, but that would have made the council look as if it had backed down, or been defeated in some way. Another aim in wrecking houses may be to force the Ministry to give approval to the redevelopment scheme, which is not yet given. We wonder if someone has a financial interest in getting this scheme through.

Other councils reacted much better; for example Lewisham council let the families stay on, the G.L.C. handed houses over to a housing trust with the squatters as tenants.

I'm sorry this has been totally about Redbridge; I don't know any details of the squats in Stoke Newington or South London (etc.) At present there is a campaign at Duncan House, Hackney, a tenants' action group has been formed and a charter of demands drawn up to present to the council. This includes such items as no more evictions, an end to overcrowding, shorter stays in welfare accommodation, cleaning of rubbish shutes etc., if it is not accepted some families may squat, but nothing is finally decided yet. The squatters' campaign aim to be there as support, and to help in any way, but the tenants themselves are doing the day to day running of the campaign.

Kathy

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Attendance was very small: Fr s Gresham Kirkby and Andrew King, Valerie Bickers, Laurens Otter; apologies from Jean Sargeant, Ian Annetti and Kathy. (meeting Sept. 13)

Andrew started the meeting with an appeal for funds from Doug Kepper, who is running a clinic for junkies in Leytonstone, and who feeds them out of his NAB money, and as often before forgets to eat himself - which since Doug left the Committee of 100, because of illhealth and is or was a very sick man is a little serious. Andrew will be sending money from himself and me, but it was rather felt that it would be better for Doug if we took over a milk bill or something of the sort, so as to force Doug sometimes to keep something for himself.

There was really very little that could be said about Kathy's paper, obviously support and admiration; but there was fortunately or unfortunately nothing a group could debate. Kathy is too kind a person to have entered in any depth into the one or two problems that we had hoped to discuss (or some of us had hoped to discuss) when we asked her to do this second paper. (The first was reproduced in the Catonsville Roadrunner, - which if not quite reaching the masses nevertheless is much more widely read than this.)

Among points that had bothered us:

- A. the difference over Woodland rd., briefly mentioned by Kathy. There was a very unpleasant letter in Peace News attacking Ron Bailey. And the Guardian had printed out of context some very cavalier sounding & disparaging remarks by Ron and Jim Redford, about people who were

active, militant rank and file supporters.

We had therefore to supplement Kathy's article from what we knew from other sources. The full statement had appeared in Freedom, which had printed a reply from John Rety, and a further rejoinder later from Ron. (As far as I remember the statement and Jon's article were in the second issue in August.)

John, Ron and Jim Radford were all at the ~~xxx~~ anarchist camp, as were Marie McNeil and some other squatters, so I had seen them all, but they were never there at the same time - John was only there at the beginning at the end as he with a squat in Brighton - and so it was not possible to get a confrontation/debate so as to elucidate facts, and one just had one side at a time. Which for people who have reason to admire all three and to know that they have worked amicably and well together before the present squatting campaign is hardly satisfying.

Marie McNeil was still in Cornwall when John came back, but she had been left without much camping gear and had moved to Dennis Gould's cottage, - where she was going to stay until Redbridge honoured its pledge to give her accomodation - and though she visited the camp briefly while John was there - there was no possibility of getting them to argue it.

((Any Logos reader, who shares my interest in exotica will be intrigued to learn that the SPGB has pronounced that squatting is not reformist.))

B. To put the squats in context. One has small groups, directly challenging the raison d'etre of local government (if no longer of national) - property - groups, which if the State were fully determined could be easily crushed, by arbitrary police-cum-military action.

Remember for instance the Police Commissioner-Home Secretary ban on the Committee of 100 ~~demo~~ demo, exactly ~~xxxxxxx~~ eight years ago as I type this - on Sept. 17 1961; Trafalgar Square was prohibited to anyone the police might reasonably suspect of being a Committee of 100 supporter for 24 hours; this was done purely on the basis of Ministerial decree.

In Lewisham, the agreement with the squatters so infuriated local landlords

There being little to debate on Kathy's paper, a little hearsay reportage of evidence from Freedom, and from the anarchist camp, led us on to discussion of that camp and I was asked to include with this, some report thereof; Ann Lindsay was going to circulate to all anarchists groups and anyone who wanted it a report, I do not know if she still intends so to do, in the meantime Paul Pavlowski has issued an invitation to debate and discuss the camp, which makes amusing if unconstructive reading.

Unfortunately the camp was ruined. Partly because a party of French believed to be situationists were wreckers, partly because English people trying to prevent the wrecking allowed themselves to think and talk in terms of the French are doing so and so, - thereby splitting the campaign on national lines and forcing other French to side with the disruptors. Not all the disruptors were French, and one party of French from Toulouse published a very good leaflet taking the micky out of the troubles and rightly attributing the division not to nationality but between those who were married and otherwise paired on the one hand and those who were unattached males on the other.

There had been trouble before I went down and I met someone from the camp on the way who told me something of it, and was greeted on arrival by Tony Smythe with the news that the French were talking of having a show down that night. Sure enough in the early hours of the morning a large tent which was used for the females' bogs was taken down and moved to the middle of the ~~tent~~ camp. The reasons given next morning were two fold (a) that segregation is illibertarian, - many would say fair enough, (b) that there was no place in the middle of the camp for discussions - there was a barn at the entrance to the site only an hundred yards away - and this was to be a meeting site. This latter argument was somewhat contradicted by the fact that the people involved had been in process of setting light to the tent, (and had broken some of the poles) when we went to interfere. They were also intending to set light to the barn (immediately the farmer's house - he was a sympathizer) and had started in this and failed.

There was a later incident, Dennis Gould was running a camp canteen, he and a friend had out of their own pockets bought cooking utensils (including stove) and ran, the canteen, prices were high, in order to cover the costs of the equipment, but if any profits were made, they were to be given to the camp. This earned him the epithet of capitalist, and it became for the situationists arevolutionary

whose chance of exploiting tenants was of course thereby impaired by what they considered unfair competition, that various Tory groups waged a campaign against the agreement and will win votes on the issue. The Tory picture of the landlady as being typically a widow or wife of a bed ridden elderly pensioner, eaking out her existencxe by supplementing a pension with the rent on one house is obviously false, but enough people believe it to make it a powerful vote winner properly played.

Is it the case that one can only - with squatting - progress beyond a symbolic point, to the extent that one can mobilize support from outside the squatting group to prevent very harsh counter-measures?

If this is the case - is there an argument for a squat on classical non-violent direct action lines. Instead of relying on secrecy, a certain amount of cunning, barricades and sheer man power to resist bailliffs; is there an argument for relying on the impact of the demo solely. Therefore deliberately publicizing that one will squat; deliberately courting violence with no resistance, but in a spirit of empathy to try and convert the bailliffs.

No doubt this will evoke the comment, but you can't be serious you would not get in in the first place, but they said that to us before we first sat in a rocket base.

C. The distinction between the Libertarian attitude to squatting and that of IS and the Trots; (who no doubt also want revolution on behalf of the workers, but who see squatting as a token form of action which permits them to inculcate class consciousness into workers, and who deprecate any insistence that squatting is impossible unless one has genuine homeless to take part;) and the importance of this distinction.

D. The involvement of the National Front with Quartermain - cf Private Eye.

e. The effect of the difference in social composition of the present squatter-homeless and those of 1944-6, ex-servicemen from possibly more typical working class backgrounds.

duty to oust Dennis which they did.

Before one of the situationists had taken the blind box from the local pub - anyone remember the Wobbly song on the union, and the stoolpigeon - "he doesn't have to steel, he can always make a living, on what he steels from blind men's bowls", - and there were various thefts from the till of the camp shop which was originally run on an help yourself basis, and put in the money; but after this was manned and shut when empty.

The blind box incident was justified - in that charity is degrading, and that by stopping it, one was forcing blind people to stand up for themselves and so act in a revolutionary way;- (Sorel said the same about ~~workers~~ capitalists should over exploit workers so as to make them revolutionary, but it is worth noting that this was written after the termination of Sorel's short association with the CNT, and when he was already moving in a monarchist proto-fascist direction); - but the stealer was persuaded to restore it.

Unfortunately the English people most opposed to the French - involved in the opposition - largely because they too were single - were individualists, and when the French talked of collectivization, replied that they did not wish to collectivise rather than that it is a curious sort of collectivization, when an individual steels from a common fund. This tended to win for the Situationist French support amongst far saner compatriots.

Eve Latimer at one point made the point that when English anarchists have gone to Continental anarchist-organized camps they have taken it for granted that their comrades would not cheat them; she could not understand why this trust did not work both ways. There was a tendency however, for interpreters (generally - indeed after the first debate invariably - French) to interpret the more frenetic and abusive English arguments but to fail to understand sane and calm arguments such as Eve's which was never translated. Later though I have not been back to France for many years I had to start interpreting to counter this.

This lack of trust was manifested by the fact that when one of the French had an epileptic fit, the rest denounced us as renegades because we called an ambulance, convinced that if he was once taken to hospital he would immediately be certified and not allowed out - we were therefore - "fliks". There was a payment per head

per night, for the camp, which if anyone could not pay, was remitted, none of OF THE SITUATIONISTS paid a penny, but all could afford to spend thxir evenings in the pub, and come back drunk. (Incidental result - very unfortunate - that Ron ^BBailey and Jim Radford both left with any doubts they had had previously as to whether they should begin to call themselves anarchists resolved - they won't.)

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The meeting adjourned early, after a short discussion as to whether in view of the poor numbers we ought to reconsider our position - we debated on the last occasion whether the group was viable, and decided to remain in existence, and no one felt it necessary to propose reopening that point, but we did decide that this must be considered at the next meeting. For the next meeting it was agreed that Ian Annetti be asked to speak on the local rent refusal struggles, and Jean Sargeant on oppsition to the South African sports teams coming. This seems to concentrate on cricket and rather ignore the Springboks. Later in this there is a summary of a Chemical and Biological Weapons Action group leaflet, in case - in the unlikely event - someone on this mailing list has not had these from either Doug ^KKepper or David Lane - address for contacts - 77 High St. Penge, London S.E. 25(?)

(Valerie Bickers writes of a play group she is working to form at the 'phant:)

If you take a Bakerloo line train from Trafalgar Square, heart of the London of the tourist, and alight four stations down the line, at the Elephant & Castle, you will be in the London that the tourist rarely, if ever, sees. The London of the meths. drinker, who after drinking himself unconscious, lies sprawled on the bomb site, The London of the lonely old men who huddle by night in doorways and sleep by day on park benches. The London of the "one roomed home kids", of magnificent office blocks and shops on the one hand and tenement blocks on the other. The London of outrage, but with a pathetic charm of its own. The London, where God, as He walks its miserable streets, as He sits in the doorways of the derelict shops, must often weep bitter tears of sorrow.

Last Summer a group was formed to take action over social problems, notably housing, and playspace, in the needy parts of South London. The group failed to win necessary support for action, and so was allowed to die a quick & painless death. 10 months later, however, the idea was resurrected in the formation of the Borough/London Bridge/Elephant and Castle Project. The area for action, it was decided should be bounded by the river, on one side, and on

others by: Waterloo rd., ^KKennington rd., Brook Drive, New ^KKent rd., & Tower Bridge rd.; this area is the S.E.1 district of Southwark, and this particular area was chosen:

1. Because of the need for playgrounds and playsape there;
2. Poor housing conditions;
3. Presence of a number of bomb sites - suitable for conversion into adventure playgrounds.

Having chosen the area, and got a small band of workers together, the next major problem to be confronted was the actual going to the people. People, are, quite naturally, suspicious of strangers who suddenly come into their midst. After discussing the problem with Roger Moody, ^PPeace News co-editor, who had himself, ⁿhelped with the formation of a playgroup, I decided to carry out an opinion survey in the area.

Accordingly a meeting of group workers was called - to discuss among other things such a survey, which, the group unanimously favoured, carrying out. This raised a new stumbling block; the enormity^{of the task}/of carrying out a survey - with the man power available - throughout the whole of S.E.1; so it was decided to tackle only a small part of the area. The section finally decided on was bounded by the Imperial War Museum, Brook Drive, Newington Butts, and St. George's rd. We chose this area as it was near a piece of council owned property, earmarked as the probable site of the adventure playground.

We have now begun the opinion survey of the area. So far the results show that by far the majority of the people in the area are displeased with the commercial developments that are taking place, feel the need for a playgroup and for an adventure playground, and are in favour of our work in the area. Other interesting facts that have come out, so far, are:

1. In the flats so far surveyed, no tenants' association exists;
2. Mothers of young children have expressed a desire for an association of mothers (Not like the C/E young wives fellowship);
3. Although there are good facilities for children in ^GGeraldine ^MMary Harmsworth Park, by the Imperial War Museum, parents are nervous about sending their children there, because of the meths. drinkers who hang around there.

So at last after a year of stumkling and false starts, work has begun,

in S.E.1. Newspapers are full of stories of people, who are making revolution, and who are fighting at the barricades, but if you have time (Valerie doesn't mention cash - but it would be an usual cause that doesn't want it, L.O.) spare a thought for those of us who seek revolution not with petrol bombs and bullets, but with spades, hard work and the hand of friendship.

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In Frontier - describing itself as an international non-profit making Christian quarterly - Vol. 12, no. 3., August 69; there is an article by Fr Graham Neville formerly a Cambridge Don, now a Chaplain to a boarding school, on Christian Anarchism. Influenced by Eric Gill - but not curiously by Berdayev or by Mounier or Buber, who being more academic, might be more expected to have an influence at Cambridge - the article makes very pleasant reading, and it obviously reaches wider circles than we normally reach, ~~xx~~ even the Roadrunner and the Catholic Worker can hardly have comparable circulation. Though I have of course written, and will send a copy of this, I have not had an answer, but perhaps if enough people read the article and write (please follow the order of events that way) we could bring in an obviously distinguished sympathizer. Frontier's address is 157 Waterloo road, S.E. 1. I forget Fr Neville's but it is at the back of the paper.

Today (19) a probation service youth hostel warden, who is also regrettably a priest of the C. of E. has ~~x~~ resigned his post, because the probation service discipline is too lax and permissive. Excellent for those under his "care" but the fact that he will now exercise his ministry - very probably - in parish work is unfortunate.

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Readers of LOGOS may have noticed Grimmond's article in the Guardian of the 15th Sept., - in which he talks of the fact that pressure group politics is growing more meaningful to the man in the street (and certainly the radical on the streets) than Governmental politics. I think the fact that "an elder statesman" has recognized this, is indicative of a most hopeful new trend. This especially when one couples with it; various critiques, - of Christopher Mayhews latest book, of the Open Group pamphlet, and comments by Des Wilson - of Shelter - in an article (also

in the Guardian) a week or so before Grimmond's recalling a left Labour M.P. saying to him, Wilson, that he envied charity workers their power to achieve concrete results - so unlike M.P.s;

and finally editorials recently put out by both the Guardian and the Observer on these lines; and possibly even more to the point; on the 17th Sept., Russel Johnstone thought it necessary to write an emotive, but hardly coherent refutation, in order to insist that the Liberals must remain a party.

I believe this trend among leading centre politicians is indicative of and reflects a growing popular consciousness among middle of the road - politically - people, (and even more middle of the road people, involved, on what they think are non-political grounds, in humanitarian, charitable, even do-gooding and Lady Bountiful voluntary work) - who had combined such action with support for parties of the Conventional Left - Liberal, Labour, Communist, - or with political apathy in the past,) that "do-gooding" is - or should be - something more than conscience saving. If you like it, Mutual Aid, seems to be catching on amongst those who never have - and may never - heard of Kropotkin. Its a non-revolutionary (as yet) mutual aid, piecemeal and gradualist amelioration no doubt. Now even more significant is that an equivalent consciousness seems to be growing amongst trade unionists. This was reflected in the TUC, where shock at Labour's anti-trade union legislation-proposals gave rise to a sort of non-anarchist, and non-revolutionary syndicalist concept, that the unions must trust themselves. Even if this was short lived and the majority of union delegates then allowed their leaders to confine resistance to petitioning and to trying to win allies amongst other Labour Party members to try and force a change of leadership in the party.

This seems to indicate a growing realization that politics is not merely about what arse rests on the Woolsack. However little this may directly denote revolutionary consciousness, it is a welcome development from an anarchist point of view. (Even if the change is only from what the Ghandians call Rajniki to their Lokniki.)

For this represents to a limited degree an acceptance by the political centre of the need for a form of dual power. Of course, to a degree the trade unions have always been such a form, indeed the mere fact that the state tries to impose rules on churches and all societies is part of the fear that the modern state has of any focus of power other than its own. But nevertheless dual power in its higher forms - typified say by the Soviets as they existed between February and October of 1917

and October of 1917 - is a necessity if we are to gain the strength and the freedom of movement to allow mutual aid play, which we need to allow the displacement of the state and class society. This can only come when people no longer think automatically of Government as the only possible or morally permissible medium of social action, change and reform. Obviously neither OXFAM nor Shelter greatly resemble Soviets, and so bureaucratic is the former, that it does not much suggest charitable work, but the acceptance of the need to turn elsewhere than to central government is a preessential of any revolutionary development; and when we see that preessential materialize we can say, that we may be entering a revolutionary epoch.

Looking back to pre-Suez-Hungary days, the sort of people who might have come to the libertarian left, were so bored by politics that they refused to consider anti-politics either. The New Left groupings were the first to reopen the road for these. They (the groups) popularized the 'till then forgotten fact that politics concerns the whole of life, and is not meaningful if it does not take in culture, the psychological impact of work and relationships within small groups and communities. It insisted that for a parliamentary reformist party to achieve anything worthwhile in such a situation, and to have any impact, it must work at more levels than merely to achieve parliamentary power, for parliamentary power was a facade for deeper power which could only be touched if more was also touched. It had therefore realized to change mass consciousness, on other levels than the electoral.

The New Left involvement was however, short-lived, the New Left and VFS became establishment bodies within the Labour Party, if not campaigning solely electorally, nevertheless campaigning solely for power within an electoral movement. The CND rank and file - sprung in large measure from New Left loins - certainly campaigned at a non-electoral level, but as the leadership was parliament-oriented, they were not (at least until the formation of the Committee of 100) able to voice this non-governmentalism. The traditional left - was of course enlarged by the same influx as created the New Left - and was alone in continuing to insist on something more. For all its faults one has to look on the S.L.L. - then by far largest revolutionary group, and then comprising many people, now libertarians, as the main such voice and the faction round Fryer, Coates and Cadogan was the one with which most campaigners were familiar. (Perhaps Healy was then modest enough to know that if he wished it to grow he had to keep in the shadows.) This faction was insistent on the aim of building a revolutionary party in the

reformist; but as far as one could gather their interpretation was not the normal entrust one of building a tight underground Leninist party, but of building a semi-mass movement of more or less conscious socialists within the Labour Party, fighting on all fronts.

This theory was a natural precursor of the more widely publicized late New Left concept of a hegemonic party: -The New Left was more or less revived under Trotskyist influence - (Published for instance in Towards Socialism ;) which envisaged a remodelled Labour Party fighting at non-electoral as well as electoral levels. For a short time Frank Allaun, under the influence of the group of Trot-cum-New Leftists, then round the Week, brought his Voice group of trade Union papers, other M.P.s and some trade union officials in on this concept; but the fact that those same union leaders confined the opposition to the Castle-TU legislation, to internal pressure within the Labour Party shows just how short-lived it was. Even more the fact that they were prepared to vote for getting the TUC to do the dirty work of breaking unofficial strikes for the Government, as an alternative to letting the Government do its own ~~by~~ bullying shows little left of deeper consciousness.

But demonstrators outside - when they came to the Fairfield Halls in Croydon to debate the legislation - were there in plenty, and they were not calling for TUC bans on unofficial strikers but rightly for a general strike. Again this parallels developments among the "do-gooders"; OXFAM; though it has reversed the position it held for all the time I was with it, against radicals there, that to go out for education as a first priority, would offend the old ladies of Cheltenham - of course it would, but one would hardly feed the world's hungry without - and now proclaims that it cannot hope to feed the 2,000,000,000 people who live below what we consider subsistence level, while it remains purely active as a charity and that this needs social change; still is anxious not to offend, but Shelter - which involved Christian Action, is aware that vested interests have to be offended.

The field is ready for the sowing - though by no means for the harvest - sooner or later left-reformers (such as the National Convention of the Left) will revamp the concept of the Hegemonic Party, this time less rigidly tied to parliamentarianism, and more as a campaigning issue, - indeed its parliamentarian face may be independent candidatures against Labour (on an ILP sort of basis) and coupled with a far more determined effort to spread socialist ideas. It will (like the last time) be in no sense a "sophisticated version of syndicalism" but it will allow us to preach syndicalist ideas.

I apologize for the fact that these minutes are late, scrappy, and that the heading is not the woodcut, - my house is still disorganized after builders, and my study now has no bookshelves, all the books are on the floor and a thick lair of brick dust covers everything with no chance of doing any dusting until I can get shelves put up again. Dust covering my ink plates for the woodcut.

(22 Sept.) The weekend's actions in Piccadilly, seem to emphasize that if the state wished to it could get round the law on the matter of no one else being involved besides squatters and homeless. The fact that one may feel that the hippies are acting more selfishly than squatters generally and so getting a movement a bad image being irrelevant to that point.

21 Vernon rd.

Dear Friends

11 Aug. 10

At the last meetings of the Chemical and Biological Warfare Action Group, held in London and Salisbury, the following decisions were taken:

1. To hold the next group meeting on Sept. 10 (sorry L.O.) @ 7.30 PM @ 6 Endsleigh St, London W.C.1.
2. To campaign at all meetings and demonstrations, during the Summer with our leaflet "The Poison Road" and a newsletter to be issued shortly.
3. To hold a jumble sale to help our funds.
4. To have a weekend of activity, at Porton and Salisbury on Oct. 4 & 5.
5. To send letters to all those organizations, that try to help people suffering from a particular illness or disease, pointing out how wrong it is to waste so much money on germs and chemical weapons, whilst the health service is deprived of money and so badly needed skills.
6. To leaflet the W.I.L.P.F. Conference from 21st - to - 23rd November, at the N.U.F.T.O. Hall, London.
7. To hold our own conference - probably on the weekend following the WILPF.

We would welcome help with any, or all of these activities. Enquiries to:-

David Lane, 77 High St., Penge, S.E. 20 - SYD. 0924

REMEMBER:-

27,000 tons of nerve gas may be thrown into the Atlantic- because it is obsolete;
The US Government now admits that nerve gas is stored at its base on Okinawa;
(in the Pacific;)

A research worker died as a result of his work at Porton;

6,000 sheep died because the wind blew the wrong way;

Those of us who have concentrated on CBW for several years were right
after all, we hope that more Peace-workers will now join us!

sincerely Doug Kepper pp David Lane

.....

It is somewhat ironic is it not that the Tory Party?- which gets its name from ~~xxxx~~
R.C. rebels off the Donegal coast, -resisting the effects of the Ulster Plantation
should comprise the Ulster Unionists.

A visit by a militant humanist (waiting for me when I got home on Friday night, after
typing Valerie's piece) who thought it immoral that any Church or other sectional
group should have the right to have exclusive youth clubs and so forth - especially
given rate rebate - so that in her ideal only the state - divided geographically
could run such groups reminded me of the horror that Trevelyan and others show in
describing the effects of sanctuary in the mediaeval period.

Certainly there are and were, great abuses in the Church; but the humanist had des-
cribed racism, support for the bomb and so forth as minor differences earlier when
I had insisted that in the last analysis any anarchist group must have the right
to expel; and Trevelyan has a lenient eye for economic exploitation - at least
when operated by laymen; - but in both the message is plain; the evils of the
Church are not because it scourges God's lay people with whips but because it
interferes when the state wishes to exercise its right to scourge with scorpions.

best

Laurens

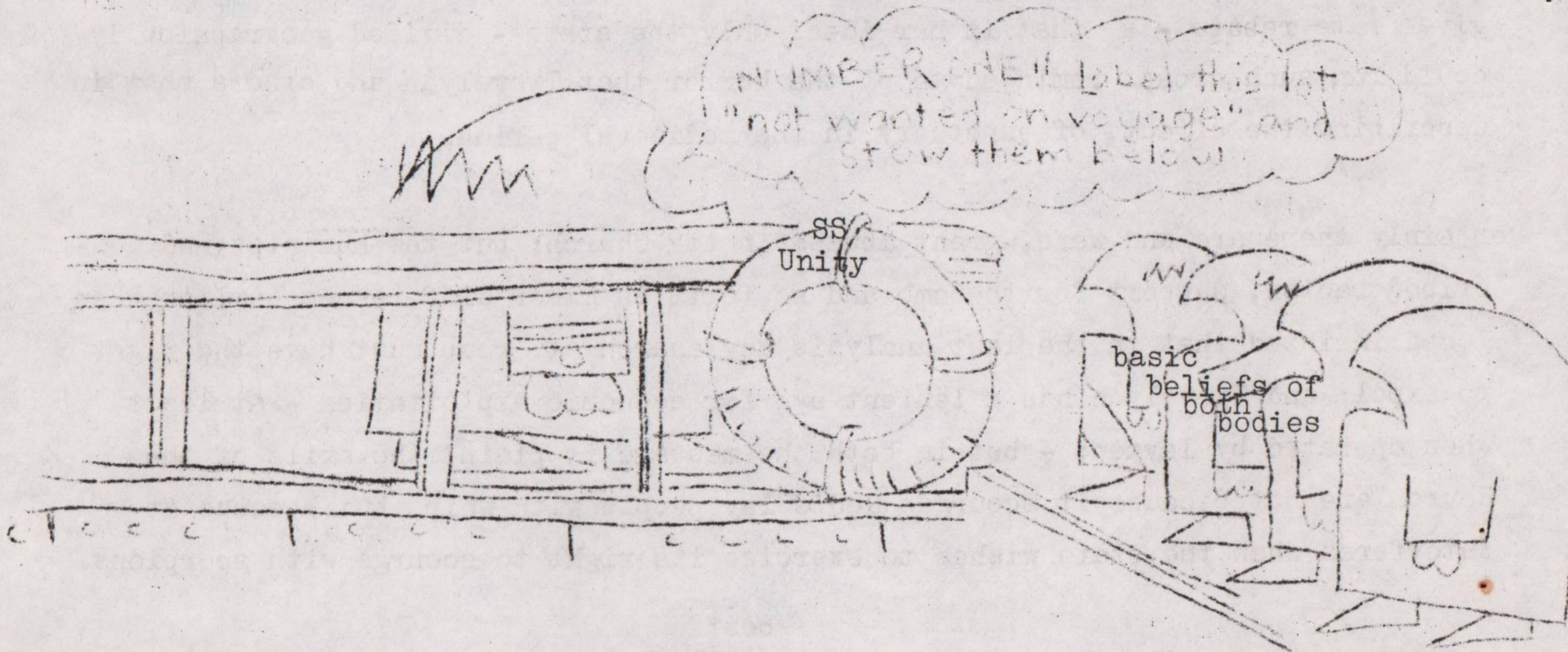
Andrew told us that he had been mistaken about the possibility of a
squat at the Church Commissioners' property in Paddington.

OYEZ, OYEZ, be it hereby known by these tokens that whereas the powers that be, hereinafter called the State, formerly held a substantial interest in the SS Anglicana, - so much so that they were thought to be owners, and now find this interest to be an embarrassment, in that they desire a new "image".

They have decreed that the SS ANGLICANA have its bows removed and then be conjoined with a similar section of the SS Methody. Messers Lloyds' have agreed to underwrite the dual ship (to be known hereafter as Unity) so the fact that it will sink at first sailing is of no consequence.

The "owners" wish to express their thanks to the Captain and officers of the ship, who showing their determination to ignore the expressed wish of many crew members, are carrying through the proposals; headless of carping criticisms as to the quality of the welding. Also to many Right Bank and other "Radicals" so easily seduced by the mention of the sacred word "progress" who are deriding all critics.

WITH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS AND APOLOGIES
TO THE CATONSVILLE ROADRUNNER



The original of this was somewhat MUFFed due to the RR's horror of theorizing and consequent refusal to look at the nature of the power establishment.



SS Unity
or Australiana

Christian Anarchist/ Anarchist Christian

We believe in a free and just society: in the absence of government, which is simply the coercive tool of an unjustly privileged ruling class: in co-operation without coercion.

Obviously the members of a human society must be both equal and unequal. They must be equal in their individual freedom, in their right to participate in decisions affecting their lives, in their right to essential human dignity, in their relationship with a just and all-loving God. But also each individual will be 'better' at certain things than those around him: there will be experts with special knowledge in certain spheres, people naturally gifted for or specially called to certain activities, even people who are 'natural leaders' in certain areas of communal activity.

The danger is, and always has been, that the 'natural leader' or 'expert' will become the ruler. Given a society which decides to abolish government and keep domestic electricity, you could have, within a very few years, a dictatorship of electrical engineers, since these would be the only men with the ability to hold the whole of society to ransom. Leadership or expertise can become power, if the leader becomes interested in controlling or coercing his followers, instead of serving them to the best of his ability, and if he desires to extend his leadership to cover all spheres of human activity instead of those for which he is specially gifted or selected. Such a change from leadership to power is always abetted and sometimes initially provoked by the apathy of 'followers', who are content to fling more and more of their own responsibilities upon a small group of convenient 'leadets.'

Christianity provides us with a philosophy and a supreme example of 'leadership' as opposed to 'government' or 'power'. Christ said that He 'came not to be ministered unto, but to minister', and combined spiritual leadership and the discharge of menial physical tasks. Whatever they may have made of their positions, the 'leaders' or 'specialists' of the various branches of His Church have generally been called 'ministers', and the spiritual head of one major branch bears as his most important title servus servorum Dei. St Paul, in writing of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, depicts a society of equals drawn together in the bonds of love, in which each member is free to, and indeed urged and required to exercise his special gifts and talents.

The Church is, or should be, the Body of Christ, which means two things. It means that the hand and the eye are equal, both essential to each other and to the body as a whole, and that neither should be asking for more privilege and prestige than the other, or seeking to usurp the functions of the other. And it means that the whole body is inhabited and animated by the same Spirit. There is some hope for poor, fallible human beings who are commanded to 'be .. perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect' or 'called to be saints', because we do not act purely on our own strength and initiative but 'do all things in Christ Jesus Our Lord.'

But this is clearly not an accurate picture either of the present-day Church as a whole, or of any so-called 'Christian nation' or 'Christian society' now in existence. The Church, the 'bride of Christ', contracted fairly early a bigamous union with a corrupt state, and accepted, in practice if not in theory, many of the values of this new spouse: she became preoccupied with material wealth, privilege and prestige, and adopted or sanctioned the coercive internal governments and violent international struggles necessary to the maintenance of these values. Since then, she has been perplexedly

trying to serve two masters. The results have been diverse: some Christians have become corrupt power-seekers, twisting the Christian message to sanction their activities; others have forgotten that the Christian message is a practical and revolutionary social message, that we must build the Kingdom of God ourselves, and that Christ wanted not only a spirit but a body -- that He has, in this world now, 'no hands but our hands.'

We believe that Anarchism can offer Christianity a more lively awareness than at present exists in most sections of the Church of what the Kingdom of God should be. It advocates revolution and challenges apathetic, corrupt or merely theoretical Christianity. It asks for practical changes, and it provides a means of testing traditional interpretations and applications of Christian doctrine.

We believe that Christianity can offer Anarchism a better reason than exists elsewhere in the Anarchist movement for believing that society could be like this. Anarchism is always challenged on the grounds that human nature is so corrupt that coercion and regimentation are absolutely necessary. Christianity, properly interpreted, proclaims that human nature, given freedom and opening itself to the activity of Grace, can and should continuously strive toward perfection. It is at once the most idealistic and the most realistic of religions: it appeals to the weak and fallible, it allows for constant falls and recoveries, it proclaims that alone we can achieve nothing and deserve nothing -- but it uncompromisingly declares that its ultimate and only goal is perfection.

We are not very interested in the devising and adopting of labels, but we call ourselves Christian Anarchists or Anarchist Christians, because we believe that present-day Anarchism and present-day Christianity have two facets of the truth, and we are concerned to bring these into relationship. By constantly testing our Anarchism against our Christianity and our Christianity against our Anarchism, we hope to clarify our ideas, and to evolve a theology, a social theory and a philosophy of action for such actionist groups as CHURCH and CNA. We have a large measure of agreement on the points presented in this manifesto, we have elaborated many of them in more detail than can be set down in such limits, and we hope to go on from here.

Christian Anarchist Group
c/o St Paul's Vicarage
Leopold St., E.3.

secretary:
35 Natal road
Thornton Heath
CR4.8QH

The Group CHURCH - invited to submit this - comprises a number of Radical Christians as "contacts", but has no membership, but as many of these contacts together form the Christian Anarchist group as a body more directly concerned with theory and which does not itself initiate action, the invitation was passed to us.

So this smaller body undertook to prepare the memorandum on Church/State relations requested of CHURCH by the Archbishop's commission. The arguments here presented therefore are avowedly Christian anarchist, and though they would be endorsed by many people in CHURCH they would not be by all.

We believe that the question of Church/State relations is fundamentally a theological one. The Church's attitude to the world, and therefore to the state, depends primarily on the nature of the 'Christian Hope' - what is meant by the Kingdom of God. It is on this regulative principle of theology that the Church, now, is confused and equivocal.

To invoke the idea of 'tension' between the various demands of the Gospel, is to avoid both the necessity for clear thinking and the possibility of revolutionary action. Certain other considerations should govern the approach to this question and not least a realization of the significance of dialectical as opposed to evolutionary change, - that there are times when revolutionary action becomes possible.

For this reason, our rejection of past ideas and practises does not necessarily involve a moral judgement, on what was dictated by historical circumstances. Further we recognize that the Church's attitude to the State has always been conditioned by the State's attitude to the Church.

There are considerable differences in the respective attitudes of Paul and the writer of the Apocalypse, which reflect a changing situation. Yet in comparison with the situation that has generally obtained under nominally Christian and/or Democratic regimes both were dealing with abnormal circumstances. This consideration should therefore govern the use of NT evidence. We believe there has been an inability to understand Paul as a superb tactician in relation to the secular authority, with a consequent failure to appreciate the Gospel of Freedom he proclaimed.

We would examine further the confusion in the Church's belief and practise. Traditionally Christians have looked for a "Return" or "Second Coming" of Christ to establish the Kingdom. As Edwyn Bevan says in his book, 'Christianity' - "The Christians thought the end was very near. They expected any day to see Jesus return in the cloud, and all the imperial strength and splendour of the Pagan World would melt to nothing at His glance." This is a typical utterance repeated in an hundred books. It is our contention that the evidence in the NT for this view is slight, though we would expect to find hints of it, since it became the established view by the Second Century.

This view looked for the coming of the Kingdom of God beyond time and history, yet in the imminent future. It was "next worldly" but only incidentally escapist ("other worldly") and preserved the apocalyptic temper of the NT evidence. We wish to emphasize three points; that the 2nd Century reflects a change from Jewish to Greek modes of thought, that in time this belief was considerably modified as the hope of the Return faded, and that the process of modification has created further confusion.

It is not surprising that this traditional belief is now virtually abandoned, and that a laudable desire to serve the world can become what Maritain describes as 'kneeling before the World'. Adventism is however a recurring belief, within the Church, despite the difficulties which it involves, and the existence of ~~the~~ in the C. of E. of a Guild of Prayer for the Return of Our Lord is evidence of dissatisfaction at least with doctrinal ambiguity. Yet a residue of traditional doctrine remains, enough to inhibit radical action; a fundamentally escapist attitude haunts the Church like a spectre, as the world well realizes despite the Church's attempts to change its image.

We do not therefore subscribe to the older liberal view that the 4th C Church capitulated to Constantine and abandoned the hope of the Kingdom of God on earth in consequence. 'Establishment' meant nothing more than the new and unprecedented situation created for the Church when the Emperor became a catechumen. The Church made full use of its opportunities; but it was theologically ill-equipped to deal with the difficulties.

The new alliance of Church with Empire, and the identification of the Church with the K of G on earth (Triumphalism) at least preserved Christianity from a completely escapist attitude to the world.

So the Church attempted to influence the secular power for good, never wholly successful, and not without using the methods of the world. That the Church should lose was inevitable.

Since the break-up of Mediaeval Christendom the 'lie' behind the identification of the Church in the K of G on earth has been exposed, theology has become more obviously escapist, and the Church's influence on the secular power has waned.

It is our contention, that a new and changing situation has arisen which necessitates revolutionary change and makes it possible. First the rise of the modern secularist state, and now the growing revolt against any kind of state.

We believe the Church's primary need is to recover the authentic Christian 'hope' as found in the NT. We recognize that the root meaning of Kingdom of God is the kingly rule of God, that this was manifested in the person of Jesus, and since Pentecost embodied in the life of the Church. But we believe that a conception of the Kingdom which does not include its embodiment and realization in the whole created order fails to do justice to its full meaning.

.....

As we have pointed out, traditional Christian thinking, since the 2nd C, has related the K of G to the Second Coming or Return of Our Lord - terms significantly absent from the Gospel; allowing for the fact that much of the NT evidence is inconclusive, we find in it a different emphasis.

The first Christians understood this in relation to his Death, Resurrection and Ascension, and saw in the coming of the Spirit the sign of the new age. There is no evidence in the Gospel for the commonly held view that Christ has gone back to heaven for an unspecified period of time to return 'like a bolt from the blue' to accomplish what he 'failed' to do the first time.

The Pauline doctrine is that Christ ascended into Heaven 'in order to be everywhere', that he is even now, 'destroying every rule, authority and power.' The ~~evidence~~ emphasis of the Apocalypse is on the present activity of the Living Christ.

Judgment has been committed to him, and he is making all things new. If in the words of the Internationale, "The Earth shall rise on new foundations", the seer of Patmos had both a larger vision and a surer hope, "I saw a new Heaven and a new Earth".

.....

The Church then needs a belief in a clear, unambiguous, world-affirming Gospel of Redemption. We see this as a hope for the world, - at the end of, but within, - time and history.

The meaning of the K of G on earth is not exhausted by the historical process, yet here we find no 'tension' but the assurance that our hope is not only for the last generation (such as is the more limited Marxist hope) but for all generations. (We, therefore, look for the Resurrection of the Dead, at Christ's final revelation in the restored Universe, - and this profoundly affects our attitude to all men of every generation.)

There is one coming in Glory, but this is not an instantaneous event at the 'End', (though the final revelation is there), but a process inaugurated by the mighty acts of God in Christ. Which acts the Church recalls in the Eucharist. Through these acts and through this process - and especially in the Eucharist - there is an accession of the Spirit, by which a new kind of power enters into the world to renew the face of the Earth.

(As Christian anarchists we believe that a realization of the coming dimension of the Christian hope is the inspiration for revolutionary change. We look for the 'New Pentecost', the new understanding of spiritual power which will lead men forward from Law to Freedom. We see this arising out of our tradition.

As against the laws of private property we set the libertarianism of Moses, exemplified in the 'Year of Jubilee';

As against authoritarian rule we uphold the tradition of Samuel when he warned that Monarchy would lead to military and industrial conscription;

We believe it is no part of Pauline teaching that the "Powers that be" are ordained to continue; - institutions have changed considerably for better or for worse, and the "withering away of the state" is the only desirable end of such change.)

If the institution of the State is a concession to sin, it is also a powerful cause and occasion of sin, and "contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction".

If the need to be governed arises from the fact of sin, then it follows that no man is fit to govern. Christian anarchists look for a community without power structures, where ownership and control are shared by all in free cooperation.

Paul regarded the Law as a cause of sin, and as at best a ~~school~~schoolmaster. He valued more highly the Law that is within - and Grace and the Spirit of Freedom and Fellowship. As the Athanasian Creed defends the right-thinking doctrine of the Variety in Unity, the God who is Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, so we find in it the pattern of a society worthy the human spirit, - without which, the world cannot be healthy.

Since the days of that prophetic leader, Charles Gore, the demand for the disestablishment of the Church, - once desired by loyal Anglicans, as by sincere Free Churchmen - has faded into the background, as other issues have exercised the common mind of the Church.

The Church's position, however, in the alliance of Church and State, has hardly improved in any significant manner. While the State has significantly increased its power and declined in true worth. Therefore we believe the time has come for more than evolutionary change, for something other than a modification of the existing relationship.

We do not wish to see a more bureaucratic Church, and confess that we are not overly enamoured of the idea of Synodical Government, when it at the top levels preserves and extends the worst features of the National Assembly. (Our anarchism is not individualist but social-anarchism, concerned not in achieving measures of freedom for ourselves individually, within a non-cooperative society, but in creating a society of cooperation without coercion wherein the individual would be able attain his "wholeness-holiness").

As Christian Anarchists; looking for a free society, displaying the virtues of freedom and cooperation, and believing that the Church is ordained to be the sign and sacrament of the coming age; we regard the Church's total freedom as an essential condition of its effectual working, - 'That men may find a City to dwell in'.

The Alliance of the Church and State was fortuitous in its origins, - it has been dubious in practise. We hold it to be now an anachronism, a great unreality, which is passing away; (but passing away for the wrong reasons - since the State now just ignores the Church, and the Church hamstrung as it is, is in no position to protest;) we, therefore, urge the Church to set its sights rather on:-

"That City which has the foundations, whose Maker and Builder is God".

To do its own work rather than, act as a moral public relations agency for the immorality of the State.